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THE EFFECTS OF BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE ON HISTORICAL NARRATIVES  
OF ANCIENT SILK ROAD: A STUDY OF CHINA'S ACADEMIC ARTICLES

Master Thesis

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Tartu 2022

I have written this Research paper/Bachelor Thesis independently. Any ideas or data taken from other authors or other sources have been fully referenced.

**Abstract**

According to the theory of memory politics, history/memory can be used as a tool for the legitimization of policies. There is an assumption for this work that since the "Belt and Road Initiative" was launched by Chinese Chairman Xi Jinping in 2013, the memory of the ancient Silk Road has been modified to serve the goals of this influential project. To answer the research question of how have Chinese scholarly narratives about the ancient Silk Road have changed in the wake of the Belt and Road Initiative from the perspective of the politics of memory, hybrid quantitative and qualitative content analysis was conducted on 2 Xi Jinping's speeches and 42 Chinese ancient Silk Road-related articles from 2000 to 2020. The results show that in the articles which were published after 2013, the ancient Silk Road's nature and geographic definition were more diverse, the research themes were more profound, and the research scope was broadened in both time and space. Scholars' views on the ancient Silk Road's impact, on the other hand, have not altered considerably and were mainly positive.

**Keywords:** Memory politics, Belt and Road Initiative, ancient Silk Road, scholarly narratives, content analysis

**CERCS Code:** S100

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### **Introduction**

Your memory is not always yours. People believe that memory is malleable and that remembering what happened in the past is a process that can be manipulated. French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (2020) pointed out that there is a collective memory that is dependent upon the social framework within the society, and people's individual memory and understanding of the past is strongly linked to the collective memory and the group that they are in. Social frames are constantly shaping people's memory. As Barry Schwartz (1982: 374) argued, "to remember is to place a part of the past in the service of conceptions and needs of the present." Therefore, if it operates appropriately, institutions, such as governments, can control, modify and mold people's memory according to a particular discourse or ideology. Such attempts can happen on two levels. They can happen in more easily identified ways, such as political speech, modified textbooks, and commemorations, which usually shows the outcome of the change; they also happen in micro scales, such as change narratives in academic writing, which can help to trace the process of the change itself. The research shows that Chinese scholarly writing on the ancient Silk Road shows a different character after 2013 than before and is most likely influenced by politics. Chinese scholars also support this view. Chinese scholar Nan suggests that the number of studies on the Silk Road in China climbed after 2013 and reached a research peak in 2016, which is not a coincidence but an inevitable result of national policy guidance (Nan Zhang, 2020). The national policy orientation undoubtedly refers to the "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI) proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013, closely related to the ancient Silk Road. This paper would like to trace the process of the memory change of the ancient Silk Road itself by looking at academic discourse and exploring how Chinese scholarly narratives about the ancient Silk Road have changed in the wake of the BRI.

The BRI (Belt and Road Initiative), which was launched in 2013, is a highly influential project that the Chinese government put forward based on the ancient Silk Road, which was established 2000 years ago and connected many countries and regions in Asia, Africa, and Europe. BRI enriched the knowledge about the ancient Silk Road and established two new "routes" including "Silk Road Economic Belt" (belt), which connects Asia and Europe on the land, and "Maritime Silk Road in 21st Century" (road), which connects Asia, Europe, and Africa on the sea. Memory-making and memory are always political and visible in a crisis, conflict, and transition (Roberto & Sara, 2019). 2013 is such a transition for China. The BRI

proposal comes when China is in the throes of economic transformation. After the 2008 financial crisis, China's economy shifted from high growth to slow growth. The BRI is also aimed at addressing China's energy surplus. Social stability becomes especially important in social transformation, and this is a great time to influence memory construction. According to the research, when BRI has aroused extensive discussion worldwide, it has also caused a stir in China's academic research about the ancient Silk Road. The number of published Silk Road-themed papers on the Silk Road dramatically increased after 2013, according to data from CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure). When searching for the ancient Silk Road articles, 27 were published before 2013, while the number of articles published after 2013 was 99, more than three times before. Chinese scholar Nan believed that the Silk Road-related research rose and developed with the improvement of the research environment, the popularization of the research concept, especially the policy guidance (Nan Zhang, 2020).

With 2013 as the year, the changes in ancient Silk Road-Related Research in China are noticeable, but unfortunately, the research on the change is minimal. Although some studies have looked at the narrative changes in the Silk Road documentary from the perspectives of images, colors, and sounds, no one has looked at the Silk Road story through the lens of political memory theory. Furthermore, there is a shortage of studies on China in memory studies. Even in Chinese academia, due to the late beginnings of memory studies, research topics are scarce, and no studies of the ancient Silk Road have been undertaken. Therefore, this paper will fill the relevant research gap. This study intends to put the idea of memory politics to the test and to contribute to memory research. Furthermore, the practical value of this research is to improve people's knowledge of "memory" as a universal concept and assist them in comprehending the construction of their memories.

First, a combined qualitative and quantitative content analysis of Chinese President Xi Jinping's address on the BRI was done to examine the BRI framework towards the ancient Silk Road. Then another combined qualitative and quantitative content analysis has been conducted to find how BRI influences the historical narratives of the ancient Silk Road in Chinese academic journals to trace the memory changes. In this step, 42 ancient Silk Road-related articles published from 2000 to 2020 in the Chinese language were selected according to their topics, types, publish time, citations, and then they were divided into two groups. The first group consists of 21 articles published before 2013, and the second group comprises 21

articles published after 2013. Content analysis was then used to encode and analyze the data for each group of articles. The relevant literature was then examined before and after 2013 from four perspectives: the concept of the ancient Silk Road, time and space, connected topics, and the ancient Silk Road's influence.

This paper is divided into five sections. To complement this research, the idea of communal memory and memory politics were presented at the outset. The second chapter will provide an overview of how the research was conducted using a hybrid qualitative and quantitative content analysis technique. The fundamental understanding of the ancient Silk Road and the BRI will be introduced in Chapter 3 to assist better grasp the study objects. A portion of the BRI framework will also be demonstrated. The initial content analysis findings will be presented and reviewed in Chapter 4 to provide a more complete introduction to the BRI frame. The second content analysis' study findings will then be presented and analyzed in light of the first content analysis' conclusions. Finally, chapter 5 will discuss the influence of the technique used, explain the consequences of the findings, summarize the study's limitations, and offer a future research path.

## **1. Theoretical Background and Conceptual Definitions**

This chapter will present a brief history of memory studies and the current state of memory research in China and the West, during which the theories and main concepts employed in this work will be discussed. The main characteristics of collective memory will be explained among numerous concepts, as it is the most basic and crucial notion that gives the most foundation for this study. In addition, memory mechanisms will be investigated. After that, the connection between memory, history, and politics will be discussed to introduce the concept of memory politics. These contributions will be assessed and used to provide the theoretical foundation for this thesis.

### **1.1. Individual and Collective Memory**

Because of the appeal of memory, it has been long for scholars and intellectuals from different disciplines to discuss what memory is and how memory works. Keightley (2013) stated that memory studies are a multidisciplinary field that focused on individual memory initially and gradually grew outward to study with broader dimensions of collective social memory and the politics of public remembering. Memory primarily was explored in



biological science, to study how the human memory system works, for example, how sensory information is represented, stored, and retrieved in memory. Since the late 19th Century, scholars have begun to conduct social studies of memory. Memory study has evolved into a multidisciplinary topic in the twenty-first Century, incorporating knowledge chains from history, psychology, anthropology, literature, education, philosophy, psychology, and sociology (Roediger & Wertsch, 2008). It is worth pointing out that the research on memory explored in this paper is within sociology. That is to say that this research is talking about collective memory, which refers to a social group's common reservoir of memories, knowledge, and information that is strongly linked to the group's identity (Roediger & Abel, 2015). There are generally three phases in collective memory research: the theoretical foundation period in the 1920s and 1930s, the "memory boom"<sup>1</sup> period in the 1980s, and the current cosmopolitan memory period (Erll, 2011). Memory studies in China are relatively new in comparison to the West, having only begun after the year 2000. Chinese academics began to think more seriously about the meaning of the past for the future and the impact of memory on society, politics, and culture as a result of changes in Chinese society, particularly the impact of social transition in Eastern Europe after 1989 (Qian & Zhang, 2015). While Chinese memory research has benefited a lot from Western memory research findings, at the same time, Chinese related research, especially in its own distinct political context, has infused new vigor into memory study. Memory studies in China are relatively new compared to the West, having begun after the year 2000. Chinese academics began to think more seriously about the meaning of the past for the future and the impact of memory on society, politics, and culture as a result of changes in Chinese society, particularly the impact of social transition in Eastern Europe after 1989 (Qian & Zhang, 2015). While Chinese memory research has benefited a lot from Western memory research findings, at the same time, Chinese memory researches, especially in its distinct political context, has infused new vigor into memory study.

Since the late 19th Century, anthropologists and sociologists have started to think about the function of memory in society and culture. Memory had been a preoccupation for social thinkers until Hugo Hofmannsthal started to use the term "collective memory" in 1902, which

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<sup>1</sup> The 'memory boom' refers to a development in which memory has acquired importance and relevance in both academics and society in the last several decades (Simine, 2013). From the 1930s until the 1980s, memory research was not a void. In certain countries, such as the Czech Republic, and Poland, began as early as the 1940s to 1960s (Kilias, 2013; Tarkowska, 2013).

means that a distinctively social perspective on memory became prominent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Olick & Robbins, 1998). However, it was the French sociologist Emile Durkheim that one of the first scholars to discuss collective memory. In his work *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Emile Durkheim discussed collective consciousness before "collective memory" was established. Durkheim's study of traditional religions noted that rituals transmitted traditional beliefs, values, and norms and that shared rituals provided a sense of "collective consciousness (or conscience, awareness, perception)" transcendence of the individual and the profane into a united religious group (Durkheim, 1912).

According to Durkheim, societies need continuity and connection with the past to preserve social unity and cohesion. Durkheim stated that collective thought required people rather than existing as separate individuals but come together physically as dynamic groups to share resources and knowledge to create a shared experience that the group shared. Since the collective consciousness required the physical gathering of the group, it was important for communities to devise methods of extending the unity and solidarity when the group disbanded (Memorial Worlds, 2012). Durkheim believed that totems, natural items that have been deemed sacred, held immense power and suggested that they provided individuals with a device to remember the unity of the effervescent group experience individually. BRI is not a sacred item but still can be interpreted as a totem with the same function to constantly remind Chinese people of the memory about the ancient Silk Road. The BRI was built on the concept of the ancient Silk Road and was bound up with the ancient Silk Road, forcing the ancient Silk Road to become part of it. The "Belt" in the BRI refers to the Silk Road Economic Belt, which overlaps the ancient Silk Road route on land. The "Road," referring to the 21st-century sea route of Silk Road, has a name that includes the "21st century" and the "Silk Road," signifying the Silk Road's re-creation in the 21st Century. When people think of BRI, they think of the ancient Silk Road. In addition, the official LOGO of the Belt and Road Summit for International Cooperation has the same role as the totem, containing elements such as silk, Xi'an, one of the most important cities in the East of the ancient Silk Road, the sea, and the desert, which are closely related to the ancient Silk Road. Although Durkheim claimed that the collective consciousness provided the transmittal of the past to the present, his emphasis on collective thought was based upon individual memory and the celebrations and totems that triggered those memories (Memorial Worlds, 2012). Durkheim stated that

"collective representations are the result of immense cooperation...to make them, a multitude of minds have associated, united and combined their ideas and sentiments" for many generations (Durkheim, 1912). According to Durkheim, society is more than the sum of individual ideas and actions; society is the umbrella over everyone. Durkheim's view of collective consciousness is difficult to trace because of its abstract nature; people cannot simply add individual actions and produce the collective (Aldis, 2020). Although the exact mechanism system for forming the collective consciousness is not clearly illustrated in Durkheim's work, he emphasized the significance of human cooperation in forming memories, which inspired recent memory studies.

In terms of the origins of contemporary memory studies, we are mainly referring to the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) in the first half of the 20th Century. Halbwachs, the student of Durkheim, was known for the book *La Mémoire collective (The Collective Memory)*, in which he pointed out that a society can have a collective memory and that this memory is dependent upon the social framework within which a group is situated in society. Thus, individual memory and a group memory exist outside of the individual. The individual's understanding of the past is strongly linked to this group memory because everyone can contribute a different memory or perspective to the collective group memory. Group memory may also differ from other groups that experience a particular event, therefore "every group has its collective memory and that collective memory differs from the collective memory of other groups (Russell, 2006).

Halbwachs also radically thought that collective memory is the only accurate memory. Halbwachs prefers the term "recollection" to "memory" because of the way "collective memory" is formed. The memory was structured by collecting various blurred impressions (pictures) from various sources and combining them. According to him, "The individual calls recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory" (Halbwachs, 2020). For example, whatever "individual image" one has of a particular person or an event in one's family, and it cannot be dissociated from the general ideas, types, patterns that comprise the "family memory," to which Halbwachs also refers as the family's "traditional armor"; for "there exist customs and modes of thinking within each particular family that equally impose -- and even more forcibly -- their form on the opinions and feelings of their members" (Halbwachs, 2020). However, Halbwachs did not offer a straightforward theory to describe

and explain how collective memories are formed. His argument rather inclines toward a somewhat literary description of how one recollects one's past experiences, always within the framework of a specific social group -- family, social class, religion (Marcuse, 2006).

Halbwachs further developed the Durkheimian concept of maintenance of effervescence during group isolation and social calm periods. Halbwachs expanded the idea of totems, which Durkheim thinks provide a continual reminder of consciousness to the members of a group. Halbwachs stated that commemorative events should be included in the reminders of collective memory. He believed that autobiographical memories would be faded with time without periodic memory reinforcement, for which commemorative events can serve as reminders to reinforce the collective memories. For instance, since 2014, the Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China and the Shanxi Provincial Government have co-hosted the annual Silk Road International Art Festival. People's memory of the ancient Silk Road may not be strong, and with the passage of time, the memory will be more fragile. However, with the Silk Road International Arts Festival's held every year, People's memory of the ancient Silk Road will be strengthened. In addition, there is also the Silk Road International Film Festival. Coincidentally, it has also been held annually since 2014. There is also the annual Silk Road (Dunhuang) International Cultural Expo, which began in 2016.

## **1.2. The Development of Memory Studies**

It is hardly unexpected that the "memory boom" occurred after WWII and the tremendous changes in Eastern Europe and the growth of the notion of human rights, which reminded concerns about the Holocaust. Since the 1980s, Western society has been bursting with an extraordinary passion and enthusiasm for memory, driven by socio-political shifts and postmodern thought, particularly the historical conditions of governments seeking legitimacy in the past (Olick & Robbins, 1998; Kammen, 1995). At the time, coping with World War II's memory and how to deal with the Nazis were hot themes in European memory studies. There were many studies on WWII victims and offenders. For example, in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe Studies*, Judt examined how Europe confronted the memory of World War II. He argued that Germany was also a victim of World War II and that the Nazis were the perpetrators (Judt, 1996). Moreover, according to Muller, the Holocaust perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews had a tremendous impact on the social memory of Europe (Muller, 2002:14). There is also some research on World War II in Chinese memory studies. For

example, Liu (2009) examined how the Nanjing Massacre was remembered and transmitted in the context of dramatic social change. After the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, on the one hand, scholars began to study the national trauma of European countries during the Soviet period (Qia & Zhang, 2015). On the other hand, due to the stress and anxiety caused by the tremendous social changes, the study of nostalgia of the communist era began to emerge (Bartmansi, 2011). Bartmanski analyzed "nostalgic" icons in Berlin and Warsaw and concluded that "nostalgic" icons are popular because they serve as cultural bridges to memory rather than representations of a failed communist past. Apart from trauma and nostalgia, one of the essential topics in memory research is reputation. In diverse social contexts, reputation memory study is concerned with the forming and altering individuals' reputations, significant historical figures, or reputation vehicles, such as specific groups or objects (Qian & Zhang, 2015). This study aims not to detail more relevant studies but rather to highlight the diverse research themes in memory research.

