# Taiwan's Image in Thai Civil Services: Impact of 2022 New Southbound Policy

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#### Abstract

The New Southbound Policy (NSP) was the Taiwan's government policy under the President Tsai Ing-wen administration. The policy aimed to closely engage Taiwan with 18 countries in ASEAN, South Asia, and Oceania. Thailand was one of the countries. This study surveyed the Thai civil services' attitude of the nine related agencies toward Taiwan after the implementation of the policy in 2022. The sampling of the research was 120 Thai civil services of Knowledge Worker Position category (K category) of the nine related agencies to the NSP. The image of Taiwan was evaluated by 20 questions of seven indices which were visibility about Taiwan, description about Taiwan, preference for Taiwan, foreign relations with Thailand, policy evaluation on the New Southbound Policy, and policy recommendation. The questionnaire distribution and the survey operation followed the Thai government's One-China Policy. The participant answers were personal opinions. The values of Taiwan perceived in Thailand from the reflection of the perception of the Thai civil service sample was in a positive way. Technological advancement was the most admired image of Taiwan. Travel and tourism aspect was the most successful aspect of the NSP implementation in Thailand. Tourism was emphasized as recommendations to help tighten relations between Thailand and Taiwan.

**Keywords**: Taiwan, New Southbound Policy, Thailand, Thai Civil Service.

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#### 1. Introduction

In 2016, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) leading by Tsai Ingwen won Taiwan's general elections. Taiwan's government under the DPP administration has sought to engage with the Southeast Asian region. As a result, the DPP Taiwan's government launched the New Southbound Policy (NSP) in 2016. The New Southbound Policy is a comprehensive policy in many dimensions of Taiwan regional integration to South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Australasia. The main objective of the policy is to enhance cooperation and exchanges between Taiwan and 10 Southeast Asian partner countries (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam), six partner countries in South Asia (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka), and two partner countries in Australasia (Australia and New Zealand); and to engage closely with the regions (Office of Trade Negotiation, 2017, 4).

Taiwan's government seeks to cooperate with the New Southbound Policy partner countries toward building long-term strategic relationships, and building of a regional community. The policy works through five flagship projects and three potential business fields that are based on a mutually beneficial basis with the partner countries. The five flagship projects are the joint cultivation of talent to bolster industry and business in the region, medical and public health cooperation and development of industrial chains, the development of innovation-based industries, institutional agricultural cooperation and agribusiness ventures, and the organization of New Southbound Policy forums and regional youth exchange platforms. The three potential business fields are public construction projects, tourism, and cross-border e-commerce (Office of Trade Negotiations, 2017, 30).

This attempt of the Taiwan's government could be described as a re-new proactive foreign policy toward Southeast Asia after its foreign policy that started focusing on the region in the late 1980s. Chen (2002, 9-10) stated that the initiatives of Taiwan to involve itself in ASEAN were: wanting to join regional security in ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF); doing bilateral treaties; practicing as a mediator (interstate mediation); and economic cooperation by hiring Southeast Asian laborers coming to work in Taiwan and investing in Southeast Asian countries. Also, Thailand was one of significant achievements of the Taiwan's foreign policy initiative (Chen, 2002, 1).

## 2. Taiwan's Foreign Policy in the Image Making

In the past, Taiwan's foreign policies mainly emphasized on confrontation against China in claiming the right of ROC as the sole China and in gaining country status recognition (Chen, 2002, 6, 8, 12, 25). However, after Taiwan having more stability in politics and economy since the end of 1990s, having the first presidential election in 1996, and becoming fully democratic, the Taiwan's government under KMT's Lee Teng-hui administration started a new era of Taiwan's proactive foreign policy in emphasizing on Taiwan's society (being different from China's political identity and nationality, and Taiwan and Taiwan's citizens and residents) having their own interests (Chen, 2002, 6, 8).

Although Taiwan was not tied in diplomatic relations, the Lee government signed the highest numbers of (unofficial) trade and economic agreements with many Southeast Asian countries, showing the attempt of Taiwan in its proactive foreign policy under the Lee administration (Chen, 2002, 12, 15). Chen (2002, 20) called this phenomenon as pragmatic diplomacy of the Taiwan's government. The pragmatic diplomacy based on the sense of semi-official nature and not institutionalized in establishing and developing semi-official relations between Taiwan and other countries and international organizations, substituting for the absence of diplomatic relations of Taiwan and without interfering the other countries' official relations with China (Chen, 2002, 22). The pragmatic diplomacy of the Taiwan's government during the Lee administration focused on trade, investment, technological, education, socio-cultural issues, non-governmental groups, prominent figures cooperation rather than bilateral and multilateral relations in political, military, and legal.

According to the pragmatic diplomacy, the Taiwan's government laid the image-making strategies to the island. The Lee government presented and highlighted the democratic transition and economic success of Taiwan, a tolerant and politically liberal state with a world-class electronics industry, risk-taking entrepreneurs, cash-rich financial market, replacing the home of cheap toys producer and repressive politics image. The Taiwan's government also promoted the island as the first democracy in Chinese history, and a model of democratization for developing countries. As well as Taiwan could be a powerfully influential in the success of economic and trade derived from its democratization (Chen, 2002, 25-27).

After the millennium, Taiwan's government under DPP's Chen Shuibian administration, kept presenting the image of Taiwan as having human rights, being democratic, and a peaceful nation. (Lee & Chan, 2023, 1). Then the Taiwan KMT's Ma Ying-jeou government added traditional Chinese culture as Taiwan's image resource to project to the international arena (Rawnsley cited in Lee & Chan, 2023, 1).

Later, the Taiwan's government under DPP's Tsai Ing-wen administration posted the New Southbound Policy as the re-new proactive foreign policy toward Southeast Asia. The Tsai government used the policy as a tool to involve into the regional community by transforming Taiwan's from relying on China single market to NSP's partner countries, contributing to regional development, and attempting establishing Taiwan as a member of international community (Lee & Chan, 2023, 1), by using Taiwan's achievement in education, culture, business, and technology as soft power of Taiwan in doing cooperation with Southeast Asian countries (Ngeow cited in Lee & Chan, 2023, 2).

In history, the Taiwan's government attempted to use: socio-cultural engagement with the Southeast Asian region from the using of Mandarin-language melodrama films and sentimental songs toward overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia during the Cold War; investments and business ties of the Southward Policy<sup>2</sup> in 1994 during the KMT's Lee government continuing to the DPP's Chen Shui-bian administration in 2000; Taiwan's entertainment industry Mandarin pop music, Mandarin and Hoklo (or Hokkien) dramas and avant-garde films, bilateral education (vocational level) cooperation in training for Southeast Asian laborers (to serve Taiwan's factories both in the island and in the host countries during the democratization period) between 1990s - 2000s; and the Tsai Ing-wen administration's people-to-people relations of the NSP in 2016 (Lee & Chan, 2023, 3).

