

Lund University
Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies
Master's Program in Asian Studies
East Asia track
Spring semester, 2011

**THE FUNCTIONS OF CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE AND CHINA'S SOFT
POWER BUILDING IN SCANDINAVIA**



Cover photo, *Confucius statue standing outside of Stockholm Confucius Institute.*

By Zhang Meng

Author: Zhang Meng
Supervisor: Prof. Roger Greatrex

Acknowledgement

I greatly appreciate the help from my supervisor Prof. Roger Greatrex during my fieldwork research and the writing of this thesis. With his reference, I am able to smoothly access to Stockholm Confucius Institute and Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute. His tutor is very instrumental for me to develop a better understanding of the subject in this study.

This study would not have been possible without all the cooperation of my interviewees. I am deeply grateful to them to take their personal time helping me to finish all the interviews. I also want express my special appreciation to the Chinese directors in SCI and CBCI, who helped me a lot to make contact with other staffs working in their institutes and gave me opportunity to do the observations there.

I own my deepest gratitude to my mother who provides me the financial support during my study in Sweden, giving me support during my thesis writing.

In the end, I send my best regards to my friends who gave me any kind supports and concerns during the completion of my study.

Meng Zhang

Abstract

Since 2004 when China started the first Confucius Institute (CI) in the world, there has been hundreds of CIs established in the world till now. This study tried to provide a deep look of China's CI project and contribute a comprehensive knowledge to understand CI's functions in Scandinavia and its impact on building China's soft power in this community. In this study, two CI cases in Scandinavia were selected to make analysis by applying CI function framework and soft power theory. It was found the reasons of China to take the CI project are derived from China's need to apply soft power strategy and its internal political imperatives. The in-depth fieldwork shows the functions that CI is playing in Scandinavia have helped China to develop its soft power in this area, but the increase of China's soft power is limited. The development of China's soft power in this area is still on its primary stage. However, the impact of CI on building China's soft power here may potentially turn bigger and deeper in coming future.

ABBREVIATIONS:

CFL Chinese as a Foreign Language

CI Confucius Institute

CBCI Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute

Hanban *Zhongguo Guojia Hanyu Guoji Tuiguang Lingdao Xiaozu Bangongshi*

HSK Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi

SCI Stockholm Confucius Institute

SU Stockholm University

YCT Young learners Chinese Test

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 THE START OF CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE (CI) PROJECT.....	1
1.2 THE USE OF CONFUCIUS AS BRAND.....	3
1.3 THE SYSTEM OF CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE	4
1.4 THE ROLE OF HOST UNIVERSITIES IN CI PROJECT AND THEIR INTEREST.....	6
1.5 THE CONFUCIUS INSTITUTES IN SCANDINAVIA.....	7
1.6 THE RESEARCH PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	9
1.7 THESIS DISPOSITION.....	10
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND FRAMEWORK.....	12
2.1 THE CONCEPT OF SOFT POWER	12
2.2 SOFT POWER THEORY AND ITS CONSTRUCTION IN GLOBAL INFORMATION AGE	14
2.3 CHINA'S EMPLOYMENT OF SOFT POWER.....	16
2.4 THE POLITICAL IMPERATIVES OF CHINA TO TAKE CI.....	18
2.5 EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON CI IN AND OUT CHINA.....	19
2.6 THE CI FUNCTION FRAMEWORK.....	21
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....	23
3.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY.....	23
3.2 RESEARCH METHOD.....	23
3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN.....	25
3.3.1 <i>Getting into the field</i>	25
3.3.2 <i>Sampling and Participants</i>	26
3.3.3 <i>Interview Question Design</i>	27
3.4 MEASURES FOR DATA ANALYSIS.....	28
3.5 GENERALIZATION.....	28
3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	29
CHAPTER FOUR: CASE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS.....	30
4.1 PRESENTATION OF THE TWO CASES: SCI AND CBCI	30
4.2 THE REVIEW ON THE PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES IN SCI AND CBCI.....	31
4.3 APPLY CI FUNCTION FRAMEWORK TO ANALYZE THE TWO CASES.. ..	34
4.3.1 <i>Language and culture diffusion function</i>	34
4.3.2 <i>Intermediate actor function in public diplomacy</i>	38
4.3.3 <i>Link and bridge function in economic interrelation</i>	40
4.3.4 <i>International education exchange and cooperation function</i>	42
4.3.5 <i>Academic research exchange function</i>	43
4.3.6 <i>Chinese language teacher training and developing function</i>	44
4.3.7 <i>Non-governmental cooperation and intercommunication function</i>	45
4.3.8 <i>Recall Chinese culture awareness function</i>	45
4.4 THE IMPACT OF CI ON BUILDING CHINA'S SOFT POWER IN SCANDINAVIA.	46
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	50
REFERENCES.....	53
APPENDIX	59

A. List of interviews and interviewees.....	59
B. Interview guide.....	60

LIST OF TABLES AND PICTURES

TABLE 1.1: CONFUCIUS INSTITUTES IN SCANDINAVIA.	7
TABLE 2.1: POWER	14
TABLE 4.1 THE OBJECTIVES OF COPENHAGEN BUSINESS CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE	30
TABLE 4.2 PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES IN STOCKHOLM CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE	31
TABLE 4.3 PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES IN COPENHAGEN BUSINESS CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE	33
TABLE 4.4 CHINESE LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN SCI AND CBCI.....	35
TABLE 4.5 PART OF BUSINESS LECTURES, SEMINARS AND WORKSHOP PROGRAMS IN CBCI.....	40
PICTURE 1.1 THE GEOGRAPHY OF SCANDINAVIA	7
PICTURE 4.1 VARIOUS CULTURE ACTIVITIES IN SCI	36
PICTURE 4.2 & 4.3 DR. PAN WEI AND THE AUDIENCES IN THE LECTURE ON CONTEMPORARY CHINESE SYSTEM	38

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The start of Confucius Institute (CI) project

Since the announcement of the first Confucius Institute was established at Seoul in Korea in 2004, China has been marked to get into a new era of its political self-confidence (Don, 2009). It means after a century of being a semi-colonial country and after 50 years of being a member of the third world, China has finally gained its membership in first-world club. Actually, Seoul was not the first place in the world to have Confucius Institute. As early as the spring of 2004, there had been a pilot specimen in Tashkent in Uzbekistan, but Korean was officially announced by China to build up the first CI in the world. The CI project seems to become a part of messages that China tries to send to the world that, in Hong Kong parlance, after suffering from several bad centuries China is now back as the ‘central country’ (*Zhongguo*), which means the state in the global center (Don, 2009).

The whole project of CI is initiated and implemented by the ‘*Zhongguo Guojia Hanyu Guoji Tuiguang Lingdao Xiaozu Bangongshi*’, whose English title is the ‘Office of Chinese Language Council International’, usually known both in China and abroad by its abbreviation ‘*Hanban*’. Compared with the English title, the Chinese title makes a more definite reference to its goal of ‘to internationally promote Chinese language’.

After five years of development, 282 Confucius Institutes have been established in 88 countries till the end of 2009. Another 250 institutions from over 50 countries have sent their application for establishing Confucius Institutes (China News, 2009). Hanban has also established a radio-based CI in December 2007 and the online Confucius Institute can be found at www.chinese.cn. In addition, a further expansion plan will be implemented in the near future by Chinese government. Hanban has set a target to establish 500 Confucius Institutes by 2010 and 1,000 by 2020 (People’s Daily Online, 02/10/2006; 02/01/2007), and the plan of setting up a television-based CI is also scheduled (People’s Daily Online, 06/12/2007).

Most of Chinese scholars consider that the start of CI project is correlated with the

rapid development of China's economy and the increasing exchanges between China and the world. Both the cultural and practical value of Chinese language gets enhanced in this circumstance. Therefore, the demand for learning Chinese language has risen greatly in last decades. Till 2009, the figure of Chinese language learner around the world has reached 40 million (Guo, 2009). And this number is still increasing as the heating trend of 'China Craze'. Under such a background, benefiting from the experience of UK, France, Germany and Spain on promoting their national languages, China has started its own exploration by establishing non-profit education institutions overseas, which are given the name Confucius Institute since 2004.

Is the truth for Chinese government to start this global CI project really, as Chinese scholars have argued, just to feed the foreigners needs of Chinese language learning? According to the report from China Online (2009), from 2005 to 2009 Chinese government has put totally 5 billion RMB (around 77 million USD) to develop its CI project. The amount that Chinese government puts into this project is much less compared with other Chinese governmental budgets (e.g. military spending). According to what Goran Lindblad said to the Swedish Parliaments, China still has 10 million children without a proper school (Riksdagens protokoll, 2007). So what reasons drive China to put the priority of this amount of money to subsidizing Western educational institutes? What functions does CI play in its host community?

This study deliberates the global CI project, and look at China's employment of CI project from the perspective of soft power. It perceives that the implementation of CI project is a part of China applying its soft power strategies. This study consists three parts. The first part looks at the operation mechanism of CI and reviews the reasons for China to build up CIs in the world. The second part evaluates the functions of CI in Scandinavian area by intense case study on Stockholm Confucius Institute (SCI) in Sweden and Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute (CBCI) in Denmark. The last part discusses the impact that CI has on building China's soft power in Scandinavia.

1.2 The use of Confucius as a brand

People who are a little familiar with Chinese history and culture probably know that Confucius is the most famous ideologist, educationist and philosopher in Chinese history. Confucianism was the basic social root and dominant ideology throughout Chinese history before Marxism. It has a magnificent influence to Chinese society. However, since the early 20th century, Confucius has been vilified by various forms of political activities, from the New Culture Movement in 1916 to the 1972 Communistic campaign of ‘批林批孔 (*Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius*) ’. It was a surprise for foreign scholars to see that the current leadership adopted the sage as the patron saint of international Chinese culture promotion project.

In the beginning, it was claimed that CI has nothing to do with Confucianism (Don, 2009). CI is primarily positioned as a language teaching center that provides Chinese language courses and also some courses about general Chinese culture, e.g. Chinese painting, calligraphy, martial art, but not Confucianism. Although Confucius is one of the greatest philosophers, it was assumed that Confucius was chosen not because of his philosophy, but in spite of that (Don, 2009). With more consideration on the branding issues, Confucius played a very positive role especially in teaching, and the name provides global brand recognition particularly on general culture layer. On one hand, within most of the traditional Chinese culture influenced area of Korea, Japan and South East Asia, the Chinese character of 孔子 (*Kongzi*) is widely recognized and respected beyond dispute. On the other hand, the Western Latinized word of Confucius makes this figure easier to become a brand that can be taken by the rest of the world from traditional Chinese history.

In the records of the global CI conference hold in 2007, there one section named with ‘Efforts to Build the Confucius Institute Brand’ seems quite outstanding. It was brought up by the Vice-Chair of the CI headquarter, Chen Jinyu. In the argument of Chen (2008), he said that it is a coincident between the form and content of CI with that term of Confucius becoming redolent to have the concept of ‘*zhengming*’ (rectification of name). He (2008) then argues that:

'With regards to the operation of Confucius Institutes, brand name means quality; brand name means returns. Those who enjoy more brand names will enjoy higher popularity, reputation, more social influence, and will therefore be able to generate more support from local communities.'

The terms of 'brands' Chen refers here is clear to be more appropriate to be called alternative business line from a further context. He also tries to encourage the directors of global CIs to develop a wide range of activities but make sure they all fit in the frame of the rules and quality criteria set up by CI headquarter. In the opinion of Chen, it is suggested that Chinese partner universities shall actively participate into the CI project, as it is an effective way to improve their academic performance and make steps to be internationalized.

1.3 The system of Confucius Institute

From the first day CI project started, it is positioned as a non-profit educational organization. According to Hanban (2005), the mission of CI is to enhance world people's understanding to Chinese language and culture, diversify the world's lingua franca and develop the friend relationship between China and other countries in the world. Confucius Institutes try to promote and engage in language education field at a popular level instead of targeting into the elite group (Guo, 2008, p 30). CI offers various programs to the local hosting community, as we can see from the People's Daily Online (29/04/2006):

Confucius institutes provide Chinese-learning-related courses and programs, such as Chinese language teaching at all levels, professional training for university, secondary and elementary school Chinese teachers, tests for a certificate of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, Chinese competitions, consultations for further Chinese studies in China and introductions to Chinese culture.