During the memory boom, more theories of memory arose. The German scholar Jan Assmann distinguished between communicative memory<sup>2</sup> and cultural memory<sup>3</sup> based on the time span of memory based on Halbwachs theory (Assmann, 2008). In addition to this, in *Memory Space (Lieu de mémoire)*, the French historian Nora (1989) argues that memory has been removed from ordinary life in modern society and must be preserved via a range of external places such as perceived memorial rituals, festivals, archival resources, museums, and monuments. It is critical to emphasize that these memorial places must be constructed using official authority. As previously stated, the late-eighteenth-century political and social upheavals, as well as the formation of nation-states, necessitated a quest for identity and legitimacy in memory because "shared memories and a spatial sense of belonging are the cornerstone of a group and national identity" (Qian & Zhang, 2015: 221). Gillis (1994) in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* said that the states shape identity through commemorative days and rituals. Of course, state power intervenes in the shaping of memory in China as well, and the degree of such intervention is far greater. While Western memory studies frequently address subjects such as national identity, Qian (2015) claims that China goes deeper in terms of the role of state authority on individual and community memory.

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<sup>2</sup> Communicative memory is a type of short-term memory used in everyday communication that can be passed down through generations in groups with a restricted time span of three or four generations (Assmann, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Cultural memory is long-term memory includes myths and stories, group dances, celebrations, and events, as well as information maintained through external media such as photos and texts (Assmann, 2008).

Regardless of whether the memory carriers are individuals or groups, the state has always been "present" in their living world and lifetime in China. Chinese memory researchers' studies on complaints, Land Reform Movement<sup>4</sup>, and the Great Production Campaign<sup>5</sup> are examples of these works. The ancient Silk Road, the subject of this dissertation, is also involved in the effect of state authority. According to the National Museum of China (2021), the Chinese Ministry of Culture pushed the establishment of the Silk Road International Museum Alliance in December 2016 in response to General Secretary Xi Jinping's significant Belt and Road initiative. As of February 2021, there are 163 members of the Alliance, comprising 53 international institutions and 110 Chinese domestic institutions. According to Xinhua News Agency, Chinese President Xi Jinping wrote a congratulatory letter to the 2021 Belt and Road - Great Wall International Folk Culture and Art Festival based on the ancient Silk Road and the BRI (Xinhua News, 2021). As Nora (1989) pointed out, memories preserved in memory sites that were built under the sway of state authority can help the state's political legitimacy. The establishment of these museums or festivals contributes to people's identification with the BRI agenda and establishes a foundation for its legitimacy.

After more than 20 years of rapid development, memory research has also hit a bottleneck and seems to lack room for theoretical expansion other than adding more cases (Qian & Zhang, 2015). Erll (2011) proposed the concept of "traveling memory" and "cross-cultural memory." He claims that in today's society, the scope of memory has expanded beyond national borders due to technological advancements, migration, and globalization. That memory is constantly transmitted and traveled in various forms through various media and is constantly transformed and reconstructed in time and space. Therefore, memory is fluid, and our memory is not a one-dimensional memory but a multiplicity of memories that encompasses multiple groups and cultures (Olick, 2007). The idea of "cosmopolitan memory" was developed by Levy and Sznaider (2007), who stated that shared memory of the horrors of the twentieth Century (particularly the Holocaust) might operate as a guarantor of human rights in the present by underlying international norms. They believed that if we understand the suffering of the past, we can maliciously prevent it from happening again. The

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<sup>4</sup> The Land Reform Movement was carried out in mainland China and led by Mao Zedong and other senior members of the Chinese Communist Party at the beginning of the establishment of the People's Republic of China in the 1950s.

<sup>5</sup> The Great Production Movement refers to a mass movement launched by the Chinese Communist Party during the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression to cordon troops and encourage production in the areas under its control, through which the Communist Party basically achieved economic self-sufficiency in the areas under its control.

ancient Silk Road, the object of this paper, is also a worldwide memory that occupies an important place in the development of global history, which is one of the reasons why it was selected as the target of this paper. This paper also hopes to follow the trend development of memory research and enrich the content of the study of cosmopolitan memory.

### **1.3. Mechanisms and Roles of Memory**

Memory's mechanisms and roles have always piqued scholars' interest. The past-centered approach asserts that the present is molded and determined by the past, and Shils (1981) contends that tradition still exists and continues to influence and shape the present, even in modern society's enormous alterations and changes. Another view, the modern-centric view, is represented by Halbwachs, who claimed that the needs of the present influence social constructions of memory. Memory is a present recollection of the past; therefore, the present issues and understandings can shape the recollection process. The present groups will select different memories to explain current issues and concerns. Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam extended this view and said that leaders of a group reconstruct a past using rationalization to choose which events should be remembered in order to explain the present, and those remembering is eliminated, and rearrange events to conform to the social narrative (Gedi & Elam, 1996). Pierre Nora expands upon Halbwachs' instrumental presentism by stating that groups use collective memory to interpret a past. Nora further claimed that groups could select specific memory, deliberately eliminate memory and invent traditions to support the collective memory. He also pointed out that the representations of collective memory are those in power have selected; collective memory is both a tool and an object of power. Consequently, he posits that elites in the society produced "simulations of natural memory" that supported emerging nation-states (Nora & Kritzman, 1996). Both Halbwachs and Nora suggest that any group's "collective memory" is a manipulated construction of those who maintain the power and status to define those memories. David Lowenthal, an American historian, joins the chorus of instrumental presents. He suggests that national histories are constructed to address current interests. Paul-Michel Foucault, also suggested that the postmodern desacralization of tradition has created a social void that has been filled with commemorative activity that is used as a tool of those in political power (Memorial Worlds, 2012). The British historian Eric Hobsbawm's *"Invention of Tradition"* expands Nora's interpretation of collective memory in modernity, suggesting that the social changes that occurred due to modernity destroyed customs and required the establishment and

modification of new traditions to establish authority, social control, and solidarity. These invented traditions imprint specific values, beliefs, and norms that suggest a continuity of a nonexistent past and create the social identity, and the rituals and symbols are used to unite and energize modern society (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). John Bodnar looks even further and states that public memory is not an accurate representation of the past but focuses on the needs of both the present and the anticipated future. He also differentiated between vernacular and official representation, saying that vernacular memories originate from the people and explain those events that most immediately impact the masses, and official memory is created to stabilize the status quo. The sanctification of the official memory suggests that some group has selected memory that has obtained the power to represent and interpret these memories (Bodnar, 2020).

Since the publication of Maurice Halbwachs's influential work theorizing memory as a fundamentally social phenomenon, scholarly attention has mainly focused on the formulation, interpretation, and dissemination of collective/social memory. Moreover, as many political historians of memory have demonstrated, current circumstances provide the cues for specific images of the past. Relatively consistent with the neuro-psychological image of remembering as an active and constructive process rather than a reproduction, sociologists have demonstrated how the past is remade in the present for present purposes (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Memory studies in today's culture are usually concerned with "how various forms of memory operate as collective representations of the past, how they comprise a range of cultural resources of social and historical identity, and how they favor particular interpretations of the past" (Keightley, 2013). This opinion provides research ideas for this paper. This article investigates how the old Silk Road narrative helps BRI legitimacy by focusing the investigation on slight modifications of the ancient Silk Road narrative.

#### **1.4. History, Memory and Politics**

The study of memory always involves the understanding of the past, so the relationship between memory and history and historiography would become the primary question to be addressed. The ancient Silk Road, which is the focus of this dissertation, is a significant historical landmark in Chinese history as well as in world history. As a result, the subject of the link between history and memory is crucial to our investigation. The coexistence of varied approaches in the multidisciplinary field to memory studies has compelled scholars to



contend with disciplinary ownership and authority questions. Who is authority enough to analyze how the past is remembered? Which disciplinary methods are most suitable for memory study? It is necessary to address history disciplinary to answer these questions. First, the relationship between memory and history discipline will be discussed.

According to conventional historians, Memory is unreliable and useless in the pursuit of truth (Collingwood, 2018). Halbwachs considered memory as under attack by the discipline of history. He believed that memory is fundamentally different from history, a dead memory that cannot be "organically and empirically" linked to the present. This perspective, echoed years later by Nora (1989), suggests that memory and history exist in a state of fundamental opposition. For example, Nora (1989: 8) wrote: "memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past. Insofar as it is effective and magical, memory only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic...history, because it is an intellectual and secular production, calls for analysis and criticism". History is the dynamic experience, and memory is the static representation of history. Memory was firmly grounded in the present; history in the past. Therefore, it seems these two disciplinary were controversial to each other. Rather than envisioning history and memory as inherently antithetical, Davis and Starn (1989) wrote, "If anything, it is the tension or outright conflict between history and memory that seem necessary and productive. The explosive pertinence of a remembered detail may challenge repressive or merely complacent systems of prescriptive memory or history; memory, like the body, may speak a language that reasoned inquiry would not hear". The assumption that memory is essentially separate from history is also being questioned, according to Chinese historians Qian and Zhang (2015). They stated that, on the one hand, memory is increasingly becoming "evidence" for historical inquiry, driven by the cultural and social history trend in history. People's concept of what "truth" is and if there is an absolute truth, on the other hand, has begun to shift as a result of postmodern theory, blurring the line between memory and history.

British historian Edward Carr underlines that historians, as individuals, cannot be divested from the society they live in (UKEssays, 2017). Therefore, this paper argued that scholars could not completely exclude the influence of society on the narratives of the ancient Silk Road. Social pressure and prejudice, such as the academic views of other scholars, the

specific requirements of social development, and the influence of newspapers and other media, are all intertwined with the author's record about the history of the ancient Silk Road. Bishu (1995) believed that any form of historical research could not be without the subjectivity's active participation, and the subjectivity cannot be ruled out in historical cognition. Historians cannot help exerting their subjective initiative from historical materials election, record, understanding to interpretation. He also pointed out that the objective neutrality of the subject cannot obtain the objective truth of historical cognition in cognition, but only through the active intervention of the cognitive subject, through continuous confirmation or falsification.

Mariëlle Wijermars also stressed that political actors could contextualize their connection to the political entity they seek to represent by indicating a historical analogy between the present and a given historical occurrence (including appeals to tradition and collective identity); alternately, they can place themselves in opposition to a set of characteristics embodied by a historical individual, event or movement. Simultaneously, historical framing helps stress the politicians' singularity, leadership qualities, or policy objectives (Mariëlle Wijermars, 2018). Aleida Assmann (2008: 57) emphasized the interaction between politics and history saying that: "The past appears to be no longer written in granite but rather in water; new constructions of it are periodically arising and changing the course of politics and history. History is not only what comes long after politics; it has also become the stuff and fuel of politics." This paradigmatic change alerts us to the entangled relationship between history and memory. Eventually, politics of memory may determine how history is written and passed on; hence there is the term history politics or politics of history (Maurantonio, 2014). The term "politics of memory" is often used interchangeably with the terms "historical politics" and "historical memory."

Discussing the politics of memory, just at the very beginning, we have to tackle the problem of lacking an official and common definition between authors of this concept. Lech Nijakowski (2008) claimed no recognized definition of this phenomenon; moreover, it is defined in various conceptual and research networks. The politics of historical memory is defined by scholar Malczewska Pawelec and Tomasz Pawelec (2011) as the measures taken by authorities to shape collective historical memory intentionally and to be able to control it; in other words, to manage it in order to realize certain ideological and political aims (most

often related to the intention of legitimizing their leadership and the model of the social order they support). In practice, such measures take the form of conscious creation, transformation, and deconstruction of some regions of memory.

### **1.5. Assumptions and Research Questions**

In memory politics, history can serve politics as a helpful tool for legitimizing decisions and actions. As mentioned earlier, according to Mariëlle Wijermars, political actors can contextualize their connection to the political entity they seek to represent by indicating a historical analogy between the present and a given historical occurrence. It has been found that the same perceptions that might occur naturally within collectives, because of previous historical experience, can be channeled by political actors in narratives, a template used to legitimize the establishment, their choices, and the direction of the whole nation (King, 2010). One can assume that political elites can set specific claims about history to legitimize policies necessary for the present political needs. The literature analyzed above can be instrumental in delineating the propositions in this ancient Silk Road case study that the narratives of the ancient Silk Road after 2013 serve some political aims, which will form the basis of the present inquiry.

Since the politics of memory aims to orient notions about the shared past towards the endorsement of current policies, a regime may seek to exert as much control as possible over public expressions of collective remembrance. Political statements, state symbols, and holidays are the most salient form of such endeavors. However, depending on the degree of state centrism, state control over memory practices can extend to all spheres of society: education, academic research, museum exhibitions, and journalism (Mariëlle Wijermars, 2018). In addition, according to Maurantonio(2014: 5), though hardly exhaustive, the following categories constitute the dominant sites for memory study in communication scholarship: place, journalism, consumer culture, and new media (Maurantonio, 2014). Therefore, the sites of political memory can be invisible such as education, academic research, consumer culture, new media, and journalism; they can also be the physical places such as museums, memorial halls, and exhibition halls. Through these sites of struggle, we get insight into the stakes involved in the politics of memory as well as their implications for the present. Academic research is the sphere under primary consideration in this research among all the memory sites. As for the question how we study memory politics, as an Israeli cultural

historian Confino (1997) contends, there is no correct method to 'do' memory, the different entry points into memory studies within the field of communication broadly suggest the multiple ways in which rhetorical analyses, discourse analyses, and textual analyses may be brought to bear on different memory sites. Considering that the leading memory site in this research is the academy, this study adopts the content analysis method to conduct the research. More details about the methodology will be explained in the next chapter.

The case of BRI has been chosen because it presents an instance where the connection between memory and historical narratives can be studied closely. This research aims to prove that history serves present and present politics can influence historical narratives. The main research question of this study is how BRI influences the historical narratives of the ancient Silk Road in Chinese academic journals as a politically significant social frame? Three sub-questions were set to help answer the main questions: 1. What are the characteristics of BRI as a social framework? 2. What are the differences of the historical narratives of the ancient Silk Road before and after 2013? 3. How do the ancient Silk Road narratives after 2013 match with the framework of the BRI?

## **2. Methodology**

By combing the Chinese and Western memory research literature, Qian (2015) summarized four types of memory analysis methods: semiotic and textual analysis, oral history and ethnographic analysis, comparative historical analysis, and quantitative analysis. He argued that with strong structuralist and linguistic undertones, the semiotic analysis focuses on investigating the text itself, particularly the language structure. This data collection method is derived from texts, including texts, images, architecture. The textual analysis aims to elucidate the mechanisms behind the occurrence and continuation of memory pairs by examining writings from various historical eras. On the other hand, this study only looks at two periods and compares story variations between them, which is insufficient to explain the mechanics of memory continuity on the old Silk Road. In-depth interviews with interviewees or in-depth anthropological observations of the interviewees are used in oral history and ethnographic analysis to capture and analyze the social history. For data collecting, this style of analysis largely depends on interviews, ethnography, and participant observation (Qian, 2015). However, our research is focused on academic literature rather than oral history. Furthermore, due to geographical, time, and financial restrictions, the researcher was unable

to interview Chinese professors, much less watch them in their daily lives; hence, this approach is not suited for this study. The comparative historical analysis also comes across texts in the acquisition of data, but it concentrates more on historical writings like archives, newspapers, and biographies. However, while including historical literature, the quantity of texts covered in this study is small. Furthermore, this technique primarily employs macro-causal analysis concepts (Qian, 2015). However, the research questions in this study are hypothesis-based and focus on assessing the outcomes rather than researching causal linkages.

After weighing all the options, the researchers opted for a hybrid quantitative and qualitative content analysis research strategy. According to Qian, the quantitative analysis technique in memory research entails primarily using quantitative analysis to understand people's memories of the past. Its primary sources are questionnaires and texts, including materials from new media environments. Content analysis based on specific texts (for example, frequency statistics of the occurrence of specific words or keywords in the text) is a helpful tool for quantitative sharing (Qian, 2015). This study's data is taken from academic literature, which is consistent with this strategy. Although few publications in the current Chinese and Western literature utilize quantitative analysis to examine memory, there are nonetheless effective examples, according to Qian. For example, in 1992, Chinese scholar Jing Jun surveyed 220 junior high school students in rural northwest China, asking them to write down ten famous Chinese historical figures from the Qin Dynasty to the Opium War, and from the Opium War to the founding of the People's Republic of China, and analyzing the students' historical views and knowledge structures accordingly (Jing, 1995). According to Qian, memory research places a greater focus on the routes of interpretation and understanding and the variety of texts and social histories. Therefore investigating memory with a few essential variables would lose some of the research's complexity. Therefore, this study employs a content analysis method that combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

### **2.1. Hybrid Qualitative and Quantitative Content Analysis**

This study employs the content analysis method, which has achieved incredible popularity among social science scholars (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). Content analysis is a research tool for researchers to quantify and analyze the presence, meanings, and relationships of certain words, themes, or concepts by determining the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative data (i.e., text). Data sources could be from interviews,

open-ended questions, field research notes, conversations, advertising, or any occurrence of communicative language such as books, essays, discussions, diaries, newspaper headlines, speeches, media, historical documents (Content analysis, n.d.). Using the content analysis method, researchers can get insights and make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writers, and the context by analyzing for trends, patterns, relationships, similarities, and differences, from the coded content. For example, by evaluating one's language bias or partiality in his interview, researchers can make inferences about the messages within the texts, such as his attitude, identity, and even the educational background surrounding the text. Bernard Berelson (1952:8) defined content analysis from this perspective: "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". In 1952, Bernard Berelson argued that this method is a versatile tool for social science and media researchers. Some scholars adopted it for historical and political research (Lindzey & Aronson, 1968). Moreover, one of the reasons this method was perfectly suitable for this research is that the purpose and object of research are concerned with both history and politics.