With Thailand, since the 1990s, Taiwan has engaged with Thailand: in economic and investment, the relocation of factories to Thailand; in environment and ecology, according to the relocation of Taiwan's factories into Thailand; in security, crime, and health epidemic, Thailand as a source of rare animal parts and endangered species, narcotics, and HIV smuggles and contacts to Taiwan. As well as Thailand is one of the top tourism destinations for the people of Taiwan. (Chen, 2002, 17-19).

## 3. The New Southbound Policy and Thai Civil Service Assumption

Thailand is one of the ASEAN partner countries of the Taiwan government's New Southbound Policy. The country is a major strategic country in the Southeast Asian region to Taiwan due to the location of the country which is located at the center of the region. The country's culture is also similar to Taiwan. Especially, there are many overseas Chinese communities situated in the country for the long history.

Taiwan and Thailand have had traditional friendship relations between the people of Taiwan and Thais for a long time. Since 1975, the Taiwan's government and the Thai government have continued relations and cooperation in the area of economic, investment, education, and culture (Thailand Trade and Economic Office Taipei, 2021). Taiwan sees Thailand as a hub of business and transportation to the Southeast Asian region (Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Thailand, 2021). There are many Taiwan's and Overseas Chinese businesses that have settled and invested in Thailand. The both governments maintain and strengthen the substantial relations and traditional friendship between the people in Taiwan and Thailand.

During the economic growth of Taiwan between the 1970s and 1980s, the Taiwan's government had used its wealthiness to substitute the absence of diplomatic relations by beginning doing cooperation projects with Thailand. Taiwan did an agreement in highland agriculture cooperation with Thailand Royal Project Foundation (RPF). Taiwan and Thailand have had cooperation since 1970 despite Taiwan and Thailand having the absence of diplomatic relations since 1975. The Taiwan's government has also granted scholarships for Thai students coming to study in Taiwan since the 1950s (Ku cited in Lee & Chan, 2023, 14-15).

Since 1988, all the presidents of Taiwan were of the Taiwan generation (born or/and raised in Taiwan island). They were elected by voting of Taiwan's citizens. They shifted and diversified Taiwan's foreign policies from upholding the Greater China ideology (Ku cited in Lee & Chan, 2023, 17-20) to promote economic and socio-cultural relations with Southeast Asian countries and Thailand: namely, expanding investment of Taiwan to Thailand, setting up Thai-Taiwan Business Association (TTBA) in 1992,<sup>3</sup> delivering economic resources of Taiwan to Thailand, cooperation between Taiwan and the Thailand Royal Project Foundation and other economic projects since the 1990s, sharing the idea of democracy as a universal value to, and sharing political democratization to Thailand, strengthening people-

to-people relations as one of the objectives of the NSP to Thailand, providing scholarships and educational exchanges programs to Thai students, and providing job opportunities in industries for Thai laborers coming to work in Taiwan.

Moreover, according to the new visa regulation, since August 2016, Thai citizens have been eligible for the Taiwan's government's visa exemption program to exempt visa entry to Taiwan (Bureau of Consular Affairs, 2021). This program has tightened the relationship between the people of Taiwan and Thai people, advancing a good reputation of Taiwan and positive image of Taiwan in Thailand. Before the pandemic, there were Thai tourists who travel to Taiwan, for any purpose, increasing to the average number more than 100,000 per year (Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Thailand, 2021). The positive consequences from the New Southbound Policy have created positive image and good reputation of Taiwan to the Thai people.

Although Taiwan and Thailand have had non-diplomatic relations, the two sides still have (de facto) representative offices in Taipei and Bangkok with respect to the absence of diplomatic relationships. Taiwan's government established the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Thailand as the de facto Taiwan's representative office. As well as the Thai government established the Thailand Trade and Economic Office in Taipei as the de facto Thai representative office in Taiwan. There are several aspects in the relations between Taiwan and Thailand: economic and trade relations, labor relations, tourism relations, agricultural relations, cultural relations, overseas Chinese affairs, and visa service affairs (Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Thailand, 2021).

Thus, the role of civil services of Taiwan and Thailand are very important in the Taiwan-Thailand relations due to the most of foreign policy usually being formulated by the bureaucracy. In this case, Thailand is an important partner country of Taiwan in the New Southbound Policy. As the country is a bureaucratic polity, bureaucratic norms came to control decision making processes (Riggs 1966 cited in Ockey, 2004, 143-144).

Riggs (1966) stated the importance of Thai civil service toward policy decision making and constitution. Thai constitutions (as policies) have always powered civil service, vice versa. This means that Thai polity is ruled on behalf of bureaucracy, Thai politics and administration called bureaucratic polity. Thailand is a state bureaucracy in which most of the cabinet members (including political appointments)<sup>4</sup> are former officials and civil services.

They are more responsive to the interests and demands of their bureaucratic subordinates rather than the concerns of interest groups, political parties, or legislative bodies outside the state apparatus. Also, some of senior or higher-level civil services are probably politically appointed to be cabinet members or political positions.

As mentioned, most of the initiatives in Thailand have come from the government and the bureaucracy. The bureaucratic norms come to dominate processes in the Thai public policies. Civil services in each ministry play an important role in the policy process, instead of the Thai civil society, especially in foreign policies.

The Thai civil services are an important factor in the country's policy process, especially for the agenda-setting, policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation about Taiwan-Thailand relations. The role of the Thai governmental agencies and civil service are very important and influential in facilitating the working of and implementing the New Southbound Policy in Thailand. Positive perception and image of Taiwan among the Thai civil services will help the New Southbound Policy to achieve its goal and will tighten positive collaboration between Taiwan and Thailand in prospective relations.

The institutional link between the New Southbound Policy and the Thai governmental agencies is very important to help Taiwan's government to achieve the goal of the New Southbound Policy in engaging multifaceted cooperation and establishing mutual prosperity between Taiwan and Thailand. According to the five flagship projects and three potential business fields, they relate to nine major Thai governmental agencies which are the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH); the Ministry of Education (MOE); the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, Research and Innovation (MHESI); the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC); the Ministry of Tourism and Sports (MOTS); the Ministry of Commerce (MOC); the Ministry of Labor (MOL); the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA); and the Thailand Board of Investment (BOI). Particularly, these agencies are important as strategic agencies to the economic development of Thailand.

As Taiwan and Thailand have non-diplomatic relations, the Thai governmental agencies have relationships with Taiwan in the areas of economic, investment, education, and culture. The nine Thai agencies are representative of the Thai government in the field of economic, education, and culture according to the New Southbound Policy's five flagship projects

and three potential business fields. They are the main Thai governmental agencies that interact with the Taiwan government's policy projection to receive an effect and respond to a consequence of the policy.