Over all, the diverse arrangements of Confucius Institutes work with the purpose to promote a better understanding of China through language teaching programs and cultural events and activities and win goodwill around the world. But the institutes

work under the guiding and supervising of Hanban in Beijing, who is directly affiliated to Education Ministry of China (Hanban, 2006). Therefore, CI project carries out aboveboard purpose of public diplomacy, which can be interpreted as to endeavor to promote Chinese culture in other nations in order to help China to effectively protect its interests and pursue its national goals (Kurlantzick, 2007, p 61).

The operation of CI is quite dynamic because its work through a relatively new organization, Hanban, which is well connected, coordinated and financed (Guo, 2008, p 30). Officially, Confucius Institutes intends to imitate the model of similar organization that promotes national language and culture exchange overseas (e.g. the Goethe Institute of Germany, the British Council, and Alliance Française). In the practice, Confucius Institutes provide a wide range option for arrangements (for instance, university to university, government to government etc.). The funding and operation own a great deal of good flexibility. Basically three forms are involved in the current stage of CI funding and operation, which are direct Hanban investment and involvement (like British Council branches); joint financing and partnership coordinated with foreign agencies (like some Instituto Cervantes branches), and totally local run offices with authorized permission from Hanban (like many Alliance Française branches) (Guo, 2008, p 30; Don, 2009). All Confucius Institutes' establishment needs to be coordinated with the Confucius Institute Headquarter in Beijing. The headquarters is responsible for making up the rules and regulations, evaluating the application for new CI establishing, approving annual programs and budgets and supplying teaching resource and management staff (People's Daily Online, 10/04/2007; 13/12/2007).

In the current stage, 90% of Confucius Institutes are built up through the joint form (China Today, 2009). This form is based on the partnership between a foreign university, Hanban and one or more Chinese university partners (Nie, 2008). The reason for this is not complicated. This first model emphasizing the totally owned network, as now operated by the British Council, Goethe Institute and Japan Foundation, is very costly both on building up and maintenance. The CI joint form puts the responsibility of providing accommodation to the local partner. Therefore, after only five years of its development, it has gained more branches than the British

Council has achieved in past 60 years (Don, 2009). The third local ownership model is even cheaper, but its disadvantage of very limited central control on the pace and nature of development is obvious. Although the Alliance Française is the biggest in its scale, which owns 1,081 branches, it has existed for 120 years (Don, 2009).

Normally, in the operation of joint form of CI, a standard five-year agreement is initially made between a foreign educational agency, Hanban and a Chinese partner educational institution which is allocated or appointed by Hanban. The agreement is based on the equally shared funding. Hanban provides launching funds of 50,000-100,000 USD, and sends one or two language teachers with paying their salary in addition. And also it supplies textbook, authorized online teaching materials (Nie, 2008). Chinese university may offer more cultural activities than others according to the nature of the contracts (Guo, 2008, p 32). The host university is responsible to provide proper accommodations, infrastructural facilities and related administrative supports for CI operation and maintenance (Don, 2009). Both Chinese side and foreign partner university are responsible for raising the everyday expenditure of CI in its operation in a proportion of 50% to 50% (Nie, 2008). Although CI is specified as a non-profit making educational organization, it is still expected to become self-financing by taking course fees and it assumes sole responsibility for its own profits or losses (Nie, 2008). Because China takes CI as its long-term investment and Hanban expects CI can get a sustainable development in the host environment.

1.4 The role of host universities in CI project and their interests

In the joint form of CI operation, the role of hosting universities is mainly to include the Confucius Institutes into the regular administration of their institutions to provide key support and safeguard in funding, instructors and daily operation mechanism (Chen, 2008).

In the co-financial operation of CI, the hosting universities get several of their interests from their cooperation with China side. First, with the assistance of Chinese side, the host universities are able to organize more original Chinese culture programs

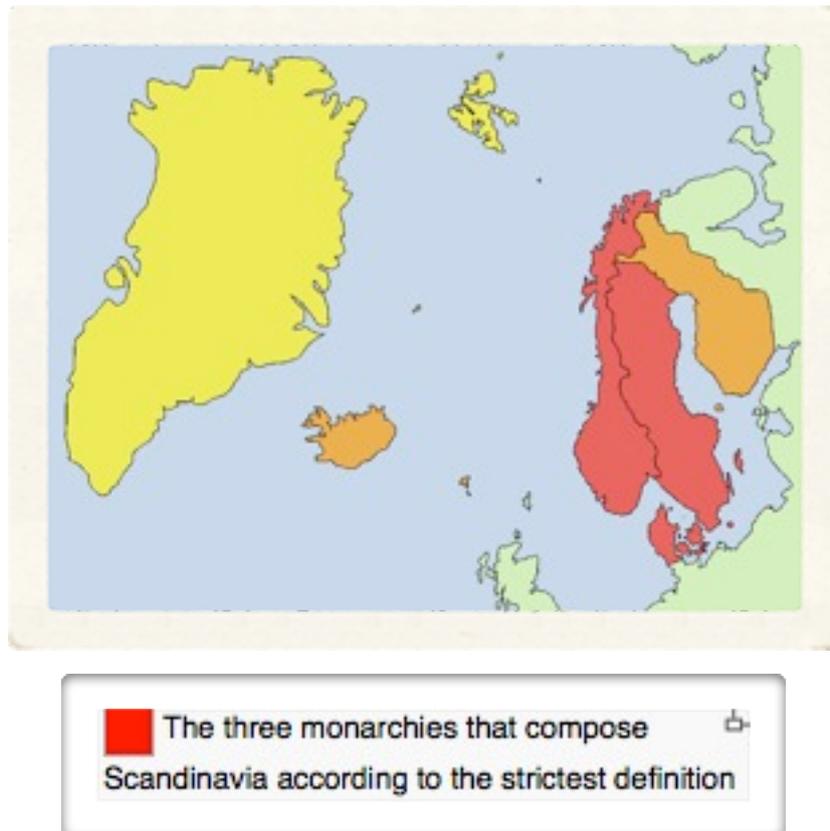
and activities in their institutes to benefit their students with spending less money.

Besides, with collaboration with Chinese partner universities, the host universities also get more conveniences and opportunities to make international education exchanges and cooperation with China and strengthen their academic research capacity on China studies.

Moreover, the host universities get a strong support from China to improve their Chinese language teaching level. During the collaborative work with the teachers sent from China, the local language teachers work in the host universities get grown. Since nowadays more and more secondary schools in local community start to seek the help from these universities with CI to develop their Chinese language courses and train the their language teachers. With the help from Chinese side, the universities start to be able to provide adequate support to the local Chinese language teaching.

1.5 Confucius Institutes in Scandinavia

In English usage, Scandinavia is a cultural, historical and ethnol-linguistic region locating in the northern Europe. According to the strictest definition (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009), it includes three monarchies, which are the kingdom of Denmark, Norway and Sweden (picture 1.1). These three countries are characterized by their common heritage and language.



Picture 1.1 the Geography of Scandinavia (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009)

Since the Nordic Confucius Institutes (NCI) (the name changed as Stockholm Confucius Institute in 2010), there have been four Confucius Institutes built up in Scandinavian countries till 2010. All of these four CIs are built up in the joint mode. The information of them can found in the table 1.1 below:

Name of CI	Time of establishment	Local hosting Institution	Chinese partner Institution	Location
Stockholm Confucius Institute	February of 2005	Stockholm University	Fudan University	Stockholm, Sweden
Confucius Institute in Bergen	August of 2007	Bergen University, Handelsgymnasium and Bodø University College	Beijing Sport University	Bergen, Norway

Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute	November of 2007	Copenhagen Business School	Renmin University	Copenhagen Denmark
Confucius Institute for Innovation and Learning	September of 2009	Aalborg University	Beijing Normal University	Aalborg, Denmark

Table 1.1: Confucius Institutes in Scandinavian Area (Hanban, 2009)

As we can see from the table above, CI can be found in all three Scandinavian countries. However, compared with the number of CI in other Europe countries, like UK (17), Russia (14), Germany (9), France (7), Spain (3), Italy (3), the number of CI in each Scandinavian country is not many, only two in Denmark, one in Sweden and one in Norway (Don, 2009). The reason for this is mainly because normally these three countries are called by the term of Scandinavia in many international contexts. When to consider on the allocation of CI, Hanban is more like to take the three countries as a whole cultural and economic area and accounts there are 4 CIs in Scandinavia.

1.6 The research purpose and research questions

The aim of this study is to provide an in-depth and comprehensive knowledge of China's implementation of its CI project. It also intends to utilize proper approach and method addressing the current functions that CI is playing in Scandinavia. This study investigates the programs and activities run in CI and exams them within CI function framework (explained in the theoretical chapter) by taking the various voices of different stakeholders in CI operation through in-depth case study. It further draws on and contributes to the public understanding of China building its soft power through CI in Scandinavia. From a broader sense, it also contributes the academic research value to the regional research of CI in CI's sustainable development, because there has never been done a regional study of CI in Scandinavia before. I argue that the

birth of CI project is a reflection of the world's attention to China's development and rise, but it is also a product of China's soft power strategy. Although CI is still in its preliminary development stage, to some extent it has an impact on building China's soft power..

To unfold China's global CI project and discuss it in a broad context, the research questions in this thesis are formulated as the followings:

1. What reasons motivates China to start the CI project?
2. What functions does CI have in Scandinavia? How well do these functions play in this host community?
3. Whether does CI have impacts on building China's soft power in Scandinavia? If so, to what extend?

1.7 Thesis disposition

Five chapters compose this thesis.

The first chapter is introduction to the topic of this study. Relevant background information, including the development of CI and its system, is introduced. The research purpose and the objectives of this study are presented.

The second chapter takes the literature reviewing of soft power theory as the background to understand China's adoption to soft power strategy and the political imperatives for China to apply the CI project in the world. It also presents and reviews latest empirical studies on CI and discusses the theoretical framework of CI functions.

The third chapter is about the methodology used in this thesis, which includes research strategy, method and the design of the study. The measures to analyze the data are offered and the ethical considerations are talked about.

The forth part presents the two selected CI cases in Scandinavia and makes analysis based on the data obtained in the fieldwork by applying CI function framework.

Based on the analysis results, the impact of CI for China on building its soft power in Scandinavia are explored through soft power theory.

The fifth part of this thesis is the conclusion, which summaries this study, its results and findings. It also discusses the limitations of this research and the suggestions for future studies in this field.

Chapter 2 Theoretical background and framework

2.1 The concept of soft power

When it comes to world politics, power is considered as an essential and key concept (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2006, p 57; Nossal, 1998, p 44; Ray & Kaarbo, 2002, p 99). According to Nye (2004, p.1), power is the ability to put influences to others' behavior to get the outcomes that one wants. The traditional power, which is flagged as 'hard power', was assumed to source from population, territory, natural resources, economic size, military forces and political stability and be practiced mainly through military or economic means (Nye, 1990, p 154). However, some other sources of power and ways for actors to accomplish their goals also exist. Instead of relying on inducements ('carrots') and tangible threats ('sticks') to apply the influence, a country's ability to get the outcomes it wants through winning hearts and mind becomes of crucial significance in global information age (Nye, 1990; Nye, 2004).

Originally, the idea that 'it is best to win without fighting' is not new. It is sourced from the philosophy of ancient Chinese strategist Sunzi by saying '不战而曲人之兵, 善之善者也.' However, Harvard Professor Joseph S. Nye firstly coined the term of 'soft power' with this idea and has struck a deep chord on it. Nye (2004) further developed the concept of soft power in his book *Soft Power: The mean to Success in World Politics*. In the viewpoint of Nye (2004), soft power is essentially important in nowadays' global political arena and the significance of soft power is not only about to trap a national culture:

Soft power rest on the ability to shape the preferences of others...[It] is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced. American has long had a great deal of soft power...(Nye, 2004, p 5-6)

Soft power is proposed by contrast with hard power. In Nye's definition, he

emphasizes the ‘attractiveness’ of a country’s culture and value. Soft power is more like to be regarded as a kind of broad influence derived from a country’s own culture and value, institutional arrangement and cultural diplomacy. Soft power refers to the power of assimilation and regulation build upon a country’s attraction and inspiring capacity from its culture tradition, social ideology and values, the spirit of the nation and the social institution. It can be represented through various cultural media, informational recourses, academic works and the norms and regulations of international organizations.

According to Nye (1999 & 2004), soft power is independent from the hard power and owns the same importance as the hard power. It becomes a crucial part of comprehensive national strength. But several of Nye’s critics hold an opinion that all talking about the soft power finally have to rely on the hard power. In this sense, soft power is just to camouflage the intent of making use of hard power. One of those critics, Ferguson (2003) argued that most of countries would like to cloak their power in altruism; the applying of soft power is more like a velvet glove covering an iron fist. According to Ferguson, soft power is regarded as a halo of hard power, and he (2003) considers the concept of soft power proposed by Nye is somehow ‘too soft’.