Content analysis can be quantitative (focused on counting and measuring) and qualitative (focused on interpreting and understanding). Furthermore, quantitative content analysis begins with a framed hypothesis and coding that has been determined prior to the investigation. These coding categories are directly related to the hypothesis of the researcher. Deductive reasoning is also used in quantitative analysis. Frequency counts and objective examination of these coded frequencies are the focus of quantitative content analysis (Kracauer, 1952). On the other hand, qualitative analysis is concerned with the complexities of hidden interpretations, whereas quantitative analysis is concerned with evident meanings (Kracauer, 1952). In qualitative analysis, patterns are examined more deeply, and the research route may be altered based on the hidden meanings discovered by the researcher. It is deductive and starts with open research questions rather than a hypothesis (Marilyn Domas & Emily E, 2006).

However, quantitative content analysts have been chastised for restricting the content analysis to basic counting and for extending natural science measurement approaches to social science without thoroughly examining their applicability. Quantitative content analysts take a simplistic view of language that ignores the complexities of semiosis, the process of forming

meaning from language (Krippendorff, 2004). For example, Siegfried Kracauer (1952) criticized quantitative analysis, claiming that in order to be more reliable, it oversimplifies complex communications. Qualitative content analyzers, on the other hand, have been chastised for being too impressionistic and insufficiently methodical (Krippendorff, 2004). According to Krippendorff (2004), quantitative and qualitative techniques to content analysis tend to overlap, making it impossible to draw a generalized judgment about which methodology is best. In addition, Siegfried Kracauer(1952) also believed that qualitative and quantitative content analysis "overlap."

In this work, to gain a better insight into the relationship between the historical narratives of the ancient Silk Road and the aims of BRI, the hybrid qualitative and quantitative content analysis method was employed. The quantitative content analysis method was chosen because there is a hypothesis for this research, and the coding categories are designed for the hypothesis. In addition, the qualitative analysis method was also used to solve the problem of oversimplifying complex communications. The frequency of the words is essential. At the same time, I did not get a conclusion only from the simplistic numbers. I check the result numbers firstly and describe the narrative changes according to the statistics. Then I discuss the findings combining the coded texts as well. Eventually, I concluded the qualitative and quantitative analysis results. With the guidance of this kind of methodology, two content analyses in this study were conducted, including section 1 content analysis with two Chinese chairman Xi Jinping's public speeches in 2013 to examine that how BRI social frames was constructed towards the ancient Silk Road; and section 2 content analysis with 42 Chinese scholars' articles, which were published between 2000 to 2020, to answer the main research question.

In content analysis, the text must be coded into manageable code categories for analysis (i.e., "codes") (Content analysis, n.d.), which can be done by hand or by using computer software. Coding by hand is suitable when the number of text is tiny. It is flexible with hand-write memos, whereas there is a danger of making errors, losing data, and difficulties in organizing, managing, and sharing data. With many articles to analyze, computer-assisted (or aided) qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) was used in this research to make it easier to process, store, retrieve, and analyze data. Coding with CAQDAS is speedy and practically without mistakes, improving the validity of the research. However, at the same time, it is

possible to increase pressure on researchers to focus on volume and breadth rather than on depth and meaning, time, and energy spent learning to use computer packages (St John, 2000). The data of this paper was transformed by using MAXQDA software, a research tool for facilitating qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methodologies studies. MAXQDA has several advantages, including working with a wide range of data types, including text documents, which were employed in this study. It also offers a feature that allows analysts to examine how keywords are utilized, which can assist them in grasping the data while looking at the code structure. It also assists in comparing groupings within the data and determining coding correlations, which is ideal for this project. Finally, MAXQDA 11, which was released in 2012, was employed for this research. Although it is not the most recent version or has the most advanced features, it fits all of the study's requirements.

### **2.1.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Content Analysis**

Content analysis, as a research method, has advantages and disadvantages. It can provide valuable historical/cultural insights over time through analysis of historical texts (Writing@CSU, n.d.), especially for documenting trends over time (Content Analysis, n.d.), as well as the insight into complex models of human thought and language use, which means this method perfectly suit for this historical research. Because this research aims to explore the insight of historical narratives trend, which relies on language usage and human thought, with the development of society, and all the texts used and coded are historical. Content analysis will be a more powerful tool when combined with other research methods such as interviews, observation, and archival records. This research was conducted without these enhancements because of living conditions, time limitations, funding shortage, and distance barriers. Content analysis also allows a closeness to data which is the coded form of the text that can be statistically analyzed. Therefore, when done well with trustworthiness, it is considered a relatively "exact" research method (Writing@CSU, n.d.). Content analysis is a readily understood and inexpensive research method, but at the same time, it can be highly time-consuming to learn, do coding, and do analysis.

Content analysis also presents several methodological challenges. It is often devoid of the theoretical base or attempts too liberally to draw meaningful inferences about the relationships and impacts implied in a study (Writing@CSU, n.d.). We do not have this



concern in the research because the research is a deductive study based on the memory politics theory. There is the hypothesis that BRI as the social frame influenced the historical narratives of the ancient Silk Road, and we need confirmations from the study result. Content analysis sometimes is inherently reductive, especially when dealing with complex texts, which is the primary concern of this research. The texts of this study are incredibly complex, and they come from different periods, different authors, different topics, different fields. This study includes two content analyses, and most of the articles have the characteristics of many words, rich content, and diverse topics. Therefore, all the texts were coded, taking the context and meaning into account.

Due to linguistic problems, this study, as a Chinese literature study, may have an impact on coding. In this study, the coding is done with full awareness of context and semantics, with the goal of reducing this impact to a manageable level. Another factor worth mentioning is the challenge of translation when interpreting results. The original Chinese text is translated into English and provided to the reader when the original source is mentioned as support to describe the findings. Perhaps the reader will have concerns about the translation's accuracy. First and foremost, being a native Chinese speaker, the researcher has significant expertise reading Chinese and English. In addition, Appendix E provides all of the articles that were chosen, and readers may compare the original texts using translation software.

### **2.1.2. Trustworthiness: Evaluation of Content Analysis Method**

What criteria are used to evaluate if a content analysis report is efficient enough? Much debate has been about the most appropriate terms (rigor, validity, reliability, trustworthiness) for assessing qualitative research validity (Koch & Harrington, 1998). Researchers have mainly used qualitative criteria when evaluating aspects of validity in content analysis (Kyngäs et al., 2011). Lincoln and Guba (1985) developed the most widely used criteria for evaluating qualitative content analysis. They used the term trustworthiness. Trustworthiness in a qualitative inquiry aims to support the argument that the inquiry's findings are "worth paying attention to" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Satu Elo, a common feature of the criteria is that they aspire to support trustworthiness by reporting the content analysis process accurately, including data collection, analysis, and presentation of the results content analysis

(Elo, 2014). Moreover, it is worthy to declare that all these steps have been shown in this paper.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) have proposed four alternatives to assess qualitative research's trustworthiness: credibility, dependability, conformability, and transferability. In 1994, the authors added a fifth criterion referred to as authenticity. From the perspective of establishing credibility, researchers must ensure that those participating in research are identified and described accurately. The present research article was conducted by a second-year master student studying contemporary Middle Eastern and Asian studies and who has limited experience in using the content analysis method before. However, the research was conducted with the help of two supervisors who has extensive experience in this method. Therefore, the credibility of this research is not extremely low. Dependability refers to the stability of data over time and under different conditions. To improve the dependability, all the data used for this paper has been re-coded, and the results have also been reevaluated. Conformability refers to objectivity, the potential for congruence between two or more independent people about the data's accuracy, relevance, or meaning. There is no need to worry about conformability because there is only one researcher to do this study. Transferability refers to the potential for extrapolation. It relies on the reasoning that findings can be generalized or transferred to other settings or groups. This case study only focuses on the historical narratives about the ancient Silk Road, and we do not think the results of this study can be transferred to other contexts or settings. Therefore, the transferability of this research should not be high. The last criterion, authenticity, refers to the extent to which researchers, fairly and faithfully, show a range of realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Polit & Beck, 2012). This research guarantees high authenticity because the research findings are interpreted under the supervision of one student and two supervisors, and we take care of faith. All the realities will be shown.

## **2.2. Data Resource**

There is no need to explain why this paper's target language is Chinese. All the resources are from the Chinese website. The resources of section 1 are downloaded from the official website of China's Ministry of foreign affairs (<https://www.mfa.gov.cn/>). The aim of section 1 is to find how BRI, as the political, social frames, influenced the narrative of the ancient Silk Road. With this aim, two public speeches of the Chinese chairman Xi Jinping who

launched BRI were selected to conduct content analysis. One of them is Xi's speech at Nazarbayev University (Kazakhstan) on September 7th of 2013, in which he proposed to jointly build the Silk Road Economic Belt (One Belt). Another speech is Xi's speech at the Indonesian Parliament on October 3rd of 2013, in which he proposed to jointly build the 21st century "Maritime Silk Road" (One Road). The speeches were the most influential articles about BRI because in which, the Chinese government first proposed the BRI. These are two speeches where the political framing was established for the memory of the ancient Silk Road and we aim to examine the frames. The results of this step are significant because they determine whether this study is valid or not. If the results do not prove that BRI established social political framing to influence the memory of the ancient Silk Road, then the study is not valid. Of course, the results were positive when this paper appeared and the results will be described in chapter 4.

The articles of section 2 are downloaded from CNKI by a master's student at the Renmin University of China. Section 2 is the central part of this paper. The research object of section 2 is the historical narratives of the Silk Road by Chinese scholars according to the central question of this research. Therefore, the selected articles in this paper are from the Chinese literature database, China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI), which is a knowledge project of the People's Republic of China and has formed the most prominent website with a China monopoly position, which integrates all kinds of full-text academic information. CNKI is China's largest and most influential database with monopoly status, so it is the only choice for this study.

This study eventually chose all the literature resources from the CNKI data platform, considering its comprehensive subject coverage, large database memory, and authority. Because this is a comparison research, I chose academic journals from 2000 to 2020 based on the type of literature, volume, and year of publication in order to balance the two sets of data. As a result, the study data in this work excludes all other sorts of publications, including papers, conference reports, newspapers, yearbooks, and so on, and instead concentrates solely on academic journals. When looking for Chinese-language literature that focuses solely on the ancient Silk Road, 27 academic journals were published before 2013, while the number of academic journals published after 2013 was 99. It is also noticeable that after 2013, more resources have shown up in the Silk Road research than before. This paper is a comparative

study, so the maximum number of articles used is 27 because this is the biggest number of articles about the ancient Silk Road before 2013. In addition, because of the irresistible factors in the process of literature collection, such as not supporting download or file format does not support coding, this number decreased to 21. Then another 21 articles about the ancient Silk Road, published after 2013, were chosen according to the citation, correlation, and download volume. Therefore, 42 articles samples are used eventually. The data set is constructed from 42 Chinese ancient Silk Road-related articles from 2000 to 2020; 21 were published from 2000 to 2013 and 21 from 2014 to 2020. The 21 articles published from 2014 to 2020 were selected according to the citation rank. Data analysis was carried out after content analysis research methods coded the selected literature. (see Appendix E)

### 2.3. Steps of Content Analysis

From the perspective of validity, it is important to report how the results were created. Readers should be able to follow the analysis and resulting conclusions (Schreier, 2012). This study conducted two mixed qualitative and quantitative content analyses involving the following steps:

#### 1. Selection of communication content and sample

Table 1 *Sample for Content Analysis*

Section 1
The content includes the text that related to the ancient Silk Road in the two speeches from Xi in which he proposed to jointly build “One Belt One Road”.
Section 2
The content includes 42 articles are journals that were surveyed from January 2000 to December 2020 under the ancient Silk Road on CNKI. Moreover, the articles were selected according to the citation number rank, 21 articles from 2000-2012 as the first group and 21 from 2014-2020 as the second group. The articles list is shown in Appendix E.

#### 2. Define the units and categories of analysis

Content categories flow from the research question and are anchored in a review of relevant literature and related studies. Developing the category system to classify the body of the text is the heart of content analysis. We should make sure that categories were clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and the content (Berelson, 1971). Category construction can

be seen as a pilot study to identify the categories to which material can be coded. The researchers first read the target article 2 to 3 times and then marked the text related to the ancient Silk Road as the target text. Then, after reading the target text three times, the categories are preliminarily determined. The categories were finally determined combined with the research problems, and the categories are continuously improved in the coding process. The categories are shown in *Table 2*.

Table 2 *Categories and the Definitions of the Categories*

Section	Categories	Definition
Section 1	Topic	The topics that Xi addressed in the target text when he is talking about ancient Silk Road.
	Time	The period that Xi addressed in the target text when he is talking about ancient Silk Road.
	Space	The geographic areas that Xi addressed in the target text when he is talking about ancient Silk Road.
	the Ancient Silk Road	Do coding when Xi directly mentioned ancient Silk Road.
	Silk Road Economic Belt	Do coding when Xi directly mentioned Silk Road Economic Belt.
	Maritime Silk Road	Do coding when Xi directly mentioned Maritime Silk Road.
Section 2	Definition	The target text describes the Silk Road's nature, the time of its establishment, and the areas covered.
	Silk Road type	Which specific Silk Road is described in the target text?
	Topic	All the topics covered by the target text.
	Attitude	The emotional words and sentences in the target text, such as glory, prosperity, depression, promotion, and hindrance.
	Geography focus	The geography focus area studied by the target text.
	Dynasty	The Chinese dynasties that the research period addressed in the target text.
	The influence of the ancient Silk Road	The words and sentences that talk about the influence of the ancient Silk Road in the target text.

Das (2017) stated that the categories must be exhaustive so that units fit in the appropriate category. Also, one unit is much possible belongs to over one category. This rule suits this research very much. For example, a sentence with emotional words describing the influence

of the ancient Silk Road may be coded twice in two categories, "Attitude" and "The influence of the ancient Silk Road," which is also a preparation for analyzing the scholars' evaluation of the ancient Silk Road.

### **3. Develop a set of rules for coding**

Coding rules are usually important if multiple researchers are involved. Although there is only one person to do the coding, it is important to clearly define the rules for what will and will not be included to ensure that all texts are coded consistently. There are several rules for coding.

A. All the coded text is relevant to the ancient Silk Road.

B. Recheck the text which was coded last time.

C. The coding system is hierarchical and details can be found in Appendix F.

D. For the code "Geography focus,": the ancient place names in the text should be replaced by modern place names.

E. For the code "Dynasty": when the era of A.D. appears, it is replaced by the dynasty of China at the same time.

F. For the code "Attitude": coding based on context and semantics. For example, the words like promoting, facilitating, and enhancing are classified as positive, whereas negative words like obstructing, hindering, blocking, and disadvantages.

### **4. Analyzing the collected data and drawing conclusions**

After coding was completed, the collected data was examined in response to my research question, which gave direction to data analysis, the patterns to be examined, and the relationships to be explored. Statistical analysis was used to predict trends, interpret the meaning of the result, and make inferences about the creators, context, and audience of the texts. As previously indicated, qualitative analysis was employed to address the issue of oversimplifying complex communications. The findings were examined, and a conclusion was reached by combining qualitative and quantitative examination of the coded texts.

This research aim and the main research question were kept in mind throughout assessing this research. All units analyzed in this study are shown in the appendix (see Appendix F). Then the finding will be presented in the fourth chapter.