Having a good perception of Taiwan and well knowledge about the New Southbound Policy among Thai civil services of the nine related Thai governmental agencies will facilitate the intention of the Taiwan's government in achieving the multifaceted cooperation and establishing mutual prosperity between Taiwan and Thailand. Therefore, it is important to address the perception of the Thai civil services toward the image of Taiwan according to the implication of the New Southbound Policy in Thailand. This survey on the image of Taiwan of the Thai civil service in the nine related agencies according to implication of the New Southbound Policy in Thailand will help the policy maker knowing of perception of Thai civil services toward Taiwan during the policy implementation leading to policy adaptation and to tighten relations between Taiwan and Thailand in prospective relations.

## 4. Survey on Thai Civil Services

The survey used a quantitative method which was a survey questionnaire to collect the perception of the Thai civil services in the nine related agencies to the affection of Taiwan by implication of the New Southbound Policy in Thailand in 2022. The population of this survey was Thai civil services of Knowledge Worker Positions category (K category).

According to the Thai Civil Service Act 2553 B.E. (2010 A.D.) and Thai Civil Service position classification and specification (OCSC, 2008a, 2014), The Knowledge Workers Positions category (K category) civil services work in policy implementation, policy formulation and developing a policy proposal. They are significant in implementing and crafting policy details.

The Knowledge worker positions levels (K category levels) of this survey:

Practitioner level (K1) is a position for a knowledge officer who carries out a duty under conduction, suggestion, and supervision;

Professional level (K2) is a position for an experienced officer who carries out a duty with his/her experience, knowledge, and skills in decision making and problem solving; as well as conduct, suggest, and supervise colleagues;

Senior professional level (K3) is a position for a very experienced officer who carries out a duty with his/her higher experience, knowledge, and skills in difficult decision making and problem solving; as well as conduct, suggest, and supervise colleagues for difficult decision making and problem solving;

Expert level (K4) is a position for an expert officer who carries out a duty with his/her highly expertise experience, knowledge, and skills in very difficult and complicated decision making and problem solving; as well as gathering data for providing as references and conducting researches which affecting inclusively, giving a lecture and training for departments;

Advisory level (K5) is a position for a proficient officer who carries out a duty with his/her most highly expertise experience, knowledge, and skills in the most difficult and complicated decision making and problem solving distinguishably recognized nationwide; constructing body of knowledge for providing references and conducting researches which affect inclusively in a wide variety of knowledge, findings, and public policies; and giving a lecture and training for ministries and public.

The sample participants were 120 Thai civil services of the K category of the nine related agencies to the implication of the New Southbound Policy.

Table 1. Sample Participants

Sample	Nine Related Agencies to NSP
120 Thai Civil	1. Ministry of Public Health (MOPH)
	2. Ministry of Education (MOE)
	3. Ministry of Higher Education, Science, Research and Innovation (MHESI)
	4. Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC)
Services of K	5. Ministry of Tourism and Sports (MOTS)
Category	6. Ministry of Commerce (MOC)
	7. Ministry of Labor (MOL)
	8. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)
	9. Thailand Board of Investment (BOI)

The survey was conducted in Bangkok, Thailand, between October and December 2022. The survey questionnaire consisted of two sections, background information of participants and questions. The survey operation and the questionnaire design strictly followed the Thai government's One-China Policy. The participants were identified as anonymous, and their answers were personal opinions. The questionnaire content and the participants' opinions expressed were solely their own and did not express the views and policies of the Thai government agencies toward Taiwan. The questionnaires were originally designed in English and translated into Thai, and prepared in advance to prevent instances where participants did not answer a question.

In the question section, there were 20 questions which evaluated the images of Taiwan being perceived in Thailand from the reflection of the Thai civil service's perceptions in the nine related agencies to the New Southbound Policy and to present the perception of the Thai civil services toward Taiwan affected by the policy.

Participants' answers were given into five categories: a multiple-choices selection, a five-point scale, a yes-no answer, a ranking answer, and an open-ended answer. In the five-point scale, average score between 0 to 1.99 was defined as negative; average score between 2 to 2.99 was defined as neutral; average score between 3 to 3.99 was defined as positive; average score between 4 to 5 was defined as very positive.

Table 2. List of Questions

Questions	Answers
1. Do you know Taiwan, as a country or not a country?	Multiple-choices
2. Do you know the official name of Taiwan?	Multiple-choices
3. Please rate the overall image of Taiwan in each aspect - Friendliness - Technological Advancement - Free and Democratic - Wealthiness - Openness - Generously	Five-point scale (1: Negative to 5: Most Positive)

Questions	Answers
4. Please rate the excellent performance aspects of Taiwan  - Economic and Trade  - Science and Technology  - Travel and Tourism  - Agriculture and Fishery  - Culture and Art  - Academics and Education  - Entertainment and Fashion  - Medical and Healthcare  - National Defense  - Sports	Five-point scale (1: Negative to 5: Most Positive)
- Government, Administrative, and Law Enforcement	
5. What is your first impression or first coming up idea about Taiwan?	Multiple-choices
6. What do you know about Taiwan so far?	Multiple-choices
7. Please evaluate the present relationship between Thailand and Taiwan?	Five-point scale
8. Do you think Taiwan is a trustworthy friend for Thailand?	Five-point scale
9. Is Taiwan a role practice or a case study of Good Governance in Asia?	Five-point scale
10. Is Taiwan a role practice or a case study of public administration and public service delivery in Asia?	Five-point scale
In Is Taiwan currently considered an important Asian partner of Thailand?     In It What factors do support your consideration?	Five-point scale Multiple-choice
12. Is Taiwan considered to have the potential to be an important Asian partner of Thailand in the coming years? 12.1 What factors do support your consideration?	Five-point scale Multiple- choices
13. Do you know that Taiwan's government has introduced the NSP to enhance and exchange with Thailand?  13.1 Do you think Taiwan's government sees Thailand as a priority partner country?	Yes-no
14. Do you think the NSP will help to tighten positive relations between Thailand and Taiwan?	Yes-no