However, Nye (2004, p 9) has responded that ‘soft power does not depends on hard power.’ According to Nye’s viewpoints, the role soft power plays is not only to be a window dressing, it does lower the cost to achieve political objectives or goals. And meanwhile, Nye has never stated that soft power can completely replace the role of hard power. Instead, he points soft power and hard power is more like two sides of the metal. They ‘sometimes reinforce and sometime interfere with each other’ (Nye, 2004, p 25).

Other critics also have claimed that the distinction of soft and hard power proposed by Nye appears too rigid. For example, Noya (2006) critiqued the dualistic view about the soft power concept advocated in Nye’s framework. Yet, Nye (1990, p 81) has argued that ‘the distinction between hard and soft power resources is one of degree, both in nature of the behavior and in the tangibility of the resources’. And also, Nye views the both hard power and soft power are related ‘because they are both aspects

of the ability to achieve one's objectives by affecting others behavior' (2004, p 7). By associating soft-power resources with the co-optive behavior spectrum and hard-power resource with the command behavior spectrum, Nye (2004, p.8) uses a table (table 2.1) to illustrate the general association between the kinds of behavior and possible resources within hard and soft power.

	Hard	Soft
Spectrum of Behaviors	Command ← coercion inducement →	← agenda setting attraction → Co-opt
Most Likely Resources	force payments sanctions bribes	institutions values culture policies

Table 2.1: Power (Nye, 2004, p. 8)

2.2 Soft Power theory and its construction in global information age

The essence of soft power theory in world politics is that other actors would do what the holder of soft power wants or expects them to do because they consider the soft power holder and its goals as legitimate instead of out of a feeling of fear or desire to gain a reward (Oguzlu, 2007).

Specifically, two layers compose this theory. One is that a country's soft power functions as a power of attraction to other actors sourced from this country's own culture and values and the capacity to persuade other actors to affirm and accept, even willing to follow and imitate its culture and value. The other is that soft power becomes an approach to achieve certain goals. By this approach, the aim can be accomplished without tangible threats (e.g. threatening military force) or Payoffs (e.g. economic sanctions). The former layer indicates the value meaning, while the later

layer addresses the instrumental meaning. Normally these two layers can be mutually reproduced with each other. In most situations, the layer of value meaning serves the instrumental meaning layer, and can make it get accumulated and growth. Therefore, during constructing soft power, the value meaning layer has more practical and long-term significance.

Nye (2004, p 11) points out that the sources of a country's soft power come from three aspects: its culture (where it effects on the attraction to others), its political values (when it can work and can be applied both at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are regarded and taken as legitimate and owning moral authority). Among these three sources, culture and value behaviors as the main content of soft power and owns closer relation with producing attraction (Nye, 2004, p 8), which means the attractions of soft power is mainly from the holder's culture and values, while the relation of foreign policies with soft power is more complicated.

However, not all the culture and values or all aspects of one culture and value are likely to become a country's soft power. Narrow values and parochial cultures own rare opportunity to become the source of sot power. Only when the culture and values include universal values and the country's policies promote values and interest that other actors would like to share, the probability of these culture and values becoming soft power will be increased because of the relationship of attraction and the duty it builds up (Nye, 2004, p 11). Instead of forcing other countries to change, the aim of soft power is to get the outcomes that a country wants in international politics by making other countries attracted and be willing to follow because they admire its value, intent to emulate its developing model and have aspiration to its success and achievements. To build up soft power is more correlated with a country's intangible power resource, e.g. attractive culture, political values and institution, assumed legitimated or moral authorized policies.

Nowadays, globalizations of economy and information revolution are bringing about new challenges and opportunities. Economy globalization makes each country in the world closely connected and information revolution has been creating cyber communities and virtual networks that make the national boundaries more and more

blurring. They cause the world transformed and shrunk in an unprecedented way. Transnational corporations and nongovernmental actors are now playing more and more significant roles (Nye, 2004, p 31). Those organizations are developing their own soft power as they attract people into the cross-country coalition. In this situation, politics becomes in a form of competition for attractiveness, legitimacy and credibility (Nye, 2004, p 31). Therefore, the attraction of power is more lying on the capacity of sharing information and making to be believed by others.

Under the context of global information age, the relative significance of soft power has been increased. The countries that have more chance to gain the attractiveness and develop their soft power are those who apply multi-channel communication in framing issues; whose mainstream culture and values are more similar and closer to the prevailing global criterions that nowadays are more advocating liberalism and pluralism and autonomy; and whose credibility is lifted by their values and policies in the country and overseas (Nye, 2004, p.32). From this perspective, a key issue to develop soft power is to promote a country's own culture and value to the world and exchange with others in order to contribute as more as possible to the common global norms. This process needs to base on the consciousness, willingness and voluntary but not the enforced changes. In this sense, the policy that helps to build up soft power would be fit in with certain universally accepted value and authorized morality.

2.3 China's employment of soft power

During the time from the 1950s to 1970s, the focusing of China's foreign policy was to encourage and provide support to the revolution of other parts of the world, especially Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America (Bergsten et al., 2006, p 129; Kurlantzick, 2007, p 13-14; see also Van Ness, 1970 for a detailed discussion of this aspect of China's foreign policy). When Deng Xiaoping got into power, the focus of Chinese foreign policy shifted to carry out its economic reform, develop the whole country's modernization and behavior to keep a low profile in the world affairs purposely (Harris, 2005, p 481; Kurlantzick, 2007, p 16-17). After the late of the 1990s, China reoriented its focus again and started to focus on constructing its soft power around the world (Alice, 2010, p 2-3).

Several factors contributed to China's reorientation to build its soft power (Gil, 2008). First and foremost, the rapid and high rate economic growth of China makes both the Chinese leadership and public more confident with China and its role in the world. The growing economy might financially allow Chinese government to employ the soft power strategies since of course the use of soft power strategies are quite costly. Second, the world reaction to the Tiananmen Square Massacre wakes China up and forces it to realize that it does work to solely depend on US in its foreign policy. China needs to improve its relationship with neighboring countries to take a greater role in the international political stage in order to achieve its goals. Last but not the least, since China's attempt to achieve its goals (e.g. the South China Sea issues and Taiwan issue) through the hard power does not work, it is proved that China still cannot compete with US on hard power and is has antagonized and alienated some other countries (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2006, p 67; Kurlantzick, 2006, p 271). Meanwhile, the concept of soft power and related theory have been heavily promoted and widely studied through China in the last few years with following a series of books and articles of Joseph Nye Jr. from early 1990 onwards. Chinese academics even has began to claim that the soft power US had declined sharply after the Cold War and China could positively compete on this aspect (Kurlantzick, 2006, p 272; Kurlantzick, 2007, p 32-33). All of these factors combined and worked comprehensively therefore led China to adopt the soft power strategy.

After the 1990s, China has employed couples of tools to perform its soft power strategy to reach its aims. In Kurlantzick's (2007) study, he divides those tools into two categories, which are the tools of culture that are related with Chinese culture, arts, language and ethnicity (Kurlantzick, 2007, p 61) and the tools of business that includes making use of these levers of power: aid, trade, investment, and the appeal of China's economic model (Kurlantzick, 2007, p 82). In the new century, establishing Confucius Institute and expanding it through the world is considered as one of the main ways for China to apply its culture tools to implement its soft power strategy (Guo, 2008, 34-35).

2.4 The Political imperatives of China to take CI

The truth for China to implement CI project is more than Chinese scholars have argued that just to feed the foreigners' Chinese language learning needs. Excluded of being used as a cultural tool to implement its soft power strategy, there are some other complex and internal factors driving Chinese government to go down this CI route.

The People's Republic of China is a country that government and the Communist Party are inseparable. The ultimate issue to this kind country is to get legitimized (Don, 2009). In a country without democracy, Chinese government has to seek the legitimacy from somewhere else. In 1949, this was a 'scientific' Marxist, which focuses to apply anti-imperialism missions to free China from capitalism and imperialist aggression. After the victory of the civil war with the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), the whole country was marked with being isolated and paranoia, economic sclerosis and dysfunction in the following 25 years. To deal with this economic underachievement, the government took a remedy to reconstruct capitalism and get China reintegrated into the world economy, which is featured by its entry into the WTO in 2002. Although the national economy obtain a high speed increase in the last decades, only this managerial competence seems not enough for a Communistic government, it needs to gain ideological justification (Don, 2009). Another bolster, nationalism, has been involved into the consideration of the government since then.

The international promoting Chinese language and culture is regarded as one of the positive manifestation of this nationalism and has been put on the agenda of the government's public diplomacy (Don, 2009). The theoretical justification of this has been widely argued in the 'soft power' topic by both Chinese media and academic circles. The reason for soft power theory enjoys a boarder reception in China is that it raises China's profile and advocates the importance of the nation's growing influence in the world nowadays. Coincidentally, it appears that the international interests in, and recognition of, the role of China in global economy and world politics happens at the same time of Chinese government rethinks of its image as a strong power in the world in the tune with China's reputation of being one of the four ancient civilizations.

The 2008 Olympic Games, the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, and the Confucius Institute project are all public manifestations of China's claiming its coming to a new status. To a great extent, this new status of China involves both overseas and domestic recognition on the legitimacy of Chinese government and the party. Compared with the Olympics and World Expo, CI may have less kudos and visual influence, but the long-term impact that CI project can achieve may turn out to be even bigger and deeper.

2.5 Empirical studies on CI in and out of China

As a new subject emerged seven years ago, Confucius Institute has gained a great development in short time. The research about CI is raising more and more attention in both of western and Chinese academic research fields.

Outside China scholars prefer to study CI from a policy layer or political perspective. Their researches are more focusing on the relation between CI expansion and Chinese soft power strategies (Kurlantzick, 2007; Gil, 2008; Don, 2009) or about China emergence and Chinese language policy (Lo Bianco, 2007).

In the study of Don (2009), he considers the selling of the CI project is from the need to seek legitimacy of Chinese government and Communist Party. In his opinion the international promotion of Chinese language and culture through CI is a manifestation of Chinese neo-nationalism. It is also results from the heavily advocating of 'soft power' in China during the last decades. Don (2009) indicates the national pride is a big factor for China to embark this CI project through the world.

A similar result can be found at Gil's study in 2008. Gil (2008) sets up the promotion of Chinese language learning in Chinese soft power strategy. He points out that progress of CI globe expansion is a product of China's soft power policy. He finds the language study programs and cultural activities in CIs have an active meaning for China to build up a positive image and attract Chinese language learners in the world.

The Chinese scholars hold a different perspective towards CI. The result from the study of Zhao & Huang (2010) indicates that the use of CI is a strategy of China's policy of Chinese as a foreign language (CFL). They argue that the establishment of CI aims to meet up people's needs to get know China, Chinese people and culture because of the economic rise in China. In their study, they consider CI to make bridges between the host countries and China, and create a comprehensive and deep knowledge about China for the local communities. Zhao & Huang (2010) concludes that CI has played a role on contributing the networking of CFL curriculum around the world and promoting Chinese philosophy of harmony in the name of Confucius.

Since CIs were established in various areas in the world, Chinese scholars have done several regional studies about CI in the last few years. After a deep investigation to eight CIs in Japan, Shen (2007) argues that CIs in Japan have taken various measures to meet the diverse needs of local host community and obtained some good achievements. Zhang, X (2008) makes a brief analysis of basic traits and the main problems in Nuremberg-Erlangen CI in Germany. He points out that the programs running in Nuremberg-Erlangen CI has its own local features and the cooperation between Chinese side and local partner institutions goes smooth. He addresses that the programs running in CI should have their regional characteristics and caters to the local needs. In the study of Liu (2008), he collects the data of two Confucius Institutes in Korea through a survey to 102 participants on their attitudes towards the current programs in CI. He proposes several principle suggestions for the future program design and development for the CIs in Korea in future. In the study of Wu & Ruan (2009), they made an investigation to seven Confucius Institutes in Pittsburgh area in US on the communication effects of Chinese culture among the American youth by questionnaire. They found out American youth are more interested in Chinese material culture than spiritual culture. These regional CI studies are more focused in CI's operation and management issues, its regional characteristic of being adapted into the local environment and specific influences to the local community. They contribute practical meanings to the sustainable development of CI in the world.

