Chinese Self-Presentations of Happiness on Social Media: A Content Analysis of New Year Wishes

Meilian Zhuang*, Ratanachote Thienmongkol°, Ruethai Nimnoi• and Shaoye Luo**
*Department of New Media, Faculty of Informatics, Mahasarakham University
°Department of New Media, Faculty of Informatics, Mahasarakham University
•Department of Information Science, Faculty of Informatics, Mahasarakham University
*New Engineering Industry College, Putian University, China

Abstract

The understanding of happiness is subjective, with cultural tendency. Nowadays, New Year's wishes have become a culture in China. The wishes of individuals, to a certain extent, reflect their inner needs and desires, and can be considered as a window and channel from which to interpret individual views of happiness. In this study, social media users' posts are considered as self-reports, enabling an exploration of Chinese users' perspectives on happiness through content analysis of their New Year's wishes. A total sample size of 1,581 posts from three consecutive

^{*} Meilian Zhuang, PhD Candidate at the Department of New Media, Faculty of Informatics, Mahasarakham University, Thailand. Her research areas include new media communication and culture communication. She can be reached at <zml20011002@163.com>.

^o Ratanachote Thienmongkol (corresponding author) is currently an Associate Professor at the Department of New Media, Faculty of Informatics, Mahasarakham University, Thailand. His academic research focuses on improving the empowerment of visualization for user recognition and reading acquisition based on the Human Centered Design (HCD) concept. He can be contacted via email at <ratanachote.t@msu.ac.th>.

[•] Ruethai Nimnoi is currently an Assistant Professor at the Department of Information Science, Faculty of Informatics, Mahasarakham University, Thailand. She is committed to the study of information science. She can be reached at <ruethai.n@msu.ac.th>.

^{**} Shaoye Luo is an Associate Professor at the New Engineering Industry College, Putian University, Fujian Province, China. His research focuses on data mining and analysis. He can be reached at <lsy123@163.com>.

years (2021-2023) was collected using a Python program from Sina Weibo. These posts were then coded based on a coding scheme developed through prior empirical categorization processes. The findings reveal a comprehensive portrayal of happiness as perceived by Chinese people from ten dimensions: being in a positive mental state, having future expectations, enjoying good health, possessing sound financial stability, spending time with family members, leading an unrestricted and joyful life, maintaining good appearances, freedom from disasters, and achieving success in work. Furthermore, this study discusses various definitions of happiness as well as strategies for attaining it. While many conclusions drawn align with findings from previous studies, some distinct insights are also presented herein along with implications and limitations specific to this current study.

Keywords: Self-Presentation, Happiness View, Social Media, New Year's Wishes, Content Analysis.

1. Introduction

Happiness is an ancient and evergreen topic. Whether an individual is happy or not is an important yardstick to measure a person's quality of life and psychology, and it is also a continuous driving force to ensure the sustainable development of science and technology, education and social undertakings in a country or region (Bai, 2021). The understanding of happiness is at the core of happiness research, and involves personal and social perceptions of "what constitute a happy life", which includes a set of beliefs, values, attitudes and behavioural intentions related to it (Lu, 2007).

It has been an eternal debate, one which can be traced back to a philosophical discussion of two representative views of happiness, namely, Aristippus's Hedonism and Aristotle's Eudaimonia. Over the past few decades, this research has also evolved from an abstract topic in the philosophical domain to a major issue in the social sciences, where many measurements have been developed to evaluate an individual's level of happiness based on the two views. Categories of measurement include subjective well-being (Diener, 1984), psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989), social well-being (Keyes, 1998), and new measures of well-being (Diener et al., 2009). The evaluation criteria range from individual to societal standards, such as satisfaction with life, the balance of the positive to the negative

affect, positive psychological functioning, the quality of the relationships between individuals, and positive thinking. This series of evaluation criteria is the concrete reflection of the views of happiness, and together construct a happiness cognition system covering many elements.

These ongoing discussions can provide theoretical support for subsequent studies and policies to improve individual happiness. However, happiness is a concept highly rooted in specific cultures and times (Li et al., 2024). The evaluation criteria, such as the focus on relatively high arousal emotions e.g., enjoyment, may reflect a Western cultural bias (Lomas, 2023:58). Perspectives on happiness in different contexts are then discussed, significant examples from the people of China (Lu, 2001), Thailand (Suavansri et al., 2022), and the Netherlands (van der Deijl et al., 2023) contain both universal and culturally unique components of a good life. Such research provides an opportunity to examine happiness outside of academic frameworks, not only taking into account cultural variations but also exploring the nature of happiness from the perspective of the people experiencing it. However, although their research methods vary, their data are all derived from direct statements and expressions of their subjects, which may result in over-reporting of responses that are socially desirable and under-reporting of those responses that are deemed to be socially undesirable/less desirable because of the social desirability bias (Larson, 2019). Therefore, another way in which the subjects' view of happiness is presented, that is, their New Year's wishes, has been proposed in this study.

To wish is to hope that something you want will be made real because of good luck or magical powers. Hoping and wishing quintessentially represent the good and bad aspects of humans' anticipation of the future and the resulting moods of the individual and society (Rosenthal, 1983:45). Summarizing the life course of the past year at the moment of bidding farewell, and making new expectations and visions for the upcoming year, has gradually become an indispensable part of welcoming the new year, forming a "New Year wish culture" in China (Wang, 2022).

According to psychological theory, wishes arise from internal motivations and desires (Ye, 2000:225). People's desires will be transformed into the form of wishes, with more reasonable and more sacred presentation. Desire fulfilment theories, one of the traditional theories of happiness, hold that happiness is a matter of getting what you want (Griffin, 1988), with the content of the want left up to the person who does the wanting. Fulfilment of

a desire contributes to one's happiness. Therefore, the wishes of individuals, to a certain extent, reflect their inner needs and desires, and can be a window and channel to interpret the view of individual happiness.