Questions	Answers
15. In the following aspects, do you think the NSP is working well in the relations between Thailand and Taiwan?  - Economic, Trade, Business, Commerce  - Science, Technology, Innovation, Industry  - Agriculture, and Exporting Products  - Medical and Public Health  - Academics and Education  - Travel and Tourism  - Public construction and Infrastructure  - Social connectivity and Exchanges  15.1 Please rank the aspects ordering from the most wanted cooperative to the least wanted cooperative between Thailand and Taiwan  - Economic, Trade, Business, Commerce  - Science, Technology, Innovation, Industry  - Agriculture, and Exporting Products  - Medical and Public Health  - Academics and Education  - Travel and Tourism  - Public construction and Infrastructure  - Social connectivity and Exchanges  - Others (Please indicate)	Five-point scale (1: Negative to 5: Most Positive) Ranking (1: Most Cooperative to 8: Least Cooperative)
16. What area do you think Taiwan and Thailand should be more cooperative?  16.1 How will the areas help to tighten positive relations between Taiwan and Thailand?	Multiple-choices
17. Do you have suggestions to tighten overall relations between Taiwan and Thailand?	Multiple-choices
18. Do you have suggestions to make a distinction between Taiwan and China?	Multiple-choices
19. Please rate your favorite overall image of the following countries and territories  - Japan  - China  - South Korea  - Taiwan  - USA  - Australia  - India  - Russia  - Hong Kong  - Singapore	Five-point scale (1: Negative to 5: Most Positive)
20. Please provide your suggestions to Taiwan for emphasizing its role in Thailand	Open-ended

This survey was performed using the most optimal sample size, focused on Thai civil service agencies that have the relations and interactions with Taiwan's agencies. Sample participants of this survey both some had visited Taiwan, and some had not visited Taiwan. Some had experience and knowledge about Taiwan, and some rarely had or did not have experience and knowledge about Taiwan. These assisted us in discerning the exact image of Taiwan perceived by the Thai civil service sample participants who saw Taiwan from their sincerity and visibility of Taiwan in Thailand, and provided directions for strengthening future cooperative exchanges between Thailand and Taiwan. The total number of sample participants and questionnaire was 120. The 120 questionnaires were distributed by purposive sampling to key people of each agency and snowballing distributed within their agencies. The sample participants were voluntarily welcome doing those questionnaires. The response rate was 100 per cent. Each questionnaire was completed in approximately 15 minutes. The answers and results in the survey questionnaires were reversionary translated from Thai into English. The list of sample participants is as follows.

**Table 3. Number of Sample Participants** 

Agencies	No. of Sample	Levels	Location
1. Ministry of Public Health (MOPH)	17	K1-K3	Nonthaburi- Bangkok
2. Ministry of Education (MOE)	15	K1-K3	Bangkok
3. Ministry of Higher Education, Science, Research and Innovation (MHESI)	16	K1-K3	Bangkok
4. Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC)	10	K1-K5	Bangkok
5. Ministry of Tourism and Sports (MOTS)	15	K1-K4	Bangkok
6. Ministry of Commerce (MOC)	10	K1-K3	Nonthaburi- Bangkok
7. Ministry of Labor (MOL)	20	K1-K5	Bangkok
8. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)	10	K1-K5	Bangkok
9. Thailand Board of Investment (BOI)	7	K1-K3	Bangkok
Total	120	K1-K5	Bangkok

# 5. Results and Findings of the Survey

# Background of Sample Participants

The total number of sample participants was 120 from the nine related Thai government agencies to the New Southbound Policy. The list of sample participants' backgrounds is as follows.

**Table 4. Background of Sample Participants** 

Backgro	ound	<b>Number of Participant</b>	Per cent (%)
	MOL	20	16.7
	MOPH	17	14.2
	MHESI	16	13.3
	MOE	15	12.5
Agencies	MOTS	15	12.5
	MFA	10	8.3
	MOAC	10	8.3
	MOC	10	8.3
	BOI	7	5.8
Genders	Male	39	32.5
Genders	Female	81	67.5
	20-25	7	5.8
	26-30	12	10
	31-35	31	25.8
	36-40	30	25
Ages	41-45	23	19.2
	46-50	8	6.7
	51-55	7	5.8
	56-60 and above	2	1.7
	Bachelor's	36	30
Levels of Education	Master's	66	55
Levels of Education	Ph.D.	16	13.3
	Dr.	2	1.7
	Practitioner (K1)	48	40
	Professional (K2)	43	35.8
Levels	Senior (K3)	23	19.2
	Expert (K4)	2	1.7
	Advisory (K5)	3	2.5
	0-5	37	30.8
	6-10	38	31.7
	11-15	17	14.2
Years of Service	16-20	12	10
	21-25	7	5.8
	26-30	4	3.3
	31-35 and above	5	4.2
Tota	l	120	100

Figure 1. Number of Agencies and Participants

Figure 2. Number of Participants' Levels

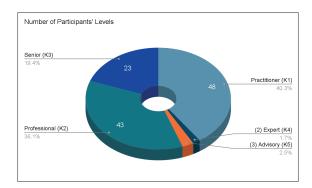
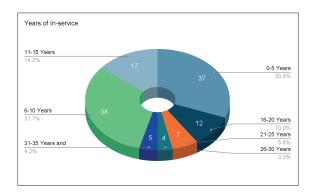


Figure 3. Sample Participants' Years of In-service



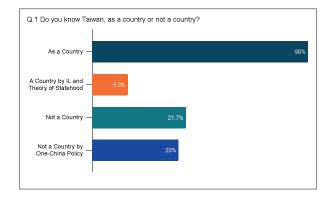
### Visibility about Taiwan

There were four questions that surveyed perceptions of the K category Thai civil service sample toward Taiwan in general perspectives, asking about individual opinions of each participant's perception toward their knowledge of Taiwan and their consideration about Taiwan in daily life. Thai civil service samples said Taiwan a country in their personal statement (50%); never saying Taiwan being a country (21.7%); saying Taiwan being as a country by definitions of international law and the theory of statehood (8.3%); saying Taiwan being not a country following Thai government's One-China Policy (20%). They perceived the official name of Taiwan as the Republic of China, ROC (43.3%); while perceiving the official name of Taiwan as Chinese Taipei (41.7%); and thinking of Taiwan as the People's Republic of China, PRC (15%).

Number of Per cent Visibility about Taiwan **Participant** (%)50 As a Country 60 26 Not a Country 21.7 1. Do you know Taiwan? 10 8.3 As a Country by IL and Theory Not a Country by One-China Policy 24 20 ROC. 52 43.3 2. Do you know the official name of Taiwan? PRC. 18 15 50 Chinese Taipei 41.7

Table 5. Visibility about Taiwan

Figure 4. Visibility about Taiwan



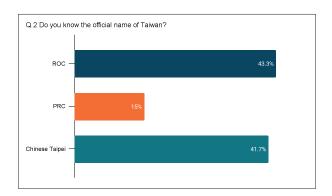


Figure 5. Knowing of the Official of Taiwan

Overall image of Taiwan was positive to very positive among the Thai civil service in every aspect. Taiwan is renowned for hi-tech industries, the warm-hearted people of Taiwan, and political and economic development. The overall image of Taiwan perceived by the Thai civil service samples of this survey; the most positive image was technological advancement (average total score 4.1). Followed by friendliness (average total score 3.8). The political and economic developments of Taiwan are well-perceived among the Thai civil service. Thus, the free and democratic images of Taiwan (average total score 3.7); and wealthiness (average total score 3.7). The image of Taiwan helping other countries is impressive to foreigners. Generosity Taiwan was scored positively (average total score 3.6). As well as the open society image of Taiwan (average total score 3.5) was still perceived positively.