Another important study on CI has been done by Liu in 2009. Liu's study is mainly grounded with the viewpoints of soft power theory and China's public diplomatic

policy. He admits the CI project is derived from China's public diplomacy to construct its global soft power. But he also claims through CI project, China brings the world a window to easily get to know China and Chinese language and culture. At some time he argues CI project is also a big opportunity for China per se to get better integrated into the world.

2.6 The CI function framework

In the viewpoint of Liu (2009), the function of CI is defined as the active and positive effects and meanings that appear during the process of CI's building and developing. In his study, by taking both political perspective towards CI and managerial consideration of CI in practical operation, he generalizes a framework of CI functions. In Liu's framework, he elaborates CI functions from eight dimensions:

- 1) Language and culture diffusion function;*
- 2) Intermediate actor function in public diplomacy;*
- 3) Link and bridge function in economic interrelationship;*
- 4) International education exchange and cooperation function*
- 5) Academic research exchange function;*
- 6) Chinese language teacher training and developing function;*
- 7) Non-governmental cooperation and intercommunication function;*
- 8) Recall Chinese culture awareness function;*

With elaboration of CI functions through these eight dimensions, Liu tries to provide a comprehensive theoretical basis to understand the role that CI plays in Chinese soft power strategy, guide the future development tendency and extend further possibility for CI's sustainable development. This framework nearly covers all the aspects of CI's work in its operation, and illustrate a whole picture of CI may function in the host community. This framework not only points out China's intention to build up its soft power through employing CI project, but also considers the practical values that CI may bring to China and the local community, especially on the various forms of exchanges, e.g. cultural, educational, academic, economic, and non-governmental, between China and the host community. In this sense, it provides us a comprehensive

theoretical framework from various angles to review and analyze the work of CI to explore its functions in the local hosting community. Therefore, this study decides to take Liu's framework to guide the fieldwork to collect data and make analysis.

Liu's study pays lots of efforts on generalization, focusing more on the theoretical similarities of Confucius Institutes in the world. But in real operation, CIs are built up in different countries or areas in the world. The individual and specific local conditions and environment make the way that CI functions in the area where it lives have its own features. Beside, the establishment time of CIs is different and the operational levels of different CIs are also various. As consequences, on one hand, the functions that CI plays in certain host community may not totally cover all the eight dimensions generalized in Liu's framework; on the other hand, the way of CI playing its functions in one area may have their own emphasis.

Therefore, to specifically investigate the functions of CI in certain area owns more practical values to understand how well CI functions in specific host community and to what extent it impacts on building China's soft power in that area. This study will based on the eight dimensions from the CI function framework, combing with soft power theory to illuminate the functions that CI plays in its operation during 6 years development in Scandinavia and to what extend it helps China to develop the soft power in this area.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Research Strategy

In this research, qualitative research is applied to supply an in-depth understanding and comprehensive analysis on the subject that is representative (Rage, 1994). It is beneficial to obtain an understanding to a given problem or topic in research from the perspectives of the local community or population it involves. Qualitative research is relatively effective in getting specific cultural information, e.g. the values, opinions, behaviors and social contexts among particular populations (Mason, 1996). One of the advantages of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions on how people experience a certain research issue.

Several empirical studies of regional CI have been done through quantitative approach, e.g. the study of Liu (2009) and the study of Wu & Ruan (2009). However, their studies are more focusing on one actor (normally is student) in CI operation. The systematic analysis of CI functions and its impact on building China's soft-power in a local community were rarely mentioned and studied. To discover more comprehensive knowledge of CI in a specific area, I tried to take different voices from various stakeholders involved within CI into account and design this qualitative research from the soft power perspective.

This study uses both primary data, mainly from the interviews and the observations, and secondary data, which includes the empirical study results, official documentaries and archives from Hanban and CI Headquarters and previous newspaper reports from Internet. Besides, information on the official website of SCI and CBCI is also a significant source for this study.

3.2 Research Method

The study in this thesis is designed as a two case study for the following two reasons: 1) the selected cases are representative because of their location (both the two cases locate in the capital of the hosting country, which are the cultural and political heart of

the country), their establishing time (SCI built at 2004 which is the first year global CI project starts, CBCI built at 2007 when the global CI obtained its huge development) and their pilot feature among the similar CIs (SCI is the first CI established in Europe, and the second CI established in the world. CBCI is the second the business CI built in the world). 2) The selected cases have both similarities (Both SCI and CBCI are built in Scandinavian countries. Both of them are established in the joint model. They follow Hanban's goals and rules of CI operation) and discrepancies (The cooperative Chinese university with SCI and CBCI is different, and the local people, culture and conditions in Sweden and Denmark are not totally the same. Besides, SCI was built within Chinese department in Stockholm University, and more than two years earlier than CBCI.) Since the aim of this study is to evaluate the functions of CI in Scandinavian area, the intention to emphasize the similarity is made.

Besides, till 2010, only four CI have been established in this area. Therefore, the study of two cases is regarded to be adequate. Furthermore, since I study in Lund University where is in Sweden and very close to Copenhagen, the convenience to access into the studying cases also has been put into the consideration of selecting the cases, and it is more applicable to make in a time-limited fieldwork.

The principle of this thesis is to build up a proper representation of the research subject according to studying the viewpoints of the people involved in the topic (Ragin, 1994). To achieve this principle, this study is carried out by direct observation and in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Silverman (2010:123) argues that observation is a foundational approach to obtain the understanding of another culture. The observation here is able to gain and record the physical environment and operation situation of the selected CI cases. Moreover, the routine of everyday operation, including the teaching, administrating, and the activities hold by CI can be recorded through the observation. In this research, important events or activities are partly recorded through voice recording (e.g. class teaching) and video recording (e.g. the Chinese Spring Festival celebration activity in SCI) on the purpose for further check and review.

The interview conducted in the research is open-ended. It takes approximately 30 to

50 minutes, depending on the individual way the interviewee responds to the questions. Except one of the interviews is conducted through Skype, all of other interviews in this study are made by face-to-face.

The interviews are made during various time of a day according to the time which fits interviewees best. The places of interview are various, but mainly locate at CBCI and SCI, CBS canteen, and SU library cafe. The national identity of interviewees covers Chinese, Danish and Swedish. The Interview is conducted either in Chinese language or English language. Except two interviewees' disapproval the voice recording of the interview, all other interview has been voice-recorded for further check and review. The voice records of the interview can be found in the CD attached with the thesis.

The design of the interview follows a set of questions (see Appendix) derived from the protocol of case study claimed by Yin (2009). In this study, the protocol is drawn through reviewing the soft power theory and CI function framework. The interview mainly aims to corroborate certain facts that have already been studied (Yin, 2009: 107). The basic questions in interview are formulated by covering the basic personal information of participants in CI programs, participant education background and level, motivations of getting into the program, their recognition to CI and satisfaction to the program etc.

Yin (2009:107) has argued that one of the weaknesses of interview is that the interviewees may echo the similar way and simply corroborate each other. To avoid this, I try to collect the information as much as possible from both the students, teachers and administrators in CI cases.

3.3 Research Design

3.3.1 Getting into the field

During the time from December of 2009 to January of 2010, I spent four weeks to do part of my fieldwork in Nordic studied center in Fudan University in Shanghai, China. Fudan University is the partner Chinese university in Stockholm Confucius Institute

in Sweden. In the center, I made my literature review on the soft power theory and the theoretical framework of CI functions. After this pre-study of my research, with the reference of my supervisor, I spent two month doing another part of my fieldwork in SCI and CBCI from February to April in 2011.

Qualitative research demands the researcher to possess a good communication with the field and its members (Flick, 2009). This communication is beneficial for gaining a valuable part of knowledge and reliable first hand data in the entire study. In this sense, it is necessary to mention my personal role in making interviewing and observation during the fieldwork. I am a native Chinese speaker. My Chinese language ability and national identity makes the interview to the Chinese staffs working in CI go smooth and the data I got has a relatively high validity because these interviews are conducted in Chinese. Besides, I am a professional Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) teacher. Hence, my background is beneficial for me to observe the activities and interview program and activity participants from professional perspectives especially on Chinese language courses and culture promoting activities. Furthermore, thanks for my occupational identity, the interviewees (particularly the students and teachers) feel more relaxed when they get to know they are talk with someone who also works in the field they are related with.

3.3.2 Sampling and Participants

A basic rule for sampling is to make sure the sampling is defined to be a representative subsection of the whole population (Silverman, 2010). The approach to sample should be ‘sensible’ and ‘meaningful’ to make it possible to explore more related narratives and representative among the whole population (Manson, 1996: 92). According to the suggestions above, the sampling in this study covers a wide range of stakeholder’s involved in CI, including the director, administrating staff and teacher, and student.

The further classification of students is more complicated because of their various individual conditions, e.g. ages, motivations and occupations. Nevertheless, I tried to get student interviewees sampled from main levels of language course in SCI and

CBCI at present. The range of CI stakeholder chosen here has covered the most typical actors involved within the operation of CI.

Within each kind of actors listed above, the method of snowball sampling is used to obtain more other response from the same group because people in the same group have the more or less connection with other people within his circle, e.g. the teachers are collages with each other and students are classmates with each other. Both in SCI and CBCI, the interview starts from the Chinese director and local director, then administrative staff and teacher, and the students in the end.

Excluded from directors, the administrating staff and teachers works in SCI is 9, and 5 in CBCI. The student enrolled both in SCI and SNCI this semester is around 90. Therefore, this study takes 2 directors both in SCI and CBCI and samples 5 people in administrating and teacher group in SCI, and 2 in CBCI; 6 students in SCI and 7 students in CBCI. The students are selected from different levels of the language courses in CI in order to get comprehensive viewpoints from the biggest participant group in CI operation. The detailed list of interviewees can be found in the appendix.

3.3.3 Interview Question Design

The interview questions mainly cover the following aspects:

- Participant's recognition of CI
- Participant personal experience in CI
- Participant expectation towards CI
- Effectiveness of CI program and activity
- Program and activity planning in CI

Yin (2009:107) argues it is essential to formulate the interview questions discreetly in order to make it possible for the interviewees to supply a fresh commentary and represent their own and real opinions about the case. Therefore, instead of leading questions, semi-structured and open-ended interview questions are used in this study in order to let the interviewees to response freely.

3.4 Measures for data analysis

The main aim in this study is to explore CI's function and its impact on building China's soft power in Scandinavia. Therefore Liu's CI function framework took over the main theoretical proposition. CI function framework helps this study concentrate on certain data as well formulate the interview questions. By following CI function framework, data obtained in this study will be mainly analyzed through the eight dimensions introduced in the theoretical section.

The programs and activities in CI are fundamental forms of CI working. They are the solid carrier of CI's functions. The implementation of them is closely connected with CI's impact on developing China's soft power in this area. The analysis will base and concentrate on reviewing the programs and activities in selected CI cases, including design and planning, expectation, satisfaction and outcome, with relying on the viewpoints of various stakeholders interviewed and the records of observation.

3.5 Generalization

With respect of being difficult to make generalization in qualitative research (Flick, 2009), this research tries to develop a deep insight of the phenomenon by making great efforts on selecting the case and samples. First, by picking up the specimens of SCI and CBCI as two cases to study, this thesis considers their representativeness of CI in the Scandinavia. Besides, both SCI case and CBCI case are typical compared with other CIs in Scandinavian area because they are pilot specimens in the similar rank of CI in this area, even in the world. Their relatively longer operation time makes them experienced and owes more probabilities to be studied.

Furthermore, the approach of sampling in this research also makes contribution to the generalization of the study here. The Samplings in this study covers various stakeholders within CI operation. All the directors in the two CI cases and the main administrative staffs and teachers have been interviewed. The students interviewed are from various class levels. As it is argued by Flick (2009), the generalization rely more on the quality of the decision of sampling, while not interviewing a huge

numbers of samplings.

The findings of the case study can be generalized to understand the establishment and development of CI in Scandinavia, and its impact on building China's soft power in this area. However, this study acknowledges the difference among various CI hosting communities. Therefore, the result of this study only owns its referential values to review other CI built in another community, but is not recommended to wholly or generally apply to other areas.

3.6 Ethical considerations

This study is taken through the rules that informed consents got obtained by the respondents and others who are participating in this project. The students, administrative staffs and teachers who get interviewed are still working and studying in CI. To make sure they can response without possible worries; their names are confidential in this thesis. The names of directors are kept originally. The voice record of the interview is always undertaken with the approvals of the interviewees. The voice and video records are only used for further checking and referring, but not for publishing in any kinds of form in public.

