

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The Role of Confucius Institutes in Enhancing China's Soft Power
Diplomacy in Africa--Case Study in Ethiopia and Kenya

BY: Liu Chen

ADDIS ABABA

June 2014

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FUFILLMENT OF THE
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ADVISOR

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COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of Political Science and International Relations

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Declaration

I, undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all the references used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Liu Chen

June 2014

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidate.

Prof. K. Mathews

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Acronyms

AACI:	Addis Ababa Confucius Institute
AU:	African Union
CI:	Confucius Institute
CPA:	Certified Public Accountant
CPC:	Communist Party of China
CPPCC:	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CSIS:	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
EPRDF:	Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU:	European Union
FOCAC:	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
HSBC:	Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Cooperation Limited
HSK:	Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi
LSE:	London School of Economics and Political Science
NOCFL:	China National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language
PRC:	People's Republic of China
RMB:	Ren Min Bi
TCFL:	Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language
UK:	United Kingdom
UN:	United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

US: United States

USIS: United States Information Service

WTO: World Trade Organization

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Ph. 1: The Sign of Confucius Institute



Ph. 2: Addis Ababa Confucius institute, Chinese Club



Ph. 3: The Global Distribution of Confucius Institutes

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the role of Confucius Institutes in Africa as a part of China's soft power diplomacy. The role of Confucius Institutes in enhancing Chinese soft power has been well recognized by Chinese government and international community. This is mainly because Chinese government has a clear understanding of the importance of cultural diplomacy and language promotion. Therefore, China has taken a series of measures to improve its soft power in Africa. This research fills the gap in literature by analyzing the role of Confucius Institutes in Africa in the context of China's soft power diplomacy. From the perspective of African students, more objective views are given on the study of Confucius Institutes in Africa, which can give some recommendations during the development of Confucius Institutes. This research methodologically uses largely qualitative approaches with emphasis on several aspects of China's soft power and Confucius Institutes.

The findings of the study are based on the data collected from key informant interviews and secondary sources. Increasingly deepening of China-Africa trade and personnel exchange needs are the reasons of the booming development of Confucius Institutes in Africa. More and more Africans want to learn Chinese and to know about China, to seek development opportunities in the future. The results of the study are that Confucius Institutes have successfully improved Chinese language and culture transmission in Africa, helped the local people acquire a better understanding of China; Confucius Institutes enhance China-Africa economic and political cooperation, cultural exchange and mutual trust. However, compared with European countries, Africa's own uniqueness brings obstacles to the development of Confucius Institutes. For these reasons, the Headquarters of Confucius Institutes provides special attention and support for the Confucius Institutes in Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Soft power is a concept developed by Joseph S. Nye of Harvard University, which describes the ability to attract and cooperate rather than coerce, use force or donate money as a means of persuasion. Nye defined soft power as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion” (Joseph. Nye, 2004: 5). He also noted that soft power “could be developed through relations with allies, economic assistance, and cultural exchanges” (Ibid). He argued that this would result in a more favorable public opinion and credibility abroad.

Soft power is contrasted with hard power, which is the use of military and economic might to make others change their position. Hard power can rest on inducements or threats; otherwise known as “carrots and sticks”. Hard Power is not always the necessary or desirable strategy for achieving an aim. “Sometimes a nation can achieve its goals without tangible threats or payoffs; it does not rely on hard but soft power” (Ibid).

A country has more soft power if its culture, values and institutions incite admiration and respect in other parts of the world. Diplomacy and a nation’s standing in international bodies enable it to build alliances. Crucial to understanding Nye’s concept of soft power is the importance of China’s popular culture worldwide. From Chinese food to traditional Confucianism, to Chinese arts, Chinese culture has influenced worldwide. Also relevant to the concept of “soft power” is the lure of the style of Chinese government, widely esteemed for its harmony and friendly social environment. From these examples, in both political and cultural terms, China has a great deal of soft power sources.

“Soft power” has already entered China’s official language. In the speech of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on Oct. 15, 2007, President Hu Jintao stated that "as part of China’s soft power, enhance culture can better guarantee people's basic cultural rights and interests". President Hu recognized in the speech that

culture has gradually become an important source of national cohesion and creativity, and a factor of growing significance in the competition of comprehensive national power.

China has always had an attractive traditional culture, but now it is entering the realm of global popular culture as well. Chinese culture is an asset that enhances its leaders' capacities to achieve national objectives in many ways. At present, most of China's success is attributed to discipline, the propensity to save, an ethic of mutual obligation, the value attached to education, and the ability to network-all continuous features of Confucian thoughts.

Chinese novelist Gao Xingjian won China's first Nobel Prize for Literature in 2000, and the Chinese film "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon" became the highest grossing non-English film. Yao Ming, Chinese sport star of Houston Rockets in US National Basketball Association, which already becomes a household name; and China successfully hosted the 2008 Summer Olympics. The enrollment of foreign students in China has increased to 399,600 from 78,000 over the past decade (www.sina.com), and the number of foreign tourists has also increased dramatically to 17 million last year. At the end of 2013, China has created 440 Confucius Institutes around the world to teach Chinese language and culture (Confucius Institute Online, 2013).

China has also adjusted its diplomacy in order to improve comprehensive national power. A decade ago, China was wary of multilateral arrangements and at cross purposes with many neighbors. Since then, China has joined WTO, contributed more than 3,000 troops to serve in UN peacekeeping operations. It becomes more helpful on nonproliferation issues, settled territorial disputes with its neighbors, and joined a variety of regional organizations. This new diplomacy, coupled with the slogan of "China peaceful development" helps to alleviate fears and reduce suspicions of other countries.

China's increasing soft power can be explained by China's economic growth, the booming development tourism and Confucius Institutes, etc. Confucius Institute is one of the

outstanding components in China's soft power , which becomes the bridge of friendship in cultural diplomacy between Chinese and foreign cultures , in addition to facilitating Chinese language and culture learning for local people. Therefore, Confucius Institutes make a great contribution to internationalization of Chinese language and familiarization of Chinese Culture for foreigners, no matter in Africa or other continents.

Confucius Institutes are non-profit public institutes, which aligned with China's Ministry of Education for teaching Chinese as a foreign language. They aim to promote Chinese language and culture to make the world acquire a better understanding of China. Confucius Institutes are different from other countries' language and culture promotion agencies, comparing to British Council and Goethe Institute, etc. Confucius Institutes don't claim to be independent from Chinese government, and they cooperate with local universities, colleges, elementary and primary schools around the world, providing funding, teachers and educational materials, etc. This has raised concerns over their influence on academic freedom, as well as the role in advancing China's soft power and cultural diplomacy.

The first Confucius Institute in Africa was established in 2005 in Kenya--Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, which is funded by Chinese government. It provides Chinese language and cultural teaching to the local public. There are 37 Confucius Institutes in Africa in 2013. China has planned to spend 20 million RMB for education projects in Africa, including teaching Chinese in 50 local high schools (Confucius Institute Online, 2013).

China has different cultural policies and diplomatic motivations to different countries, these differences are based on international relations between China and other countries. Therefore, the evaluation of Confucius Institutes in different countries is diverse, even has an immeasurably vast difference. "Cultural Imperialism" is a representative idea among the critics.

From the perspective of international politics, this research can make China gain some strategic benefits from Confucius Institutes, such as enhancing China-Africa relations, improving China's soft power, reflecting and implementing China's cultural strategy, enhancing China's "harmonious world" blueprint and helping China in national image shaping. It also can find better strategies to face and to solve the practical problems of Confucius Institutes worldwide.

All in all , Confucius Institutes have great significance with regard to learning Chinese as a second language , to strengthen China's soft power, to reinforce the communication between different civilizations , to boost exchanges and international cooperation , to advance Sino-foreign relations , and to build a "harmonious world" with enduring peace and common prosperity of all countries.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nowadays, "soft power" is a key element of comprehensive national power; various measures have been taken by countries to improve their soft power as part of a broader cultural diplomacy. For China, Confucius Institutes play an increasingly important role in China's international relations. This thesis begins with presenting the background, concept and functions of "Soft Power". It analyzes the current status, features and sources of China's soft power. Then, it assesses the establishment, background, development and achievement of Confucius Institutes, and the development of Confucius Institutes in Ethiopia and Kenya Confucius Institutes. Moreover, it indicates the achievements, shortcomings, and challenges of Confucius Institutes in practical teaching activities in Africa. Lastly, Confucius Institutes are compared with some other countries' language and cultural Institutes followed by some policy recommendations.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

General Objectives

1) Assessing the role of Confucius Institutes in Africa as a part of China's soft power diplomacy.

Specific Objectives

- 1) Examine the background and role of Confucius Institutes and their cultural diplomacy.
- 2) Examine the role and functions of Confucius Institutes in China-Africa relation and the practical problems in their current conditions.

1.4 Research Questions

This study has the following main research questions:

- 1) What are the purposes and role of Confucius Institutes in Africa under China's soft power diplomacy?
- 2) What are the contemporary conditions and the developing directions of China's soft power diplomacy?
- 3) What are the practical problems of Confucius Institutes in Africa?

1.5 Hypothesis

Due to the rising China's comprehensive national power and the flourishing China-Africa cultural cooperation, critics come from some western countries, which wrongly accuse Confucius Institutes of promoting "Cultural Imperialism". Those critics surmise that Confucius Institutes are China's secret agencies to promote cultural imperialism in the world. And Confucius Institutes can't represent China's soft power in Africa due to these critics.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Soft power as a key element of comprehensive national power, therefore, "Improving Soft Power" has already become an international trend. Confucius Institutes as China's famous cultural project, they established and developed quickly worldwide, in order to advertise Chinese language and culture.

This study focuses on the role of Confucius Institutes in Africa under China's soft power diplomacy. Assess the function and impact of Confucius Institutes for African countries, so that we can better understand the purpose of the establishment of Confucius Institutes. Moreover, in China, there are few relevant studies about the relations between China's soft power and Confucius Institutes. There also have few comparative studies between China's Confucius Institutes and other countries' language and cultural institutes. Therefore, this thesis will give some recommendations for Chinese scholars on Confucius Institutes from the comparative angle.

1.7 Methodology

In terms of methodology, largely qualitative approaches are used to investigate on several aspects of China's soft power and Confucius Institutes. The study is largely based on literature obtained from various secondary sources, such as books, the Internet and journals articles, etc. Meanwhile, comparative research is to study the different cases in this thesis. For instance, it needs to compare China's cultural diplomacy, mode and method to some other countries. Interview is also an important method to write this thesis, such as individual face-to-face interviewing with Chinese teachers in Addis Ababa Confucius Institute, Ethiopia. Others are through sending email with the Chinese teachers in Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, Kenya.

1.8 Method of Data Collection and Analysis

There are a number of different data collection and generating tools that are available. In this study, the researcher used both primary and secondary sources to collect the desired information. The primary data is obtained through key informant interview. The research makes utmost efforts to incorporate the opinions of interviewees. The eligibility criteria for the interviewees are experience, knowledge and academic relevance to the research questions. Accordingly, the interviewees are selected from Addis Ababa Confucius Institute and Confucius Institute at Nairobi University. On the other hand, secondary data will be gathered from books, journals and internet, etc.