The advent of social media which allows users to share and communicate independently has made it easier for people to present and express their desires. On social media, the "silent majority" find a stage to show themselves and a space to voice their minds. Their self-presentation on social media is a kind of display, an "exhibition" of the self (Hogan, 2010). The wishes and hopes about the future happiness life that users "display" on social media are as valuable as self-reported measurements of happiness in psychological research. They provide valuable information for the study of individual happiness.

To summarize, scholars have conducted extensive research and debate around the question of what constitutes a happy life, and have formed a series of happiness frameworks covering multiple elements, providing valuable ideas and basis for subsequent research. However, the cognitive systems of happiness constructed have had biases towards Western culture. In follow-up studies, scholars have discussed the view of happiness in different cultures. Yet, although they admit that happiness has a cultural dependency, they can't avoid social desirability bias in self-reports by research objects. On the premises that people are the primary source of personal values and that they present their genuine views on social media, this study delved into individuals' representations of happiness from their New Year's wishes (NYW) on Weibo during the Chinese Lunar New Year. The wishes were analysed with the following two research questions in mind:

- (1) What view of happiness do Chinese people present on social media?
- (2) What are the differences and similarities between the happiness presented on social media and the presentations of happiness found in previous studies?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Chinese People's View of Happiness

Concepts of happiness have a unique history and realistic background in Chinese culture, appearing in various classics and in the speculative thinking of scholars. In historical literature, happiness can be divided into two kinds: the view of happiness described as Fu and the view of happiness described by *Le*.

The ancients used the concept of Fu to express the state of happiness and Le as the experience of happiness. Le, that is, the pursuit of happiness on a spiritual level, is a very important feature of traditional Chinese culture and is a certain state of acquired cultivation. Li (2005:137) considered Chinese culture as a Le culture, and proposed that Le culture is the cultural psychological structure of the Chinese. For example, "Happiness of Confucius and Yan Hui" embodies an inner joy and happiness obtained from the transcending of material desires (Zhang, 2019). The happiness of contentment with the interdependence of fortune and misfortune constitute the view of happiness in Taoism, which helps people maintain an optimistic and generous attitude in the difficult situations of life. In other words, happiness is a kind of mental insight and spiritual sublimation (Zeng and Guo, 2012).

Fu, a kind of good wishes, is widely used in daily life. In the book "Shang Shu" (The Book of History), Fu is clearly defined in mundane existence to include longevity, prosperity, health and peace, virtue, and a comfortable death (Du, 2018:55). It shows that the core of people's definition of happiness, at that time, was quality of life. Longevity, health and death are the manifestations of quality of life, whereas prosperity is the material assurance, and virtue can enable one to achieve interpersonal harmony which is also necessary for a good quality of life. This is the simplest and most direct manifestation of people's pursuit of a happy life. "May the five Fus come to your door" is still a popular greeting at Chinese New Year nowadays. To sum up, the happiness represented by Fu is peace and perfection in life, with more emphasis on people's material needs and their satisfaction in real life.

The Chinese view of happiness also has typical collectivist cultural characteristics, especially in highlighting social responsibility and patriotism (Lu and Gilmour, 2007; Steele and Lynch, 2013) and the idea that individuals feel more satisfied and happier with the realization of socially oriented goals (such as honouring elders and social contribution) (Oishi, 2002). Chinese culture attaches importance to harmony and pays more attention to interpersonal support centred on kinship (Lu and Gilmour, 2007). It promotes the ethical norms of orderliness, loyalty and filial piety,

and abiding by the way of getting along based on human feelings.

The scholarly thought provides a clear context for understanding the Chinese view of happiness. However, happiness is a very subjective issue. Some people believe that happiness comes from the satisfaction of material needs, while others think that the experience of happiness comes from the fullness of the spiritual world. This reminds us that to really study what constitutes a happy life, we need to examine the happiness presented by individuals from the point of view of the people experiencing it.

2.2 The Presentation of Chinese View of Happiness

There are many explorations of the views of happiness from the perspective of the people experiencing it. For example, Lu (2001, 2007) used a folk psychology approach to explore what Chinese people think about happiness by asking 142 undergraduate students to write free-format essays in response to a simple open-ended question, "What is happiness?" Then he defined happiness from 5 aspects and found that happiness is a harmonious state of existence; the relationship between happiness and unhappiness is dialectical, and happiness can be achieved. Another example is China's largest media survey on people's livelihood, *China's Better Life Survey* (formerly: *China's Economic Life Survey*), which started in 2006 and has been conducted for many years. 100,000 Chinese families are surveyed about their life experiences, economic conditions, consumption and investment expectations, livelihood difficulties and happiness every year (Baike, 2023).

Apart from these, discussions of this research are mainly conducted on the media. The significant findings are that the majority of young people in China follow official discourse, inheriting traditional culture, taking morality as the criterion, and pursuing spiritual happiness (Zhang, 2015). Happiness is compared to a car, then family is the "power source" and children is the "engine" (Zhang et al., 2013). Health and peace are the guarantee of happiness and people mainly focus on family members and other kinship, such as their father, mother, and friends (Zhang and Chan, 2019). By combing relevant literature and using in-depth interview methods, Li (2024) extracted five dimensions of views of happiness with national characteristics and times characteristics, namely, material satisfaction, interpersonal support, self-realization, natural harmony, and patriotism. However, due to limited resources such as layout and time, mass media tend to select the target of news or fall into the process of "typification" (Tuchman, 1973) in terms of their construction method. Some media took scholars, officials, and media as three main discourse subjects in their coverage of happiness to represent the voice of the vast majority of the people (Liu, 2012). The sources of some other media are mainly young people, migrant workers, and farmers (Zhang, 2015). In this way, mass media tends to focus on the group and discussed certain groups' views on happiness. Thus, it is hard to include the subtle feelings of specific individuals during the coverage (Liao and Qian, 2012). Even worse, the absence of individuals in media coverage has led to an aphasia in their views of happiness (Zhuang, 2019), and subsequent policies to promote happiness at the individual level are naturally not targeted.