Chapter 4 Case studies and Analysis

4.1 Presentation of the two cases: SCI and CBCI

With the sponsorship and authorization of Hanban in Beijing, Stockholm Confucius Institute (SCI, formerly Nordic Confucius Institute) is collaborated between Stockholm University and Fudan University in Shanghai. It is a part of Department of Oriental Languages. According to the description on the website of SCI (2010), the objectives of the Institute are through courses, lectures, seminars, publications to promote the teaching of Chinese and stimulate interest in Chinese culture.

Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute (CBCI) is built up in collaboration with Renmin University of China in Beijing and Copenhagen Business School (CBS), with the sponsorship and authorization of Hanban in Beijing. In CBCI's brochure (2008), the mission of CBCI is claimed as to offer academic Chinese courses, Chinese business courses, public lectures, seminars and conferences on Chinese studies, Chinese culture and Chinese language. CBCI also aims to help develop effective Sino-Danish business and foster understanding of business culture in China.

The objectives of CBCI have been specifically stated in their website, it is illustrated from the following seven aspects (Table 4.1):

No.	Objective	Business-related
1.	To help develop effective Sino-Danish business, cultural and academic connections	⊙
2.	To offer an extensive program of Business Chinese, Chinese language courses at different levels	⊙
3.	To provide support for teachers of Chinese language and Chinese teachers in Denmark	
4.	To contribute to Chinese cultural awareness and activities in Denmark	
5.	To provide cross-cultural communication seminars and workshops for the business communities and universities	⊙

6.	Forge strategic alliances with key stakeholders in business, industry, government and other institutions	○
7.	Develop and promote Chinese Studies and Research in Denmark	

Table 4.1 the objectives of Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute (CBCI, 2009)

From the information get from the website of SCI and CBCI, we can see that although both the core objectives of these two CIs are Chinese language teaching and Chinese culture promoting. The aim of SCI has more emphasis on teaching Chinese as foreign language and academic research in China studies because of its affiliating relation with Oriental Language Department; while the objectives claimed by CBCI have more business focuses. Among the seven officially announced objectives of CBCI, four items are related with business. This feature consists with its name as well because it's a business CI. Through the data above, it can be known that the aim for China to have CI in this region is not only about language teaching and culture promotion, but also contains developing a further business connection and cooperation with local community. The different emphasis of these two CIs' objectives also indicates that Hanban's intention on the functional complement when allocating CI establishment in this area.

4.2 The review on the programs and activities in SCI and CBCI

The programs and activities run in SCI are presented in the table 4.2 below by drawing the information from SCI website (SCI, 2010):

Program	Note
Chinese language course	Mainly for students in Stockholm University
External language training courses	For other actors in the local community, e.g. employee language training for local company Cooperated with its Chinese partner university
Summer course program	Fudan University, hold in July and August at International cultural Exchange School at Fudan University, Shanghai,

Chinese cultural salon	Cooperated with the International Library in Stockholm, organized every one week to provide an opportunity for people who are interested in China to meet and practice their Chinese and to learn more about Chinese culture; there is a specific culture related topic every time.
Language café	Once a month in cooperation with International Library in Stockholm for people to practice Chinese, talk to others who study the language, exchange experience and meet new friends.
Lecture and seminar	Invite researchers in Stockholm University or guest professor to give lecture and seminar on China; In cooperation ABF-house to provide lectures to the local public once a semester.
Forum China	An independent forum for Chinese researchers. Several meetings a term to discuss issues of common interest and make presentation of ongoing research;
Examination of HSK and YCT	YCT: a test for younger students, which is called Young Learners Chinese Test
Chinese Bridge Competition (HanyuQiao)	A world scale Chinese language competition for Chinese learner; includes a section for high school students and a section for university students
Scholarship	For students and teachers to study and do research on Chinese language and culture
Exchange program	Currently, it is in the form of organizing trips to China for principals and teachers in secondary school in the local community to visit historical places in China and Chinese school with discussing future cooperation;

Table 4.2 programs and activities in Stockholm Confucius Institute (SCI, 2010)

The programs now running in CBCI are illustrated in the table 4.3 as below:

Program	Note
Academic Chinese language	Different levels, for both students in CBS and the public
Business Chinese language	Tailor-made teaching program for Danish companies
Chinese culture	Qigong course, Calligraphy course
Chinese language teachers' training courses	To train the teacher in local secondary school and cultivate the local Chinese teacher
Chinese language proficiency test	HSK, YCT, and BCT (Business Chinese Test)
Chinese Bridge Competition	Same as that in SCI
Chinese language teaching resource assistance and information support	For the local Danish schools that are planning to open Chinese language course
Lectures, seminars, and workshops	Topic are about Chinese business, culture, philosophy, society etc.
Chinese language club	Emphasizing on dialogue and inspiration rather than on teaching and knowledge building. To provide local students an opportunity to experience Chinese language and culture outside classroom in a relaxing and uplifting way; at the same time also to offer a chance for Chinese exchange students or teachers to meet and know students from the local community.
Research in Chinese studies	CBCI conducts its own research, also provides support for Chinese studies in Denmark

Table 4.3 Programs and activities in Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute (CBCI, 2010)

These two tables above provide us a whole picture of the programs and activities in the two CI cases. It can be seen that both of SCI and CBCI provide various programs and activates to the local community. Although the programs and activities in CBCI more emphasize its business-oriented feature, the design of programs and activities in SCI and CBCI still owns plenty of similarities. Both of them set language programs and culture activities as the main part in their work. Besides, based on the higher educational resource they advantage from, both of them have attached a great importance on open lectures and seminars to introduce China and Chinese culture.

What's more, they all provide supports to the research in China studies. In these senses, both of the two CIs strictly follow the missions of CI argued by Hanban (2005). Nevertheless, some differences on programs setting between the two CI cases also exist. For instance, SCI has broader cooperation with local organizations, while CBCI provides more support to local Chinese as a foreign language teaching.

4.3 Apply CI function framework to analyze the two cases

4.3.1 Language and culture diffusion function

Liu (2009) argues that the language and culture diffusion is the key function that CI plays. Language is considered as an essential part of culture and it carries important cultural information of the society it belongs to (Zhang, W, 2008). Culture is considered as a set of values and practices that create meanings for a society (Nye, 2004, p11). To study and comprehend a country's language and culture is a necessary and effective mean to access the smooth communication and overcome the barriers and misunderstanding (Zhao, 2009). Because of the economic boom in China, the significance of Chinese language and culture have been recognized and increased around the world. According to Zhao (2009), Chinese language and culture is an important constructive factor in the future unity of the world.

The development of globalization requires more attention to be paid to diversifying cultures in the world. The promoting of a country's language and culture is also a process that can obtain a synchronous development with the world culture diversification (Liu, 2009). In the statement of Hanban (2005), it says "the establishing of CI aims to enhance world people's understanding to Chinese language and culture, diversify the world's lingua franca and develop the friend relationship between China and other countries in the world". In this sense, the main service of CI is set to provide Chinese language teaching and to hold cultural activities and events about China.

Like most of other CIs in the world, both SCI and CBCI take the Chinese language teaching and Chinese culture promoting as the focus in their operation. Even if CBCI

is a business-oriented CI; it still pays a great effort to provide Chinese language courses and culture promoting programs.

It is found in my fieldwork that both SCI and CBCI own a high reputation in the local community by providing professional and high quality Chinese as a foreign language courses. When being asked what motivates the students to go to CI to study Chinese, all in the interview answered because of its professional and high quality language teaching. In the viewpoints of the administrative staffs in SCI, the primary reason for people to come to SCI is because they want study Chinese language. In the interview, the study director in SCI said the Chinese language study program is the most appreciated program in SCI. All the interviewed directors also agree that the Chinese language study program is the most attractive to the local people. All the teachers in the interview agree that language teaching is the basic function that CI should have. Both SCI and CBCI provide different levels of Chinese language program in 2011, which are summarized in the table 4.5 below:

SCI	CBCI
Chinese for beginners 1	Mandarin Chinese Beginner's Level 1
Chinese for beginners 2	Mandarin Chinese Beginner's Level 2
Chinese 1	Mandarin Chinese Elementary Level 1
Chinese 2	Mandarin Chinese Elementary Level 2
Chinese 2 Continued	Mandarin Chinese Intermediate Level

Table 4.4 Chinese language programs in SCI and CBCI (2011)

From the table above, we can see that the language programs in SCI and CBCI are very similar. They cover the most common levels of Chinese learning. In the interview, all of the students think the Chinese language program in CI can meet their study needs and they all show their great satisfactions with the learning effectiveness and efficiency of studying in CI. During the language study, most of students say they become more and more interested in Chinese culture and get better understanding of some Chinese values and behaviors.

All the culture promoting programs and activities in SCI and CBCI aim to make Chinese culture to be widely accepted, deeper understood and more attractive in the local community. Culture is one of the most important sources in building soft power

(Nye, 2004, p. 11). Although it is not officially stated that the aim of China to promote Chinese culture internationally, is to develop its soft power. It is not difficult to see that the intention of China to promote Chinese culture is to become part of the prevailing global shared culture

In SCI and CBCI, the culture promoting is carried out through various approaches within diverse programs and activities (seen picture 4.3 below).



*Picture 4.1 various culture activities in SCI
(Confucius Institute Online, 2010)*

First, all the interviewed teachers said that they have integrated the culture content more or less in their language teaching, especially the teachers sent from Hanban, who show a strong inclination to make cultural explanations during their language teaching.

Second, SCI has the Chinese salon and Language café program. CBCI has the Chinese language club program and also provides special Chinese culture courses. All these kinds of programs aim to help the language students in CI and the local public to obtain comprehensive knowledge about Chinese culture through firsthand experiencing various cultural activities with Chinese people, e.g. ‘having fun over dumplings’ held by Chinese language club, Tai Chi and Calligraphy courses in CBCI

and Chinese tea ceremony introduced by Chinese salon in SCI (See picture 4.3).

In the interview, 8 of 13 students have participated in these kinds of programs. They all hold an opinion that it is uplifting and instrumental for them to understand Chinese culture, and they are willing to participate more. The other five students who haven't been in these kinds of programs show nevertheless a strong interest and intention to participate in future. The teachers who have been involved in these kind programs said that students like this kind of programs very much. Even if they not are able to attend every time, they all show a great interest in this kind of programs and activities. The administrative staffs in SCI and the Chinese director in CBCI said that more and more local people make contact with them to inquire about the programs and to participate.

Third, both SCI and CBCI sometimes organize special events to promote Chinese culture. I have observed the 2011 Chinese Spring Festival celebration performance organized by SCI in collaboration with Beijing Normal University (video records can be found in the attached CD).The performance was sold out and during my observation, the local people, as I understood it, showed great enthusiasm. They enjoyed the performance and took great interest in the cultural explanations. For example, the traditional Chinese notion of *Tuanju* (which means: go back home and get united), and the meaning of Spring Festival in Chinese Lunar calendar etc. After the performance, I talked with some Swedish audiences; they all agreed that this activity improved their knowledge about China and Chinese culture.

All these findings prove that CI in Scandinavia has a good language and culture diffusion function. This finding keeps a high consistence with the framework of Liu (2009). CI's good language and culture diffusion helps Chinese language and culture get widely known and shared by the local community. In this case, it enlarges the opportunity of this kind of Chinese intangible resource on building its soft power. Because the narrow values and cultures have very little probability to become the source of the soft power (Nye, 2004, p11)

4.3.2 Intermediate actor function in public diplomacy.

Liu (2009) thinks in the practice of CI, it not only promotes the Chinese language and culture, but also widely spreads Chinese values. Through CI, China is always trying to brush up a more positive and healthy image of Chinese society. Liu (2009) also asserts that China expects CI to play an elastic role in coordinating and mediating attritions and conflicts between China and local hosting community. Furthermore CI makes the local public obtain a better understanding of Chinese perspective and in this way to lift the credibility of its diplomatic policy.

In my fieldwork, I found that lectures and seminars hold in SCI and CBCI plays an important role in this aspect of CI function. In the lecture and seminar activity, it is more than just introductions of Chinese culture. More attention is paid to talk about Chinese philosophy and values. It provides the local people a path to get comprehensive knowledge on the issues happening in contemporary Chinese society. For example, CBCI once invited Dr. Pan Wei, the Director of Center for Chinese and Global Affairs at Peking University, to give a lecture on Contemporary Chinese System on 11 October 2010 (Picture 4.1 & 4.2). This lecture was considered as the most successful and inspiring one by CBCI since it created a conversation on the big and tough questions (e.g. structure of Chinese Society, the Chinese notion of *Sheji* and *Minben*) between Chinese scholars and the audiences from both Denmark and south Sweden.