### **3. The Ancient Silk Road and "Belt and Road" Initiative: Background Information**

#### **3.1. The Ancient Silk Road**

Silk Road is the first mentioned by the German Empire geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen Baron in 1877, who published a five-volume atlas set (Lewei & Sen, 2015). Although the ancient Silk Road image is the latest product in the mid-19th Century (1877), the Silk Road itself began being constructed in the 2nd century B.C. when merchants and explorers discovered the passage from China to Europe and the Middle East. Among many commodities on this road, silk is the most essential and fundamental trading product, so this road is called the Silk Road. It was the beginning of establishing central and western Asia (Neal & Williamson, 2014). Scholars of China's Han dynasty have recorded the Silk Road's beginning, and the alliance negotiated with the northern nomadic tribes for security reasons (Peters, 2019). At first, the silk road was opened up by Zhang Qian's diplomatic mission to the western regions in the Western Han Dynasty. It started from Chang'an (Xi'an, China), passed through Gansu and Xinjiang, then passed through Central Asia, and reached the Western Asian countries as far as possible. In the Eastern Han Dynasty, Ban Chao sent another mission to the western regions, opened up the long-time abandoned Silk Road, and extended the east end of the route to Luoyang, the Eastern Han Dynasty's capital, the west end to Europe (Rome). The Silk Road's primary route was completed in the Han Dynasty, including the South Road, the middle road, and the North Road (Qun, 2014). This road is also known as the "Land Silk Road" to distinguish the other two transportation routes with the name "Silk Road." The Silk Road is not a fixed link but has a history of more than 2000 years, so its composition is highly complex. According to the route, there are Land Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road.

#### **A. Land Silk Road**

The geographical landscape of the areas where the Land Silk Road passes is very different. People subdivide it into "Northern Grassland Forest Silk Road," "Northern Desert Oasis Silk Road," and "Southern Alpine Canyon Silk Road." The Land Silk Road also can be divided into "Northern Silk Road" and "Southern Silk Road" because of different geographical directions.(see Appendix A)

#### **B. Maritime Silk Road**

The Maritime Silk Road refers to the "maritime channel for foreign trade and cultural exchanges in ancient China" (Yingyan, 2014). "Although the Maritime Silk Road is named because of silk, China's famous ceramics and tea are also sold worldwide through the Maritime Silk Road. Therefore, 'Maritime Silk Road' is also known as 'Maritime Ceramic Road' (Weigang& Jiaojiang, 2015) and 'Maritime Tea Road' (Shangji & Guiling, 2015). The significance of the Maritime Silk Road had gradually declined after the Opium War broke out in 1840, making China lose the autonomy of foreign trade and tariffs (Shangji & Guiling, 2015). Starting from the coast of China, the Maritime Silk Road is divided into three major routes to reach Asia, Europe, and Africa (Hanchun, Yitao & Xiaochun, 2018) (see Appendix B).

### **3.2. "Belt and Road" Initiative**

In 2013, China's Chairman Xi Jinping announced to build up the "Silk Road Economic Belt" (belt) and "Maritime Silk Road in 21st Century" (road), and this project is called "BRI (Belt and Road Initiative)." This initiative, which borrowed the historical symbols of the ancient Silk Road, is committed to jointly building trade routes, promoting policy coordination among Asian, European, and African countries, infrastructure connectivity, investment and trade cooperation, financial integration, cultural exchanges, and regional cooperation(Hui, Charlene, Marco, & Anna, 2018).

The BRI is introduced as a "New Silk Road" initiative based on the Silk Road network, focusing mainly on establishing connectivity and cooperation among China and the E.U. (Bozika, 2018). What is more, the launch of BRI is not an accident. According to Qun (2014), the ancient Silk Road has existed for more than two thousand years, rising and falling by dynasties. The vicissitudes of the ancient Silk Road can be summarized as follows: the Western Han Dynasty (119-2 B.C.), Sui and Tang Dynasties (581-907 AD), Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368 AD) belong to the prosperous and smooth period; the ancient Silk Road was relatively desolate and quiet in the dynasties of the Eastern Han Dynasty, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties (from the beginning of ad to the late 6th Century), and the Five Dynasties ( including Liao, Jin, Xia, which around the first half of the 10th Century to the second half of the 13th Century) and until the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368-1910). From the above context, we can find that, on the whole, despite the prosperity and long continuity in history until 14th Century, the ancient Silk Road was weakened in several recent centuries,



although there were some short-term recoveries in these periods. After World War II in the 20th Century, especially during the cold war, the world was in a split state because of political camps' opposition. Under such circumstances, the threat of war, economic sanctions, and political oppression have become the world's mainstream. Chan (2018) stated that the ancient Silk Road era's globalized trade system would possibly have a chance to revive only after the end of the Cold War, which could offer the breakdown of century-old overland barriers. However, it had again had to wait for decades to pass through the initial pains of political and economic restoration among many countries affected to see the ancient project to realize in the twenty-first Century.

Although the ancient Silk Road has been silent for many years, many countries have not given up on tapping the ancient Silk Road's potential and creating more possibilities. Just in 2011, Eurasian strategists were bullish on America's New Silk Road strategy, which set Afghanistan as the center to integrate further into the region by resuming traditional trading routes and reconstructing significant infrastructure links broken by decades of conflict. (U.S. Department of State, n.d.) At that time, China was just a spectator. In contrast, the U.S. General, Dave Petraeus, and his teammate at the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) were in the front and center, trying to create an inclusive New Silk Road strategy with a series of plans for infrastructure that would go through Afghanistan and turn enemies into friends and aid into the trade. Furthermore, these actions would promote shared prosperity and collective security (Economonitor, 2017). However, behind the scenes, the policy was started to change when General James Mattis replaced Petraeus and was the CENTCOM Commander. By 2013, Mattis had zeroed out the funding for the New Silk Road project at CENTCOM. China turned the tables on America by filling this gap with the Chinese version of the New Silk Road project, called the "Belt and Road Initiative."

In contrast to America surrendering its New Silk Road strategy, China committed itself to a \$1.4 trillion New Silk Road plan. To finance this commitment, Beijing created a New Silk Road Bank and an Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (Economonitor, 2017). China has signed the "BRI" cooperation documents with 138 countries and 31 international organizations as of November 2020 (Xinhua News, 2020).

BRI, which was initially proposed by the Chinese paramount leader Xi Jinping in 2013 and authorized by the State Council in 2015, forms one of China's significant plans that focuses on connection and cooperation among Asia, Europe, and Africa continent (see Appendix C). It consists of two main components (Top China Travel, 2021): the Silk Road Economic Belt, which is also referred to as "Belt" in short, is envisioned routes that will connect China to Europe, West Asia, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, South Asia, and the Indian Ocean; the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road which is also referred to as "Road" in short, is expected to establish economic connections and cooperation among East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe along the Maritime Silk Road. The BRI project is also structured upon six economic corridors of infrastructure development, designed so as to drive economic growth in some of China's surrounding nations (see Appendix D). Because the BRI is constructed based on the ancient Silk Road, the BRI's target area structure should be based on the territories traversed by the Silk Road. As a result, the BRI's geographical region may be used as part of the framework for studying the ancient Silk Road.

The economic development of many countries and regions has slowed down or stagnated since the world financial crisis in 2008. China's government emphasizes that the BRI helps construct more security and more efficient infrastructure with the principle of "cooperation, co-construction and sharing," striving to build a higher level of land, sea, and air communication network along the line. Meanwhile, the initiative will also help enhance the degree of investment and trade facilitation in the relevant areas to establish a high-quality and high-standard free trade zone network. The mutual coordination and penetration of transportation networks and trade networks will make a closer economic tie of countries along with the line, deeper political mutual trust, and broader human cultural exchanges (Chohan, 2017). The BRI also aims to enhance regional cooperation by enhancing political confidence and broadening and developing humanistic relationships, in addition to strengthening economic ties. In addition to strengthening economic links, the BRI also intends to foster regional cooperation by increasing political confidence and expanding and deepening humanistic contacts.

Because the BRI is constructed based on the ancient Silk Road, the BRI's target area structure should be based on the territories traversed by the Silk Road. As a result, the BRI's

geographical region may be used as part of the framework for studying the ancient Silk Road. Furthermore, the goals of the many features that the BRI aspires to fulfill might serve as a foundation for researching the Ancient Silk Road. In Chapter 4, you'll learn more about the BRI framework towards the ancient Silk Road studies.

#### 4. Results and Discussion

In this section, the results of the two content analysis will be presented and the comparison of the narratives of the ancient Silk Road before and after 2013 will be analyzed. In this context, the research findings of the second content analysis were given in terms of years and coding system. The frequency and percentage results were tabulated and interpreted.

##### 4.1. BRI as Social Frame

As we mentioned before, the collective memory was established in a social framework, and thus social frames can influence the memory-making process for certain aims. To find the connection between BRI as the significant social frame and the ancient Silk Road, a mixed qualitative and quantitative content analysis of two of Xi's speeches was conducted. The results can be seen in *Table 3*.

Table 3. *The coding system and results of Xi Jinping's speech to the Indonesian parliament*

Code System	Maritime Silk Road	Topic	Space		Time	Ancient Silk Road relevant text
		Transportation	ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations)	China	Han Dynasty	
Times	2	2	5	4	1	3 (accounts for 3.33% of whole speech)

Table 4. *The coding system and results of Xi's speech at the Nazarbayev University*

Code System	Silk Road Economic Belt	Topic						Space			Time		Ancient Silk Road	Ancient Silk Road relevant text
		Academy	National hero	Technique	Tourism	Diplomacy	Business	Asia		Europe	1941 War time(Eastern Front)	Han Dynasty		
								Central Asia	China					
Times	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	6	8	4	1	1	6	6(accounts for 28.38% of whole speech)

As we can see from the above two tables, the content analysis results showed that in Xi's speech in Indonesia, there is 3.33% text of the whole speech is about the ancient Silk Road, while the number is 28.38% in another speech, almost one-third of the whole speech. We can not deny that speech will influence people's memory about the ancient Silk Road with so many narratives. Among the text, he directly mentioned "Maritime Silk Road" twice and the "ancient Silk Road" 6 times. The only topic of transportation is addressed when he talked about Maritime Silk Road. Meanwhile, the topics are more diverse when he mentions the Land ancient Silk Road. In both two speeches, He pointed out the significance of the Han dynasty, and it was the dynasty that the ancient Silk Road was established in. When he talked about the ancient Silk Road in the speeches, Central Asia, Europe, ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) region, and China are the main areas mentioned. Furthermore, these areas are also the most significant parts of BRI.

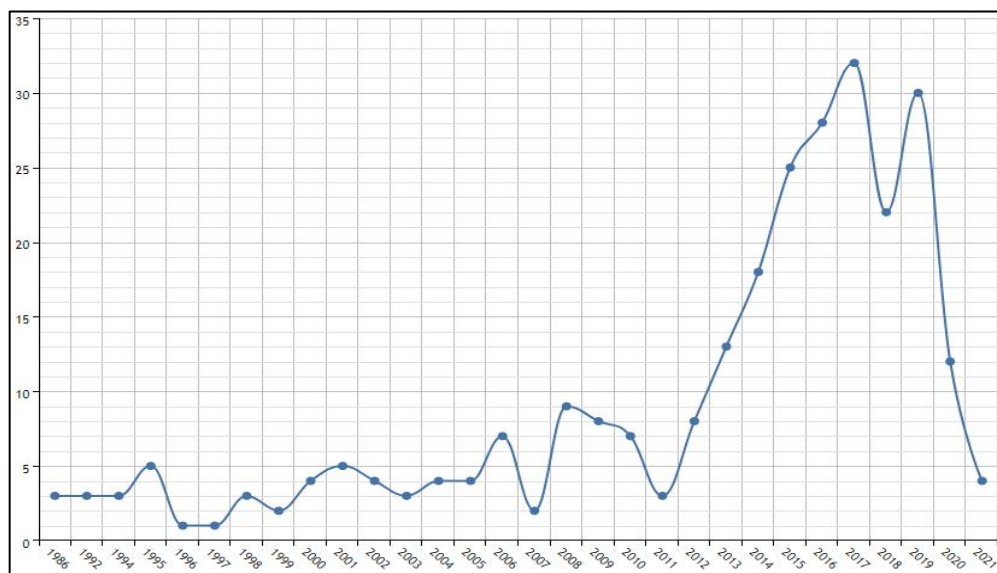


Figure 1. Annual trend chart of "the ancient Silk Road" literature publication

Source: CNKI

In addition, as mentioned earlier, the number of published Silk Road-themed papers on the Silk Road dramatically increased after 2013. According to Chinese scholar Nan Zhang (2020), between 2015 and 2017, around 600 Silk Road relevant articles have been published annually, six times as many as the cumulative from 1967 to 2002. What is more, it is even almost 30 times as many as the annual number before 2013. But it should be pointed out that not all the articles are about the ancient Silk Road. Most articles discuss the new Silk Road, and that is why we can only use 42 articles for ancient Silk Road historical narratives study. However,

the BRI's massive influence on Chinese academic writing can still be seen. Then we'll concentrate on the literature devoted just to the ancient Silk Road. This paper researched the publishing situation of the relevant articles from annual numbers. It can be seen from *Figure 1* that before 2013, the literature published was stable, and the amount of publication was small, while the publishing numbers after 2013 are much more than before. The situation after 2013, however, has more dramatic ups and downs. Besides, it is undeniable that the sudden negligible decline of the number of papers after 2019 could result from the COVID-19 epidemic.

It is clear from the above content analysis that the BRI has shaped the social frame that has influenced the memory of the historical Silk Road. This influence can be seen in the academic study when combined with the published Silk Road literature on CNKI. In addition to simply demonstrating the impact of BRI on the ancient Silk Road literature through quantitative analysis, this paper presents a qualitative analysis of those two speeches of Xi Jinping to describe a more precise BRI framework.

In both speeches, Xi underlined the importance of the Han Dynasty. "More than 2,100 years ago, on a mission of peace and friendship, Zhang Qian of China's Han Dynasty.....opened up the Silk Road that bridged East and West and united Europe and Asia," he stated. "The people of the two nations overcame the difficulties of the sea and opened the doors of contact more than 2,000 years ago, during the Han Dynasty in China." One thing to keep in mind is that these phrases pointed out that China had extensive land and maritime interactions with the rest of the globe at the same time. By resemblance to today's BRI, it was also at this time when land and sea parallels brought China closer to the rest of the globe. As a result, the Han Dynasty plays a larger role here than the literal description of the Silk Road's origins, which emphasizes on the parallelism of land and sea over the same time period. Furthermore, the two speeches are held at a unique place. The primary regions of China's international interactions via land and sea were Central Asia and Southeast Asia, and both these two regions are geographically China's "neighbors," and the Belt and Road Initiative stresses border nations and neighboring regions, as previously stated.

Xi mentioned in his speech in Kazakhstan, "A history of over two thousand years of interaction demonstrates that countries of various races, faiths, and cultural backgrounds can

fully share peace and develop together as long as there is unity and mutual trust, equality and mutual benefit, tolerance and mutual appreciation, and win-win cooperation. The ancient Silk Road has given us with this invaluable inspiration." This sentence suggests that Xi was travelling backward, seeking for proof of the BRI's legitimacy in history. By examining and summarizing the ancient Silk Road's development experiences, Xi was establishing a historical foundation for the BRI. Unity and mutual trust, equality and shared benefit, tolerance and mutual appreciation, and win-win collaboration are all examples of historical experiences. In four areas: diplomacy, national security, economic growth, and regional cooperation, Xi detailed how to "advance new forms of mutually beneficial collaboration between China and Eurasian nations to unprecedented historical heights." Following that, Xi proposed the formation of the "Silk Road Economic Belt," which clearly resulted in the "ancient Silk Road" reaching a new historical height. Furthermore, the major focus was on economic development. He then went on to explain how the Silk Road Economic Belt may be built in five areas: policy communication, road connection, easy commerce, currency circulation, and people-to-people engagement. In his speech in Indonesia, Xi underlined the significance of economic development. "China is eager to improve the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area," he added. "China is eager to deepen maritime cooperation with ASEAN nations, make full use of the Chinese government's China-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation Fund, create maritime partnerships, and work together to build the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road." This excerpt was from the same part on how to create a China-ASEAN community of destiny and insist on win-win collaboration. Xi also discussed the formation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in the same part. Xi was highlighting the economic growth benefits of the ancient Silk Road. In order to promote economic development, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank was founded when the New Silk Road was established.