1.9 Scope and Limitations

With regard to the scope, firstly, the paper focuses on China's soft power diplomacy, and the role of Confucius Institutes in Africa in context of China's soft power diplomacy. Secondly, the comparison is between Confucius Institutes and other countries' language and cultural projects.

Unavailability of most recent books for related literature on Confucius Institutes in general and on issues like interviews on Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, because the time and financial constraints, the author only get the sources through email with Chinese teachers, instead of having an interview with the president of Confucius Institute at Nairobi University. Therefore, the information and sources about this thesis is comparatively limited.

1.10 Structure of the Study

This research consists of five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction chapter, which included the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, hypothesis, objectives and significance of the study, methodology and methods of data collection. The second chapter covers review of related literature, which spotlight on conceptual frameworks and case study focusing on Confucius Institutes as part of China's soft power. The third chapter covers the development of Confucius Institutes in Ethiopia and Kenya, including the introduction of Confucius Institutes and the role in China's soft power in Africa. The fourth chapter assesses the issues and challenges of Confucius Institutes, their developing tendency in Africa and other countries' language and cultural projects. Finally, the fifth chapter consists of conclusion and some recommendations for Confucius Institutes in Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis and Literature Review

2.1 Background to Soft Power Theory

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) had said to people who pursue power, “It is always better to be feared than loved” (Joseph. Nye: 2004, 1). It means that, the idea of making the world fear you is more helpful to gain power. However, actually, the power to attract the world, to gain people's trust, can also be a way to gain power. History has proved that those in power who ignore this truth, tend to be removed by their people or other leaders and ended in tragedy.

In addition to advocating “The Prince”, there are many scholars who study the nature of power, but not all researchers draw the same conclusion of Machiavelli, that fear is a source of absolute power. Especially, Joseph S. Nye has a totally different view of power than Machiavelli. He regarded attracting others or another country's power as authority, and defined it as “soft power”.

Due to globalization in the 21st century, military force and economic power, generally known as the hard power, which is no longer the sole criterion for determining a country's position in the international community. Japan and Russia are typical examples. Other factors are increasingly important when a country gains or maintains the status of a powerful nation.

In 1989, in this context, Joseph Nye has put forward the concept of “soft power” in the book *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. In 2004, Nye systematically developed and precisely explained the concept of soft power in his article *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, and extended the concept of “soft power” which made the concept more detailed. Then “soft power” has become a subject of public debate. Not only in politics, but also are widely used, even in the aspects of corporate marketing planning and research aspects of human social relationships.

In the late 1980s, the international community had different opinions about whether the US hegemony would decline or not. But the soft power theory was proposed at that very time, as a way for the United States to maintain the hegemony. According to the soft power theory, Nye advocated that, after the end of the Cold War, if the United States continued to focus and strengthen the soft power, the United States was likely to continue to maintain its hegemony, and can continue to enhance it. Therefore, when Nye first propounded the “soft power” theory, he was criticized for only standing on the position of the United States. The new hegemonic theory emerged in order to maintain its hegemony.

After the Cold War, military power which on behalf of “hard power” increased a lot in cost, but its effectiveness was greatly reduced. Just as Nye’s summary after the US invasion of Iraq, the present challenges can’t be solved by hard power alone. World politics has changed a lot; it is no longer possible to depend on hard power alone to achieve the national goals with the strength of the past. Moreover, with the advent of globalization, the relationships between countries became increasingly close, the level of interdependence is deepening. International cooperation has become more frequent. It’s hard to measure a country’s comprehensive power with certain factors alone, and other diversified factors also began to be considered, which are the background of soft power and the reason why it is so important.

In fact, in ancient Greece, Rome, China and in Britain during the Industrial Revolution, in the modern United States and other major powers in the history of the world, they all strengthened their national power through the dissemination of the culture and values of their country's soft power. Ancient Greece is the birthplace of democratic ideals, while the people of conquered countries have also been attracted and by accepting of Roman culture, thus they were assimilated into Roman society. Ancient Chinese Confucian culture has been based in the orient for 2,000 years without losing the status. China and its neighboring countries established a “tribute system” to maintain their relations, giving books and artifacts in return when accepting other countries’ tribute (Xinhua, 2013).

Modern America accepts excellent talents from many countries, educating and assimilating them, on the basis of the notions of freedom, democracy and human rights. The importance of soft power has long been emphasized by the realist Carr E. H. He divided international power into military, economic power and the power which can mobilize public opinion (Carr E. H, 2001: 220).

2.2 Conceptual Analysis of Soft Power

Although nowadays soft power is increasingly important in the era of globalization, it has also its own limitations. First, hard power can be formed in the short term, and can get the results instantly. In contrast, soft power requires long-term policies and efforts, and the effects can't be determined quickly. Therefore, when planning a country's soft power strategy, it is difficult to predict the effects, and the required time. Also, its inefficiency and uncertainty are quite high.

In fact, soft power resources are often used in a more indirect way. So, in order to get good results, it normally takes a long time. Moreover, the hard power of military force is based on available resources and economic power. Meanwhile, soft power is represented by cultural aspect and political philosophy and foreign policy. Thus, it is hard to combine these two organically. Therefore, many experts and scholars doubt the true efficacy of soft power. In other words, the uncertainty caused by the non-material and abstract form of soft power resources is an important reason for criticism of the concept.

Second, national power can't be simply divided into hard and soft power, since the boundaries between them are not so clear. Moreover, not only soft power resources can attract others, hard power resources are also able to produce a great attraction. Thus, Nye failed to explain the exact relationship between soft power and hard power.

Third, the size of soft power is hard to measure. Nye attempts to quantify soft power resources by using statistical data and charts in the book: *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, but its size can not be accurately quantified fundamentally.

Even if the size of soft power resources can be roughly calculated, it is still difficult to judge what kind of role they play (Joseph Nye, 2004).

Finally, objectively speaking, although the concept is incomplete, it provides a new perspective, interpretation or thinking and creates a broad vision research environment for people to understand and study the changing circumstances in the era of globalization and diversification. Grounds of soft power are highly valued not only because of their theoretical concerns, but also because many of the scholars who analyzed its neglect of traditional theory of the invisible forces, and effectively explained the new power resources. In reality, soft power is an indispensable aspect of the national comprehensive power and it is also an important factor in achieving national goals.

The function of soft power is different in that it can compensate for the lack of hard power. Under the circumstance of the deepening interdependence among countries, it is outdated to use force or coercion as a mandatory practice in other countries. Although the role of hard power is still irreplaceable, it is difficult to achieve and guarantee safety by hard power alone. The features of soft power play important role at the level of the national security and achieving national goals (Zhao Gang, Xiao Huan, 2010). Compared with the previous neo-realism and neo-liberalism, “soft power” is more in line with characteristics of the times, with a strong vitality and explanatory power. It also provides us with a new reference standard to study China's soft power.

2.3 Status Analysis of China's Soft Power

Currently, soft power has become an important symbol to measure the level of a country's comprehensive national power. Since the 1990s, along with the significant economic growth and enhancement of international influence, the status of soft power has become more important in China's overall development strategy. Joseph Nye published an article entitled *The Rise of China's Soft Power* in the “Wall Street Journal” in December 2005. Nye regards China's soft power is rising in culture, development model and foreign policy, especially the influence is growing in Asia (Joseph S. Nye, 2005).

Today, diplomacy can not only rely on hard power to get benefits, it is more important to be accepted by other countries. That is the reason that all nations are focusing on building soft power and smart power. In the past, China did not explicitly recognize the importance of soft power, only standing on the realist stance, and therefore, ignored the development of soft power. Thus, China achieved rapid economic growth, but still was not recognized as the "charming country" by international community, and it has been trapped in the proliferation of "China threat theory".

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the reasons for China to focus on enhancing their soft power can be summarized as follows,

First, over the past 30 years of China's economic growth and international status improvement, it has improved Chinese confidence in international community, making China begin to explore its international role, and recognize the need to increase the right to speak. At the same time, China realizes that the rapid growth of military force and economic power, leading to a proliferation of "Chinese threat theory", which seriously hampered sustainable development of China. Due to this, China considers that it is necessary to balance the development of hard power and soft power.

Second, in the late 1990s, China realized the huge effects of soft power enhancement through the Asian financial crisis. The United States, as a great country shouldering international responsibility, did not actively aid Asian countries. Its national image dropped sharply because of that. Instead, China has adopted a more aggressive response, which rejected the United States demand of the appreciation of RMB, and implemented its financial assistance policy to Asian countries. This implementation made China gain the trust of many Asian Countries, it greatly improved China's international image and enhanced China's impact in the Asian arena (Jiang Lili, Zhu Feng, 1998).

Since Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1978, China set "peace and development" as the core aim of China's foreign policy, and has always emphasized building the international peace system through

economic growth (Deng Xiaoping, 1993). Thus, under the international environment of “uni-polarity” after the post-Cold War years, China has constantly found effective ways to improve and develop its soft power, as well as to find a method to contain or avoid making the country as long hegemony. With the increasing effectiveness of soft power, China, by virtue of its excellent and well-developed cultural traditions, is actively studying and thinking of ways and means for Chinese culture to be disseminated to the world.

All in all, China started to focus on the enhancement of soft power, because it already clearly understood it is very important to achieve the goals of China’s foreign policies. At present, China already has rich soft power resources. And the possibility of the development of soft power is comparatively large. The leadership of China also admits that, as a large country, it is very necessary for China to improve soft power. In the speech of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on Oct, 15th, 2007, President Hu Jintao stated that the CPC must “enhance culture as part of China’s soft power to better guarantee people's basic cultural rights and interests”. President Hu Jintao recognized in the speech that “culture has become a more and more important source of national cohesion and creativity and a factor of growing significance in the competition in overall national power”.

2.4 Sources of China’s Soft Power

Since the reform and opening up, China's economy and society have been developing rapidly. The international influence and competitiveness of China has greatly increased. Soft power has also been enhanced with the rising of China’s hard power. China's soft power is still in its infancy, and is also facing a lot of problems, but, China has a wealth of soft power resources and its potential is considerable.

(a) The Rich Traditional Cultural Resources

Chinese civilization is unique in the history of world culture. Chinese people have created a glorious era in history, and have led the world in many aspects for a long time. For example, Chinese martial arts, painting, calligraphy, traditional costumes, Peking opera

and traditional Chinese medicine are very attractive to the rest of the world. They are the essence of China's traditional culture.

The attraction and charm of culture usually starts from the universality and specificity, and their blending rate is very important. The culture can not develop its characteristics and be attractive if the universality is too large. And culture can not be very popular if the specificity is too large. Therefore, China needs to research and study its own cultural gene and compare it with the global universality of cultural characters. In order to make Chinese culture popular all around the world, the abstract factors which are suitable to Chinese Culture, rebuilding "modern culture with Chinese characteristics". Thus, the effect of Chinese culture will not only be limited to the ancient time scope, but will also have a long-term sustainable developing competitiveness in order to promote China's soft power, to well develop international relations and to further enhance cultural transmission.