As can be seen from the above analysis of literature about what happiness is, due to the limitations of research methods and mediums of presentation, individual subjectivity has not been fully exerted, resulting in the lack of individual voice in findings regarding the recognition and pursuit of happiness, which should have the most say. Therefore, the results of the presentation are mostly at the level of patriotism and family happiness, and there is a lack of detailed description of individual feelings. This study aims to examine individuals' cognition and pursuit of happiness as completely as possible through a content analysis of the New Year's wishes expressed by individuals on social media.

3. Methods

3.1 Sample and Procedure

Samples were 1,581 New Year Wishes' posts from three consecutive years (2021-2023). A python program (Chen et al., 2020) was used to capture the data which contained all of the content from the hashtag #New Year's Wishes#(#新年心愿#) during 8 p.m. and 12 p.m. on Sina Weibo on Chinese New Year's Eve, that is, 11th February 2021, 31st January 2022, and 21st January 2023. 784, 414, and 455 items of wish posts were obtained in the three years, respectively. The irrelevant and non-substantive, such as advertisements, were excluded, and 778, 407, and 396 items (total sample size n=1,581) were retained at last.

3.2 Content Analysis

This content analysis followed steps proposed by Weber (1990).

3.2.1 Identify the analysis unit

There were two analysis units in this study, the text unit and the recording unit. A text unit is the largest material body to be analysed, and the recording unit is part of the text to which coding categories applies (Smith, 2000). In this study, a text unit was defined as an item or a post of Sina Weibo users' NYW, and the recording unit was defined as a category of post. A text unit can have multiple recording units. For example, a text unit "China will win COVID-19; My family will be happy, safe and healthy; My deposit will exceed one million as soon as possible." would be split into four independent recording units, namely, the categories of environment, mental state, health, and finance. In a word, each recording unit is encoded exclusively into a category (Weber, 1990).

3.2.2 Construct coding scheme

Constructing a coding scheme includes many steps, such as defining the categories, testing coding on a sample, assessing reliability, reviewing coding rules, and repeating if needed.

In order to construct a set of categories that could broadly reflect individuals' self-written NYW, we applied two approaches: prior category and empirical category (Stemler, 2001). After a thorough review and summary of past literature, a prior category, including relationships (Chen, 2003:25; Zheng, 2008:133), circumstances (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005), work (Buettner et al., 2020; Daily, 2023), lifestyle (Buettner et al., 2020; Daily, 2023), mental state (Lu, 2001; Seligman, 2002), health (Luo and Zhao, 2012), finance (Buettner et al., 2020; Liao and Qian, 2012), love (Daily, 2023; Seligman, 2002), and growth (Daily, 2023; Seligman, 2002) was established.

Two individuals with expertise in coding, one serving as the first author and the other as the fourth author, conducted a comprehensive review of the pilot data obtained from the entire sample pool. The objective of this review was to establish a comprehensive coding scheme. Given the substantial size of the sample pool, a total of 159 samples (approximately 10 per cent of the entire sample) were randomly selected for pilot data analysis. This selection

was based on the distribution across three years: 78 samples from 2021, 41 samples from 2022, and 40 samples from 2023. The category "Love" was ultimately excluded due to its overlap with "Relationships". Additionally, "Circumstances" was modified to "Environment" due to the exclusion of personal circumstances. The category of "Environment" primarily pertains to national or social changes. Considering that there is a significant number of students active on Sina Weibo, the category "Work" was extended to include students as a distinct occupation group. Simultaneously, two new categories, "Good Appearance" and "Hopes and Dreams", were introduced. The category "Good Appearance" aimed at encoding desires related to beauty standards such as wanting to be attractive or have an ideal body shape/ weight; whereas "Hopes and Dreams" encompassed general expectations for future outcomes without specific directions (e.g., hoping everything goes well or dreams come true). Any elements that were difficult to identify or classify comfortably were assigned under a broader category called "General and Others". Other dimensions that reflect the characteristics of a person's view of happiness, such as content emphasis, expression tendency, time orientation, and whom they wished were also included.

Based on these considerations, a coding scheme (see Table 1) consisting of 5 dimensions and 22 categories were developed.

Dimensions	Categories	Examples		
Wish Content	Relationships	Includes the relationships among family, friends, partners, and general others. It is worth mentioning that this category must focus on the development or maintenance of relationships, not just mentioning them.	Have fun with everyone. I hope tha in the new year, ther will be someone wh will never leave me. Wish the motherland the country is prosperous and the people are safe.	
	Environment	Contains national security, social stability, ecological environment health, etc.		
	Work	Includes workers and students, hopes for promotions, easy work, and no overtime for workers, passing exams, getting high scores, and graduating smoothly for students.	Get a promotion.	
	Lifestyle	The quest for a free way of life. Someone's way of living	Do not stay up late.	
	Good Appearance	Looks forward to losing weight, exercising, and transforming oneself into an attractive, charming person.	Be thin, be beautiful and be excellent.	
	Mental State	It refers to feelings that are pleasant, energetic, and satisfying, such as joy, love, gratitude, peace, etc.	Happy New Year!	
	Health	Without mishaps and the absence of chronic illness, be safe, and peaceful.	May you grow up safe, healthy, and happy.	
	Finances	Enough money to meet basic needs, salary increase, and raking in money.	I just want to get richer every day, every year.	
	Growth	It refers to the growth and progress of an individual in cognitive, emotional, social adaptation, and other aspects.	The gift of the New Year is to slowly improve myself.	
	Hopes and Dreams	Includes hopes in general terms, with no specific categories covered.	I hope that this year's bad will be exchanged for a luck outbreak in 2023.	
	General and Others	Others not mentioned in the above categories	I just found that my New Year's greeting to friends and relatives turned out t be what I instinctive desired.	