In both speeches, Xi emphasized the need of cross-regional people-to-people contacts. "To maintain the tree of China-ASEAN friendship evergreen, the dual relationship's social soil must be solidified," he said, adding that "more encounters, deeper sentiments, hearts and minds may be closer." "The intimacy of people is the foundation of national friendship." "The people of China and Kazakhstan are like hands and feet to one other." In addition, he provided several examples of people-to-people interactions. He related the story of the son of a Chinese man from Xinjiang and a Kazakh woman who returned to Kazakhstan after 55 years to visit his mother and the story of the Kazakh student who donated blood to Chinese.

He also presented some instances of people-to-people encounters during his speech in Indonesia. For example, in Hangzhou, China, elderly people donated money to people in tsunami-affected areas in Indonesia, while in Wenchuan, China, Indonesians donated products to people in earthquake-affected areas. Xi devoted a lot of space in his speech to these stories, emphasizing the importance of people's support.

Xi also continued emphasizing the "new" throughout his speeches, making statements like "the relationship between China and ASEAN is standing at a new historical beginning point." "The ancient Silk Road is reviving, and new kinds of mutually beneficial collaboration between China and Eurasian nations are reaching new historical heights." Before there is a new, there is a "old." The terms "old" and "new" allude to the ancient Silk Road and the new Silk Road, or BRI, respectively, with the ancient Silk Road assisting in the creation of the new Silk Road.

In summary, Xi's speeches looked at the historical foundations for the BRI by reflecting back and forward, as well as the "revelations" brought forth by the ancient Silk Road. The geographical region's scope is one of the most essential of these foundations. The center was Central Asia and Southeast Asia, which stretched in all directions: north to Russia, east to the Korean Peninsula and Japan, west to Europe, and south to South Asia and Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the ancient Silk Road's development experience should not be overlooked. In addition, the experience of the development of the ancient Silk Road should not be ignored. With economic development as the centerpiece, it radiates to political diplomacy and policy, national security, cultural engagement, and regional cooperation. However, Xi believed that all these goals cannot be achieved without the support of the people. The foundation for attaining the goals is a strong public and social base. In this way, the framework of BRI for the ancient Silk Road has been established. In the next section, we go through the specific characteristics of the impact of BRI on academic research.

#### **4.2. Results of the Main Content Analysis**

In this section, the results of the second content analysis which is also the main part of this paper will be presented and discussed. The results show how the narratives of the ancient Silk Road has changed since 2013.

### 4.2.1.Changes in the Conceptual Narrative of the Ancient Silk Road

Before we can compare the changes of the concept of the ancient Silk Road, we must first figure out which Silk Road that the Chinese scholars are talking about. We know that the ancient Silk Road was not a single, east-west road, but rather a wide notion made up of multiple roadways linked together. As a result, different academics may pick one or more of these study options. The precise object of researchers' research is the first thing we want to examine at.

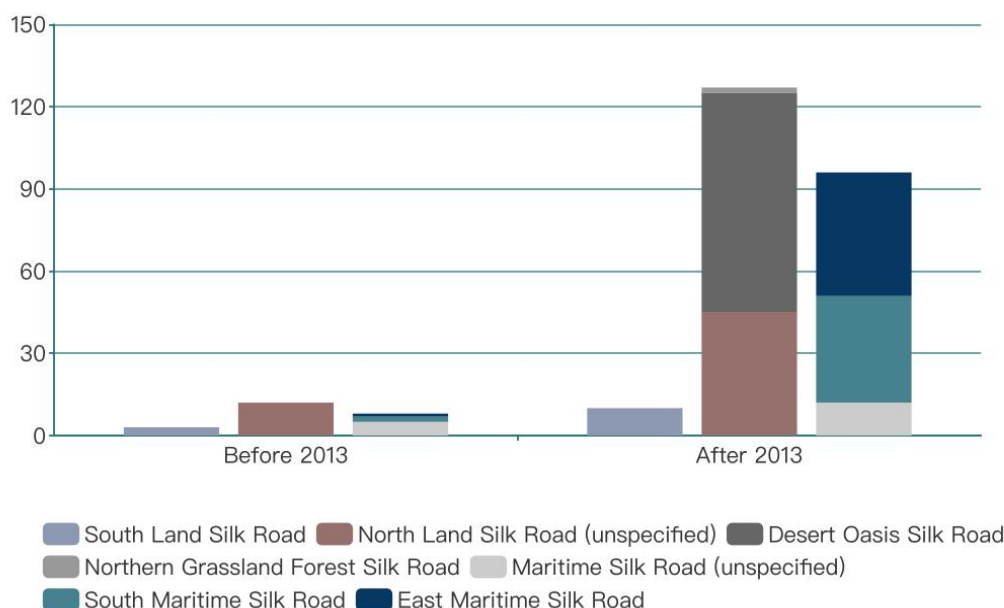


Figure 2. Coding results of category “Silk Road type”

Note: There are two sets of graphs in the figure, before 2013 and after 2013. Each set of diagrams consists of three bars. The three bars from left to right represent the South Land Silk Road, the North Land Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road, respectively. The North Land Silk Road consists of the Desert Oasis Silk Road and the Northern Grassland Silk Road. The Maritime Silk Road is composed of the South Maritime Silk Road and the East Maritime Silk Road. The "unspecified" in the legend indicates that the article analyzed does not specify which part of the ancient Silk Road it is, but only mentioned the North Land Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road.

When we look at *Figure 2*, we will find that there are more types of Silk Road were studied after 2013, which means scholars have distinguished the Silk Road in more detail at this time. Before 2013, it did not expressly point out the difference between the Dessert Oasis Silk



Road and Northern Grassland Silk Road, and this is the reason why we coded it as the North Land Silk Road. After 2013, the North Land Silk Road research increased sharply, and scholars began to divide the North Land Silk Road into two, Desert Oasis Silk Road and Northern Grassland Silk Road. Significantly, the researches focus on the Northern Desert Oasis Silk Road far more than the Northern Grassland Silk Road. What we find when comparing the two sets of data is that what has not changed is the main target of the study. Both before and after 2013, the North Land Road Silk Road has been in the first place of the research subjects, followed by the Maritime Silk Road and the South Land Silk Road. At the same time, the research on the Maritime Silk Road, including both South and East Maritime Silk Road, is increasing dramatically as well.

Hu Chunyan, from the Party School of the CPC Qingdao Municipal Committee, argued that there is a "lack of awareness of the historical value and importance of the "Jiao Dong Peninsula - Korea - Japan" as the ancient Eastern Maritime Silk Road". And that there is a misconception that "Qingdao, as a modern port city, has a certain foundation to be integrated into the Maritime Silk Road, while there is no obvious locational advantage in connecting to the Silk Road Economic Belt." And she "suggested systematically excavating and protecting the humanities and historical values of Qingdao as the intersection of the ancient Silk Road, widely promoting it, strengthening knowledge dissemination, and incorporating humanities and historical research results into relevant "Belt and Road" planning programs."

What is more, to discuss about the concept of ancient Silk Road, narratives about the nature of the ancient Silk Road could be an important part of the study. From there, we can explore how scholars view their research subjects. According to *Figure 3*, we find that the portrayal of the ancient Silk Road's contribution to transportation overtakes the emphasis on economics and becomes its dominant nature after 2013. In addition, scholars have begun to place much greater emphasis on its role as a cultural exchange route than they did before 2013. It also shows that after 2013, compared to before 2013, Chinese scholars have extended the narrative of the nature of the ancient Silk Road. Some researchers claim that, in addition to being a transportation route, an economic road, and a cultural road, the ancient Silk Road was also a scientific and technological road, as well as a military road. Despite the fact that this story does not emerge very often, it requires special attention. Pei (2017:192) said, "Because

Zhang Qian's communication with the western regions was mainly for military and diplomatic purposes...It should be called or 'military road 'because Zhang Qian was an official, not a businessman, and never sold silk." This passage emphasizes the original use of the ancient Silk Road in terms of its establishment and the identity of the diplomatic emissaries who established it to serve diplomatic and military purposes. Chen (2017:107) writes that "the Silk Road can also be called "the road of scientific and technological diffusion and intersection", and the Western region was the ancient Silk Road an important field of scientific and technological and cultural exchanges along the route. The author argues that the exchange of science and technology between the Central Plains and the West in ancient times was opened with the opening of the Silk Road." Chen characterizes the ancient Silk Road in terms of its role and impact on the development of science and technology. We find that very different conclusions can be drawn when looking at the same thing from different perspectives, and we cannot deny that none of these perspectives is "wrong". And this may be employed effectively in memory construction to achieve certain objectives.

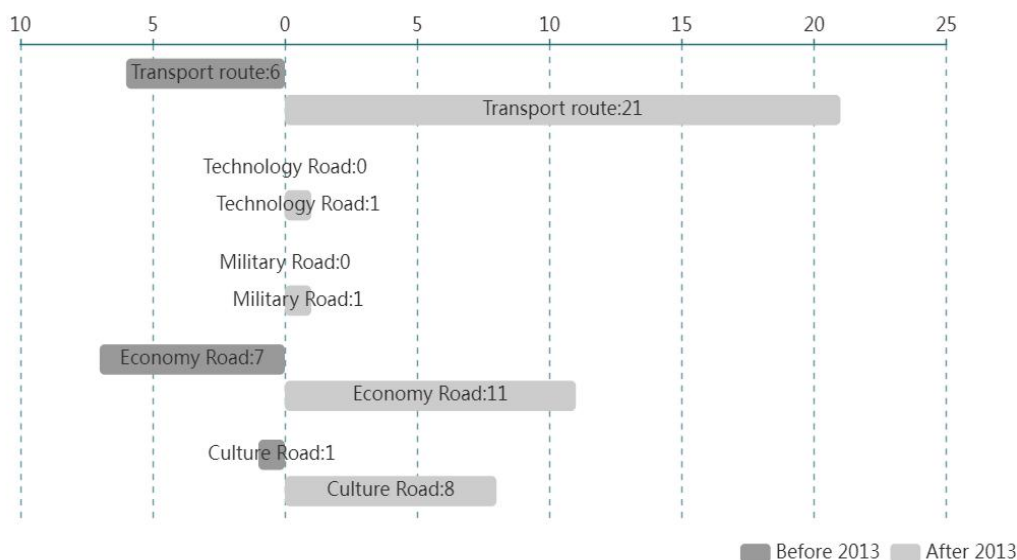


Figure 3. Coding results of “The nature of ancient Silk Road”

It is worth mentioning that both before and after 2013, scholars believed that the ancient Silk Road is the most significant transport connection between the East and the West, then the importance of the ancient Silk Road in economic and cultural development was also stressed. In addition, we found that the coding results is consistent with BRI aims. As mentioned in the

background chapter, BRI is committed to jointly building trade routes, promoting policy coordination among Asian, European, and African countries, infrastructure connectivity, investment and trade cooperation, financial integration, cultural exchanges, and regional cooperation (Hui, Charlene, Marco, & Anna, 2018). From which firstly, we can see the significance of transportation because “building routes” is the first aim of BRI. We can also see that both economic construction and cultural construction are essential themes of BRI.

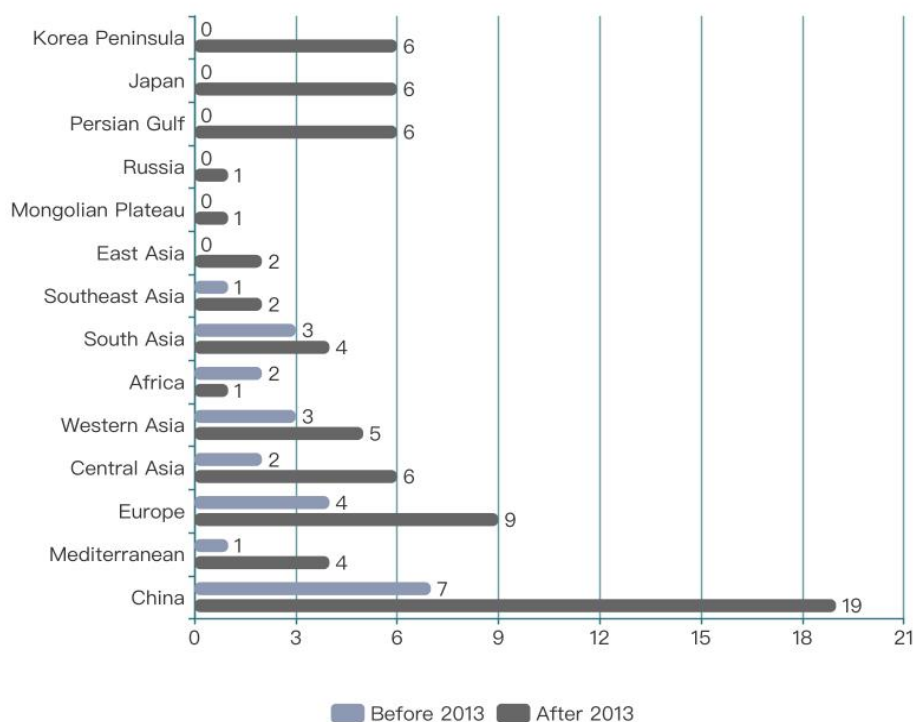


Figure 4. Coding results of category “geographical description”

Note: The units show the nature and geographical areas of the ancient Silk Road. During coding, the researcher transforms ancient place names into modern place names according to their locations.

When talking about the concept of the ancient Silk Road, it is necessary to mention its geographical definition as well. From Figure 4, we can see that before 2013, when scholars gave the geographical definition of the ancient Silk Road, the description covered China, West Asia, Central Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe, the east coast of Africa, and South Asia and Southeast Asia. After 2013, the scope of related geographical description has been

expanded, including the Persian region to the west, Mongolian Plateau, some areas of Russia to the north, and East Asia, including the Korean Peninsula and Japan to the East.

We can see that the Chinese researchers are creating a larger and more detailed image of the ancient Silk Road by combining the results displayed in the three figures above. In their geographical narratives, the scope of the ancient Silk Road is expanding. After 2013, the geographical description of the ancient Silk Road would expand to Northeast Asia, in addition to West Asia, Central Asia, and Europe, the traditional territories of the ancient Silk Road. This might be linked to a scholar's more specialized study topics. For example, When the number of East Maritime Silk Road research increases, narratives about geographical definitions are more likely to expand, which might explain why the story includes the Korean Peninsula and Japan. We cannot ignore the BRI reason as well, and it could also be the result of political reasons. It is clear that the more comprehensive geographical cover will increase the influence of BRI. As shown in *Figure 4*, the definition of ancient Silk Road is expanding to Northeast Asia, including Japan, Korean Peninsula, and Mongolia. It is essential to point out the fact that many countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, and West Asia have joined the BRI proves that when almost all of Asia are keen on BRI, the response of Northeast Asia to BRI is relatively calm. Chinese scholars believe that China presents Northeast Asia as an unnatural "uncooperative" condition lacking political trust necessary for a more natural state of an institutionalized political framework for multilateral energy relations. Trust would allow for the formation of an Energy Community between China and its neighbors. This Energy Community could be used to promote the BRI (Yang, 2017). Chinese researchers have argued that the energy channels and infrastructure proposed by the BRI can resolve the problem of Northeast Asian regional energy cooperation. China has promoted the BRI to incorporate the Asian Super Grid and give China a leadership position in Northeast Asian energy. However, it is not clear whether other Northeast Asian countries would support that effort or not (Gaye, 2018).

#### **4.2.2. Space and Time**

We have analyzed the research focus of Chinese scholars in terms of space and time. From *Figure 5*, we can see that the difference in the number of codes for domestic and foreign studies in China has widened since 2013, implying that Chinese scholars have focused more

on studying the manifestations of the ancient Silk Road in domestic regions since 2013, with Xinjiang, Gansu, and Shanxi (Xian) being important research regions. Scholars have focused more on Central Asia and Europe outside of China.