(b) Chinese Development Model

China's development is very different from the western countries since the reform and opening up. China's modern strategy, reform and opening up policy made China's economy maintain a 9% growth rate annually, and the 26-year period growth will also continue. It's called "Chinese Developing Model" by the world, and the "Beijing Consensus" becomes the symbol compared to Washington's model.

The reason of China's developing model has won more and more confirmation and followers is the success of Chinese model provides totally different experience for developing countries, and it will attract more people to focus and study (Guo Linxia, 2006: 21). The US *International Herald Tribune* published an article titled "The Charm of Chinese Model". It stated that African leaders who attended the China-Africa Summit were not only attracted by the chances of aid and trade, but also by China's developing model (Zhang Weiwei, 2006).

The Chinese model can make us proud of China's achievements, but on the other hand, Chinese model does have some problems. Because Chinese economic growth is still in the extensive form of economic phrase which existing lots of problems, such as serious pollution, etc. Although China has already taken action to solve these problems, it is still not very effective. Therefore some scholars doubt whether China can have sustainable development or not, and Chinese developing model can be accepted extensively or not (Ding Xueliang, 2007). Thus, China should try to solve its domestic problems and deeply study and perfect Chinese developing model simultaneously. If China can use the successful experience, which under the background of globalization, to guide other developing countries, then this guidance will become an attraction to enhance China's soft power.

(c) China's Peaceful Development Policy

Foreign policy and strategy are the main parts of national soft power. In the 1900s, the Chinese government adopted the diplomatic ideal "to be a responsible country in the international community". From then on, China insisted on peaceful development, actively integrated into the international system. Through the idea of "win-win" and building a harmonious world order to improve the international image of China, therefore, trying to change the misunderstanding of China (Pan Shengjun, 2008: 108). China built the security concept based on mutual trust and benefit, equality and cooperation, proposing to solve disputes according to dialogue and cooperation and developing flexible foreign affairs, they all reflect China's responsibility to keep the world peace.

The "Principles of Independence and Self-government" and "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" foreign policy are important to improve China's soft power. China wins the true friendship and consistent support, due to China's unselfish economic aid and mutual respect to developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin-America. All of them strengthen China's effect and attraction to these countries. On the aspect of attending international organization and mechanism, although the world top three global economic organizations are led by the western developed countries, it's difficult for China to improve its

discourse power in the international community. But, China's attitude has changed from the past passive attitude to an active participation attitude. By 2002, China had accessed to 46 international institutions and organizations, and started to expand its role in the United Nations and the World Bank. China complied with the principles and rules of international organizations more actively after joining WTO (Robert G. Sutter, 2008: 62).

Besides the formal international institutions, China advocates to establish new international institutions in order to expand its international influence. In 2001, China, Russia, Uzbekistan and other four central Asian countries established the “Shanghai Cooperation Organization” for the pursuit of overall cooperation to solve the security and economic problems of these countries. In 2000, China and African countries set up a “Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)” to discuss economic exchanges and cooperation among themselves every three years.

Thus, China needs to continue to actively participate in international organizations to develop its influence to demonstrate the role played by China as a big country in the world, and to prove that China's desire for world peace and the will to maintain peace, which is conducive to the development of China's soft power, and also conducive to dispel the world's concerns about China.

(d) Confucius Institutes in Chinese Public Diplomacy

Soft power is not the result of an act but a means. In the foreign policy of a country, the strength of soft power is reflected by the diplomacy. Generally, the external behavior of soft power utility is called “Public Diplomacy”. The world is concerned about the Confucius Institutes which have rapidly expanded its influence in China's public diplomacy.

With the rapid growth of China's economy, learning Chinese history, culture and language has become a global trend. At the same time, China also wants to develop the “China

popularity” in order to improve the country's image and ease the pressure of “China threat theory”, but this is also in line with China's “going out” strategy.

Since its inception, the Confucius Institutes have been greatly welcomed by the world and the speed of establishment is faster than China's expected. On January 11, 2006, “The New York Times” published a comment entitled “Another Chinese Export Is All Rage: China’s Language”, citing experts’ words, “Chinese authorities are based on Chinese culture to create a warmer and more aggressive China image”. As mentioned above, Confucius Institutes own the international competition, which represent the brightest brand of China's soft power and play a great role in all aspects, such as culture and education (Howard W. French, 2006).

2.5 Basic Methods of Confucius Institutes to Enhance China’s Soft Power

First, accelerate the international promotion of Chinese through conducting language training. As a country's unique cultural symbol, language is the historical heritage code of a country. All nations and states are proud of having their own languages and characters. Since human society entered the 20th century, the trend of economic globalization and national integration are becoming increasingly apparent. Language is inevitable to spread outward and being grasped by more people. The extent of transmission and acceptance of a language are not only from the charm of the language itself. Even more importantly, it represents the current and future international status of countries. Because of China’s more than 30-years sustained strong economic growth, the extent of deepening integration in international affairs, Chinese language has become an important tool for interaction with China. Because Chinese is continually popular around the world, mastering Chinese becomes an extremely clear advantage.

On May 25th, 2005, Senator Joseph Lieberman, who had participated in the race for the Democratic presidential candidate, and Republican Senator Lamar Alexander jointly presented to the US Senate No. 1117 motion, US-CHINA CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT ACT in 2005, Requiring to fund \$ 1.3 billion to support US schools at all levels to carry

out Chinese language teaching within the five financial years from the federal budget, and established scholarships to encourage young people to carry out academic research on modern China, which in order to strengthen US cultural, educational and commercial exchanges with China. This case shows the importance of promoting Chinese language and culture, as well as the importance of strategic meanings of cultural exchanges in China-US relations.

As language and culture promotion agencies, Confucius Institutes have invested a lot of resources dedicated to expanding the popularity of Chinese language worldwide. As a core business of Confucius Institutes, teaching Chinese language has been the main task. Confucius Institutes spread Chinese culture and promotes Chinese language teaching through standardized, professional and authoritative Chinese language teaching around the world. They established a global brand to spread Chinese culture and to promote Chinese language teaching. Confucius Institutes Headquarters as a global manager, it mainly sends full-time Chinese teachers and volunteers to help train local teachers in other countries, to support the human resources construction, to promote qualified teaching materials and books to develop resources, expanding HSK Test (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi) and improving teaching system construction of Confucius Institutes in the world. Therefore, Confucius Institutes headquarters supports them in a variety of ways to carry out their teaching hospitality around the world.

According to the data released by Confucius Institutes Headquarters, from 2006 to 2010, there have been 9,596 Chinese teachers and 10,334 Chinese volunteers dispatched by Confucius Institutes, and donate Chinese textbooks, extracurricular books and audio-visual products more than seven million to Confucius Institutes, Confucius Classrooms and various Chinese educational institutions in the world. The number of people who have participated in various Chinese exams overseas is more than 170 million totally (Annual Report of Confucius Institutes, 2006-2010).

First, Confucius Institutes make a few big contributions in order to achieve a wider

audience and transmission of Chinese language.

1. Providing the local people a high level Chinese language teaching service directly. Many teaching objectives of Confucius Institutes are not limited to young students, but also for the community enrollment, to a considerable extent. It meets the demands of the local people to learn Chinese language and greatly expanded the breadth of Chinese transmission.

2. It reduces the cost of the seat of Chinese language teaching. Construction of Confucius Institutes basically taken injection mode together with headquarters and local partner organizations, the proportion of Chinese and foreign cost is maintained at 1:1. For Confucius Institutes, which have been put into operation, headquarters will give the necessary funds earmarked according to their actual needs, which reduces the local authority investment on Chinese language education by a considerable extent. Confucius Institutes Headquarters provides \$ 500,000 start-up capital to a newly established Confucius Institute, and \$ 60,000 for the construction of the new Confucius Classroom. Statistics show that in the year 2010, the headquarters and local partners invested a total of \$ 167 million start-up capital (Annual Report of Confucius Institutes, 2006).

3. Most Confucius Institutes have been based on local well-known universities. The construction model of Confucius Institutes directly established in university, provide the standardized Chinese language teaching, and provides the local universities chances for Chinese language communication and cooperation. Therefore, Confucius Institutes have played a positive role objectively.

Second, promote the global transmission of Chinese culture.

Language is the special part of culture and the essential carrier of cultural heritage. A nation can't separate from its language if they want their own cultural heritage to communicate with other cultures. The five thousand-year-old Chinese civilization gave birth to a unique culture, in the course of Chinese civilization history; it generated Confucianism, Taoism and other intellectual traditions and customs. They are not only

rooted in the traditional feudal social system, but also stretch so far as to and influence the future generations.

For thousands of years, China not only generated a large number of great thinkers and philosophies, such as Confucius, Mencius and Laozi, their philosophical thoughts have had a huge impact on future generations. China's "Four Great Inventions" which occupied an important position in the world civilization phylogeny. China not only built the Great Wall, Terracotta Warriors and other masterpieces, but also generated world-famous cultural symbols such as Opera, martial arts, Chinese cuisine, etc. While China and the world are deepening their integration and interdependence, Chinese language desires to learn more about the world and embrace the world, the world also needs to learn more about China and accept China. "Language" and "Culture" are two unique characteristics of Confucius Institutes, not only making them become the important brand of Chinese language teaching, but also become the important carrier of Chinese culture transmission.

China has many historical and traditional festivals and many cultural symbols that are well recognized by foreigners. Spring Festival is the most important traditional festival in China. During the annual Spring Festival, Confucius Institutes headquarters organize the relevant Chinese colleges and universities to be on tour named "Confucius Institutes Big Gala" in all Confucius Institutes around the world, which bring China's greeting to the world, enriching the cultural connotation of Confucius Institutes, and further enhancing the interest of local people to learn Chinese language and culture.

Third, promoting exchanges and understanding of foreign cultures. Cultural promotion can't be separate from international cultural exchanges and cooperation. The in-depth understanding and communication between different civilizations can help remove misunderstandings, and promote the integration and development of multiculturalism. Confucius Institutes not only open a window for other countries to understand China, but also become the friendship and cooperation platform for exchange and dialogue between

different cultures.

By holding and participating in these activities, the connotation of cultural exchange functions of Confucius Institutes are greatly expanded, and gradually promote Chinese culture and thinking from inside to outside. Confucius Institutes have the flexible and diverse forms and distinctive participation which promotes Chinese culture and builds a broad platform for Chinese and Western cultural exchange and cooperation. And, gradually establishes a brand image of Confucius Institutes which becomes “Chinese sample” in the world cultural exchange.

2.6 About Confucius

China is one of the cradles of world civilization, enjoying over five thousand years of history. It has produced many outstanding figures in history of ancient thought, and left a rich philosophical heritage for both Chinese people and the entire humanity. The fruit of these thinkers was to establish unique schools that over the long course of history, which have been continuously interpreted and developed. At present, these thoughts are as relevant as ever and of extreme vitality for China and the world. For instance, the ideal of “humaneness” and the concept of “harmony” taught by Confucius, the founder of Confucianism, have been venerated without ceasing by contemporary China as well as other Asian countries.