Table 1. Coding Scheme

Dimensions	Categories	Instructions	Examples	
Target of Wish	Self	Wish oneself	I hope that my New Year is full of hope.	
	Family	Include the whole members or one or some particular members.	I wish my family good health in the New Year.	
	Friend	Include the whole members or one or some particular members.	May the life of friends and relatives in the circle of friend be as free as poetry.	
	General	Others not mentioned in the above categories or the person who has no clear direction.	I wish everyone the best in the New Year.	
Expression Tendency	Positive	Use positive statements to express wishes.	The days are always new, and it is a good year.	
	Negative	Use negative or passive statements to express wishes.	With fun, hope, and no trouble.	
Time Orientation	Past	Summary and memory of the past.	Forty per cent of what was promised last year came true.	
	Present	Summary and memory of the current life or situation.	The fireworks outside the window did not stop, and sitting here watching by the radiator seemed to be the most peaceful moment of my year.	
	Future	Hope for the future.	Next year, I hope you all have more honey.	
Content Emphasis	Material	Relating to physical objects or special concerns, such as money, food, and clothing basic necessities of life, rather than emotions or the spiritual world.	Have a small family and make a little fortune.	
	Spiritual	Something relates to enthusiasm, energy, or courage.	In the new year, I hope my eyes can be filled with sincerity, and my heart can be calmly filled with freedom and love.	

3.2.3 Coding process

All data, 1,581 items, were imported into DiVoMiner, an online content analysis and data mining platform. Under the coding scheme, the pilot 159 samples (2021=78, 2022=41, 2023=40, 10 per cent of sample tool) that were randomly chosen from the sample pool were reviewed by two trained coders independently. Posts with inconsistent coding results were discussed until a consensus was reached among both coders. Then the coding rules were reviewed and the weaknesses of the coding scheme were revised. This process was repeated until acceptable reliability, i.e., kappa>0.7 (Park and Peterson, 2006), was achieved for each category. In this study, kappa for each category ranged from 0.78 to 1. After that, two coders operated independently on the DiVoMiner platform to code the whole data together. A database on the views of happiness was thus established, which were quantitatively analysed by relevant tools, and finally, the research findings were obtained.

4. Results

The data used in this study did not contain demographic information like the age and gender of Sina Weibo users due to privacy settings, the incompleteness of personal information presented in their wishes, and technical restrictions. However, public data can be used to gather fundamental general information about the entire group. On the Sina Weibo platform, the share of users who were born in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s age groups is 1 per cent, 3 per cent, 18 per cent, 48 per cent, and 30 per cent, respectively. 54.6 per cent of users are female, and 45.4 per cent of users are male (Data, 2021).

The NYW ranged greatly in length, from 4 words at the shortest to 616 words at the longest. The shortest wish could nevertheless contain useful information. The categories in each dimension were arranged according to their weight in the total sample (see Table 2).

Dimensio-	Categories	2021	2022	2023	Total
Dimension		Frequency*(%)			
	Mental State	410 (52.70)	230 (56.51)	228 (57.58)	868 (54.90)
	Hopes and Dreams	290 (37.26)	118 (28.99)	115 (29.04)	523 (33.08)
	Health	231 (29.69)	136 (33.42)	128 (32.32)	495 (31.31)
	Finance	140 (17.99)	62 (15.23)	73 (18.43)	275 (17.39)
	Relationships	133 (17.10)	74 (18.18)	56 (14.14)	263 (16.64)
Wish Content	Lifestyle	100 (12.85)	77 (18.92)	74 (18.69)	251 (15.88)
wish Content	Growth	123 (15.81)	77 (18.92)	8 (12.12)	248 (15.69)
	Environment	86 (11.05)	39 (9.58)	41 (10.35)	166 (10.50)
	Good Appearance	66 (8.48)	28 (6.88)	22 (5.56)	113(7.15)
	Work	50 (6.43)	25 (6.14)	34 (8.59)	112(7.08)
	General and Other	11 (1.41)	7 (1.72)	7 (1.77)	25(1.58)
Target of Wish	Self	529 (67.99)	277 (68.06)	249 (62.88)	1,055 (66.73
	General	217 (27.89)	112 (27.52)	122 (30.80)	451 (28.53)
	Family	101 (12.98)	65 (15.97)	44 (11.11)	210(13.28)
	Friend	95 (12.21)	28 (6.88%)	24 (6.06)	147(9.30)
Expression	Positive	749(96.27)	391(96.07)	389(98.23)	1,529 (96.71
Tendency	Negative	106(13.62)	68(16.71)	57(14.39)	231 (14.61)
	Future	763 (98.07)	402 (98.77)	387 (97.73)	1,552 (98.17
Time Orientation	Present	146 (18.77)	48 (11.79)	68 (17.17)	262 (16.57)
	Past	99 (12.72)	51 (12.53)	46 (11.62)	196 (12.40)
Content Emphasis	Spiritual	651 (83.68)	381 (93.61)	371 (93.69)	1,403 (88.74
	Material	353 (45.37)	122 (29.98)	109 (27.53)	584 (34.66)

Table 2. Frequency of Each Category

*(N=number of samples; N_{2021} =778, N_{2022} =407, N_{2023} =396, N_{total} =1,581)

4.1 Wish Contents

According to Table 2, the Mental State category was the most frequently mentioned among the 11 categories, with over 50 per cent of users referring to it at least once in their wishes. The other two categories in the top three were Hopes and Dreams and Health, each roughly accounting for around 30 per cent. The proportions of the categories of Finance, Relationships, Growth, and Lifestyle were about 15 per cent or so. The category

Environment ranked 8th. The most striking finding in this study was the category with the lowest weightage was Work, which had annual proportions of 6.43 per cent, 6.14 per cent, and 8.59 per cent in 2021, 2022 and 2023 respectively, resulting in a total weight of 7.08 per cent. The proportion of the category General and Other was less than 2 per cent each year, indicating that this empirical category was reasonable (Chen, 2015:164).