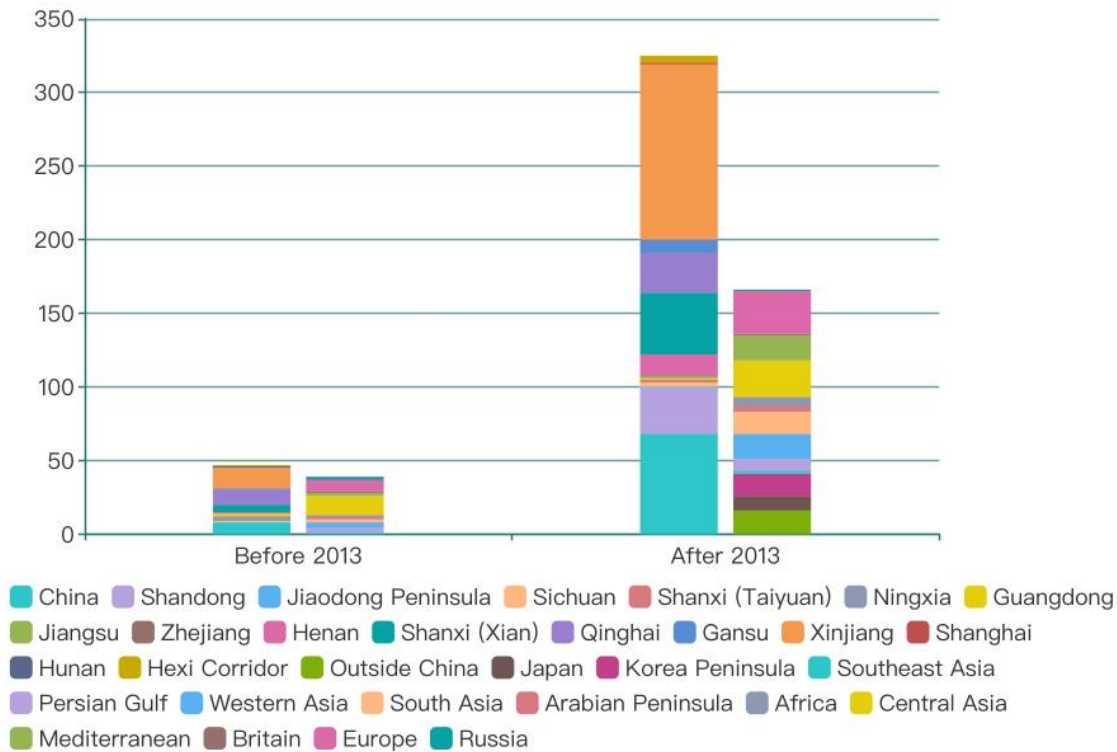


Figure 5. Coding results of "Geography area focus"

*Note:* The units show the areas that the texts are talking about both inside and out of China. During coding, the researcher transforms ancient place names into modern place names according to their locations. When translated into English, two provinces in China have the same name, so the names of their capital cities are indicated for distinction.

Furthermore, we discover that after 2013, researchers have access to a broader and more thorough spectrum of research focus, both inside and beyond China. Domestically, the research focus extends from the traditional Silk Road center, such as the Central Plains of China and Xinjiang to the East to Shandong, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang Provinces, to Shanxi (Taiyuan) and Qinghai Province to the West. When we look at abroad, compared with previous studies on the Mediterranean, Britain, Europe, Russia, the scope of research after 2013 has gradually expanded, increasing the research on the East Asia region. As mentioned earlier, this should be related to the increased researches on the East Maritime Silk Road after

2013, such as the studies on Shandong, China, Korean Peninsula, and Japan. Moreover. Due to the increasing concern for the Desert Oasis Silk Road, the related regional research also increased, such as Shanxi and Qinghai Province.

We should notice that a fundamental goal of BRI is to solve unbalanced development between the East and the west of China. Jiangsu and Zhejiang are not traditional areas of discussion on the land or maritime silk road. However, combining the research of these two areas with the ancient Silk Road, to a certain extent, can be "reasonably" included in the BRI target areas to realize the transmission of economic resources along the Silk Road Economic Belt. From the perspective of external regional research, East Asia has become an emerging research area after 2013. We also mentioned in the last discovery that East Asia has always been difficult achieving close cooperation plans due to mutual distrust among countries, and Chinese scholars seem to think that BRI is an excellent answer to enhance energy cooperation in the region. Thus, both the traditional central region of ancient Silk Road studies, i.e. western China, and its expansion direction, i.e. East Asia, coincide with the BRI target regions.

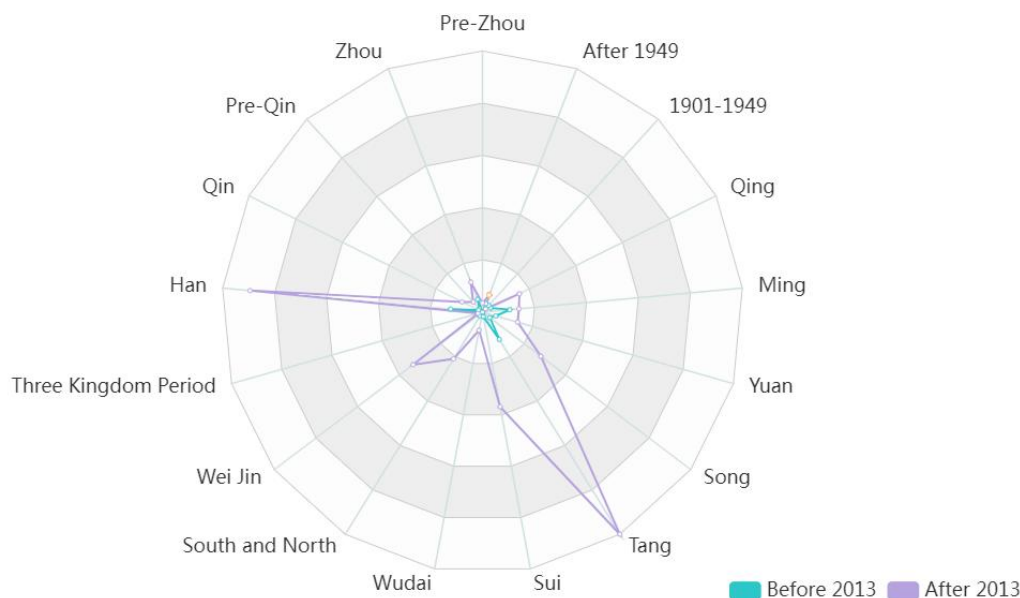


Figure 6. Coding results of category “Dynasty”

Note: The units show the time that the texts are talking about. During the process of coding, the researchers converted the time of AD to the Chinese dynasties.

When we shift the topic to time, as shown in *Figure 6*, it is evident that the narratives' scope of the relevant time is more expansive than before, and the era is more specific when we already know that the geographical coverage of the ancient Silk Road research is broader and more specific. When the regional research is more detailed, the narratives distribution of time will likely be more specific because scholars are generally keen to study the most glorious era of a region. For example, when region A developed and grew fast in a certain period, another region B may not be so prosperous as A. Then the period of rapid development of region B is another period different from that of region A. Therefore, the researcher would like to conclude a positive correlation between the narratives of time and space on the ancient Silk Road, it is to say that the time span researched is likely to be larger and more detailed as the region studied expands, and vice versa.

Zhang Wei (2015) discussed the importance of openness and integration in the Han and Tang Dynasties, "The ancient Silk Road, formerly bright with flowers and rowers, reflected the historical legacy of "peace, openness, and tolerance" of ancient Chinese civilization during the Han and Tang Dynasties." The heydays of the two dynasties, Han and Tang, are detailed. "Peaceful, open, and tolerant" is another description. Furthermore, after 2013, the number of research relating to the Sui dynasty began to rise. According to Liu Wei (2018), "during the Sui and Tang dynasties,..... China enjoyed unparalleled interactions with the rest of the world in all fields of politics, economy, and culture, and that the thriving economic and political environment was a result of these exceptional exchanges." "The accomplishments of Sino-foreign musical interactions on the Silk Road during the Sui and Tang dynasties pushed the growth of music to its heyday in the framework of the BRI," he added. We might deduce from this that he holds the Sui dynasty in high regard. He described the Sui and Tang dynasties as the "heyday".

Furthermore, Han Dynasty and Tang Dynasty, beyond other periods, had an enormous number. There is a Chinese word called "Hantang" that combines the two dynasties because these two dynasties are often regarded as the two most powerful empires in ancient China, although the two dynasties are several centuries apart. In the long history of more than 2000 years of Chinese feudal society, the typical characteristics of the Han and Tang Dynasties are national unity, thriving culture, a mighty army, and national prestige. The author, on the other

hand, is not shocked that these two dynasties are discussed so frequently. The Western Han Dynasty (119-2 B.C. ), Sui and Tang Dynasties (581-907 AD), and Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368 AD), according to Qun (2014), were the most prosperous and harmonious periods of the ancient Silk Road's development. In addition, there seems to be a specific political environment in which this finding emerges. After "Century of humiliation"<sup>6</sup>, China's desire to enhance its national strength, enhance its world influence and restore its prosperity in the past has not been concealed. "The great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" was the ruling philosophy of the CPC at the 15th CPC Congress in 1997, replacing the previous concept of "revitalizing China", and was developed at the 16th CPC Congress in 2002, when Hu Jintao became General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee. After Xi Jinping became General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee in 2012, he proposed the concept of the Chinese Dream on this basis. In an article on the official website of the Chinese Embassy in Brunei Darussalam named *What is Chinese Dream* (2013), it is said that the glorious period in China's history is firstly the Han and Tang dynasties, especially during the Tang Dynasty. It was the best period of China's development, and during that period, China was a powerful and relatable image, which was the ideal state of governance. The truly great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, according to Professor Gong Fangbin (2016) of China's National Defense University, must incorporate the intellectual brilliance of the Spring and Autumn periods, as well as the tolerance of the Tang period. In order to achieve a grand renaissance, he believes China must recreate the political ecology of the Spring and Autumn periods, as well as the humanistic mentality and an ambient and tolerant social milieu of the Tang period. The influence of the Han and Tang dynasties to the Chinese government's management policy is obvious to see. As a result, it's not unexpected that the Han and Tang dynasties are mostly mentioned in the post-2013 articles.

#### **4.2.3. Findings of the Topics that the Ancient Silk Road Addressed**

As shown in *Table 5*, it is evident that compared with the topics that the ancient Silk Road addressed before 2013, the topics covered by relevant research after 2013 are far more extensive. Among several new topics, "Silk Road Spirit "and "Belt and Road" came into sight

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<sup>6</sup> The century of humiliation, also known as the hundred years of national humiliation, is a term used in China to characterize the time from 1839 to 1949 when Western countries and Japan intervened and subjugated the Qing dynasty and the Republic of China (Adcock Kaufman & Alison , 2010).



because these two items were created after 2013 and appeared in 2017 and 2013, respectively. When Xi Jinping attended the "Belt and Road" International Cooperation Summit Forum in 2017 and delivered the keynote speech, he said that the ancient Silk Road stretched for thousands of miles and lasted for a thousand years, accumulating the Silk Road spirit of peace and cooperation, openness and tolerance, mutual learning and mutual learning, and mutual benefit and win-win situation. This is a valuable heritage of human civilization (People's Daily, 2018). Therefore, "the Spirit of Silk Road" and "BRI" beyond all disputes were created to serve for achieving political goals. Kitch said that studies have shown how journalists function as public historians through commemorative practices that occur on special occasions, such as anniversaries (Kitch, 2002a, 2006) as well as news media's work in "creat[ing] and convey[ing] a feeling of (temporary) national consensus" (Kitch 2003: 213). Although it is not a memorial day or created by the news media, its function is the same. The Silk Road spirit plays a guiding role in the memory of the ancient Silk Road and is a product of strengthening the national consensus. The creation of the ancient Silk Road spirit serves the construction of BRI and influences the memory of the ancient Silk Road. Xiang (2018) said: "We carry forward BRI and the spirit of the ancient Silk Road. It is a continuation of the historical trend and a correct choice for the future." (cited in Xi Jinping, 2017)

Table 5

*Coding results of category "Topic"*

Topic	Before 2013	After 2013
Demography	0	2
Silk Road Spirit	0	4
Zoology	1	0
Belt and Road	0	12
Territory	0	6
War	0	14
Education	0	4
Businessman	0	14
Politics	3	29
Medicine	2	10
Phytology	1	57
History	5	17
Archaeology	0	11
Technology	14	99
City promotion	1	0
Currency	1	12
Immigration	1	5

Transportation	22	10
Ethnonymics	10	1
Agriculture	0	16
Economy	73	201
Culture	12	153
Ecological environment	1	8
Town construction	0	8
Geography	4	21

Liu Xun and Liu Di (2016) argued that "the grand idea of the Belt and Road proposed by the Chinese government..... As if it were a glorious dawn of economic and cultural exchanges and common prosperity between East and West, it is attracting more and more countries and regions to participate in it. " "The glory of the Silk Road has become yesterday, it left future generations, I'm afraid, not only for us to memorialize the city ruins, post, it leaves a spirit, a call to human interaction, never closed spirit. And this spirit is gathering strong cultural power for the construction of the contemporary Eurasian corridor, which is indispensable for the construction of the corridor. "He believed that BRI is magnificent and "glorious dawn" and the spirit of the Silk Road is "indispensable".

With the key terms "One Belt, One Road," Silk Road, and Silk Road spirit, Zhang Xiang, a professor at Nankai University's School of History, has developed an article on the inspiration of the history of the ancient Silk Road to reality. He thought that the ancient Silk Road's essence was so brilliantly articulated that we may still learn a lot from it now. He mentioned three sources of inspiration: "First and foremost, it is about how to sustain national peace and security via the Silk Road. The second is on Zhang Qian's evolving spirit of "chiseling the air. The third goal is to encourage the global interchange of material culture." He also stated, "Today's Belt and Road should prioritize material and cultural exchanges." This is the very first manifestation of the Silk Road spirit, which we must inherit and continue." First and foremost, we noted that he cited the BRI as well as the Silk Road spirit, two terms that did not exist before to 2013. Xi also drew inspiration from the ancient Silk Road in his speech and applied it to the BRI concept, which was similar to Zhang's. Zhang suggests a several of ways to develop the BRI in the essay, including "Many tangible initiatives are required to accomplish the BRI. It is vital to explore and analyze the requirements of individuals on both sides before deciding on measures. This is a significant expression of the Silk Road's spirit today." "Economic growth should be connected to

collaboration and building of numerous "Belt and Road" initiatives.... Strengthening research and study of the nations along the route is critical so that civilizations may evolve through trade and learning, and peoples can thrive through collaboration and cohabitation. The people of the nations along the Belt and Road must be taken into consideration." This is also in line with what Xi said in his speeches, in which economic development was also stressed as a key component of the BRI. Both Zhang and Xi agreed that a strong public and social foundation is required to support economic building and promote regional cooperation.

Currency after 2013 is another new topic. Li and Yuan (2017) did a research on RMB (Renminbi)<sup>7</sup> regionalization, which she thinks will "contribute to the early implementation of RMB regionalization and internationalization in the context of the historic Silk Road and the BRI's success." In his speech, Xi also brought up the subject of currency. He stated that in order to construct the Silk Road Economic Belt, currency circulation must be strengthened, the cost of currency circulation should be reduced, and the ability to resist financial risks should be increased.

Among the numerous topics, economy and culture are the two main research fields, and the related narratives is more than other topics. Consistent with the discovery of the essence of the ancient Silk Road, these related narratives are consistent with the development goals of BRI, such as promoting infrastructure connectivity, investment and trade cooperation, and financial integration, cultural exchanges.

#### **4.2.4. Findings of the Narratives about the Ancient Silk Road Influence**

As shown in *Figure 7*, no matter before 2013 or after 2013, scholars' narratives about the influence of the ancient Silk Road have no big difference and are evenly distributed in politics, science and technology, national development, transportation, social development, economy, and culture. But at the same time, we should notice that before 2013, there was an average description of the influence in all the different aspects which were mentioned.

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<sup>7</sup> RMB (Renminbi) is the official currency of the People's Republic of China.

However, after 2013, the related narratives began to focus on several aspects more, and economy and culture became the vital embodiment of the influence of the ancient Silk Road. It is noticeable that the discourse about culture replace the economy and accounts for the biggest percents after 2013.

After 2013, scholars began to describe the inspiring power of the Silk Road, which means the "Spirit of the Silk Road," while there was nothing about immigration anymore. As mentioned earlier, the "Spirit of the Silk Road" is a word created in a political conference in 2017. Therefore, it is hard to deny that the narratives about the influence of the ancient Silk Road have not been influenced by political will. The Spirit of the Silk Road will become a shred of solid evidence that scholars Chinese have modified the memory of the ancient Silk Road to serve the political goals.