Confucius, the first great educator in Chinese history, the most important thinker and the founder of Confucianism, is revealed as a man of flesh and blood, of passions and aspirations, of triumphs and tragedies, and of surpassing cultural and intellectual import. Confucius’ name was Qiu, his style was Zhongni (In ancient China, after a man reaches twenty years of age, he takes another name based on the meaning of his personal name; this is called a “style”). Confucius was from the state of Lu (the southwestern part of modern Shandong Province) during the Spring and Autumn period. He was the first great educator in Chinese history, the most important thinker, statesman and the founder of Confucianism. Confucius was born in the 22nd year of the reign of Duke Xiang of Lu (551

B.C. according to the Western calendar, on August 27.) He died in the 16th year of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu (479 B.C.)

Confucius was a descendant of a noble family in the Song State, who descended from royals of the Yin Dynasty. When he was still a child, his father died, and his family went to a decline as a result, but he studied very hard. he once said, “From any three people walking, I will find something to learn for sure.” Later, Confucius began to travel about and instruct disciples. In his life, Confucius had instructed more than 3,000 disciples, some were from poor families. In this way, Confucius had gradually changed the tradition that nobody but nobilities had the right to receive education. In his later years, Confucius compiled and preserved many literary works of ancient times, including *The Book of Songs*, *The Book of Documents* and *The book of Changes*.

Even in modern times, many of Confucius’ ideas are quite valuable. For instance, Confucius established and developed a moral and ethical system called “ren” (benevolence). To achieve “ren”, he believed that one should show benevolence to others, and therefore “Do as you would like to be done by others”. Confucius also believed that “Gentlemen are harmonious but different”, which reveals that difference between people should be recognized in dealing with human relationship. Thereby it is inappropriate to judge with a single standard, and thus the harmony and stabilization of a society will be accomplished. In terms of education, Confucius maintained that teachers should enlighten students to think independently, and that students should formulate their own opinions when acquiring knowledge from textbooks.

The sayings and behaviors of Confucius’ were compiled in *The Analects of Confucius* by his disciples. Confucius’ ideology has been absorbed and carried forward by later generations, composing the essential part of Chinese traditional ideology. It was also absorbed and carried forward by later generations, composing the essential part of Chinese traditional ideology. It was also spread into the border regions and areas, building up a circle of culture of Confucianism exerting profound influence on the whole East

Asian countries.

Confucius belongs to China. He is a household name in China, and most of the Chinese people have been influenced by Confucius in one way or another. Confucius also belongs to the world, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) has labeled him one of the “Ten Cultural Celebrities”.

2.6.1 Confucius’s Thoughts on Moral Rule

Although Confucius was not entrusted with important responsibilities by contemporary rulers, his thought possessed a strong spirit of realism. This was embodied in particular in his political thought. Confucius based this on ethics, for his political thought had a rather distinct ethical hue. As far as Confucius was concerned, the premise of politics was self-cultivation to become a sage.

In the *Analects*, Confucius often stated that the foundation of government lay in the cultivation of morality on the part of the ruler. He said, “Using virtue to enact governance, the ruler himself is like the north star, in its own set position with other stars revolving around it” (See “Weizheng,” Lunyu). Confucius pointed out that “enhancing governance by means of virtue” is none other than “rule through virtue”. This means that the one in power must be good in moral cultivation. Concerning this, Confucius put forward a series of principles for moral rule.

First is about the ideal realms of the moral rules of Yao, Shun, King Wen of Zhou and King Wu of Zhou. What Confucius meant by moral rule was the result of self-cultivation on the part of rulers, it did not refer to a pre-set political purpose. Therefore, the inward cultivation of moral conduct was fundamental; the achievement of an ideal government was the outer manifestation of this type of cultivation. Ethical thought was the foundation; thought on education and politics were both the embodiments of different realms in this ethical thought.

Second is concerning self-cultivation (cultivation of personal moral conduct) and elevating the worthy. To Confucius, “easing the people” is a difficult task sought by the gentleman, and it is possible that this highest achievement will not be reached. The fundamental premise behind “easing the people” is “self-cultivation”. Moral cultivation on the part of those in government is the precondition for achieving an orderly and lawful government. Cultivation of character on the part of those in government often plays an important and a leading role in improving social mores and the political environment.

Third is about rule of virtue and comforting the people. Confucius undertook a comparison of the rule of virtue with the rule of law. He said, “If you use the rule of law to lead the mass of the people and use punishments to restrain them, although the people will be able to avoid encroaching against the law, they will not have hearts of integrity. But if you use virtue to lead the mass of the people, and use ritual teachings to restrain them, then the people will not only have hearts of integrity, but also submit in their minds” (See “Weizheng”, Lunyu).

Only through transforming the people by virtue will one be able to cause the people to understand integrity and humility and recognize the difference between honor and shame, and create from the bottom a harmonious, law-abiding social environment. Emphasizing virtue and slight the law was the important characteristic of the political thought of Confucius and Confucian politicians. The most realistic manifestation of rigorously enacting the rule of virtue was the concern on the part of those in government for the troubles of the mass of people, and to enact concrete policies to comfort people.

Confucius felt that the moral transformation of common people should proceed under the premise of a certain material foundation. He did advocate keeping the wealth among the people and reducing tax levies; that allowing the people to obtain practical benefits was the basis of the wealth of the state.

As far as Confucius was concerned, those in government should not only enrich the

people, but also respect them, and should not arbitrarily use them in hard labor for public works. Those in government must have a profound understanding of the dignity, ambitions, and aspiration of the masses of the people; they must not merely regard them as the object of governing, and the tools for achieving political objectives. Even if someone was forced into conducting a war, Confucius advocated the need to first teach the people and then battle. What is even more worthy of notice is that what Confucius meant by “teaching the people” possibly meant letting the people understand warfare, thus making them the main element of a “righteous war”. This meant that they were not merely the tools of the rulers to gain political benefits.

Confucius’ moral thinking reveals the relationship between moral ethics and politics, affirming the restraining role of the cultivation of character exerted on political concepts. In a feudal society, the ruling lord possessed the ultimate authority. Strengthening moral cultivation is at the base of “humane” rule, which plays a certain positive role in restraining the violent. However, virtue and politics, that is, the “inner sage” and the “outer king,” are realms that belong to different ideological categories. “A moral entity” that possesses the virtue of “humaneness” is not necessarily “a political entity”.

Political entities in a feudal system, often for the sake of the benefit of the ruling group, are not necessarily all able to possess the virtue of “humaneness”. Therefore, government by the authority of sages is the ideal form of government by Confucius as well as Confucians, which is a rather large difference from realistic governments. Despite all of this, Confucius’ thinking on the moral rule remains a valuable treasure within traditional political thought in China. It has a strong people-based orientation and humanistic coloration, which created an important influence on historical rulers. Simultaneously, given the current background, moral cultivation on the part of this in power and by the management level doubtlessly plays an important role regarding building a good social order, and guaranteeing the running of an ideal government. This is an important part in the modern element of Confucius thought.

2.7 Review of Related Literature

There are several major trends in the existing research literature on African Confucius Institutes. According to the author's perspective, these documents can be divided into two categories. That is, from the perspective of Western authors, as well as the perspective of Chinese authors. However, there are obvious differences within these two angles. Most Chinese authors maintain a more traditional perspective to look at the development and impact of Confucius Institutes in Africa. The contents and themes of these scholars' academic articles are similar. Most of them regard Confucianism principles as the basis of China's soft power proposed, such as “harmony”, and “cultivate the self in order to ease the people”.

They also believe that China's soft power initiatives are dependent on harmony, cooperation, friendship and equality in line with Confucius' style. The similarity of these articles is that educational programs of China have brought many positive effects for African countries. They believe that these educational programs will increase Sino-Africa communication, cooperation and understanding. However, since these authors did not raise any issues or challenges related to the development and impact of Confucius Institutes, therefore, it shows that their views have a certain bias.

In the article “A few Basic Questions of African Confucius Institutes Construction” (Zhong Yinghua, 2009: 15), it describes that “many advantages were brought by the first Confucius Institute which was established in Kenya in 2005. For example, Confucius Institute at Nairobi University promotes the extensive exchanges and cooperation between cooperative schools. He also noted that “African Confucius Institutes not only serve the local economic and social development, but also serve the changing needs of local talents. Meets the basic needs of local Chinese language learners, the fundamental need of learners in Kenya is regarding Chinese language as a professional tool, through mastering knowledge of the Chinese language and culture to obtain a certain professional skill in order to get jobs related to Chinese language, such as teachers, civil servants,

employees and so on. Professional setting of “Chinese education should make its due contribution to this end” (Zhong Yinghua, 2009: 39). Although the title of this article seems to explain some problems arising in the development process of Confucius Institutes, but the reality is not like this.

In the article “China's Cultural Strategy in Africa: Importance, Prospects and Challenges” (Carlin Buddy, 2009: 05), the author made the similar point, he also describes the history of China-Africa relations and prospects on future development in details. However, the analysis of Carlin Buddy on this topic is one-sided. In addition, Carlin Buddy also involves the contribution of Confucius Institutes in Africa, but about the challenges being faced by China-Africa relations, the author only poses a few questions, and basically are attributed to cultural differences between China and African countries, as well as Chinese and Africans don't know enough about each other. On this issue, Carlin Buddy only raised a few simple suggestions, such as “China and African leaders should encourage airlines to open up more routes between Beijing and the capital city of African countries, it will pave the wider way for mutual cultural communication” (Carlin Buddy, 2009:28). There is another main trend in these articles with traditional views, these authors believe that most Westerners demonized China and created “China threat theory” out of thin air.

“Educational Exchanges and Cooperation between China and Africa as an Example of Confucius Institutes” is written by Zhou Qian and “Confucius Institutes in Africa--a diplomatic family of harmonious culture” is written by Ma Li, they both have expressed this idea. Zhou Qian pointed out that “Westerners with their pride and prejudice, their understanding of China still remains in fragmented history pieces” (Zhou Qian, 2010:90). Many of these authors, who holding this traditional view, also compare the different affecting ways of China and America.

They believe that the US regards "human rights issue" as an excuse to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, to promote its ideology and to spread its values to other countries, so as to achieve the purpose of the Western countries controlling and

leading the world. These authors pointed out that the way China uses its power is completely different from them. China relies on peaceful means to participate in the international system, and they pointed out that China's goal is "to create harmony in a diverse world".

Among the authors with traditional ideas, only individual authors recognize and acknowledge some problems and challenges existing in the development of Confucius Institutes, but they just describe some of the basic situation, and suggestions are not given to solve these problems. In an article written by Fu Liping and Li Gang "The Enhancement of Confucius Institutes and Chinese Cultural Soft Power", the authors remind us, "To clearly understand Western soft power still dominates the main status worldwide, China has a long way to go to improve its soft power" (Fu Liping, Li Gang, 2011: 101).