Visibility about Taiwan **Average Total Score** Technological Advancement 4.1 Friendliness 3.8 3. Please rate the overall image Fee and Democratic 3.7 of Taiwan, from 1-5 Score (1 = negative, 5 = most positive) Wealthiness 3.7 3.6 Generously Openness 3.5

Table 6. Overall Image of Taiwan

Figure 6. Overall Image of Taiwan

Taiwan has a reputation in many aspects. Parallel with the overall image of Taiwan, Taiwan's performance, ability, and capability were seen as achievements of Taiwan by the Thai civil services' eyesight. Travel and Tourism (average total score 4.2); and Economic and Trade (average total score 4.1) of Taiwan were very impressive to the samples. In addition, Science and Technology (average total score 3.9); and Academics and Education (average total score 3.9) of Taiwan were impressive to the samples. The rest aspects resulting from the above-mentioned aspects were still impressed by the Thai civil services in positive scores: Entertainment and Fashion (average total score 3.7); Culture and Art (average total score 3.5); Medical and Healthcare (average total score 3.5); and Government, Administrative, and Law (average total score 3.5). They were factors to support each other in the achievement of Taiwan.

Visibility about Taiwan		Average Total Score
	Travel and Tourism	4.2
	Economic and Trade	4.1
	Science and Technology	3.9
4. Please rate the excellent	Academic and Education	3.9
performance aspects of	Entertainment and Fashion	3.7
Taiwan, from 1-5 Score	Culture and Art	3.5
(1 = negative, 5 = most positive)	Medical and Healthcare	3.5
	Government, Administrative, Law	3.5
	National Defense	3.4
	Agriculture and Fishery	3.2
	Sports	3.1

**Table 7. Excellent Performance Aspects of Taiwan** 

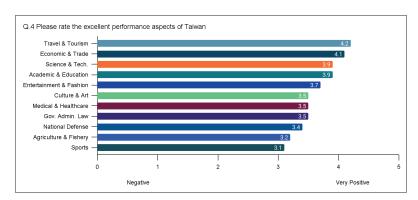


Figure 7. Excellent Performance Aspects of Taiwan

### Descriptions about Taiwan

The civil service sample participants had experienced Taiwan in some ways. The participants gave answers mostly in two periods of time. The first perception or first knowledge about Taiwan, before they faced experiences about Taiwan but had some knowledge about Taiwan (to answer the question of first impression about Taiwan). After facing experiences and having more knowledge about Taiwan and/or having been to Taiwan, to answer the question of knowledge about Taiwan so far. Their answers were mostly in three aspects: soft power of Taiwan, Taiwan as a tourist destination, and its relations with Thailand.

5. What is your first impression or first coming up idea about Taiwan? (The most three answers)

1. Entertainment and Fashion Aspects
2. Taiwanese Foods
2. Taiwanese Foods
3. Traveling to Taiwan, Places and Landmarks of Taiwan

**Table 8. First Impression about Taiwan** 

Table 9. Knowing about Taiwan So Far

Description about Taiwan		Per cent (%) of Answer
6. What do you know about Taiwan so	Traveling to Taiwan, Places and Landmarks of Taiwan	24.2
far? (The most three answers)	2. Taiwanese Foods	20.8
	3. Relations with Thailand	20

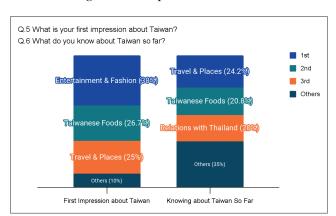


Figure 8. Descriptions about Taiwan

#### Preference for Taiwan

Although there is the diplomatic obstacle, the relationship between Thailand and Taiwan is still firm and close to each other due to the long traditional friendship and mutual benefits in economic, academics, and culture. The Thai civil service sample participants viewed the present relations between Thailand and Taiwan being nearly very positive (average total score 3.8). As well as Taiwan being a trustworthy friend for Thailand, the samples were able to separate between the political matter and the friendship matter. The participants still recognized the friendship relations nearly very positively (average total score 3.9). They showed that long friendship relations with Taiwan had other important areas besides politics. Individually, Thai civil services and Taiwan's civil services relations are firmly to each other.

Table 10. Preference for Taiwan

Preference for Taiwan	Average Total Score
7. Please evaluate the present relationship between Thailand and Taiwan, from 1-5 Score	3.8
8. Do you think Taiwan is a trustworthy friend for Thailand? (Please rate from 1-5 Score)	3.9

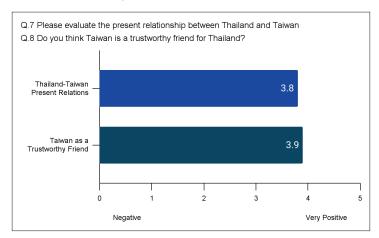


Figure 9. Preference for Taiwan

### Perception toward Governance and Administration

In the governance and public administration areas, Taiwan has gained a reputation in Good Governance, and public administration and public service delivery. The image of being a model of public governance and public administration in Asia of Taiwan among Thai civil services, the sample participants responded to having a very positive image of Taiwan's role practice in Good Governance (average total score 3.9), and in public administration and public service delivery (average total score 4). Specifically, most participants were impressed by very good images of Taiwan in transparency and accountability, public services, infrastructure, transportation, country and economic development, public health during the Covid-19, and people centric.

Table 11. Perception toward Governance and Administration of Taiwan

Perception toward Governance and Administration	Average Total Score
9. Is Taiwan a role practice or a case study of Good Governance in Asia? (Please rate from 1-5 Score)	3.9
10. Is Taiwan a role practice or a case study of public administration and public service delivery in Asia? (Please rate from 1-5 Score)	4

Q.9 Is Taiwan a role practice or a case study of Good Governance in Asia?
Q.10 Is Taiwan a role practice or a case study of public administration and public service delivery in Asia?

Taiwan as a Good Governance model

Taiwan as a Public Administration & Service Delivery Model

0 1 2 3 4 5

Negative

Very Positive

Figure 10. Perception toward Governance and Administration of Taiwan

### Foreign Relations with Thailand

This set of questions explored the opinion of the Thai civil service sample participants regarding the importance of Taiwan as an Asian partner to Thailand. Since Thailand does not have diplomatic relations with Taiwan, thus the two authorities have not had state relations with each other. The state relations between Thailand and Taiwan have been obstructed for many decades. However, the participants gave a nearly very positive score (average total score 3.8) to Taiwan as an important Asian partner of Thailand due to being an active economic and trade partner of Taiwan. Also, the participants saw the potential of Taiwan to be more important to Thailand in the coming years in a very positive way (average total score 4). The samples provided reasons as follows.