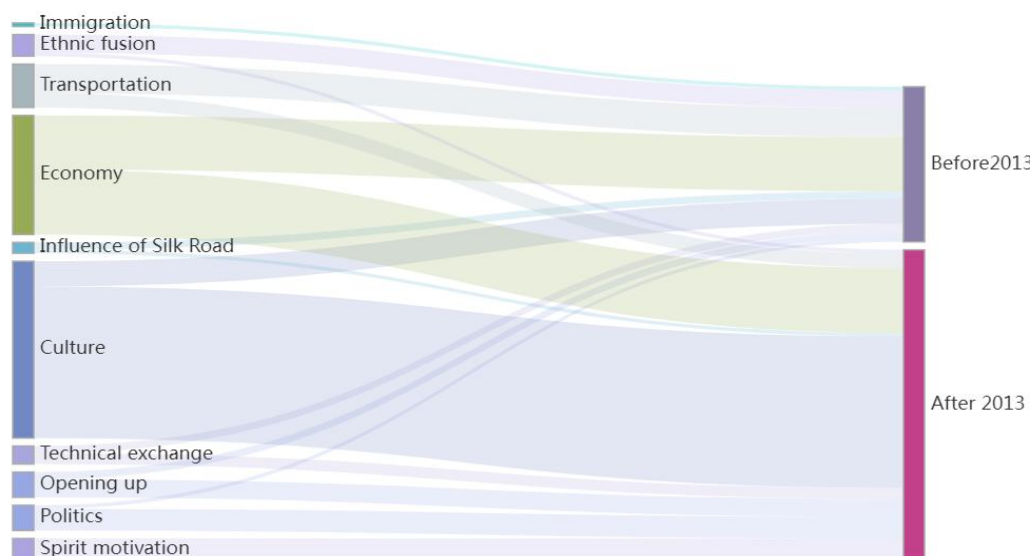
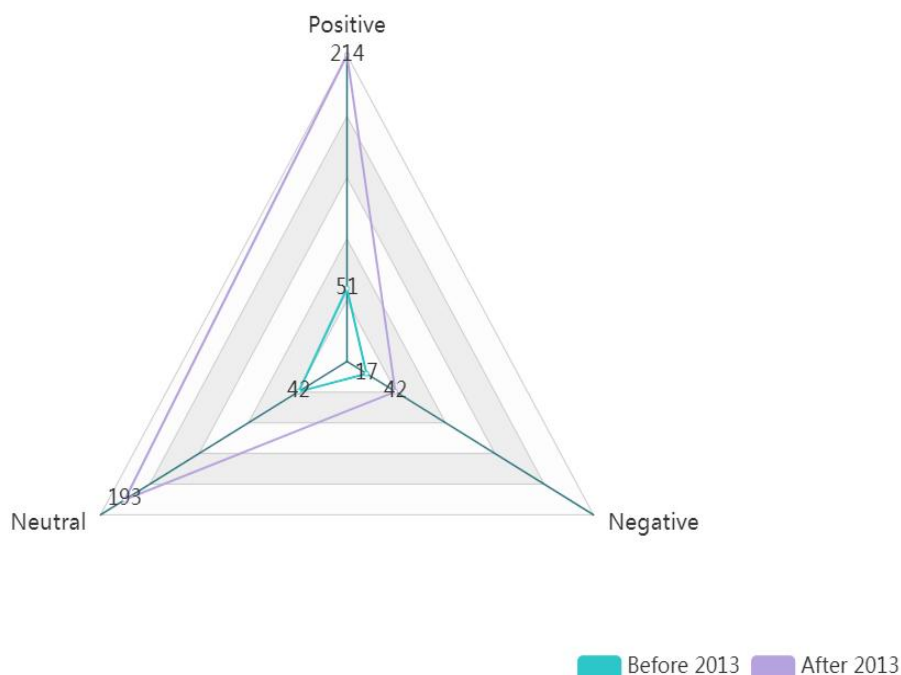


Figure 7. Coding results of “Influence of ancient Silk Road”

Note: The units show the text that talked about the influence of the ancient Silk road in different areas.

To find the answer of if the scholars had a different attitude towards the ancient Silk Road before and after 2013, the researcher coded the text with "attitude category" of "positive,"

"negative," and "neutral." As shown in *Figure 8*, the number of units in the articles after 2013 is much more than before 2013. However, in terms of proportion, we can see that there is no significant change between these two periods. In these two periods, the positive expression always accounts for the majority, while negative expression occupies the minority, that is to say, overview, scholars hold a relatively positive attitude towards the impact of the ancient Silk Road.



*Figure 8.* Coding results of “Attitude”

*Note:* There are 3 units of the category “Attitude”, including "positive," "negative," and "neutral."

This research focused on the scholars' attitude towards the influence of the Silk Road, especially, as shown in *Figure 9*. The articles talked about the Silk Road's influence from many aspects, such as politics, spirit motivation, scientific and technological exchanges, opening up, population migration, ethnic integration, transportation, culture, and economy. Obviously, in the influence description of the ancient Silk Road, positive expression occupies the majority. Among the ancient Silk Road's impact on several subjects, the positive units in transportation, culture, and economy account for a significant part, which means scholars significantly affirmed the positive impact of the ancient Silk Road on transportation, culture,

and economic development. This finding is the same as the previous narrative discovery about the nature and topics of the ancient Silk Road.

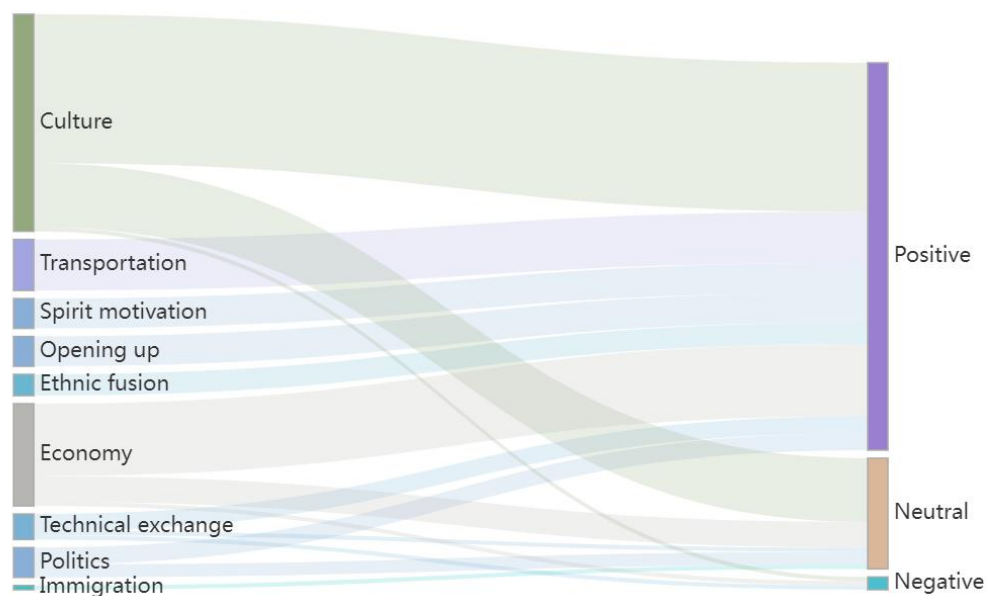


Figure 9. Diagram of codes "Attitude" and "Influence of the ancient Silk Road"

Note: This table shows the text both belong to "Attitude" and "Influence of the ancient Silk Road."

In addition, we should also notice that, unlike other aspects, all scholars hold an utterly positive attitude when narrating the influence of the ancient Silk Road on these three aspects "Transportation", "Spirit motivation," "Opening Up," and "Ethnic fusion." With the previous evidence that BRI influenced some narratives of the ancient Silk Road, we cannot help guessing that such a positive evaluation is also the result of BRI, especially in the case of a comprehensive positive evaluation of the "spirit of the Silk Road" which is a recent new word. In addition, Hideo holds the view that the BRI proposed by General Secretary Xi Jinping in 2013 is regarded as a new grand strategy in a new stage of China's Opening-up Policy<sup>8</sup> (Hideo, 2019).

<sup>8</sup> Opening Up Policy was launched in December 1978 by Chinese statesman Deng Xiaoping to open the door of China to foreign businesses that wanted to set up in China(Sung, 1991).

### **5. Conclusion**

The purpose of this paper is to study the changes in Chinese scholars' historical narratives of the ancient Silk Road by comparing the narrative before and after 2013 to explore the influence of BRI on the historical memory of the ancient Silk Road. To the researcher's knowledge about the existing literature, it is the first time that the framework of memory politics has been applied to the ancient Silk Road narrative study, which means the study provides an original perspective on understanding the correlation between BRI and the ancient Silk Road.

This study engaged in a theoretical discussion about the history and politics of memory. This paper argues that all the stages of historical narrative, including material selection, analysis, and understanding, need scholars' initiative combined with specific objectives. In other words, historical narratives can be shaped, whether the object is an objective historical relic or a historical event with solid subjective factors. History and politics interact. Groups with solid political power can decide the historical narrative, and they will intervene in historical memory to achieve specific political goals. The memorized history has a guiding role in political policy making and implementation. The theory of political memory is similar to history. According to the politics of memory, representations of the past can be moved to serve partisan purposes. With the theory support of memory politics, this paper was valid base on the assumption for this work that since the "Belt and Road Initiative" has been launched by Chinese Chairman Xi Jinping in 2013, the memory of the ancient Silk Road has been modified to serve the goals for this influential project.

Two content analyses were conducted in this study. The first analysis showed that how BRI framework was established. Then the second content analysis was conducted with 42 articles that are related to the ancient Silk Road to answer the research question how BRI influences the historical narratives of the ancient Silk Road in Chinese academic journals as a politically significant social frame. All the articles are in Chinese, so as a native speaker, the researcher can ensure the language advantage and make sure there is no language barrier. The results show that in terms of geographical scope, both the definition of the ancient Silk Road and the main research area of scholars have been broadened. It is mainly expanded from the Central Plains and northwest to the east of the traditional study area to Northeast Asia and a small

part of the eastern coastal areas of China below it. Among all the Asian regions, Northeast Asia is the most challenging region to achieve regional cooperation due to political distrust. Therefore, this paper argues that there is a positive correlation between these narratives change and BRI's aim to solid the cooperation among Northeast Asian areas. In the topic narrative, the economic and political narrative of the ancient Silk Road also shows the relevance with BRI. Before and after 2013, scholars believe that the ancient Silk Road is a vital transportation line to promote economic and cultural exchanges. After 2013, the related narratives are more abundant, and the contents of commodity circulation, trade, investment, and cultural exchange are more and more abundant. These are in line with BRI's infrastructure, investment, financial, and cultural development goals. What is more, some new words which were created after 2013, such as "BRI" and "Silk Road spirit," have made clear the political intervention in the ancient Silk Road narratives, which is also the only direct evidence found in this study to prove that BRI has a strong impact on the narratives of the ancient Silk Road. In both time and place, the scope of relevant research is expanding. The cities and regions investigated are growing more diverse in terms of geography, while the studies are becoming more detailed in terms of time. Scholars have also become interested in previously under-appreciated periods. The study on attitudes toward the ancient Silk Road was the only one that did not demonstrate substantial changes in findings. Scholars' attitudes toward the ancient Silk Road were mostly positive no matter before and after 2013, according to the findings.

A critical limitation of this research is that the number of articles that participated in the study may not be extreme. This paper selected 42 articles which is not a big number in the CNKI data platform due to the limited time and resources. Therefore, it is believable that the results will be more accurate if some scholars have more time and resources and can choose more articles to do the same research. For future research, it would be fantastic if someone else chose additional data platforms other than CNKI to test the results in the future study. Furthermore, in addition to examining how politics influences historical narrative, it is also worthwhile to investigate how people react to the changes in historical narrative, for instance, to study how people accept the changes of historical narratives.



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## Appendices

### APPENDIX A. Map of Steppe Route (blue) and Classical Silk Roads (red)



Source: Hill, 2019

The Desert Oasis Silk Road is from Chang'an (Xi'an, China), crosses Congling (Pamirs plateau) or Daluosi (Taraz, Kazakhstan) to Rome, and has traveled far to Central Asia, South Asia, West Asia, and Europe "(Editorial Board of Encyclopedia of China, 1990).

- The North Road went north of the Tian Shan mountains through Turpan, Talgar, and Almaty in southeastern Kazakhstan;
- The Middle Road followed the mountain ranges north of the Taklamakan Desert of Xinjiang;
- The South Road followed the mountain ranges south of the Taklamakan Desert of Xinjiang;

The Middle and South Road rejoined each other again at Kashgar, an oasis city in today's Xinjiang. After Kashgar, the routes split again, with a southern branch going southwest towards Termez and Balkh and a northern branch going to Kokand and then west across the Karakum Desert. (<http://www.silk-road.com/>)

APPENDIX B. Routes of the Maritime Silk Road



Source: Mou et al., 2021

- The East China Sea route to the Korean Peninsula and Japan occupies a secondary position in the Maritime Silk Road;
- The South China Sea route to the Malay Peninsula and the South China Sea islands to Southeast Asian countries is mainline of the Maritime Silk Road;
- The West Coast route to the Indian peninsula, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula, and countries on the east coast of Africa, as far as Europe, North, and South America.

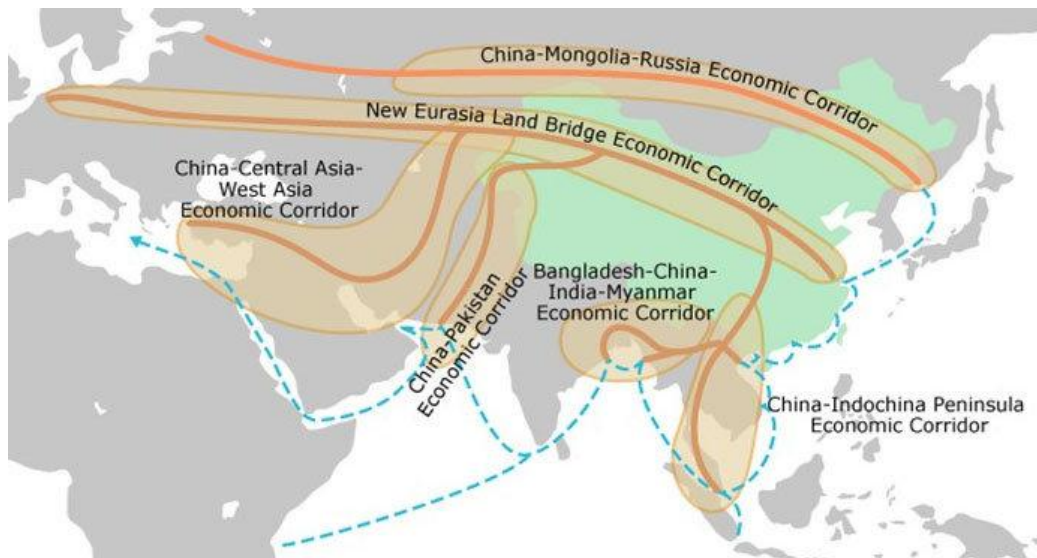
APPENDIX C. Routes of "Belt and Road" Initiative



Source: Top China Travel, 2021

- The Silk Road Economic Belt: it was also referred to as "One Belt" in short. One Belt is aimed at developing economic partnership between China and the countries and regions along the Silk Road along with the land, strengthening infrastructure construction along the way, digesting China's excess capacity and labor force, and ensuring China's energy (such as oil and gas) and grain supply, and helping to develop the western region of China. It is envisioned routes that will connect China to Europe, West Asia, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, South Asia, and the Indian Ocean;
- The 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road: it was also referred to as " One Road " in short. It is expected to establish economic connections and cooperation among East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe along the Maritime Silk Road.

APPENDIX D. Six Economic Corridors of the "Belt and Road" Initiative



Source: Losos, Pfaff, Olander, Mason & Morgan, 2019

The BRI project is also structured upon six economic corridors of infrastructure development, designed so as to drive economic growth in some of China's surrounding nations(see Appendix D). These corridors include: (i) the China – Mongolia – Russia Economic Corridor, (ii) the New Eurasian Land Bridge Economic Corridor, (iii) the China-Central Asia – West Asia Economic Corridor, (iv) the China – Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor, (v) the China – Pakistan Economic Corridor and (vi) the Bangladesh – China – India – Myanmar Economic Corridor (Losos, Pfaff, Olander, Mason & Morgan, 2019).