But for how to improve China's soft power, as well as other issues concerning the development of Confucius Institutes in Africa and other problems, they did not make recommendations accordingly. Only a few Chinese authors mentioned China's soft power initiatives in their articles, in particular, the problems caused by Confucius Institutes, challenges and some failures. In the article "Difficulties and Ways of China's Soft Power Enhancement in the Intercultural Broadcast Era—Regarding the Pros and Cons of Confucius Institutes Overseas Founding and Practice as Examples" written by Zhu Qinghe and Wang Jun, in which they put forward, "Although China makes enormous efforts for its soft power development. However, such efforts are full of hardships and setbacks, with various reasons which because they lack of experience and external reasons" (Zhu Qinghe, Wang Jun, 2011: 8).

Many of the problems mentioned by the authors, including a lack of qualified, professional teachers resources and quality textbooks; Chinese teachers are hard to integrate into the local culture due to the language barrier; Chinese professors rely on Chinese traditional teaching methods to teach while ignoring the local way of teaching; In

addition, there are other problems like funding. Zhu Qinghe and Wang Jun also pointed out that Confucius Institutes will fail overseas if China did not recognize these problems and try to solve them.

On this topic, the most valuable research data may be from a book titled *Soft Power, China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics*. In this book, every chapter is written by a different Chinese author. This book is very important for Western scholars who study this topic. As it is written in English, and it expresses China's stance on the topic very clearly, therefore, this book is very important for the scholars who don't understand Chinese. However, this book is consistent with other articles that have been proposed in, which it almost completely ignored a number of obstacles in the development of Confucius Institutes overseas. Because in this book, only a few Chinese authors point out the challenges faced by the Confucius Institutes in Africa, and although they claim that Western scholars remain biased in their attitude toward China, most studies by Chinese scholars on Confucius Institutes have some prejudices, and are also one-sided (Mingjiang Li, 2011).

Western authors write from a completely different perspective on what kind of effects Chinese education strategy can bring to China's soft power, China's status in the world as well as perception of other countries to China. Although Chinese people believe that most Western scholars remain relatively doubtful and criticize on Confucius Institutes of China's soft power, this idea is actually a misconception. Although many US and Western media still spread "China threat theory", most scholars who study this topic have recognized China's soft power programs and Confucius Institutes in Africa actually brought benefits and a positive impact to the local community and people. However, the biggest drawback of these authors is when they pointed out the benefits and positive impact of China's soft power, there is usually only a simple word or two and no other details to illustrate these good aspects.

Perhaps these authors have felt too embarrassed to admit this fact, so are unwilling to talk

about it. Moreover, these positive effects are usually mentioned by the authors when they criticize China's soft power, such as Michel Median. He wrote the article "China's Policy in Africa: First Commercial, Then Politics," He criticizes China's behavior while recognizing the benefits that Africa gets from China. He said, "Of course, it is undeniable; Beijing takes these actions not for purely altruistic purposes. Most of the development projects also benefit Chinese businesses. But, these projects indeed contribute to the development of Africa" (Michel Median, 2006: 86). Although there are many authors like Michel Median, there are still a small number of authors unabashedly willing to support Chinese projects, and they can be called "China's advocates".

Perhaps the most famous Chinese advocate is the author of *Dragon's Gift*, Deborah Brautigam, she has a very popular blog named "China in Africa: the real story". She has studied China in Africa for more than a decade. In order to reveal the truth about this topic, she gets rid of people's impression on the myths and stereotypes of China in her book and blog. Although she supports China, her blog is banned in China, which shows the Chinese government does not have a confident attitude. In addition to Deborah Brautigam, Clifton W. Pannell also has a positive view of China's soft power and education programs in Africa. About China's education projects in South Africa, he wrote that, "China educates African elites, including their future leaders on the subject of Chinese language and culture, and China aims to help the development of key areas of Africa, such as agriculture and health sciences. From a long-term perspective, the implementation of these policies can improve the quality of life and the lifestyle of Africans" (Clifton W. Pannell, 2008:76).

Most of the researches are not comprehensive enough and biased about the above proposed research on China in Africa. Chinese authors are reluctant to talk about the challenges of their educational projects in Africa. Western authors are only willing to admit the positive impact of China's education projects in Africa, but do not want to further elaborate the good aspects of these projects. In this article, the author will explain the impact of Confucius Institutes in Africa. Another very important part will be exposed

which is neglected by other authors in China-Africa relations, that is the African people, especially the views of African students in Confucius Institutes.

These two very different trends are related to the personal interests and political status of authors. Chinese writers are trying to promote Confucius Institutes. Therefore, they always focus on the positive aspects when they discuss the impact of the Confucius Institutes. Moreover, even if they want to ask certain questions or point out some negative aspects of Confucius Institutes, due to their fear of the Chinese government, they are unlikely to do so. In China, freedom of speech is still largely restricted. If anyone does not respect the government, or one of its entities, he or she will assume the risk of suffering severe condemnation by the government. On the other hand, the character of Westerners is very critical, even for their own government, especially Americans. Many Westerners are very proud of their freedom of speech, so they do not hesitate to exercise their right. Because in many aspects, China is a powerful competitor of Western countries, Western writers will feel threatened by Confucius Institutes. Therefore, they are more willing to pay more attention to the negative impact of Confucius Institutes.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Confucius Institutes in Africa and Their Role in China's Soft Power

3.1 Background and Purpose of the Establishment of Confucius Institutes

With the continuous improvement of China's international status and increasingly widespread international relations, people's demands and interest of learning Chinese language are growing, "Chinese popularity" wave has been set off around the world. In

addition, since the reform and opening up, China's stable economy and rapid development of potential Chinese market also greatly attracted the attention of the world; more and more people want to learn Chinese splendid culture and rich history. However, the sharply increasing needs of learning Chinese which causes a serious shortage of Chinese teachers. In fact, the demands for Chinese teachers are great and very urgent in many countries.

Under this situation, Chinese government promotes TCFL (teaching Chinese as a foreign language) as a priority national strategy in order to respond to the "Chinese popularity" to the world, to expand the dissemination of Chinese culture in the world, to promote exchanges between China and other countries, and to seize opportunity and master planning actively as well. The Chinese government pays great attention to the development of TCFL, and gives a solid support for abroad Chinese language teaching. In order to strengthen TCFL, Chinese government established the "National Leading Group for TCFL" unified leadership of the National TCFL in 1987. Therefore, China National Office for TCFL established "Hanban", which is permanent national office of the Leading Group for teaching Chinese. Hanban aims to introduce Chinese to the world, to promote world understanding of China, and its target is "to make Chinese go out of the country, out of Asia to the world".

Accordingly, since the beginning of 2004 China explored to establish nonprofit public institution, which aims to promote Chinese language and culture for the purpose of dissemination of Chinese overseas, according to the experience of the United Kingdom, Germany and other countries to promote their national languages. China named this public institution as "Confucius Institutes". In the same year, the five-year action plan of "Chinese Bridge "project is approved by the State Council, which is enacted by Hanban in 2003, the Confucius Institutes project is one of the nine programs (Nie Yingyu, 2008:20).

According to statistics of Hanban in 2014, the number of people who learn Chinese as a foreign language is more than 10 million. Chinese Ministry of Education aims to train Chinese language teachers and popularize Chinese culture worldwide, it began to

implement “promoting Chinese culture plan” since 2004, and the creation of Confucius Institutes is an important part of this program (Confucius Institutes Online, 2013).

3.2 The Development of Confucius Institutes

On March 2004, the member of the CPC Central Committee and State Council, Chen Zhili proposed the use of the name of Confucius—China’s traditional Confucian culture representative, the Chinese language in overseas promotion agency named "Confucius Institutes". In 2004, the State Council officially approved and promulgated the "Chinese Bridge project". The purposes of the plan are to introduce Chinese language to the world, to promote Chinese culture, world’s understanding and friendship between China and other countries and to promote world peaceful development (Confucius Institute Online, 2004).

Compared with the previous scattered in different departments and schools of TCFL program, Chinese Confucius Institutes will provide foreign learners with a most authoritative and formal learning platform. The worldwide Chinese national education practitioners are looking forward to Confucius Institutes. They expect this project can integrate Chinese teaching resources, professional training of teachers and teaching Chinese to build a "national team", in order to make TCFL adapt to the branding, standardization of modern requirements. Since then, a Chinese language and culture promoting institute which can represent national level, unified organization was born (Nie Yingyu, 2008: 35, 38).

The first session of Confucius Institutes Council approved the "Regulation of Confucius Institutes" on December 12th, 2007. The charter formulated the detailed provisions for the purpose, main functions and the forms of organization and management of Confucius Institutes. Confucius Institutes are defined as the non-profit educational organizations, which are established by China and host countries cooperatively, to carry out exchanges and cooperation with foreign language teaching and education, culture and other aspects as its main tasks.

The purpose of Confucius Institutes are committed to meet the needs of foreign people to learn Chinese, to promote their understanding of Chinese language and culture, to strengthen cooperation between China and the world on educational and cultural exchanges, to develop the friendship between China and other countries, to promote multicultural world development and building a harmonious world. Confucius Institutes' services include teaching Chinese language, training Chinese teachers and providing Chinese teaching resources, conducting Chinese exams and Chinese teacher certification exams; providing information consultation about Chinese education, culture and conducting Chinese cultural exchange activities, etc (hanban, 2014).

Confucius Institutes are set up by China and host countries cooperatively, jointly composed by both members of the Council, its president and vice-president shall be appointed by mutual consultation. Confucius Institutes implement the responsibility system under the leadership of the dean of Council. The dean is responsible for the daily operations and management of Confucius Institutes. According to the introduction of "Confucius Institutes Projects", the establishment of Confucius Institutes mode has three forms: direct investment, headquarters cooperating with foreign institutions and headquarters authorized franchise. Direct investment refers to the headquarters of Confucius Institutes establishes local Confucius Institutes in host countries and invest alone; Headquarters authorized franchise refers to the mode of the franchise contracted by Confucius Institutes will have its own brand, Chinese teaching methods and business models (Ibid). Due to different national conditions and different cultural background, Confucius Institutes uphold the basis of unity, adjust measures to local conditions and innovate the education and management model, which has formed four different characteristics of the business model.

1. Co-organized by Chinese and host universities, this mode is in the majority currently. Peking University co-constructed 9 Confucius Institutes with Berlin Free University of Germany, Moscow University of Russia, Cairo University of Egypt, Stanford University

of US and other universities in Europe, Asia, Africa, North America and other continents. Their working responsibility includes all levels of Chinese teaching, Chinese teacher training, Chinese examination and counseling, Chinese language competition, Chinese cultural experience, reflecting the backbone and exemplary role.

2. Held by host institutions and Chinese colleges cooperatively. Such as China Institute in America Confucius Institute is one of the earliest Confucius Institute, which is established in America, its main activity is to meet the needs of Chinese teaching from primary school to university in Manhattan, New York.