The statistical data reflected the focus of users' concerns for happiness, and specific pictures of happiness could be obtained from the content they posted. Considering most of the wishes posted by users were composed of short sentences, this research adopted Word Cloud to examine them and present the results. Word segmentation was chosen to execute word frequency analysis for statistical methods. During the process, certain irrelevant words, e.g., *some*, *a lot of*, *always*, were concealed within the Word Cloud, while words that were related to or belonged to the same family, *e.g., fitness, good health, be healthy*, were compounded into the word *Health* and presented as a single category in the Word Cloud. The more frequently keywords appeared, the more prominent their visual presentation in the Word Cloud.





The Word Cloud (Fig.1) demonstrated the outlines of the happinesses described by social media users in three years. It can be seen that users were relatively content with the status quo from the frequency of these words or phrases, e.g., go on (继续 n=80), *better* (更好 n=50), and sentence structure, e.g., *thanks for...* (感谢 n=37), *Comparative* + and + the same comparative (越来越 n=105). However, there were still some regrets (遗憾 n=48) and annoyance (烦恼 n=35).

In terms of Mental State, *Happy New Year* (新年快乐 n=1,354) was the most frequently used word. Most of the posts looked forward to high arousal positive emotions, such as *happy* (快乐 n=302), *delighted* (开开心心 n=191), *joyful* (喜乐 n=246), *glad* (欢愉 n=46). Some low arousal positive emotions, such as *worriless, relieved, content, plain, and ordinary*, also have a certain amount of mention.

As the second most mentioned category, Hopes and Dreams referred to general visions of the coming future. Some of the most frequent wishes were *Everything goes well* (万事如意n=559), *Everything comes true* (心想 事成 n=103), *Good luck* (好运 n=78), *All the best* (顺利 n=373), etc. In the meantime, they also told themselves to continue to *work hard* (加油 n=60), and *make great efforts* (努力 n=119) in the new year to make these wishes come true.

Regarding the category of Health, users hoped that they could keep healthy and peaceful. *Fitness* (身体健康 n=588) and *Safeness* (平安 n=574) both had prominent positions in the Word Cloud. The statements such as *free from illness and pain* also were vivid, although they were not displayed on the map.

The frequency of the category Finance was significantly less than the top three categories. Among those who mentioned it, a sudden surge in wealth, described in their posts as *sudden wealth* (暴富 n=160) and *making a fortune* (发财 n=60), was their single and urgent desire. The wishes "*stock will rise by the daily limit*" in 2021 and "*Funds won't become green*" in 2022 were some of the concrete ways this desire was expressed, statements that reflected China's economic situation in those two years. Meanwhile, a steady increase in wealth such as through *a salary increase* was also identified as a good way to become a rich man or achieve financial freedom.

The category of Relationships contained four subcategories. Partner and Family dominated the subcategories at over 60 per cent each year, while the category Friend and General varied slightly from year to year, as shown in Fig. 2.



Figure 2. Frequency of Relationships

As for the picture they painted of the relationships between different groups, family members (家人 n=197), parents (父母 n=27), and babies (宝宝 n=29) played an essential role. In terms of Partner, those who did not have a partner, hoped to meet their other half (遇到 n=73) and successfully get out of the single status. Those with a partner wanted to be happy forever. In terms of Family, the most beautiful scene was when the family members sat leisurely together, having a reunion dinner. Meeting new friends and getting along well with each other were the common aspirations under Friend and General.

The category of Lifestyle and Growth had rich meanings in users' self-presentation. They cared for living a *free* (自由 n=48) and *funny* (有趣 n=42) life which can *have an unfettered travel, sleep until wake up naturally* or *exercise every day*, and then *keep love and move on to the New Year*. In terms of Growth, there were three main aspects. First of all, it was the aspect of acquiring knowledge, e.g., to *read more books, to learn English*. Second, it involved ability training and self-development, e.g., *improvement of painting skill, pass the postgraduate entrance examination* (上岸 n=72). The third aspect had to do with personal attitude and ideological state in life, e.g., *to let the past go and take what happens in stride, to be a little sun with love in the heart and light in the eyes*, etc. The ultimate goal of growth was *to become a better person*.

The content of the Environment category focused mainly on the national and social dimensions. The words that appeared in the Word Cloud were pandemic (疫情 n=60) and *be safe and sound* (长安 n=27). The expectations of *an early end to COVID-19, prosperity of the country, peace of the people,* and *no disasters or difficulties* were the underlying colours of their happy life.

In terms of the category of Good Appearance and Work, their aspirations were relatively simple. *To lose weight/become thin, to become beautiful*, and *to have no baldness* were among the basic common pursuits. *Go smoothly in work* ($Ifm \pi n=60$), *Less overtime*, and *Passing exams* were the most common wishes for both those who were already working and students.