Average Total Foreign Relations with Thailand Score 11. Is Taiwan currently considered an important Asian partner of 3.8 Thailand? (Please rate from 1-5 Score) 11.1 What factors 1. Trade, Investment, Export, and Import % 34.2 do support your between Taiwan and Thailand consideration? 2. Strong Economic, Finance, Businesses of of 30.8 30 (The most three Answer factors) 3. Labor Relations, Jobs, Working Opportunities of Taiwan to Thais

Table 12. Foreign Relations with Thailand

For	reign Relations with Thailand	Average Scor	
	ed to have the potential to be an important Asian in the coming years? (Please rate from 1-5 Score)	4	
12.1 What factors do support your	Labor Relations, Jobs, Working Opportunities of Taiwan to Thais	%	32.5
consideration? (The most three factors)	Thais Traveling to Taiwan, Places and Landmarks of Taiwan     Trade, Investment, Export, and Import	of Answer	30 29.2
-/	between Taiwan and Thailand		

Figure 11. Foreign Relations with Thailand

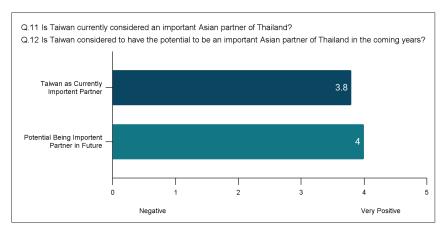
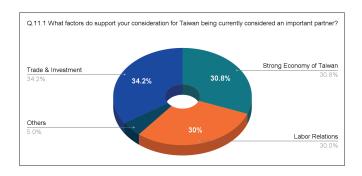


Figure 12. Factors to Support being an Important Partner



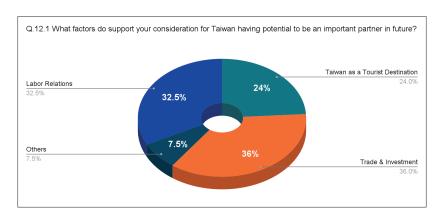


Figure 13. Factors to Support Being an Important Partner in the Future

#### Policy Evaluation on the New Southbound Policy

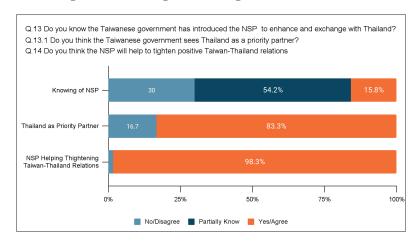
Since 2016, the Taiwan's government has implemented the New Southbound Policy through several exchanges with the Thai government agencies via the five flagship projects and three potential fields. The civil service sample participants of this survey came from the nine Thai government agencies relating to the NSP. They evaluated the working of NSP in Thailand, their assessments following these questions.

The participants who worked at the nine related agencies; a total of 15.8% of the participants knew about the NSP introduced in Thailand; 54.2% partially knew about the NSP introduced in Thailand in some aspects (e.g., visa exemption for Thai citizens traveling to Taiwan, scholarships for Thai students going to study in Taiwan); and 30% of the participants did not know about it before doing the survey questionnaire. The New Southbound Policy is a specific foreign policy of Taiwan toward Southeast Asian countries and others. The policy is too specific for civil services who are not in the field of foreign affairs, even Taiwan's civil services. However, they thought high-positively (83.3%) that the Taiwan's government had paid high attention to Thailand giving the country as a top priority partner in the NSP. In addition, a total of 98.3% of the participants strongly believed that the NSP would help to tighten positive relations between Taiwan and Thailand.

Evaluation on the NSP		Number of Participant	Per cent
	Yes	19	15.8
13. Do you know the Taiwanese government has introduced the NSP to enhance and exchange with Thailand?	Partially know in some aspects	65	54.2
with Hanand:	No	36	30
13.1 Do you think the Taiwanese government sees	Yes	100	83.3
Thailand as a priority partner country?	No	20	16.7
14. Do you think the NSP will help to tighten	Agree	118	98.3
positive relations between Taiwan and Thailand?	Disagree	2	1.7

Table 13. Evaluation on the NSP

Figure 14. Perceiving and Knowing of the NSP in Thailand



There are eight NSP aspects working in Thailand according to the five flagship projects and three potential business fields: 1) Economic, Trade, Business, and Commerce; 2) Science, Technology, Innovation, and Industry; 3) Agriculture, and Exporting Products; 4) Medical and Public Health; 5) Academics and Education; 6) Travel and Tourism; 7) Public Construction and Infrastructure; and 8) Social connectivity and Exchanges.

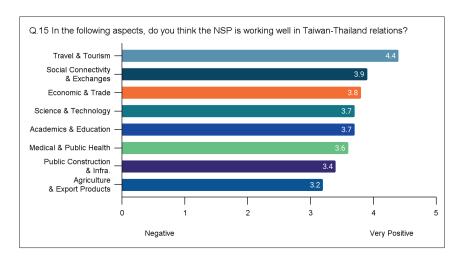
From the participants' point of view, tourism was the first rank (average total score 4.4) most working well in Thailand evidently from statistical numbers of Thai people traveling to Taiwan. The following aspects were social connectivity (average total score 3.9) and economic (average total score 3.8) due to the increasing number of Thai people traveling to Taiwan in

recent years leading to more social and economic exchanges between Thais and the people of Taiwan. The other aspects were still positively working in Thailand: science and technology (average total score 3.7); academics and education (average total score 3.7); medical and public health (average total score 3.6). The bottom lines were construction (average total score 3.4) and agriculture aspect (average total score 3.2) due to the cooperation being only in specific areas and not being publicly recognized.

Table 14. Working of the NSP in Thailand

Evaluation on the NSP		Average Total Score
	Travel and Tourism	4.4
15. In the following aspects, do you think the NSP is working well in the relations between Taiwan and Thailand? (Please rate from 1-5 Score)	Social Connectivity and Exchanges	3.9
	Economic, Trade, Business, & Commerce	3.8
	Science, Technology, Innovation, & Industry	3.7
	Academics and Education	3.7
	Medical and Public Health	3.6
	Public Construction and Infrastructure	3.4
	Agriculture, and Exporting Products	3.2

Figure 15. Working of the NSP in Thailand

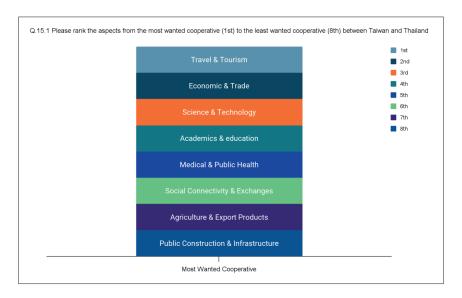


From each participant's perspective, most participants ranked the travel and tourism aspect as the most wanted working cooperative aspect of the NSP between Taiwan and Thailand due to the high statistical numbers of Thai people traveling to Taiwan. On the contrary, most participants ranked public construction and infrastructure as the least wanted cooperative aspect of the NSP between Taiwan and Thailand due to the cooperation being not widely publicized.