3. Co-organized by foreign government and Chinese university. Take Brittany Confucius Institute for example, it is co-constructed by Shandong University and France Brittany region and Runes municipal, setting up Chinese culture promotion activities, which facing various groups of five kinds of Chinese-oriented training courses and China calligraphy seminar.

4. Multinational company co-organized with Chinese and host universities. London Business Confucius Institute (LSE) is co-organized by Tsinghua University and London School of Economics and Political Science. It is established by the Chinese Hanban and British Petroleum, Deloitte CPA, HSBC Group, Standard Chartered Bank and other British-funded enterprises. It focuses on serving senior British business executives and they all from the business parties. Therefore, London Business Confucius Institute plays an important role in promoting Sino- Britain economic, technical and cultural exchanges (Yuan Li, Zheng Xiaoqi,2010: 100,103).

Xu Lin, the dean of Confucius Institutes Headquarters, pointed out that the international promotion of Chinese language is not only teaching, but also a cultural product; it must be operated on the mode of industry and marketing, Since the establishment of Confucius Institutes in 2004, they began to operate on the mode of industrialization under the support of Chinese government, exploring the industrial development path which adapts

to Confucius Institutes. For example, HSK Test (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi) increased from 4 million RMB state subsidies to more than 10 million RMB profits annually.

At the beginning, all foreign universities and educational institutes which run Confucius Institutes got 100,000 to 500,000 dollars support from Chinese government. Hanban (headquarters) also distributed 3,000 Chinese textbooks for each Confucius Institute. It is estimated that more than 50% of the start-up fund expenses is to buy Chinese books and video products. Since 2004, because of the needs of setting up Confucius Institutes, China has almost exported one billion U.S. dollars cultural products, and also directly distributed 2 million Chinese books to overseas Confucius Institutes. It injects new impetus for the development of China's cultural industry; the overseas Chinese publishing has become an important topic of China's domestic publishing industry (hanban, 2013).

On November 21st, 2004, the Seoul Confucius Institute was formally established in Seoul, capital of South Korea. Zhou Ji, China Former Minister of Education, arrived and inaugurated it personally. Seoul Confucius Institute is first Confucius Institutes in the world, which marked Confucius Institutes' going towards its global development ear. In November 2004, Nan Kai University in cooperation with Maryland University established the first Confucius Institute in the United States. In February 2005, Sweden became the first country in Europe to establish Confucius Institute, which is Confucius Institute at Stockholm University (Confucius Institutes Online, 2005).

In December 2005, the first Confucius Institute in Africa –Confucius Institute at Nairobi University was set up in Kenya. Since the first Confucius Institute was founded, Confucius Institutes have sprung up around the world, having a strong development momentum. By the end of 2006, there are 122 Confucius Institutes including Confucius school, Confucius Classroom, distributed in 49 countries and regions. Just over one year, "Confucius Institutes headquarters starts a new Confucius Institute every four days in the world" (Global Times, 2007).

At the end of 2013, Chinese Hanban (headquarters) has established 440 Confucius Institutes and 646 Confucius Classrooms in 120 countries (regions). There are 440 Confucius Institutes in 115 countries (regions). There are 93 Confucius Institutes in the 32 Asian countries (regions), 27 in the 37 African countries, 37 in the 149 European countries, 144 in the 16 America countries, and 17 in Oceania. There are 646 Confucius Classrooms established in 48 countries, and there are only Confucius Classrooms in Myanmar, Mali, Tunisia and Seychelles. There are 50 Confucius Classrooms in the 13 Asian countries, 10 in the 8 African countries, 153 in the 18 European countries, 384 in 6 American countries, and 49 in Oceania. Until March 2014, there are more than 10 million learners studying Chinese language worldwide. In addition to the actual lesson plans based on local circumstance and implementation of Chinese teaching, all Confucius Institutes also organized cultural activities through a variety of ways to introduce Chinese culture and customs, having Chinese language education with distinctive characteristics.

3.2.1 The Obstacles of Development

The Development of Confucius Institutes is a microcosm of China's rising comprehensive national power. During the growth process, Confucius Institutes always encountered a variety of obstacles; therefore, the booming Confucius Institutes are easy to attract troubles naturally. The meaning of Confucius Institutes' existence is nothing more than to help international friends to learn Chinese language and strengthen cultural exchanges. But even so, the academic institution still can't escape the dread of American politicians' doubt, because it has been linked with China's soft power. In fact, the certain political forces in United States are constantly discrediting Confucius Institutes.

On 17th, May 2012, the US State Department issued a notice requiring that all Confucius Institutes in the US must apply for the US certificate to carry out their teaching in University. The notice also required that all Chinese teachers of Confucius Institutes who holding J-1 visa in the United States, must leave on 30th June, and the US will not renew visas for them. But soon, the US State Department re-announced that Confucius Institutes are legal and no need to be approved.

Confucius Institutes are the educational and cultural training institutions which are to promote Chinese language and culture worldwide. Its most important tasks are to provide the standardized and authoritative modern Chinese teaching materials, and to provide the most formal Chinese teaching. Such kind of educational institute, which is focusing on the purpose of dissemination of Chinese language and cultural, was excluded from the government in the United States, the reason is worth pondering.

In fact, the US government suddenly launched the attack on Confucius Institutes, this event was from the suspicion of American Society. Because they assumed that Confucius Institutes were the "missionary institutions" of Chinese government. This incident seemed very sudden; in fact, it is the result of the deepening suspicion American society. On 28th March, 2008, Congressman Dana R. Rohrabacher accused China to propagate through private media and public education, when the US Congress Foreign Affairs Committee on Oversight and Investigation hold hearings exclusively on "The Cost of China's Public Diplomacy". The "Public Education" included the Confucius Institutes apparently. Therefore, as the Dean of Chinese Hanban, Xu Lin pointed that the United States launched an attack on Confucius Institutes is not an accidental event, nor is an isolated incident as well.

Since 2010, the US government started investigations of Confucius Institutes through various channels. The contents include whether Confucius Institutes propagated communism, whether it input Chinese values or not. The United States examined all Chinese teachers, textbooks and letters. Many Americans considered as Confucius Institutes the forefront of Chinese government to promote "Soft Power" to the world. An article which elaborated China's rising "Soft Power" in "Wall Street Journal" is the example. There were less than 10 Confucius Institutes in the United States in 2006, but nowadays, there are hundreds of Confucius Institutes and Confucius classrooms in the United States.

From a broader perspective, not only the United States doubts about Confucius Institutes, the Western countries have long "siege" record of Confucius Institutes. In July, 2011,

Confucius Institutes have encountered fierce "encirclement" in Germany; On May 25th, 2012, the Confucius Institute of British Economy Political College has also been suspected. Finally, Confucius Institute past the storm, because of the firm support of the local universities. Not only the Western countries, even the East neighbor of China, Japan also had many dissenting voices for the Confucius Institutes. In 2010, the Secretary General in Osaka Sangyo University, Toshiyuki even said unfriendly, "Confucius Institutes" are China's "cultural spy agencies."

Obviously, the real reason for the Western world to hold the political suspicions of China was that they assumed that Confucius Institutes were to launch an attack in the United States. As long as this suspicion exists, this sort of incidents will continue in the future. However, as Confucius Institutes are concerned, because of the presence of these adverse circumstances, they should carry out all teaching activities in accordance with the relevant law strictly. Otherwise the relevant countries will have chances and excuses to obstruct China to promote Chinese language and culture.

3.3 Case Study of Confucius Institutes in Africa

(a) Confucius Institute of Nairobi University

Confucius Institute at Nairobi University was established on December 19th, 2005, as the commission co-organizer, Tianjin Normal University and College of Humanities and Social Sciences of Nairobi University jointly organized this first Confucius Institute in Africa. This concretely reflected the improvement of cultural exchanges and cooperation between China and Kenya. The Ambassador of China Embassy in Kenya, Guo Chongli, taught the first lesson in Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, he introduced the pertinent history of China-Kenya friendship and the essence of Confucianism, this lesson made many students have a strong interest of Chinese Confucian culture. After only two months, the school size grew rapidly, the class size quickly increased from 25 to 70 people. After one year, the number of students reached to 150 people, after three years, the class size grew to 262 students in nine classes; its growth rate topped the list in the

first 16 set up Confucius Institutes. April 29, 2006, President Hu Jintao met with teachers and students of Confucius Institute at Nairobi University during his State Visit in Kenya (Xinhua, 2006).

Students of Confucius Institute at Nairobi University maintains mostly from college, as well as a number of government staff and the tour guide from travel agencies, the number of students who attend the lectures at Confucius Institute is much larger than the number of students who formally registered, because of students' high learning enthusiasm. In the strong support of Chinese government, Confucius Institute at Nairobi University in Kenya built the best Chinese language laboratory and library with high quality equipment, to provide students with different levels of Chinese language teaching programs. Confucius Institute not only teaches Chinese language, but will also set up specialized courses on Chinese culture. The President of Nairobi University, George Managua, expressed his hope that making Confucius Institute become Chinese language and culture center in Africa at the Third Anniversary Celebration of Confucius Institutes in 2008.

Confucius Institute at Nairobi University has a relatively good educational quality; there are two professional Chinese teachers, nine Chinese volunteers and two local teachers. There are 120 students in certificate class and 50 Chinese language major students. Confucius Institute provides certificate courses, including beginner, intermediate and advanced Chinese language courses for the college students and social publics. It also offers special short-term courses, including 24 simplified tai chi, traditional Chinese martial arts, Chinese painting course, Chinese calligraphy course, Chinese tourism course, HSK Test training, and Saturday Chinese corner. Students can attend Chinese major courses after finishing four semesters of Chinese amateur courses. Chinese major courses include three levels of Chinese courses and Chinese cultural studies courses. Hanban (headquarters) provides 100 scholarships summer camp Scholarships to learn Chinese language each year, 11 places to attend one-year Chinese language studying, six master's quota and two undergraduate places.

The economic and educational conditions of Nairobi University are relatively better than other universities in Africa. First, Nairobi University is in the urban area which is a more affluent area. Facilities in University and Confucius Institute are good, and there are no obvious deficiencies. Confucius Institute at Nairobi University is one of most developed Confucius Institutes in Africa. It provides advanced-level Chinese language courses which are better and more developed than in other schools in this area. In addition, as bridge and teaching source of other local Chinese schools, Nairobi University provides Chinese teachers for them.

First, the basic difference is the staff of Confucius Institute. For example, its secretary doesn't want to learn Chinese at all. The secretary explained that she learned Chinese once and has been to China several times, but now she is not interested in continuing to learn. Furthermore, many students in Confucius Institute at Nairobi University also have a skeptical attitude on China. While interviewing the volunteer of Confucius Institute, the author learned about the attitude of some local teachers and students about China and Chinese language. There is a Kenyan Chinese teacher, Jacob, who is one of the first class to learn Chinese language in Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, and he won the scholarship provided by the International Hanban and went to China for three-year master studying.