4.2 Wish Whom?

Targets of wishes were made up of four categories. As listed in Table 1, the Self category (66.73 per cent) is at the top, followed by the General category (28.53 per cent), Family category (13.28 per cent) and Friend category (9.3 per cent), which is contrary to the research results of the Relationship category in the dimension of wish content. I should note that the definition of the "General" category mentioned above differs from the category "General and Other" within the analysis of Wish Content, whereby "General" in the analysis of Target of Wish indicates that there was no clear target because of collective pronouns such as "everybody", and "everyone" in the wishes. From the Word Cloud, the most prominent words indicating targets of wishes were *oneself* ($\beta cl n=447$), followed by *everyone* ($\pi cl m=75$).

4.3 Expression Tendency

Expression tendency contained two categories: positive and negative statements. One wish may cover both. The proportion of positive statements varied little in the three years, all of which were above 96 per cent. However, negative statements also had a certain proportion, around 15 per cent each year, which formed an appealing picture of happiness.

In terms of the content contained in negative statements, all categories of Wish Content except the category of General and Other, were mentioned (see Table 3). The category of Environment had the highest cumulative occurrence (43) across the three years, being the most frequent category

of negative statements in 2022 (n=14), 2023 (n=11), and ranking second in 2021 (n=18). Mental State (n=34) and Good Appearance (n=30) came next in the overall rankings. Relationships (n=28) ranked fifth, and Finance (n=11) and Work (n=6) came in second last and last. The content of the negative statements included the early end of the epidemic, experiencing less trouble, losing weight, having no insomnia, not caring about the evaluation of the outside world, escaping singledom, wishing no disease, no disaster, no lack of money, and less overtime.

Category	2021	2022	2023	Total
Environment	18	14	11	43
Mental State	17	7	10	34
Good Appearance	18	9	3	30
Lifestyle	8	12	9	29
Relationships	19	4	5	28
Future	13	6	9	28
Growth	13	8	4	25
Health	4	6	4	14
Finance	2	4	5	11
Work	2	3	1	6
Total	114	73	61	248

Table 3. Frequency of Negative Statements

4.4 Time Orientation

The dimension of time orientation contained three categories: Future, Present, and Past. It was not surprising that the proportion of Future was close to 100 per cent (2021=98.07 per cent, 2022=98.77 per cent, 2023=97.73 per cent), which meant this category was mentioned by almost all of the sample users. Curiously, both the Present and Past categories were also mentioned by quite a large number of people, 16.57 per cent and 12.40 per cent respectively of the total in the three years.

4.5 Content Emphasis

Content emphasis was analysed through the two categories of Spiritual and Material. The category Spiritual was mentioned in users' wishes at over 83 per cent. Material also accounted for a certain proportion, reaching at least 27.53 per cent each year (see Table 1). It showed that spiritual and material pursuits both held importance in users' future picture, but the proportion of spiritual pursuits was far higher than the material.

5. Discussion

As previously established, views on happiness are subjective, with cultural tendency. This study focused on two topics, that is, the presentations of Chinese people's views of happiness on social media, and how they compare with findings from previous studies. To examine Chinese people's view of happiness, our content analysis studied 1,581 NYW posted by users on Chinese social media.

5.1 The Self-Presentation of Happiness

The presentation of Chinese people's concepts of happiness includes two aspects, the dimensions of the happiness wished for on social media, and the definitions of happiness. The former is based on results of Wish Content, Expression Tendency, and Target of Wish, while the latter relates to results of Wish Content, Time Orientation, and content emphasis.

5.1.1 Dimensions of happiness

The results of wish content in Table 2 and the Word Cloud show that Chinese people were satisfied with the status quo when they posted NYW, and their view of happiness has ten dimensions, namely, mental state, hopes and dreams, health, finance, relationships, lifestyle, growth, environment, good appearance, and work.

To be more specific, the findings show that Chinese people look forward to being in a positive mental state, including both high and low arousal positive emotions. Facing the coming future, they are hopeful that their wishes will be realized and are willing to work hard for it. As one of their top three concerns, health and safety are their consistent pursuits. Compared with the above topmost three, although Chinese people's demand for wealth is significantly less, and the relevant bright words in the Word Cloud also indicate that Chinese people's pursuit of wealth is no longer to meet the basic needs of life, but to hope for material prosperity.

In terms of relationships, the wishes about various relationships (Fig. 2) and the relationships between the wisher and whom they wish in

Table 2 show that Chinese people attach great importance to both family members and ordinary people. As for the dimensions of lifestyle and good appearance, almost all concerns were for becoming thin and beautiful or living freely. With regard to growth, whether it is the increase or acquisition of knowledge, the development of abilities, or the improvement of one's spiritual level, it is the development planning that people do based on their individual needs, focusing on the realization and development of individual potential.

The dimension of environment in this study contains two aspects, that is, nature harmony and patriotism. The former is for the ecological environment, and the latter is for the country. At the same time, the results in Table 3 showed that the biggest concern of negative statements in the three years studied is the problem of the environment, and more specifically, the COVID-19 pandemic. Users in the data called for *an early end to the pandemic*. As to the dimension of work, it had the lowest portion of wishes whether in positive or negative statements. The desires around work were relatively simple - it was to work smoothly, or to have no overtime.

5.1.2 Definitions of happiness

Happiness is such a subjective concept that no one can give it a complete, one-size-fits-all definition. However, a certain consensus can be derived from the results of the NYW studied.