Picture 4.2& 4.3 Dr. Pan Wei and the audience in the lecture on Contemporary Chinese System (CBCI, 2010)

Most of students interviewed in my research show a high interest to participate in this kind of lecture and seminar activities. When being asked about their experience of participating in lectures and seminars, seven of the eight participating students all gave a positive answer. The students who gave positive answers all thought the seminar and lecture provided them with a deeper understanding of China, especially on culture and value. They thought that the information they got from this kind of activity changed their previous stereotyped negative impression of China and made them get a better personal feeling towards China and Chinese people.

The teachers who have taken part in this kind program before also agree that the lecture and seminar program provides students, as well the local public, another channel to understand China and Chinese social issues. As a teacher responded in the interview, compared with getting the information about China through traditional media approach, the lectures and seminars in CI provide the people in the local community an exciting and informative alternative to get know the knowledge about China and contemporary Chinese society, which is effective to help the local public form an all-sided comprehension about China.

What's more, all the directors agree that this kind of program is instrumental for local public to overcome their prejudice and stereotype about China, making misunderstanding between China and local community smaller.

Through opening lectures and seminars for students and local public, CI in this area does have a function to mitigate the tensions and misapprehension that local people had towards China. It owns a great meaning to China to build up a positive image in this area. However, in my fieldwork, I found this kind of activity in CI now has not reached the government level, and the topics are seldom touches political issues. Therefore, the intermediate actor function of CI in this area is only confined within non-government and non-politic level.

4.3.3 Link and bridge function in economic interrelation

In the viewpoint of Liu (2009), the economic function of CI is manifested from two

aspects. From one aspect, CI provides a platform for developing business connection and cooperation between the local host community and China. It gives a cultural support to the international development of Chinese enterprises by globally promoting Chinese culture and value and getting them broader understood and accepted. And also, through the window of CI more and more people in the local community who would like to understand Chinese language, culture and values get attracted and cultivated, which will benefit Chinese international business and investment with potential advantages.

SCI provides external language training course to the employees of the local companies who have the needs to get Chinese language skill because of their business connection with China, but the function of CI to develop business connections and cooperation between China and local community can be more found in the activities of CBCI. Besides providing tailor-made business Chinese language courses to Danish companies, CBCI also has organized dozens of business-focused activities in the form of lecture, seminar, and workshop since it is established. Part of those lectures, seminars and workshops are presented in the table 4.4 below:

Date	Topic	Form code	Given by
28/04/2011	From the Silk Road to the Information Highway – About a Chinese company goes to the world	Lecture 1	Jason Lan, DK country manager of Hua Wei
07/04/2011	Marketing and Branding on the Chinese Consumer Market	Seminar1	CBCI, Danish-Chinese Business Forum
11/05/2010	The Process of Internationalization of Chinese Enterprises	Lecture 2	Xinxin Hu, the executive Director General of China Enterprise Confederation
10-11/06/2009	Chinese Management	Workshop	CBCI
16/01/2009	China Market Access Seminar	Seminar 2	Dansk Erhverv, Hill & Knowlton and CBCI
18/09/2008	Chinese Business Behavior from a Western Perspective	Lecture 3	Prof. Verner Worm, Danish director of CBCI

Table 4.5 Part of business lectures, seminars and workshop programs in CBCI (CBCI, 2008-20011)

From the table above, we can see that this kind of activity in CBCI fully reflect their goals. On one hand, it is beneficial to develop further business connection and cooperation between China and Denmark (e.g. seminar 1 & 2). On the other hand, it is helpful to improve the local public's understanding of the expansion of Chinese enterprise and Chinese business culture and values (e.g. lecture 1, 2, 3 and workshop). CI here does have a function to provide a platform for Chinese enterprise to present themselves to the local people, obtaining more understandings and approvals, which is an excellent opportunity to develop their public relations with this community.

The same result can also be found in the interviews. Both the Chinese director and Danish direct in CBCI give the positive answer on CI's function on improve economic interrelations. Two of the students who work in the business field express their approval attitudes to make business with China or make further cooperation with their current Chinese business partner. The Chinese director in CBCI said there are more and more people in the business filed in Denmark have been to the recent lecture and seminar activities. The work of CI on this aspect has produced a favorable response from the local public, especial in the business circle.

From the other aspect, Liu (2004) considers the development of CI strengthens the international promotion of Chinese language and brings relevant economic benefits. The teaching market gets enlarged and can provide more work opportunities. And the development of language learning market extends related industrial chains (e.g. language proficiency test services).

In my interview to the administrative staffs in SCI and the Chinese director in CBCI, they said that most of the local secondary schools are interested to open their own Chinese language courses. They have a large demand for qualified Chinese language teacher. There are hundreds of potential working opportunities in this field for both Chinese language teachers in China and local community. Besides, according to the interview to the study director in SCI, the number of HSK registration is increasing steadily in theses years. Nearly half of the student (6 out of 13) I interviewed indicates they will consider taking HSK test in future.

Although this aspect of CI economic function can be found in my field work, the significance of this function on the current stage is not big. Nevertheless, it shows a great potential to grow in the coming future.

4.3.4 International education exchange and cooperation function

Since 90% CIs in the world are built in the joint model, most of CIs in the world are the international cooperative projects between Chinese university and the local hosting university. In some cases, the initiation of CI establishing is even resulted from the earlier educational cooperation and exchanges between Chinese and local partner universes, e.g. Stockholm Confucius Institute. Liu (2009) claims that from the beginning of CI project, the keynote of international education exchange and cooperation has been settled.

Currently several programs in SCI and CBCI are carrying out this function of CI. Every year, the exchange program in SCI provides an opportunity for the principals in Swedish secondary schools to seek educational cooperation in China. The Chinese director in CBCI said the similar program has been organized by CBCI before as well.

Besides, both SCI and CBCI have summer course programs. The summer course is an intense two-month full time Chinese language study program offer by the Chinese partner university. All the students I have interviewed, although show some interests, none of them has intention to take this program in their short-term plan because most of them are full time students majored in other fields or employees. The study director in SCI and Chinese director in CBCI also indicates that people who go to the summer course program through CI is not many. The Swedish and Danish director also mentioned the educational exchanges going through CI needs further expanding.

However, Chinese Bridge Competition is a program now works effectively in the educational exchange. It's organized every year in SCI and CBCI. The winner of the competition can get the scholarship from Hanban and choose a Chinese University to study Chinese language for one year. According to the administrative staff in SCI,

students participating Chinese Bridge competition are getting more and more in the recent two years. Among the student I interviewed, although only two of them have been to the competition, others have showed their interests to take the competition in future.

In my fieldwork, I found the current educational exchange is not really mutual communication. It is mainly one side communication by just send the people in the local community to China. Besides, compared with language and culture function, this part is still not the current focus of the work in CI and does not show that big significance in current CI operation in this area.

4.3.5 Academic research exchange function

Liu (2004) argues in the context of education and academy getting internationalized, CI not only takes the responsibility of language and culture promoting, but also plays a function as the platform for academic research and exchange on China studies.

Every semester, both SCI and CBCI invite the scholars who do Chinese studies around the world to come to CI to open lectures and seminars. The Chinese partner university also sends professors to SCI and CBCI to give guest lectures. Both Chinese directors in SCI and CBCI approve that academic meaning that those activities have.

Besides, there are specific programs to support academic research in Chinese studies both in SCI and CBCI, e.g. the scholarship in SCI and the resource assistance and information support provided by CBCI, which are encouraging and instrumental for the local researchers to conduct their China studies. The Forum China program in SCI provides a good platform for researchers to make academic exchange and communication on their projects. But this program started in 2009, its effect is not big right now. Although CBCI arrange its own China studies, the accomplishment has not become significant.

During the interview to the directors in CBI and SCBI, it is found that the academic research and exchange has not been placed as a crucial function of CI at moment.

Neither the administrative staffs nor teachers give a great attention on this aspect of CI function. Nevertheless, both directors and teachers agree that there is a big space and advantageous conditions for CI to develop this academic research and exchange function in the future.

Although it can be found that CI has the function on strengthening academic research and exchange between China and Scandinavian countries, the importance of this function is not big at current stage and the emphasis on this aspect in CI operation is far from enough.

4.3.6 Chinese language teacher training and developing function

In Liu's viewpoint, CI is considered as the optimum institute to train and develop CFL teaches. Because he thinks the essentials of being a CFL teacher can be perceived through the real teaching context and cognition of the local culture. This makes the teacher training and developing in CI is more practical and effective. Liu (2004) claims this function of CI is not only to train the local Chinese language teachers, but also includes to develop the teachers sent from China to make them better adapted to the local teaching environment.

Although not listed in their program setting in SCI, various teacher training and developing programs have been organized according to my interview to the directors and administrative staffs, which includes sending Chinese language teacher in Swedish secondary school to China to get trained, inviting the specialists from China to develop the teachers in CI and train local Chinese teachers. In CBCI, they even use their current teacher resource to provide training programs for Chinese teachers in Danish secondary school, giving lectures to the local Chinese teacher to improve their teaching level. During the interview to the directors, nearly all of them emphasize the function of CI to develop the current local Chinese teachers in secondary school to improve their teaching level, and train the local Chinese immigrants who are willing to teach to become language teachers.

In my field work, it is found that even if the teacher training and developing is not

considered as the core function of CI, it is always drawn adequate attention in CI's work because of the significance of teachers in promoting Chinese language.

4.3.7 Non-governmental cooperation and intercommunication function

Liu (2009) asserts that CI behaviors in the principle of promoting non-governmental communication and cooperation between China and local community to obtain a better mutual understanding. In this sense, CI is setting up a platform for both Chinese and local non-governmental organizations to communicate and collaborate (Liu, 2009). In practice, CI is featured with making efforts to collaborate with various local non-governmental organizations to get integrated with the host community.

From some programs and activities in SCI and CBCI, we can see CI is ready to cooperate with local non-governmental organizations and institutes, e.g. SCI's cooperation with Stockholm international library and ABF-house, CBCI's cooperation with Danish-Chinese business forum and other Danish companies. This kind cooperative program makes CI's functions better integrated with host community. Through the cooperation, it is also beneficial for CI to enlarge its influence, win a good public reputation, and make its work smooth. As stated by the Chinese director in CBCI, now in Denmark more and more people get to know CI. The number of participant in various programs is much bigger than that when CI just established. CI is now drawing more and more attentions from the local public.

However, in most cooperative programs CI is the only Chinese non-governmental institute and the cooperation is mainly restricted in education and business field. The function of CI on this aspect is limited. Moreover, this function of CI has not been formally mentioned in my interview to the directors of SCI and CBCI.

4.3.8 Recall Chinese culture awareness function

In Liu's study, he (2009) claims Confucius Institutes functions to recall the culture awareness of Chinese people and make people to rethink and reposition their own culture in globalization. This recalling of culture awareness is regarded as a process

that extracts the essence of Chinese culture (both Han nation and other ethnic groups living in China) and applies it into the reality for a further development by getting integrated into the world (Fei, 2007, p. 188-190).

As a Chinese teacher in SCI in the interview indicates, the activities in CI are not only to promote Chinese culture, they also make exchanges with the local culture. In this process, Chinese culture gets being rethought and repositioned, which is beneficial for it to gain a larger popularity in the global context. The work of this function needs to rely on the work other functions discussed above, but its potential to develop soft power cannot be neglected.

Besides, Liu (2009) also argues that as the pivot project to promote Chinese language and culture outside China, CI also plays a role to enhance the national culture identity, especially to the overseas Chinese, by arousing their cultural identification. CI owns a special meaning for the overseas Chinese to increase their cultural belonging sense and national pride.

Most of the cultural events and activities in CI are related to reinforce Chinese culture identity in the host area, especially to the local Chinese inhabitants. In my observation at the Spring Festival celebration performances held by SCI, most of Chinese audiences are touched by this celebration performance. In my talking with some Chinese audiences after the performance, they all said they felt a great proud of being Chinese.

4.4 The impact of CI on building China's soft power in Scandinavia

Normally, the intention of China to adopt CI as a part of its soft power strategy is mainly discussed in theoretical context or political context. It has neither been officially mentioned in Hanban's documents nor claimed through Chinese foreign policy. In my interview, the directors in SCI and CBCI more or less have heard about the soft power concept and theory, but they rarely take specific considerations of that in the operation of CI. The teachers and administrative staffs interviewed hardly possess a comprehensive knowledge about soft power. Only 2 of 13 students in the

interview, who study international relationships, know something about soft power. According to the viewpoints of my interviewees, they all prefer to consider CI as a Chinese language teaching and culture promoting institute instead of saying it is a political tool of China to develop its soft power.