China and learning Chinese language account for a very high position in Jacob's life. International Hanban (headquarters) provides an opportunity for Jacob to have M.A degree in China. Therefore, because of his educational experience and the level Chinese language, Jacob is able to become a Chinese teacher in Nairobi University. Because Jacob has such a good educational experience in China, and because he is not a native Chinese, he held the views on China are more objective and not biased. Jacob put forward many good aspects of China; for example, China has a very modern public transportation system. However, he also list a number of shortages, for example, China's education system does not encourage or develop students' creativity. Thus, people like Jacob act as a stable bridge between China and Kenya.

Students from Confucius Institute at Nairobi University can be divided into two types, one is the undergraduate students of Nairobi University and the second is part-time students. Among the undergraduates, most students are from Nairobi choir. When these students first came to Nairobi University, they did not plan to learn Chinese. Later, because the international Hanban (headquarters) hoped that Nairobi choir can perform at the sixth Confucius Institute Conference on behalf of Confucius Institute and Nairobi University, the International Hanban (headquarters) invested them to visit China, and also provided them with scholarships to study Chinese language. Due to these students may get benefits from China, they hold a more optimistic view of China and China's active influence in Kenya.

However the experience of part-time students is a completely different. These students are a little bit older, and because of their own initiative to start to learn Chinese, either for their business or career prospects. The daily schedule of part-time students is very tight; they already work for several years and have family to feed. Therefore, they learn Chinese only when they are free from work, and they also have to take care of their families, so these students are more fatigue. Most of part-time students have been to China several times because of their work or their own business. Although their motivations to learn Chinese are for their work, however, their interests in learning Chinese and the sense of respect for China is getting low when they start to learn. These students feel that China has brought many negative effects on the presence of Kenya, and they subjectively judge the purpose of China in Africa is that China regards African countries as its colonies in the future.

Student of Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, Augustine Masiga expressed his views, although in many aspects, Confucius Institute has been successful, there still are some failures. For example, a high school dropout rates in Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, the dropout rate is about 80 percent. Augustine Masiga also pointed out that there are three main factors that make such a high dropout rate,

1. Most Chinese teachers do not want to make friends with local students. They take lukewarm attitude on students, but Africans are relational;
2. The intentions of Kenyans who learn Chinese always be defeated through their communication with Chinese people. Because Chinese people prefer to speak broken English and do not like to listen to Africans' broken Chinese;
3. There is little personal interaction between the Chinese people and Kenyans. If there are such interactions, they are mostly related to business or only benefits to China.

The reasons of these pessimistic views may be related to Chinese construction companies in Kenya. The students think that Chinese companies do not respect local staffs in Africa, and the Chinese managers of company do not teach local staff the most basic and important training and knowledge. Moreover, due to all technical work are finished by Chinese people secretly at night, local workers only can do the low-level manual labor, but no chance to be the manager. Another reason is that when the local students stayed in China, they felt racial prejudice. Furthermore, students regard cultural exchanges of Confucius Institutes are not beneficial, and they also think that China blockade their own culture and not willing to accept the effects of other national cultures.

(b) Addis Ababa Confucius Institute

Addis Ababa Confucius Institute (AACI) was established in October 2009 and started Chinese language teaching on November 30th. Its partner is Technical and Vocational Education & Training Institute in Ethiopia, its partner agency is Tianjin University of Technology and Education. Up to now, Addis Ababa Confucius Institute has established 3 Confucius Classrooms separately in Addis Ababa University, Mekelle University and Hawassa University, and 2 teaching centers separately in Bahir Dar University and Adama Science and Technology University.

After 4-year development, under the support of national Hanban, Addis Ababa University Chinese teaching place, Mekelle and Hawassa University teaching places which are

subordinated to Confucius Institute upgraded to Confucius Classroom in April 2013. In September 2012, Addis Ababa University and Mekelle University offered undergraduate Chinese major and recruited local students and achieved a historic breakthrough, which established undergraduate program Chinese language in Ethiopia.

Currently, there are 3,000 students registered in Confucius Institute and classrooms in Ethiopia, nearly one hundred times cultural events are carried out and the number of people who participated is accumulated nearly 20,000. The Confucius Classroom formed a pattern which put capital as the center, radiate to north and south of Ethiopia. There is one Chinese Director, four Chinese teachers and volunteers and one Ethiopian director. Addis Ababa Confucius Institute located in Kotebe, Ethiopia Technical and Vocational Education & Training Institute, its construction area is over 1000 square meters and has six classrooms, seven offices, one library which has the amount of 4,100 books currently, one reading room, one language lab which including 40 seats, one lecture hall which can accommodate 100 people, and one cultural experience center, and so on.

As the first Confucius Institute in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa Confucius Institute dedicated become a window for Ethiopians to learn Chinese language and to understand Chinese culture, to become a cultural communication platform between China and Ethiopia, and become a bridge of friendship between China and Ethiopia. AACI is mainly engaged in Chinese teaching and training, organizing cultural exchange activities with local people. So far, AACI has jointly organized a number of cultural activities with China Embassy in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Technical and Vocational Education & Training Institute, such as Chinese Film Festival, Chinese Song Contest, Sino-Ethiopia knowledge contest, the Chinese New Year celebration and etc.

In addition to providing the normal Chinese language teaching for the students of Ethiopia Technical and Vocational Education & Training Institute, AACI offered two primary Chinese language courses from May to July, 2010, which are the training courses including 25 quota of places for Ethiopia Foreign Ministry officials and 28 professional

teachers of vocational college. On August 2010, AACI sent a number of outstanding students to China to learn Chinese for a period of 15 days of "Chinese Culture Tour" summer camp activity which made Ethiopian students benefit a lot from it.

From September 15th to November 15th, 2010, Addis Ababa Confucius Institute launched "Business Chinese Training" and "Adult Basic Language Training" for the various sectors of publics in Ethiopia. In November, AACI offered Chinese training course for 19 Ethiopian ministries and 19 officials, set up Chinese language training and Tai Chi courses for Ethiopia Andinet international primary school. On November 23rd, the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and Ethiopia gala was organized by the Cultural Office of China Embassy in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Ministry of Culture and Tourism held a celebration at Ethiopian National Theatre. As a messenger of friendship between China and Ethiopia, AACI performed "Tai Chi" which enhanced Ethiopian people's understanding of Chinese traditional culture.

On February 23rd, 2011, Addis Ababa Confucius Institute held the opening ceremony; the Vice Minister of Chinese Ministry of Education Li Weihong presented with a delegation and inaugurated Addis Ababa Confucius Institute, together with Ethiopia Minister of Education, Dawson and Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia Gu Xiaojie. AACI signed agreement with the Addis Ababa and Hawassa Universities to establish Chinese Language Learning Centers in the two universities in Ethiopia on November 9th.

The signing ceremony took place on the premises of Addis Ababa Confucius Institute in the presence of members of Chinese High Level Delegation from Tianjin Municipal Government, which is led by Xing Yuanmin, the chairperson of Tianjin Municipal Committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), and also officials from the Ethiopian side. Speaking at a donation signing ceremony, Liu Kun, Secretary General of CPPCC, Tianjin Municipal Committee, said Addis Ababa Confucius Institute has launched many training programs and been offering opportunities to Ethiopians who are interested in Chinese language and culture.

At the same time, he announced the promotion of Sino-Ethiopia educational and cultural exchanges and cooperation between the two countries, the Tianjin Municipal Government will provide an additional 200 million RMB for Tianjin Municipal Government foreign students' scholarship. Meanwhile, Tianjin University of Technology and Education will also offer opportunities for outstanding students and teachers of Ethiopian Technical and Vocational Education & Training Institute and Addis Ababa Confucius Institute to study in China.

Xing expressed his wish that "Addis Ababa Confucius Institute will have a bright future, China-Ethiopian educational cooperation and exchange will improve to a higher level, friendship between China and Ethiopia last forever". Kaba Urgessa, Ethiopian State Minister of Education, said China has been supporting Ethiopia's endeavor in human resource development program by providing long and short term training opportunities to Ethiopians. He said the signing of the agreement for establishing Chinese Language Centers would further enhance the friendly relation and cooperation between Ethiopia and China.

"It is our strong belief that the training opportunities which has been provided by the People's Republic of China (PRC) for the last several years is a great help to achievements and progress so far Ethiopia has made in the education sector," Kaba said "Today's signing ceremony of establishing Chinese Language Centers at Addis Ababa and Hawassa Universities is also one of the manifestations of further strengthening the existing friendship between the two sisterly countries," said the State Minister. He also appreciated AACI for its efforts in establishing Chinese Language Centers in Ethiopian Universities (Confucius Institute Online, 2011).

On November 25th, 2013, the Vice Premier of China Liu Yandong visited Addis Ababa Confucius Institute during his state visit in Ethiopia. Premier Liu watched the picture exhibition in Confucius Institute, observed Chinese teaching lessons and attended the

welcome ceremony, which held by AACI and delivered a warm speech. She stressed that China and Ethiopia have a long-term traditional friendship, especially the President of Ethiopia Mulatu Teshome studied in China for over 15 years, and he has a deep affection for China. Vice Premier Liu hopes that more young people can make the President Mulatu as an example, love Chinese language and understand Chinese culture. And she also hopes that Chinese teachers and volunteer of Confucius Institute can make efforts to spread Chinese language and culture. At last, Vice Premier Liu donated 100 Confucius Institute scholarships and 100 quota of places of 2014 "Chinese Bridge" summer camp in China for Ethiopian students.

The speech and gifts of the Vice Premier Liu Yandong greatly encouraged the enthusiasm and confidence of Ethiopian young students to learn Chinese and to understand Chinese culture, the visit successfully ended in a warm atmosphere. At the same day, Liu Xin, the President of Tianjin University of Technology and Education, signed the co-organized Confucius Classroom agreement with the President of Bahir Dar University, Dr. Belly and the Vice President of Adama Science and Technology University, Dr. Toler. The President of Ethiopian Technical and Vocational Education & Training Institute Dr. Kebede, the President of Addis Ababa University Dr. Admassu, Director of Chinese Hanban Ms. Xu Lin and Deputy Director Ma Jianfei witnessed the signing ceremony together.

During the five-year development, Addis Ababa Confucius Institute provides professional Chinese training for the officers in the Africa Union, Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and Ethiopian local staffs in Chinese companies, in addition to the regulation Chinese teaching in Confucius Institute. Those students' enthusiasm for learning Chinese is very high, although they are busy on their routine. Therefore, they are able to attend to Chinese course only on weekends. Some of these students have been to China for several times for public affairs, they have a good impression on China after their traveling. However, some students regard that China is exploiting the market and resources of Ethiopia, instead of helping them. According to this perspective, Confucius

Institutes should try their best to further advocate China's peaceful development and non-interference policy, to advocate a healthy and helpful image of China.

3.4 The Impact of Confucius Institutes on China's Soft Power in Africa

In the speech of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on Oct. 15th, 2007, President Hu Jintao stated that "Nowadays, culture has increasingly become an important source of national cohesion and creativity and is becoming an important factor in the competition of comprehensive national strength", and President Hu Jintao stressed the need to "stimulate cultural creative vitality of the whole nation, enhance national cultural soft power". This shows that "enhance the cultural soft power" has been elevated to the height of national strategy.