5.1.2.1 Happiness is a state of being better than before

According to the results of Time Orientation, although they were New Year's wishes and a hope for the future, there still were many posts that referred to the two time dimensions of the past and the present. The results show that Chinese people have a propensity to contrast their desired happiness with the past. First off, despite some posts comparing one's own life to that of others, they have a clear tendency to compare themselves to their former selves or to their own former circumstances. They want to be *better and better, more and more gentle/beautiful, richer and richer, etc., the more live, the younger they will be*, and *can do more and more meaningful things in the coming year*. In other words, as long as one's self or state today is better than it was yesterday, one will be content and happy. Second, Chinese people exhibited a propensity towards vertical comparisons in terms of time. The conditions

of "the old one/year" served as the reference to build their aspirations and the standards to measure whether they reach the goals in the future, as in their desires, such as *Every year is better than ever*, *May the New Year be better than the old one*. In a nutshell, the comparison standard also includes the circumstances of the previous year.

5.1.2.2 Happiness is a mental state with positive emotions

According to the results of the Word Cloud of the category of Mental state, words associated with high arousal positive emotions like happiness, joyfulness, and delight were predominant compared to mentions of low arousal positive emotion which were relatively scarce. It indicated that experiencing high arousal affect was a significant aspect of happiness. Undoubtedly, culture plays a vital role in shaping the understanding of a happy life, that is, people in Western cultures tend to experience high arousal emotions, while Chinese people's desired state of happiness is more peaceful. However, the link between desired positive emotions and the age of the sample population who were mostly born in the 1990s and 2000s reveal that there might be a relationship between the desired mental state and age. For young people with less life experience and more exposure to fun and exciting events, especially in an environment where the pace of industrialization has accelerated significantly, the pursuit of high arousal positive emotions is the meaning of happiness.

The difference in the desired mental state between different ages is a reminder of the role age plays during the formation process of one's view of happiness, as well as of the scope of findings of this study, which uses data mainly from people who were born in the 1990s and 2000s. This points out a way towards further research. When measuring people's perceived happiness (e.g., mostly subjective well-being in past research) or exploring their views of happiness, not only cultural factors should be taken into account, but an analysis of age differences should also be put on the research agenda.

5.1.2.3 Happiness is a state of satisfaction of spiritual fulfilment

The statistical data of content emphasis in Table 2 show that Chinese people care more about spiritual pursuits than material ones. But there is no denying that three of these categories, that is, Finance, Lifestyle, and Good Appearance, are related to material pursuits. When the statistics were put together with the Word Cloud, it can be found that there is a strong correlation between these material pursuits and the spiritual. The pursuit of a free lifestyle and good appearance ultimately leads to spiritual pleasure and satisfaction. In terms of finance, the desire for sudden wealth beyond basic necessities actually satisfies not the material level, but the spiritual level of security and contentment. Therefore, in the context of material abundance, instead of focusing on whether the weight of the material and spiritual wishes changes, it is better to find answers to these questions such as what people's material needs are and what the relationships between the material and spiritual pursuits are.

5.1.2.4 Improvement of oneself is a main way to attain happiness

An unavoidable question in any view of happiness is how to attain happiness. In the users' wishes, there were three main aspects through which to improve themselves, from the primary level of learning and acquisition of knowledge, the middle-level of ability training and development, to the highlevel of personal ideological cultivation. The improvement of knowledge reserves, ability levels and realm levels is not only a process of getting closer to happiness, but also the inevitable result of happiness realization.

5.2 Similarities and Differences Between the Previous Studies

5.2.1 Similarities

From the perspective of the dimensions that comprise happiness, the findings of the five dimensions, that is, mental state, future hope, health, growth, and environment are basically consistent with previous studies, reflecting the inheritance of the *five Fus* from traditional culture (Hong, 2021:21) and people's attention to nature and country (Mu, 2023). From the perspective of definitions of happiness, the pursuit of positive emotion, especially the correlation with age (Mogilner et al., 2011), attention to the spiritual level, and ways to attain happiness, are consistent with previous research (Ren, 2023; Wang, 2021). However, there are still some differences to explore.

5.2.2 Differences

The dimensions of finance and relationships are slightly different from previous studies, the work dimension is contradicts prior literature, and lifestyle and good appearance are new dimensions that haven't been explicitly proposed before.

5.2.2.1 Finance: Hope for material prosperity

Wealth is the guarantee and basis of a happy life (Walker, 2016:124). For a long time, whether it is the fortune in the five Fus, or the modern Chinese view of happiness, in the economy, the only emphasis was to meet the basic material needs (Li et al., 2024; Xie, 2020). In this study, the bright words such as "sudden wealth", "making a fortune" in the Word Cloud indicate that Chinese people's pursuit of wealth is no longer to meet the basic needs of life, but to hope for material prosperity. This also reflects the current situation of China's material economy and people's livelihood.

5.2.2.2 Relationship: Two sets of logic

In terms of the dimension of relationships, compared with the broad description of interpersonal harmony (Li et al., 2024) and the simple focus on family happiness (Zhang et al., 2013) (Zhang and Chan, 2019) in previous studies, the results of this study indicated that Chinese people have a more delicate distinction and pursuit in interpersonal relationships. The data of "frequency of relationships" in figure 2 and "target of wish" in Table 2 suggested that there are two seemingly contradictory sets of logic in their description of wishes in this dimension: When it comes to the development and maintenance of relationships, the first set of logic comes into play, where the partner is superior to the family, the friend comes in the third, and the general category is the least important of the lot. It is a pattern of people who are close first and then people who are distant. When it comes to the targets of wish, the relationships between different targets are ranked from (excluding the self) the general category, to family, then friends, which is a pattern of distant to close, that is, a second set of logic. In short, Chinese people follow the basic principle of Differential Mode of Association (Fei, 1998:86) and have different demands and desires for different social relationships.