Even if the soft power perspective is rarely mentioned in CI operation, it is still not difficult to see its positive impact on building China's soft power in this area through the analysis of CI functions in the two cases. But the increase of China's soft power in this area seems limited and its development is still at an initial stage.

Both SCI and CBCI take language teaching and culture promoting as the priority part of their work. In my interview to 13 students, all of them go to CI because they think CI can provide them high quality and professional Chinese language study courses. After study in CI, more than half of the students interviewed say they have been into various culture activities. According to the student's response to my interview, 9 of 13 admitted that after taking language course and culture activities, they are more attracted by China and Chinese culture. All of the interviewed students would like to go to China for visiting; 6 of them would like to work in China for a period of time and 4 of them would like to study in China in future. All the students in the interview think Chinese people are very friendly and they would like to get know more knowledge about Chinese society besides language and culture.

Though the language and culture programs and activities, CI makes China and Chinese culture more and more attractive to the people in this host community. Nye (2004, p. 5-6) emphasizes the attractiveness is the foundation in the concept of soft power. All of the three sources to build up a country's soft power need to be raised from the attractiveness. In this sense, CI has done a good job to help China to build its soft power in this area because it is found in my fieldwork that after study in CI most of the local people do feel China and Chinese culture more fascinating and they are willing to further explore it.

Besides, CI also makes people in the local community get a better understanding of some Chinese values and perspectives. Through lectures, seminars and workshops, CI

provides the local public a good opportunity to get in-depth and comprehensive understanding about Chinese culture and relevant values. CI behaviors like an intermediate actor in Chinese public diplomacy, helping to reducing local people's prejudice and misunderstanding about China. In my fieldwork, I found CI has helped China build up a relatively positive image among the people in the local community. According to my interview to students, they all hold an optimistic attitude towards the relation between the local community and China. They think that China owns a mutually beneficial relation with this area. A better understanding and a good feeling about China makes the local people are more willing to make business and cooperation with China. All the students interviewed believe more and more cooperation and business trade will be developed between China and this area in the future.

Nye (2004, p 32) claims in the globalization age the attraction of power is more lying on the capacity of sharing information and the country who provides multi-channel communication in framing issues owns more opportunities to gain attractiveness and develop their soft power. Through the function of education cooperation and exchange and non-governmental intercommunication, CI is sending a message that China is willing to share its information and apply multi-channel to make communicate with the local community. Although these two functions of CI have not been fully developed in this area, its active influences for China to develop its soft power in this area cannot be ignored.

Nye (2004, p. 45) has said that the international academic exchange is beneficial for eliminating the ideological estrangement and obtaining more mutual understanding and more common ground. He thinks academic exchanges own a special and important role on enhancing soft power. At present, CI academic exchange function in this area does not show a great significance in its work, but it is still on its way of developing. Both the directors and teachers believe the future development of this aspect function of CI has a great potential. Academic exchanges can keep on infecting more and more people over the years. The attraction and soft power that gets enhanced through this kind of cultural contacts in the elite class contribute significantly to achieve political objectives (Nye, 2004, p.46).

From the perspective of value meaning layer in soft power theory, soft power behavior as an attraction power to other actors from one country's culture and value and the capacity to make other actors to affirm and accept its culture and values. CI has made a good use of one of China's intangible sources, which is attractive culture and related values, helping China to develop its soft power in this area in the sense of value meaning layer.

However, the increase of China's soft power is limited. The attraction CI drawn is mainly sourced from the culture and cultural values. It only makes China become more culturally attractive to the local community and better understood on cultural values by the local people. Since China is still undemocratic and running by an authoritative communist party, CI rarely makes use of other intangible power resource about China (e.g. political institute and assumed legitimated or moral authorized policies). The programs and activities in CI seldom touch the sensitive political values or Chinese foreign policies. China's attractiveness drawn from these aspects still nearly gets no increase.

Furthermore, according to the spectrum of behaviors that soft power makes (Table 2.1, Nye, 2004, p.8), in current situation the soft power of China in this area is only staying at attraction level, and far from the co-opt level. This means the soft power of China increased in this area is more about attracting people, while it is still not able to persuade the local people to do as China wants or expects them to do during China pursuing its goals. Therefore, from the perspective of instrumental meaning layer in soft power theory, China's soft power gets very little increase.

Nevertheless, the soft power theory claims the layer of value meanings serves the instrumental meaning layer and can help it to get accumulated and grow. The increase of value meaning layer has long-term meanings. Hence, the potential impact of CI for China to develop its soft power in this area may turn out bigger and deeper because CI in this area is still in its preliminary stage.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

In the last decades, with the high economic growth, China has started to draw more and more attention from the world. The practical use of Chinese language is getting enhanced. The enthusiasm of the world to learn Chinese language and get knowledge about Chinese culture becomes higher and higher. Under this external context, China begins to establish its own language and culture promoting institutes around the world given the name of Confucius Institute. The aims of CI is officially announced as to enhance world's understanding to Chinese language and culture, diversify the world's lingua franca and develop the friend relationship between China and other countries in the world.

Actually, since later of 90s China has adopted soft power strategy in its foreign policy, CI project is taken as a cultural tool to perform this strategy in the new century. The implementation of CI project starts with the aboveboard public diplomatic purpose, which is to build a positive image of the country and win the goodwill in the worlds for China, helping it protect its interests and pursue its goals. Besides, there are political imperatives drives China to take this CI route. The communist party needs to seek ideological justification for its governing legitimacy. Nationalism eventually comes to government consideration. CI, as the official institute to promote Chinese language and culture, is regarded as one manifestation of the nationalism and has been put into the government public diplomacy agenda (Don, 2009).

The CI project expands quickly in the world. Nowadays, 90% of CIs in the world are established through joint form. In five years, this joint form helps China gain more CI branches than British Council has achieved in 60 years (Don, 2009). In the joint model, the cooperation between Hanban, Chinese university and the local host university is emphasized. Through the cooperation, Chinese universities are able to improve their academic performance and make further development of their internationalization. The local host universities also gain several practical interests through the cooperation. They are able to organize more culture activities and programs about China for their students with lower expense and their Chinese language teaching level gets improved. They get more opportunity to make further

education exchanges and cooperation with Chinese counterparts, strengthening their academic research in China studies. The Chinese language teachers in the host university also get developed, and they are able to provide more support to the secondary schools in the local community.

After the emergence of CI, the study on CI is arising more and more interests and attentions. Even if both Chinese scholars and western scholars have done the studies in CI with focusing from various perspectives, there is rare study that covers both the political points of view and the managerial perspective in CI operation. Beside, Chinese researchers have done some regional studies of CI, but the CI regional study in Scandinavia still remains blank.

This study is grounded with soft power theory to give an in-depth look into China's CI project. It examined the functions of CI in Scandinavian area through two CI cases locates in Sweden and Denmark by applying Liu's CI function framework. The programs and activities in CI cases are analyzed within the framework by taking various voices from the different stakeholders in the operation of CI. Based on the analysis, CI's impact on building China's soft power in this area gets discussed.

The findings indicates all the eight dimension of CI functions elaborated in Liu's framework can be found in the two CI cases in Scandinavia, but the significance of the eight dimensions of CI functions are different.

Language and culture diffusion function is the core as well the fundamental function of CI in this area. The intermediate actor function of CI in this area works well but is confined within non-government and non-politic level. In the economic sphere, CI in this area functions quite well as the bridge to develop economic relations between China and the local community. But CI functions as the link to accelerate the international Chinese language teaching industry does not make a big significance in the current stage of CI development. Yet, it shows a potential growth in the coming future.

Although academic research exchange function and educational exchange and

cooperation function can be found in this study, the significance of these two functions have not been adequately emphasized in the practice of CI. The language teacher training and developing function has drawn enough attention in CI's work in this are because the significance of teacher resource in Chinese language promoting. The non-governmental intercommunication function and the recall Chinese culture awareness function can be found in the CI's program setting and implementation, but the attention from managerial level to these two functions is far from enough.

China's intention of employ CI to build its soft power has never been official announced, and the soft power perspective is rarely put into the managerial consideration in CI's operation. However, through the results of the analysis, it is still found that China's soft power gets limited growth in this area, which is mainly manifested in its increasing cultural attractiveness and better understanding in cultural values. The building of China's soft power in the local community still on its primary stage, but it shows a high potential in its future development.

The limitation of this study mainly includes two aspects. One aspect is that the case of CI in another Scandinavian country, Norway, is not included. The second aspect is the various stakeholder pickup in this research are main actors within CI, while the social actors outside CI in the community have not been interviewed. Therefore, the future study can take the CI case of Norway and make the comparison with this study to find out the similarity to further contribute the regional CI study in this area. Besides, more extensive interview can be applied to other local social actors related with CI operation, e.g. the actors in CI cooperative programs and local Chinese inhabitants.

References

- Alice, V. M. (2010). *China's foreign policy and soft power influence*. New York: Nova Science Publisher.
- Bergsten, C. F., Gill, B., Lardy, N. R., & Mitchell, D. J. (2006). *China: The balance sheet: What the world needs to know now about the emerging superpower*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Chen, J. (2008) *ZhuolidazaoKongzixueyuan de pinpai* (Efforts to Build the Confucius Institute Brand), in: Hanban (Ed) *Di erjieKongzixueyuandahuimulu* (Programme of the Second Confucius Institute Conference) pp. 70–75.
- China Online (2009).从2005年到现在中国建设孔子学院投资已达5亿元 (From 2005 till now, China has invested 5 billion to build Confucius Institutes). Retrieved March 12, 2009, from http://www.china.com.cn/news/2009-03/12/content_17430641.htm
- China Today (2009). All the 256 Confucius Institute Established in the World. Retrieved March 03, 2009, from <http://www.chinatoday.com.cn/0903LH/ch/0313/word05.htm>
- China News (2009). The demands for learning Chinese is still heating up, 282 Confucius Institutes have been built in the world. Retrieved December 07, 2009, from <http://www.chinanews.com/hwjy/news/2009/12-07/2003090.shtml>.
- Confucius Institute Online (2010). Stockholm Confucius Institute in North Europe. Retrieved March 04, 2011, from http://www.chinese.cn/college/conference09/article/2010-01/05/content_99646.htm
- Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute (2008). CBCI Brochure. Copenhagen: CBCI.

Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute (2009). Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute - Building Bridge between China and Denmark. Retrieved March 03, 2011, from

<http://www.cbs.dk/en/Research/Departments-Centres/Institutter/Confucius/Menu/About-us>

Copenhagen Business Confucius Institute Events Archives: 2008-2011.

Don, S. (2009). Chinese language education in Europe: the Confucius Institute. *European Journal of Education*, 44(1), 65-82.

Encyclopædia Britannica, (2009). *Scandinavia*. Retrieved 2009-10-28.

Fei, X. (2007). *FeiXiaotong: On culture and cultural awareness*. Beijing: Qunyan Press.

Ferguson, N. (2003). Think again: Power. *Foreign Policy*, 03(04), 18-24.

Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research, 4thEds*, London: SAGE.

Gil, J. (2008). The promotion of Chinese language learning and China's soft power. *Asian Social Science*, 4/10, 116-122.

Guo, X. (2008). *Repacking Confucius: PRC public diplomacy and the rise of soft power*. Stockholm: Asian Paper of Institute for Security and Development Policy,

Guo, Y. (2009). The development of Confucius Institutes and innovative management. (孔子学院的发展问题与管理创新). *Academic Forum*, 06(221), 180-183.

Goldstein, J. S. & Pevehouse, J. C. (2006). *International relations (7th ed.)*. New York: Pearson Longman.

Hanban (2005). Confucius Institute mission statement. Retrieved July 20, 2009, from http://www.hanban.org/kzxy_list.php?ithd=xyzc.