Table 15. Wanted Cooperative Aspects between Taiwan and Thailand

Evaluation on the NSP		
	1. Travel and Tourism	
15.1 Please rank the aspects ordering (1st to 8th) from the most wanted cooperative (1st) to the least wanted cooperative (8th) between Taiwan and Thailand?	2. Economic, Trade, Business, & Commerce	
	3. Science, Technology, Innovation, & Industry	
	4. Academics and Education	
	5. Medical and Public Health	
	6. Social Connectivity and Exchanges	
	7. Agriculture, and Exporting Products	
	8. Public Construction and Infrastructure	

Figure 16. Wanted Cooperative Aspects between Taiwan and Thailand



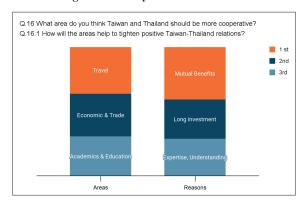
## **Policy Recommendations**

As the New Southbound Policy focused on increasing cooperation with Thailand and granting visa exemption entry for Thai citizens traveling to Taiwan, there was a significantly increasing number of Thai people going to Taiwan for any purpose. Thus, most participants recommended that the areas of travel and tourism; economic and trade; and academics and education should have more cooperation between Taiwan and Thailand, since the areas would create immediate positive effects on the image of Taiwan. These areas will create mutual benefits for Taiwan and Thailand; will create understanding and exchange between Thai people and the people of Taiwan; are easy to instill knowledge about Taiwan into Thai people and good for Taiwan in long-term benefits; and are easy to implement due to the Taiwan's expertise and reputation.

**Table 16. Policy Recommendations** 

Policy Recommendation		Per cent (%) of Answer
16. What area do you think	1. Travel	51.7
Taiwan and Thailand should be more	2. Economic and Trade	47.5
cooperative? (The most three areas)	3. Academics and Education	43.3
16.1 How will the areas	1. Having mutual benefits	45
help to tighten positive relations between Taiwan and Thailand?	2. Long investment for Taiwan to Thai society	33.3
	3. Taiwan's expertise and reputation	31.7
(The most three reasons)	Boosting understanding, knowledge, exchange	31.7

Figure 17. Policy Recommendations



In addition, the sample participants suggested both sides to tighten overall relations between Taiwan and Thailand in general ways for civil service and creating a good image and reputation for Taiwan. They recommended Thailand and Taiwan should do bilateral agreement in entitle visa exemption. At the present, only Taiwan's side had entitled visa exemption for the Thai citizen period of a period of 14 days to Taiwan since 2016. While Taiwan's citizens needed to apply for a visa on arrival to Thailand for a period of 30 days. It would be better if the visa exemption measure was permanently entitled and extended the longer period of stay for both sides. Also, doing more cooperation and exchange programs between Thai and Taiwan's civil services would tighten public sector relations between Taiwan and Thailand that led to bilateral relations between the two authorities in the future.

Table 17. Suggestions toward Taiwan-Thailand Relations

Policy Recommendation		Per cent (%)
17. Do you have suggestions	1. Continuing visa exemption measure	45
to tighten overall relations between Taiwan and	2. Doing more cooperation in public sector	32.5
Thailand? (The most three options)	Doing many civil services exchange programs	27.5

Figure 18. Suggestions toward Taiwan-Thailand Relations



The sample participants also suggested the prominent features of Taiwan and the people of Taiwan from the civil service perspectives mainly in politics, characteristics, and living. They can be Taiwan's features to be promoted in future.

Table 18	Distinction	between Taiwan	and China

Policy Recommendation		Per cent (%) of Answer
18. Do you have suggestions to make a distinction between	Being liberal, democratic, Freedom of Speech	35
Taiwan and other Chinese speaking countries? (The most three prominent	2. Having good manner, etiquette, and behavior	30
features of Taiwan or Taiwanese people)	3. Having good quality of life and high standard of living	24.2

Figure 19. Distinction between Taiwan and China

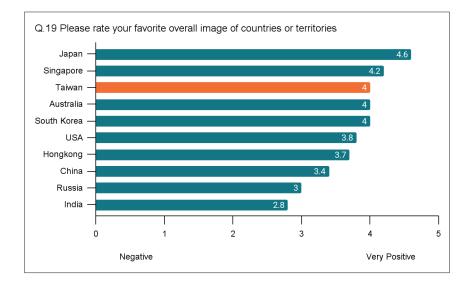


Finally, among the following countries and territories, the Thai civil service viewed Taiwan in a very positive image. They ranked Taiwan at the third place (average total score 4) as the same middle power countries as Australia and South Korea. Taiwan's received score was above the superpower countries like the US, China, and Russia.

Overall Favorite Image		Average Total Score	
	1. Japan	4.6	
	2. Singapore	4.2	
	3. Australia	4	
19. Please rate your favorite overall image of the	South Korea	4	
following countries and territories, from 1-5	Taiwan	4	
Score. (1 = negative, 5 = most positive)	6. USA	3.8	
	7. Hong Kong	3.7	
	8. China	3.4	
	9. Russia	3	
	10. India	2.8	

Table 19. Favorite Overall Image of Countries and Territories

Figure 20. Favorite Overall Image of Countries and Territories



# 6. Conclusion and Suggestions

We could simply evaluate the working of the New Southbound Policy in Thailand by comparing between the given scores of 120 Thai civil services' perception on the excellent performance aspects of Taiwan as the general perception (not specifically coming from the NSP) toward Taiwan in the Thai civil services' eyes' sights<sup>5</sup> and the evaluative scores of 120 Thai

Agriculture

civil services (after the NSP implementing in Thailand) toward the NSP aspects working in Thailand according to the five flagship projects and three potential business fields,<sup>6</sup> by using the T-Test statistical method<sup>7</sup> in six mutual aspects. The six mutual aspects were travel and tourism, economic and trade, science and technology, academics and education, medical and public health, and agriculture.