5.2.2.3 Work: Little attention

The biggest difference is in the work dimension. The finding that Chinese people pay little attention to work (both wish content in Table 2 and negative

statement in Table 3) in their wishes contradicts the claims of past studies that work was one of the main influencing domains of subjective well-being (Diener et al., 2018), or the way to greater happiness (Buettner et al., 2020), although they didn't point out their correlation directly. Some surveys conducted in China also showed the great relevance between work and happiness. For example, stress at work and in the workplace is the biggest cause of the loss of happiness (TV and Group, 2009). Excessive work pressure is the main cause of their unhappiness (Shi, 2014:97). One possible reason is a change in financial resources. In the past, as the main or even the only source of living, the issues of work such as whether to work or not, and how much was the salary, had a significant impact on the lives of individuals and even whole families. Nowadays, the diversification of financial sources makes people no longer regard work as a tool and necessity to support their families, coupled with factors such as high work pressure, therefore the attention paid to them has naturally declined. Another possibility for this difference is in terms of the age of the participants and, more specifically, the lifestyle of the group of participants. There is a phrase in China that the post-1990s generation has arrived to improve the workplace. It indicates that they desire to operate under their own norms rather than imposed ones. Work is only one of their many lifestyle choices. In such a background, the focus of further research can be shifted to the study of the meaning of work.

5.2.2.4 New dimensions: lifestyle and good appearance

Dimensions of lifestyle and good appearance have never been significantly included in previous studies. Lifestyle is a dimension that studies have covered in the past (such as the assessment of life satisfaction in subjective well-being) but not deeply. In this dimension, the desires expressed by individuals mainly point to a free way of life. The rising proportion of the frequency of Lifestyle category between 2022 and 2023 revealed the influence of external environment (such as pandemic control in this study) on the pursuit of individual's happiness, and also indicated that the understanding of happiness a dynamic construction process. As for good appearance, almost all concern for it is becoming thin and beautiful. The reason may be traced to the frame of reference provided by the media. A recent study has shown that TV shows have a significant impact on college students dress habits, travel and leisure, shopping and consumption, and enhance college students' pursuit of quality of life and their desire to buy

luxury goods (Deng and Chen, 2014). Some implicit values in American TV series, such as material supremacy, sexual openness, personal heroism, can easily affect the formation of college students' values (Zhou, 2020).

From the perspective of definitions of happiness, in a slight departure from previous research, this study finds that users defined happiness as a state of being compared to one's past. According to social comparison theory, there are different kinds of comparisons, including vertical and horizontal, i.e. with others or with one's own past (Suls and Wheeler, 2012). The findings in this study indicated that Chinese people have a propensity towards vertical comparisons. This is different from previous research showing that Chinese people tend to make horizontal comparisons with others (Xu, 2015). The research of Cai et al. (2020) offered a possible reason: individualism in general is on the rise. Therefore, multicultural coexistence will be an important feature of Chinese society today and in the future.

5.3 General Implications and Further Study

While analyzing the dimensions of Chinese people's view of happiness, this study points out the similarities and differences with previous studies in the dimensions of finance, relationship and work, puts forward two new dimensions of lifestyle and good appearance, which more comprehensively represent Chinese people's view of happiness in the present under the multi-culture, and provides possible path choices for better realization of individual happiness. In view of the finding that the significance of the work dimension is contrary to previous studies, the meaning of work should be further explored.

At the same time, on the basis of summarizing the definition and understanding of Chinese people's concept of happiness, this study also points out the direction of future research. For example, in the follow-up discussion on the measurement of individual happiness and concept of happiness, besides considering the influence factor of culture, the desired emotional state of happiness and the difference of age should also be taken into account. In addition, in today's extremely rich material, the focus of research should be separated from the dichotomy of material and spiritual pursuit, and more attention should be paid to the material needs of the current Chinese people, and the connection between these material needs and spiritual pursuit.

5.4 Limitations

A thousand people have a thousand understandings of happiness. Given the highly subjective nature of happiness, it is difficult to capture every individual's thoughts in the generalization of our findings. Although our data come from the most widespread social media platform in China, each platform has its characteristics and tendencies. The majority of active users of Sina Weibo were born in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, which means that the sample of the study may not cover all ages evenly. This reminds us that the application of research findings should be particularly cautious to consider their scope, and the correlation between findings should be tested by introducing some variables in further studies.

The method of content analysis can overcome the interference of measurement behaviour on study subjects, however, the challenge of information bias caused by factors such as the impression management function of social media still exists. The comparison of three years of data, rather than only one year in this study, is expected to solve this problem to a large extent.

At the same time, it is necessary to acknowledge the limitation of the period of data collection in this study. During the period of data collection, the pandemic severely influenced Chinese people's lives, which may have had some impact on their presentation of NYW.

6. Conclusions

Happiness is a subjective concept that encompasses diverse understandings and interpretations among thousands of individuals. This study delved into the views of Chinese people on happiness by conducting a content analysis of self-presentation NYW shared on social media platforms. Through an in-depth exploration of the presentation of Chinese people's views of happiness, ten dimensions, namely, mental state, future hope, health, finance, relationship, lifestyle, growth, environment, good appearance, and work, are summarized. Building upon these dimensions of the views of Chinese people on happiness, we define happiness as a mental state characterized by positive emotions, growth surpassing previous levels, and the satisfaction of spiritual fulfilment. At last, new characteristics of happiness were pointed out, such as the pursuit of an affluent life, less attention to work, the adoption of two sets of logic in interpersonal relationships, an increase in attention to lifestyle and good appearance, and a greater emphasis on comparing oneself to oneself in the definition of happiness. To enhance decision-makers' ability to promote individual happiness effectively, further research should focus on delineating age-specific perspectives on happiness due to variations found in positive emotions experienced. In the meanwhile, the meaning of work should be further explored, as well as the interplay between materialistic pursuits and spiritual enrichment. However, the findings of this study have to be seen in light of some limitations, such as the breadth of research sample representation, the impression management function of social media, and the period of data collection.

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