- Hanban. (2006). The introduction to Hanban. Retrieved on Jan 20, 2010 from http://english.hanban.org/node_7719.htm.
- Hanban (2009). Confucius institutes in the world. Retrieved July 20, 2009, from <http://www.confuciusinstitute.net/college/globalColleges.htm>. (Last Retrieved July 16, 2009).
- Harris, S. (2005). China's regional policies: How much hegemony? *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 59, 481-492.
- Kurlantzick, J. (2006). China's charm offensive in Southeast Asia. *Current History*, 105, 270-276.
- Kurlantzick, J. (2007). *Charm offensive: how China's soft power is transforming the world*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Liu, Z. (2008). *Program design and development of Korean Confucius Institutes* (韩国孔子学院的项目开发与设计). (Unpublished Master thesis). Shandong University: China.
- Liu, Z. (2009). The research on the functions of Confucius Institutes. (孔子学院功能研究初探). *Business China*, 09(12), 334-335.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2007). Emergent China and Chinese: language planning categories. *Language Policy*, 6/1, 3-26. London Confucius Institute (2004). Our aims. Retrieved July 15, 2009, from <http://www.londonconfuciusinstitute.org.uk/aims.html>.
- Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative researching*, London: Sage
- Nie, Y. (2008). The introduction to Confucius Institutes. *Shanghai Education Science*, 08(03), 35-38.

Nossal, K. R. (1998). *The patterns of world politics*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada.

Noya, J. (2006). The new symbolic power. *Place Branding*, 2(1), 53-67.

Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign Policy*, 80, 153-171.

Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

Oguzlu, T. (2007). Soft power in Turkish foreign policy. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61, 81-97.

People's Daily Online. (29/04/2006). Backgrounder: Confucius Institutes. [Online] Available http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200604/29/print20060429_262201.html (May 1, 2006)

People's Daily Online. (02/10/2006). Confucius Institute: Promoting language, culture and friendliness. [Online] Available: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200610/02/print20061002_308230.html (October 3, 2006)

People's Daily Online. (02/01/2007). Language, culture popularized worldwide with more Confucius Institutes. [Online] Available: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200701/02/print20070102_337613.html (March 30, 2007)

People's Daily Online. (10/04/2007). China launches Confucius Institute Headquarters in Beijing. [Online] Available: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200704/10/print20070410_365065.html (April 26, 2007)

People's Daily Online. (06/12/2007). China opens first Confucius Institute on air to offer Chinese language teaching. [Online] Available: <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/6316491.html> (July 6, 2008)

People's Daily Online. (13/12/2007). Council created for Confucius Institutes.
[Online] Available: <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/6320086.html>
(July 6, 2008)

Ragin, C. C. (1994) *Constructing social research*. SAGE.

Ray, J. L. & Kaarbo, J. (2002). *Global politics (8th ed.)*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Riksdagens Protokoll (2007) (Parliamentary Proceedings) 2007/08: 46 Tuesday
December 18 <http://www.riksdagen.se/Webbnav/index.aspx?nid=101&bet=2007/08:46>

Stockholm Confucius Institute (2010). About the Stockholm Confucius Institute.
Retrieved March 03, 2011 from <http://www.orient.su.se/pub/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=12188>

Shen, L. (2007). The Current Situation and Prospects of Confucius Institute in Japan.
Journal of Guangdong University of Foreign studies, 18(5), 26-28.

Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing qualitative research (3rd Eds.)* London: SAGE

Van Ness, P. (1970). *Revolution and Chinese foreign policy: Peking's support for wars of national liberation*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Wu, Y. & Ruan, G. (2010). The survey on the communication effects of Chinese culture among American youth: case study of Confucius Institutes in Pittsburgh area. *Academic Exchange*, 10(10), 201-205.

Yin, R. K. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (4th eds.)*, SAGE.

Zhao, H. & Huang, J. (2010). China's policy of Chinese as a foreign language and the

use of overseas Confucius Institutes. *Educ Res Policy Prac*, 10(9): 127-142.

Zhao, H. Q. (2009). *The role Confucius Institutes play in creating an understanding of China*. Paper presented at China Association for Intercultural Communication & Association for Chinese Communication Studies International Conference, Beijing.

Zhang, W. (2008). The orientation of the Confucius Institutes viewed from the dual function of language. *Journal of Hainan Normal University: Social Science*, 21 (95), 132-135.

Zhang, X. (2008). Analysis of the basic traits and main problems at Nuremberg-Erlangen Confucius Institute. *Journal of Yunnan Normal University*, 6(1), 89-92.

Appendix

A. List of in interviews and interviewees

Category	SCI	Time	Place	CBCI	Time	Place	Recorded
Students (Swedish/Danish)	A	18/02/2011	McDonald	A	17/03/2011	Skype	✓
	B	19/02/2011	SU library cafe	B	23/03/2011	CBCI canteen	✓
	C	22/02/2011	SU library cafe	C	23/03/2011	CBCI canteen	✓
	D	23/02/2011	SU library cafe	D	24/03/2011	CBCI canteen	✓
	E	24/02/2011	SU library cafe	E	24/03/2011	CBCI canteen	✓
	F	25/02/2011	Cafe	F	25/03/2011	CBCI canteen	✓
					G	25/03/2011	CBCI canteen
Teacher	A (Swedish)	21/02/2011	SU library cafe	A (Chinese)	04/03/2011	CBCI	✓
	B (Swedish)	22/02/2011	SCI	B (Chinese)	04/03/2011	CBCI	✓
	C (Chinese)	16/02/2011	SCI				
Administrating staff	A (Swedish)	07/02/2011	SCI				✓
	B (Swedish)	24/02/2011	SCI				
Chinese Directors	Wan, XinZheng (Chinese)	13/02/2011	SCI	Wu, Huihua (Chinese)	04/03/2011	CBCI	✓
Swedish/ Danish Director	Lodén, Torbjörn (Swedish)	13/02/2011	SCI	Verner Worm (Danish)	24/03/2011	CBCI	✓

B. Interview Guides

For directors:

1. What are the initiative reasons for Oriental language Department (Stockholm University) to start the cooperation project of CI with China? Can you briefly introduce the circumstance in the beginning stage of establishing the NCI? 请问最初斯德哥尔摩大学跟中方开展孔子学院项目的原因是什么?您能简要的介绍一下当时建立北欧孔子学院时的情况吗?
2. What is your personal understanding of the item of soft power? It is said China's CI projects related with its political strategy of expanding soft power influence to the local hosting country, how do you think of this? 请问你个人是怎么理解软实力这个概念的? 据说中国的孔子学院项目跟其扩张全球软实力影响的政治策略有密切关系,您是怎么看的?
3. Some people think CI is a tool of Chinese culture invasion, how do you think of this? And how does NCI try to deal with this kind of argument during its development? 有些人认为孔子学院是中国文化侵略的工具,您是怎么看这个问题的? 北欧孔子学院是怎么对待和处理这种论断的呢?
4. In your opinion, what do you think of the goals of China to make the NCI project in Swede? 您个人看来,中方促成北欧孔子学院的的目的有那些?
5. What functions do you think NCI are playing to the Swedish Community here? 您认为北欧孔子学院对瑞典的当地社区都发挥了那些功能?
6. What are the main values of China that NCI trying to introduce and promote to the local public and community? 北欧孔子学院都努力向瑞典当地大众和社区介绍和推广中国的那些价值观?
7. In your viewpoint, what mainly motivates people to come to NCI to be in the programs? 在您看来,人们来到北欧孔子学院参加课程的主要动机是什么?
8. It is said CI promote international education cooperation and the academic exchanges between China and the world, what do you think of this according to your experience in NCI? 据说孔子学院促进和推动了中国和国际之间的教育合作和学术交流. 据您在北欧孔子学院的经验,你是怎么觉得的?
9. It is reported that the teacher resource shortage is a problematic issue for oversea CFL teaching, what do you think of this problem in NCI and Swedish community? 据报道教师资源短缺是海外对外汉语教学的一个主要问题. 您认为这在北欧孔子学院和瑞典社区是一个问题吗?
10. How do you think the NCI get better integrated with the local Swedish community? 你认为北欧孔子学院应该怎样更好的融入到当地的瑞典社区?
11. What do you think of the meaning of NCI to the local Swedish Chinese people? 您认为北欧孔子学院的建立对瑞典华人有什么意义?
12. In which aspect do you think people improve their understanding or impression of China after participating the programs and activities in NCI? 在参加了北欧孔子学院的课程和活动以后,你认为在哪些方面瑞典人提高了对中国的认识和改善了对中国的印象?

13. What programs in NCI are most attractive to the local people? 北欧孔子学院的那些项目对当地人的最具有吸引力?
14. What is the plan (or strategy) for the future program arrangement in NCI? 北欧孔子学院对将来的项目安排有什么计划和策略吗?

For teachers

1. How long have you worked for Confucius Institute? What motivates to choose work here?您在斯德哥尔摩孔子学院工作多久了?您为什么想在孔子学院任教?
2. How do you think of the main function of Confucius Institute?您个人认为孔子学院因该有那些功能?
3. In your class, can you briefly classify the motivation of students coming to CI to study Chinese?您能简要地对您的学生来孔子学院学习的动机进行一下分类吗?
4. Have you ever hear about Soft power? What do you think about it with CI?您知道软实力吗?你觉得他跟孔子学院有什么关系?
5. What kinds activities hold by CI have you participated with your students? How do think of the students participating experience in the activities?您都参与了孔子学院组织过的那些活动?您是怎么看学生在这类活动中所获得的体验的?
6. What kind questions do students like to rise during the class? Are they interested to know the contemporary Chinese society and Chinese politics?学生在课堂上最喜欢提出什么样的问题?他们对当代中国的社会和中国政治感兴趣吗?
7. What kind cultural content do you integrate into the language teaching?您都在教学中整合一些什么样的文化内容?(中国价值观)
8. Do you think student improve their understanding and cognition to China and Chinese culture after their studying in CI?您认为学生经过在孔子学院的学习,提高了他们对中国和中国文化的了解和认识了吗?
9. What kind teacher developing program have you been involved in CI? How do you like that?你都参加过孔子学院组织的那些教师培训和发展项目?你感觉如何?
10. Have you ever participated into any international educational cooperation or academic exchanges program arranged CI? How do you feel about that?您参加过任何孔子学院组织的国际教育交流和学术交流活动吗?你怎么看这些项目?
11. Besides language course, what kind program do you feel the students are now expecting Stockholm Confucius Institute to arrange in future?除了语言课程,您觉得学生最期待孔子学院能在将来能开设什么其他课程?

For administrative staff

1. How long did you have worked for CI? What do you think of the aims of CI during its operation?
2. What kinds of programs does CI usually arrange?
3. Can you explain the service that CI is able to provide to the local Swedish community?
4. How is the situation of participant enrollment in CI in this year? According to your experience working here, what is the tendency of the enrollment (since the establishment of CI)?

5. In your opinion, what motivates the participant come to CI mostly?
6. What kind program running in CI is most welcome by the local Swedish people?
7. Do you think people improve their knowledge about China through the program they attended? If so, in what aspects?
8. How is the development situation of HSK exam in CI? Are there more and more people coming to take this exam?
9. What do you think of the teacher resource of CI? Do you feel teacher shortage now and then? How do students review their Chinese teachers?
10. Is there are teacher development program running in CI? How do you think about its effectiveness?
11. Besides the cooperation with Chinese partner University, what other kinds of education cooperation and academic exchange program does CI normally have?
12. What kind program do you think are the participants expecting CI to arrange in future?

For students

1. How old are you? What is your occupation?
2. What do you study before? And on which level you have achieved in your education?
3. What your Chinese level is before comes to Confucius Institute? Before studying in SCI, how did you do your Chinese study?
4. In which way did you get know Confucius Institute? What motivates you to come to Confucius Institute to study Chinese? And For how long have you studied in Stockholm Confucius Institute?
5. How do you think of the establishment of Confucius Institute (have you ever thought it is a cultural expansion of China)? What do you think the service Confucius Institute can provide you?
6. How do you feel about China and Chinese before you study in CI? And what do feel about China and Chinese after you study in CI?
7. Do you have Chinese friends? Do you have keep in touch with them regularly?
8. Personally, how do you view the relation between China and Sweden? (And in future?)
9. Have you ever been to China before? After you study in CI, would you like go to there for visit, study or live for some time?
10. Besides Chinese classes, what kind else activates have you participated in SCI? How do you feel about those actives?
11. Besides Chinese language and culture, what else are you interested in about China, e.g. the contemporary society and politics?
12. Have you heard of soft power? Who do you think of it with CI and China?
13. How do you think your learning effectiveness and efficiency in CI? After you finish the current level of Chinese language program in CI, would you like to go to next level study?
14. Do you have a plan to take HSK test? Do you think the result of HSK can benefit you in your career development?
15. Have you participated in the education exchange or academic research program hold by CI? Are you interested in those programs? What do you view you can get from this kind program?

16. How do you think the language program design fits your learning need? What other program are you looking forwards CI to launch in future?