APPENDIX E. Analyzed Articles

1	Zheng Zihai	From Turkey to China: a model of land sea cultural exchange in the perspective of ancient Silk Road	2020
2	Zhu Wanrong	The Enlightenment of the cultural function of the Ancient Silk Road and the exploration of BINGTUAN culture	2019
3	Shen Zhuyan	On the influence and Enlightenment brought by the Ancient Silk Road -- Taking Hu Jia as an example	2019
4	Liu Wei	On the ancient Silk Road of Tuoling, China	2019
5	Zhong Conghui	The ancient Silk Road and Chinese Buddhist statue art, taking Yungang Grottoes as an example	2019
6	Guo Ping	Evolution of grape combination patterns in tomb images along the ancient Silk Road	2018
7	Liu Wei	Music and cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries on the ancient Silk Road in the Sui and Tang Dynasties	2018
8	Zhang Xiang	On the Enlightenment of the history of the ancient Silk Road to reality	2018
9	Hao Zhixin, Liang Yani, Liu Yang, Geng Xiu, Zheng Jingyun	Some characteristics of the changes of temperature and cold along the ancient Silk Road in the past millennium	2018
10	Chen Gang	Communication of science and technology between the ancient Silk Road and the Central Plains and western regions	2017
11	Shu Chengjie, Yuan Changqi, Xiao Zhengchun, Zhang Weiming	Qiongzhu and shubu, witnesses of foreign trade history on the ancient Silk Road	2017
12	Pan Bo Rong, Liu Wen Jiang, Shu Cheng Jie, Zhang Dan	The influence of the ancient Silk Road on the development of agriculture and forestry in Xinjiang	2017
13	Li Yong, Yuan Xiaoling	Research on RMB regionalization in the ancient Silk Road region based on the perspective of optimal currency area: a case study of ten Eurasian countries	2017
14	Zhao Pei, Li Gang	On the historical status and role of Qin merchants in ancient Silk Road trade	2017
15	Zhao Danqing	Revisiting the ancient Silk Road: a visit to Northwest art	2016
16	Liu Xun, Liu di	Xinjiang and the ancient Silk Road	2016
17	Zhong Lei	The Enlightenment of the ancient Silk Road on the construction of the "Silk Road Economic Belt"	2016
18	He Huawu	Key problems and Countermeasures of railway smooth traffic on the ancient Silk Road	2016
19	Hu Chunyan	The discovery of the cultural and historical value of Qingdao as the intersection of sea and land along the ancient Silk Road	2015
20	Meng Qun	Rise and fall of the ancient Silk Road	2014
21	Zhang Wei	The ancient Silk Road, the opening and blending of Han and Tang Dynasties	2014
22	Jingbo	Xinyuan: Pearl of the ancient Silk Road	2012
23	Li Zhenming, Zhou Mi	The ancient Silk Road is calling me	2012
24		Black tea: the mysterious health drink of the ancient Silk Road	2011
25	Jin Hengyuan	Commerce and national transportation -- Taking Qing Dynasty as an example	2011
26	Gujin	Let Kashgar shine on the ancient Silk Road	2010

27	He Zhibiao	Revisiting the ancient Silk Road	2008
28		\$430 million to activate the ancient Silk Road	2008
29	Guo Zhengxian	Silk Road camel bell Ding Dong	2008
30	Cheng Yan	A journey to Dunhuang	2007
31	Cheng Yong	Kashgar tries to restore the economic prosperity of 2000 years ago	2007
32	Zhao Yuzhi	Reappearing the glory of the ancient Silk Road -- Investigation and Reflection on the development of regional economy and cultural tourism industry in Hexi Corridor	2006
33		The earliest multinational company on the ancient Silk Road	2006
34	Li Qingsheng	Opening to traffic: recalling the reconstruction of the ancient Silk Road during the Anti Japanese War	2005
35	Jiang Zhigang	Controlling the illegal trade of wild animals and plants along the ancient Silk Road: a report on "seminar on the implementation and enforcement of cites Convention on the Silk Road"	2005
36	Tu Yuchun	The integration of ancient Silk Road and various nationalities	2004
37	Liu Weidong, Wang Xing	The ancient Silk Road is brilliant -- a record of adjusting industrial structure and developing sericulture production in shaijing Township	2004
38	Yang Shenglong	How far is the distant place	2003
39	Lei Shunying	Analysis of the ancient copper coin of "Zhou Tian Yuan Lian" found in Jiuquan on the ancient Silk Road	2002
40	Zhang Yajie	The Silk Road: a memory of Zhao Puchu's visit to Dunhuang	2001
41	Zhang Butian	On the pivotal position of the ancient Silk Road in Haidong area of Qinghai Province from the book of mountains and seas	2001
42	Mudillo	Unforgettable six days	2001



APPENDIX F. Coding System of this Research

**代码系统 [2916]**

**Definition [15]**

- Culture Road [9]
- Economy Road [11]
  - Spice road [1]
  - commodity circulation [2]
    - Silk [4]
- Geographic description [2]
  - Korea Peninsula [3]
    - South Korea [1]
    - North Korea [2]
  - Japan [6]
  - Persian Gulf [2]
    - Syria [1]
    - Iraq [1]
    - Iran [2]
  - Russia [1]
  - Mongolian Plateau [1]
  - East Asia [0]
    - Korean peninsula [1]
    - Japan [1]
  - Southeast Asia [1]
    - Myanmar [2]
  - South Asia [2]
    - India [5]
  - Africa [3]
  - Western Asia [8]
  - Central Asia [8]
  - Europe [10]
    - Italy [3]
  - Mediterranean [5]
  - China [26]

Including several cities of China

- Military Road [1]
- Technology Road [1]
- Transport route [27]
- Silk Road type [0]
  - South Land Silk Road [13]
  - North Land Silk Road [57]
    - Desert Oasis Silk Road [80]
      - South route [10]
      - Middle route [5]
      - North route [6]
    - Northern Grassland Forest Silk Road [2]
  - Maritime Silk Road [17]
    - South Maritime Silk Road [41]
    - East Maritime Silk Road [46]
- Topic [0]
  - Demography [0]
    - Migration [2]
  - Silk Road Spirit [4]
  - Zoology [1]
  - Belt and Road [12]
  - Territory [6]
  - War [14]
  - Education [3]
    - Study abroad [1]
  - Businessman [14]

- Politics [12]
  - Policy [2]
  - Political management [10]
  - Diplomacy [8]
- Medicine [12]
- Phytology [7]
  - Shallot [1]
  - Alfalfa [1]
  - Ginseng [1]
  - Shubu [3]
  - Qiongzhu [3]
  - Coriander [2]
  - Spinach [1]
  - Cucumber [2]
  - Carrot [3]
  - Peper [2]
  - Herbal medicine [2]
  - Cotton [4]
  - Hu melon [3]
  - Pomegranate [4]
  - Walnut [4]
  - Hu Ginger [1]
  - Hu garlic [3]
  - Broad Bean [3]
  - Flax [2]
  - Red orchids [1]
  - Perennials [1]
  - Grapes [4]
- History [22]
- Archaeology [6]
  - Grape decoration [2]
  - Textile [2]
  - Ancient books [1]
- Technology [27]
  - Math [1]
  - Navigation technique [2]
  - Textile Technology [5]
  - Planting technique [2]
  - Architectural technique [4]
    - Archeology [3]
  - Craftsman [1]
  - Drilling Technique [3]
  - Diking [1]
  - Ditching for water [2]
  - Paper cutting [0]
  - Calendar [3]
  - Shipbuilding and sewing [3]
  - Winemaking [2]
  - Sugar making [2]
  - Sericulture [9]
  - Medicine [11]
  - Astronomy technology [4]
  - Water irrigation technology [4]
  - Ironmaking Technology [4]
  - Alchemy [7]
  - Gunpowder [3]
  - Printing [4]
  - Paper making [6]
- City promotion [1]
- Currency [9]

- Monetary integration [2]
  - Silver [1]
  - Gold [1]
- Immigration [6]
- Transportation [26]
  - Camel [6]
- Ethnonymics [6]
  - National conflict [2]
  - National features [0]
  - Ethnic fusion [3]
- Agriculture [7]
  - Production [3]
  - Farming Technique [6]
- Economy [37]
  - Production [2]
  - Market expansion [1]
  - Silk Road Economic belt [10]
  - Investment [6]
  - Trade [63]
  - commodity circulation [21]
    - Spice [1]
    - Lacquer ware [1]
    - Mirror [1]
    - Silver ware [2]
    - Gold ware [2]
    - Iron ware [2]
    - Glass ware [5]
    - Apricot [1]
    - Pear [1]
    - Pomegranate [1]
    - Hami melons [1]
    - Jadeware [6]
    - Ink [1]
    - Textiles [4]
    - Eaglewood [1]
    - Amber [1]
    - Agate [1]
    - Gemstone [1]
    - Ivory [1]
    - Sapphire [1]
    - Wool fabric [1]
    - Carpet [1]
    - Walnut [1]
    - Aloe Vera [1]
    - Pepper [1]
    - Cucumber [1]
    - Flax [1]
    - Alfalfa [1]
    - Grapes [4]
    - Book [1]
    - Silver [1]
    - Gold [1]
    - Paper [2]
    - Slave [3]
    - Porcelain [11]
    - Tapestry [2]
    - Colored glaze [2]
    - Jewelry [6]
    - Clothes [3]
    - Handicraft [1]

- Animal by-products [2]
- Livestock [4]
- Perfume [3]
- Tea leaves [12]
- Ironware [2]
- Grain [1]
- Silk [29]
- Tourism [1]
- Culture [55]
  - Painting [1]
  - Entertainment activity [1]
  - Furniture [1]
  - Instrument [4]
  - Acrobatics [3]
  - Hairstyle [1]
  - Makeup [1]
  - Clothe [3]
  - Diet [3]
  - Writing Character [1]
  - Language [1]
  - Song [2]
  - Dancing [6]
  - Music [32]
  - Religion [22]
  - Cultural relics [4]
  - Historic sites [20]
  - Literature [4]
  - Film and television [0]
- Ecological environment [9]
- Town construction [8]
- Geography [6]
  - Geographical environment [5]
  - Climate [14]
- Attitude [1]
  - Negative [59]
  - Positive [265]
  - Neutral [235]
- Geography area focus [8]
  - China [76]
    - Shandong [2]
      - Shandong Qingdao [29]
    - Jiaodong Peninsula [1]
    - Sichuan [2]
      - Sichuan Chengdu [1]
      - Sichuan Hanyuan [1]
    - Shan Xi [1]
      - Shan Xi Pingcheng [1]
    - Ningxia [1]
      - Ningxia Guyuan [2]
    - Guangdong [0]
      - Quanzhou [1]
      - Guangdong Guangzhou [2]
    - Jiangsu Xuzhou [0]
    - Zhejiang [0]
    - Henan [6]
      - Henan Luoyang [9]
    - Shanxi [25]
      - Shanxi Xi`an [22]
    - Qinghai [8]
    - Gansu [10]

- Gansu Jiuquan [1]
- Gansu Tianshui [1]
- Gansu Dunhuang [20]
- Gansu Zhangye [5]
- Xinjiang [109]
  - Xinjiang Jimsar [1]
  - Xinjiang Khorgas [1]
  - Xinjiang Hami [1]
  - Xinjiang Ruoqiang [3]
  - Xinjiang Taxkorgan [2]
  - Xinjiang Luobnur [1]
  - Xinjiang Turpan [5]
  - Xinjiang Kashgar [5]
  - Xinjiang Hetian [4]
- Shanghai [1]
- Xinjiang Xinyuan [1]
- Hunan Anhua [1]
- Hexi Corridor [6]
- Outside China [16]
  - Japan [10]
  - Korea Peninsula [11]
    - South Korea [2]
    - North Korea [2]
  - Southeast Asia [3]
  - Persian Gulf [11]
  - Western Asia [21]
  - South Asia [6]
    - Sri Lanka [1]
    - India [10]
  - Arabian Peninsula [6]
  - Africa [3]
    - Egypt [4]
  - Central Asia [38]
  - Mediterranean [7]
    - Greece [2]
    - Turkey [10]
  - Britain [2]
  - Europe [26]
    - Italy Rome [11]
  - Russia [3]
- Dynasty [0]
  - Pre-Zhou [2]
  - Zhou [3]
    - Warring States period [2]
    - Spring and Autumn [5]
  - Pre-Qin [4]
  - Qin [6]
  - Han [46]
    - Eastern Han [4]
    - Western Han [8]
  - Three Kingdom Period [1]
  - Wei Jin [20]
  - South and North [13]
  - Wudai [4]
  - Sui [22]
  - Tang [64]
  - Song [18]
  - Yuan [11]
  - Ming [14]
  - Qing [11]

<b>1901-1949</b>	<b>[3]</b>
<b>After 1949</b>	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Influence of Silk Road</b>	<b>[3]</b>
<b>Politics</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Political management</b>	<b>[3]</b>
<b>Geo-politics</b>	<b>[3]</b>
<b>Spirit motivation</b>	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Technical exchange</b>	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Opening up</b>	<b>[7]</b>
<b>Immigration</b>	<b>[0]</b>
<b>To China</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Ethnic fusion</b>	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Transportation</b>	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Southeast Asia</b>	<b>[0]</b>
<b>South Asia</b>	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Western Asia</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Central Asia</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Europe</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Rome Empire</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>East Asia</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>[2]</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>[24]</b>
<b>Culture confidence</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Art communication</b>	<b>[2]</b>
<b>Music</b>	<b>[14]</b>
<b>Religion spreading</b>	<b>[8]</b>
<b>Economy</b>	<b>[17]</b>
<b>Europe</b>	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Western Asia</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Central Asia</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>South Asia</b>	<b>[1]</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>[4]</b>
<b>Trade</b>	<b>[4]</b>

## Resümee

### UUE SIIDITEE INITSIATIIVI NARRATIIVI MÕJU AJALOOLISE SIIDITEE NARRATIIVILE: HIINA AKADEEMILISTE ARTIKLITE ANALÜÜS

Jing Guo

2013. aastal esitas Hiina esimees Xi Jinping algatuse "Belt and Road Initiative"(lühidalt BRI), mis on pälvinud ülemaailmset tähelepanu ja arutelu siiditee üle. Stiimuliselt on paljud teadlased hakanud ka iidset Siiditeed rahustama. See raamat keskendub Iidsele Siiditeele ja selle eesmärk on uurida muutusi Hiina õpetlaste ajaloolises jutustuses Iidse siiditee kohta, võrreldes jutustust enne ja pärast 2013. Järelikult on see raamat üles ehitatud uurimisküsimusele: kuidas on Hiina õpetlik jutustus Iidse siiditee kohta BRI järel muutunud?

Selles dokumendis on viis peatükki. Esimeses peatükis tutvustati Vana-Siiditee ja BRI põhiteadmisi, et aidata mõista uurimisobjekte. Teises peatükis tutvustati selle uuringu toetamiseks ajaloo ja poliitilise mälu teooriat. Käesolevas dokumendis väidetakse, et kõik ajaloolise jutustamise etapid, sealhulgas materjalide valik, jutustamine, analüüs ja mõistmine, vajavad teadlaste algatust koos konkreetsete eesmärkidega. Mälupoliitika teooria kohaselt saab mineviku kujutisi liigutada partisanide eesmärkide teenimiseks. Olulise ajaloolise mäluna on kaheldav, et iidne Siiditee on juhindunud poliitikast BRI. 3. peatükis arutatakse teadusuuringutes kasutatud meetodikat ja meetodeid. Aastatel 2000 – 2020 viidi läbi sisuanalüüs 42 Hiina Iidse Siiditee artikli kohta. 42 artiklit jagati kahte rühma. Esimene rühm koosneb 21 artiklist, mis on avaldatud enne 2013. Seejärel kasutati sisuanalüüsi iga artiklite rühma andmete kodeerimiseks. Uurimistulemuste tutvustus ilmub 4. peatükis ja tõlgendab empiirilisi tulemusi. Tulemused näitasid, et Vana siiditee jutustus Hiina Vana-Siiditee kirjanduses enne ja pärast 2013. aastat on muutunud, näidates laiema geograafilise ulatuse ja rikkalikumate uurimisteede omadusi. 5. peatükis kajastati valitud meetodika mõju, näidati leidude mõju, jõuti järeldusele, piirati seda uuringut ja võeti tulevikus kasutusele võimalik uurimissuund.

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