General Perception toward excellent performance aspects of Taiwan	The NSP implementing in Thailand	T-Test (90% Conf. Interval) Pr( T  >  t ) =
4.2	4.4	0.0021
4.1	3.8	0.0012
3.9	3.7	0.1005
3.9	3.7	0.0027
	toward excellent performance aspects of Taiwan  4.2  4.1  3.9	toward excellent performance aspects of Taiwan  4.2 4.1 3.8 3.9 3.7

3.6

3.2

0.0861

0.6393

3.5

3.2

Table 20. T-Test Results

Generally, the Thai civil services' perception toward excellent performance aspects of Taiwan and the Thai civil services' perception (after the NSP implementing in Thailand) toward the NSP aspects working in Thailand were differently significant in almost every aspect (p-value < 0.10), excepting the agricultural aspect (p-value > 0.10) (p-value = 0.6393). The Thai civil service sample participants had more acknowledgement about the NSP's aspects working in Thailand, and evaluated the NSP's aspects working well in Thailand, rather than the general perception toward excellent performance aspects of Taiwan. Thus, we could assume that the Taiwan's government succeeded in making an image of the island by implementing the NSP and working on the NSP's aspects in Thailand among the Thai civil service sample participants of the nine related agencies.

The K category civil service is important to the New Southbound Policy as they are commanded by the executive in doing the cooperation and relations implementations between Taiwan and Thailand according to the policy. In addition, they are prospects being promoted to be the managerial positions (M category) level and executive positions (S category) level in future. It will be good at the present and long-run if the Thai civil services have a good or positive image of Taiwan.

The survey completed 120 Thai civil service sample participants of K category (K1 – K5) in the nine related Thai government agencies to the New Southbound Policy which the policy having been introduced to Thailand since 2016. The participants had positive images of Taiwan in every aspect. The best image of Taiwan was technological advancement receiving a very positive score. The best performing areas were travel and tourism, and economic and trade, attracting very positive interests from the Thai civil service sample participants. They knew Taiwan for the first time from Taiwan's entertainment and fashion aspect. There was a very popular Taiwan's-pop wave during the millennium, the TV series of Fantastic 4 (F4). At the present, Taiwan is one of the top travel destinations of Thai people. For the sample participants, the soft power of Taiwan was very attractive to Thai civil service.

In Taiwan relations with Thailand, the civil service sample participants evaluated the present relations between two authorities quite positively in both the unofficial relations and traditional relations. Also, among other Asian partners, Taiwan was considered positive as an important partner of Thailand by three reasons: Taiwan and Thailand having high volumes of trade, investment, export and import to each other; Taiwan having strong economic, finance, businesses being a potential trade partner of Thailand; and Thailand having firm relations with Taiwan due to huge number of Thailabors working in Taiwan and Taiwan being a place of jobs and working opportunities of Thailaborers. In addition, there was a potential that Taiwan would be more important to Thailand in the coming years due to Taiwan still being a place of Thailaborers going to work, one of the travel destinations of Thai tourists, and high values in trade, investment, export and import between Taiwan and Thailand.

Moreover, the civil service sample participants considered Taiwan being interested in Good Government and public administration and public service delivery. Taiwan could be studied as a case in both aspects. As for the New Southbound Policy evaluation, the policy was moderately known among the civil service sample participants (54.2% partially known of the policy). However, most of them agreed that Taiwan's government saw Thailand as a priority partner to the policy, and this policy would help to tighten relations between Thailand and Taiwan in the present and future. In their opinions, the NSP was working well in Thailand. Most aspects were positive. The three most excellent aspects were 1) travel and tourism; 2) social connectivity

and exchanges; and 3) economic, trade, business and commerce. Also, the participants recommended three areas that Taiwan and Thailand should be more cooperative: travel; economic and trade; and academics and education. These areas were good for Taiwan and Thailand due to Taiwan and Thailand having mutual benefits in economic and research; cooperation in academic and education being long investment for Taiwan into Thai society (Thai students receiving education from Taiwan's academic institutions in which Taiwan having expertise and reputation); and help boosting understanding, knowledge, and exchanges between Taiwan and Thailand.

The participants gave suggestions to tighten overall relations between Taiwan and Thailand in: continuing visa exemption measures, doing more cooperation between the public sector, and doing more civil service exchanges. These would help the image of Taiwan being rising and more impressive among Thai civil services. The participants also pointed out the prominent features of Taiwan and the people of Taiwan that they were liberal democratic, and having the freedom of speech; having good manners, etiquette, and behavior, as well as having good quality of life and good standard of living. The Taiwan's government could promote these prominent features as the distinction of Taiwan and the people of Taiwan in the international arena. Last but not least, among other superpower and middle power countries, Taiwan was positively ranked at the third place for favorite overall image in the civil service participants' eyes, even above superpower countries like the U.S., China, and Russia.

Finally, the Thai civil service sample participants stated that Taiwan had a strong and reputation in soft power. Taiwan could use this strength to do cooperations with the Thai public sector, and to promote a positive image of Taiwan in Thailand for the general public. Besides the tightening overall relations suggestions, the participants gave other suggestions that would be potential aspects in doing cooperation between Taiwan and Thailand being the fields of environment, disaster management, and industrial development. Taiwan had expertise and succeeded in bioeconomy, circular economy, and green economy (BCG); disaster management, prevention, and relief; and industrial development in semiconductors, electronics, digitalization, and agricultural industry. These successes were needed and welcomed to do cooperations with Thai public agencies. Also, for the general public, culture and education were the best channels to tighten relations between Taiwan and Thailand and to instill a positive image into

Thai people's mind. Promoting Taiwan's identities, especially, via Taiwan's foods and gastronomy, Taiwan's entertainment and fashion, giving funding and scholarships for Thai students, and organizing activity events both in Thailand and Taiwan would be a long investment and creating mutual benefit for Taiwan and Thailand. These cooperations and the use of Taiwan's soft power could be easily implemented under the New Southbound Policy framework at efficient cost but more effective outcomes in the relations between Taiwan and Thailand. Taiwan had gained success in pursuing a positive image from the Thai civil service according to the policy objectives.

#### **Notes**

- Lee and Chan (2023, 2) also gave more reasons that Taiwan moved to Southeast Asia. The Southeast Asian region is familiar to Taiwan, vice versa. The region and the island have trade, investment, supply chain, and people-to-people exchanges between each other. The region is a Taiwan investors' alternative production base in semiconductor, electronic components, printed circuits, high-end goods, cheap labor, and geographical proximity to Taiwan. Vietnam and Thailand are the two most beneficiaries from the NSP.
- <sup>2</sup> The policy was the first initiative strengthening relations with Southeast Asian countries (Ku cited in Lee and Chan, 2023, 11).
- <sup>3</sup> The function of the association is not only business, the foundation stone for Taiwan-Thailand relations as well.
- <sup>4</sup> For instance: cabinet members, government advisors, Prime Minister advisors, Ministerial advisors, senior advisors, Senators, Presidents of independent constitutional organs, even Privy Councilors.
- <sup>5</sup> Q.4 Please rate the excellent performance aspects of Taiwan.
- <sup>6</sup> Q.15 In the following aspects, do you think the NSP is working well in the relations between Taiwan and Thailand?
- <sup>7</sup> T-Test in Stata (90% Conf. Interval). N=120.

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