In October 2011, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Communist Party Congress passed the "CPC Central Committee on deepening reform of cultural system, to promote socialist cultural development and prosperity of a number of major issues", which is also the first time for the CPC Central Committee to regard "cultural proposition" as the plenary central issue. This decision indicates the direction for the construction of socialist culture with Chinese characteristics. Among them, the decision clearly propounds to strengthen the construction of Confucius Institutes, put forward higher requirements to Confucius Institutes to play a greater role in the Chinese culture in the world stage, to fully play the role of Confucius Institutes in promoting Chinese culture to go out and to build a great country of socialist culture.

Confucius is the representative of traditional Chinese Confucian culture. Confucianism advocates "Honesty and Honor, self-order" and many other traditional cultural values, therefore, becomes the treasure of China's soft power. With the increasingly closed political, economic and cultural connection between China and Africa, China expands its influence in Africa, not only with Chinese fast-growing economic power, but also with the various fields of culture, education, health care and other China's "soft power". Many African students are fascinated by Chinese culture and thus many African countries are

determined to promote Chinese language teaching more broadly, Confucius Institutes have become an important carrier of China's soft power diffusion.

The role of Confucius Institutes in enhancing China's soft power is mainly reflected in the following aspects,

First, Confucius Institutes are introducing Chinese language to the world. More and more foreigners have mastered the Chinese language which lays the foundation for their further understanding of China and Chinese culture. More and more people can speak Chinese and the segments are more widely, Chinese language teaching in Confucius Institutes has won Chinese language the international status that is commensurate to China.

Second, Confucius Institutes provide the rare opportunity for exploring and inheriting Chinese traditional culture. Joseph Nye believes that "Chinese traditional culture, especially the Confucian culture has a considerable influence in the world. Chinese culture is attractive in many ways. Chinese traditional arts and culture, such as Chinese calligraphy, painting, Chinese martial arts, and even Chinese food and traditional costumes, etc, are very popular in the United States" (Xin Hua News, 2006). Confucius Institutes bring these with a strong cultural symbol into its teaching content, so that foreign citizens can have a better understanding of Chinese traditional culture, and can further promote the influence of Chinese culture. Confucius Institutes enhance domestic emphasis on traditional culture, exploration and protection on the way to spread Chinese culture. It enriches the connotation and promotes the revival of Chinese culture.

In addition, Confucius Institutes are striving to create a peaceful, mutual-trust and cooperative international environment which is good for the development of China, and regarding "harmony" as the core idea which actively introduces China to the world, fully integrate into China's diplomatic activities. Misunderstanding and prejudice are not good for China and other countries as well, so we need to eliminate the misunderstanding, and to create a favorable international consensus environment. Chinese traditional culture in the pursuit of "harmony" and pay attention to "harmony in diversity", that affirms the

world is united in diversity, recognizing differences, embraces diversity coexistence and interdependence. Former director of the State Council Information Office Zhao said that, if American values can be summed up as “diverse, innovative, optimistic”, then the “harmony” concept is the embodiment of the core value of Chinese cultural spirit (Zhao Qizheng, 2011).

Confucius Institutes advocate an international strategic mind that Chinese “unswervingly take the road of peaceful development, build a harmonious world with lasting peace and common prosperity”, through a flexible way in the international community to let the world know more about China. With this communication platform of Confucius Institutes, domestic officials and academics indicate China, Chinese culture, history and policy to the world, answer incomprehension of foreigners and help the foreign public understand the real China. Confucius Institutes help the world understand China's political and economic systems, eliminate international misunderstanding of China, reduce the conflict caused by misunderstandings, and to show the world a real China with the peace-loving, the pursuit of harmony and a high sense of responsibility. Also, Confucius Institutes help the world learn and recognize more about China, enhance the friendship between China and other countries. And, most importantly, Confucius Institutes have played the unique role which other institutions and forms unmatched in Chinese cultural soft power construction.

Regarding the “win-win, contribution, harmony” as the core values of Chinese cultural soft power concept, it provides a right direction for the inherent contradictions of soft power theory which under the Western Cold War mentality. As the most powerful representative to realize this kind of soft power concept, Confucius Institutes play the special role to implement and enhance China's cultural soft power. They consciously cultivate a Chinese cultural soft power through diverse modes of school and make it spread more widely; Confucius Institutes have become Chinese culture product output and an important platform for Chinese cultural diplomacy, because it shows the charm of its exploration activity and its foreign exchanges, therefore, Confucius Institutes make

Chinese cultural soft power play even more lasting.

Confucius Institutes not only play an important role in the promotion of Chinese language and cultural exchanges, as the brightest brand of China's soft power, they also promoted the development of China's cultural diplomacy, expanding China's foreign arena. Since the establishment of Confucius Institutes, whenever the major leaders of China visited other countries, they always visit the local Confucius Institutes and deliver a speech. In 2009, for example, China's major leaders Hu Jintao, Wen Jiabao, Xi Jinping, totally visited Confucius Institutes nine times, and pointed out the important role of the Confucius Institutes played to promote friendly relations between China and other countries (Confucius Institute Online, 2013).

According to the statistics of China Foreign Ministry, it shows that there have been almost one hundred Chinese Ambassadors and Consuls General participated in the activities of the Confucius Institutes in recent years. Many embassy diplomats believe that Confucius Institutes are good diplomatic platform. In some countries, the prime minister, state legislators support and even are personally involved in Chinese promotional activities of Confucius Institutes (Li Songlin, Liu Wei, 2010).

With the close connection of the political, economic and cultural relations between China and Africa, China expanded its impact on Africa, not only with the economic power, but also with China's "soft power" on culture, education, health, broadcasting and other areas. Cultural cooperation plays an irreplaceable role in the promotion of China-Africa mutual trust, strengthen economic and trade exchanges. In January 2006, China issued the "China's African policy document", it is a declaration of China's African policy, and is also an important official document on China-Africa relations. Chinese leaders pledged to “fully support the exchanges and cooperation between Chinese and African educational and academic institutions”. China plans to train 15,000 to 20,000 African students and technicians; Establish \$ 5 billion development fund to support Chinese companies to invest in Africa; Reconstruct 100 schools in African suburbs, and doubled the number of

scholarships for African students in China (Chinese Government, 2006).

The impact of soft power and "knowledge processes" are closely linked. In the short term, or in the first stage of the process of knowledge, Confucius Institutes will certainly increase China's soft power. However, with the students' growing understanding of Chinese and its ubiquitous presence and impact in the world, the attractiveness of Chinese culture and its soft power began to decrease. This will produce a backlash, which is the consequences of Chinese government and the international Hanban (headquarters) did not take into account. Once students begin to learn Chinese language, they will not abandon their motherland, and to become China's followers. However, the real situation is the opposite, the students will realize that China has a significant impact on their motherland as soon as possible, thus they will become defensive, and often start to try to protect their country from Chinese influence.

A student from Confucius Institute at South Africa Stellenbosch University explained his intention to learn Chinese is that "I am learning Chinese because of diplomatic relations between South Africa and China; I want to protect the future interests of South Africa." Another student explains: "because in the future, the relationship between China and African countries will exist in any case. Therefore, it is very practical for me to learn Chinese. Because I will try to influence the relationship between China and South Africa, and make South Africa earns more benefits from it." Therefore, by providing free Chinese language courses around the world, China is actually increasing its future competitors in knowledge and awareness about China, and is giving them more resources and means to make their opposition to China's influence in the future (Luo La, 2012).

Chinese government and Hanban (headquarters) actually unwittingly create smarter and more knowledgeable African, particularly in relation to Chinese language and culture. However these people may not be willing to welcome China and the impact of Chinese culture and also would not be willing to accept the "mutual benefit" principle advocated by China. Although this consequence is not what Chinese government and Hanban

(headquarters) hoped. But in the long run, this result still has great potentiality. Because students realize the existing linkage between China and their motherland or the relationship is very difficult to avoid, and they do not want China exploit their country. Therefore, they will pay more attention to improving their country's relations with China.

Thus, China and African countries will better understand each other , which will have a real and mutually beneficial relationship with each other and produce a meaningful exchange and communication. In the long run, China's soft power in Africa might not spread or increase, but the diplomatic relations between China and African countries will become more well-balanced, deep and healthy.

In the book *Dragon Wings: Chinese Rising by Soft Power*, Ding Sheng describes this difference will produce challenges to China. She wrote that, “No political credibility, which is mainly defined as the effective governance, respect for democracy and human rights, responsible international behavior, the global appeal of Chinese culture and language can’t provide a real contribution to China's national image. To some extent, China's widespread corruption and its hesitation in pursuit of genuine political reform, limited the improvement of China's image, especially in the world areas of promoting freedom and democracy”(Ding Sheng, 2008).

The reason why Confucius Institutes have been able to play the important role in Chinese cultural soft power, and become China's most dazzling brand of soft power, the fundamental reason is that Confucius Institutes promote the world diversity. Its mission of “building a harmonious world” fits the "win-win, contribution and harmony" core value direction of China’s cultural soft power. Nowadays, China’s two major themes are to build a harmonious society and a harmonious world, as the cultural symbols with a global vision, Confucius Institutes fully integrate resources cooperative education mode, and its potential influence on cultural industries and cultural diplomacy. Therefore, they have played very important role in the promotion of a harmonious world and enhance China's

cultural soft power.

Confucius Institutes are developing quickly; more attention should be paid to the special effects on exploring the way to enhance China's soft power. Confucius Institutes show Chinese 5,000-years cultural elements to the world, which is a manifestation of "soft power". But that is not enough, how to make the essence of Chinese civilization as the long-term deep expression, rather than the stereotype of marketing, this means the real upgrade of 'soft power'.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Challenges and Strategies for the Development of Confucius Institutes

4.1 Issues and Challenges for the Development of Confucius Institutes

China-Africa increasingly close trade and personnel exchanges needs are the reasons of the booming development of Confucius Institutes in Africa. More and more Africans want to learn Chinese and China, to seek development opportunities in the future. While there exists some challenges for the development of Confucius Institutes in Africa. Compared with European countries, African own uniqueness brings obstacles to the development of Confucius Institutes. A few African universities open Chinese language major, because of the general shortage of local teachers. Due to their undeveloped economy, the teaching facilities of many Confucius Institutes in Africa are quite shabby, and the living conditions of Chinese teachers and volunteers are comparatively poor. For these cases, Confucius Institutes Headquarters provides special care for the Confucius Institutes in Africa. For example, in other parts of the world, Chinese and host countries peer into the building of Confucius Institutes according to 1:1, but in Africa, the funding of all Confucius Institutes is entirely by China (Confucius Institute Online, 2013).

1. Interference of "China Threat Theory"

"China threat theory" is not a new argument. As early as 1877, the U.S. Senate and House of Republic released Joint Special Committee Report on surveying Chinese Immigration, in which the Chinese people and other "threat" from the Asians were raised. After the

founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the United States tried all means to contain China's development, and threaten China's security for ideological reasons. In the 1990s, along with Eastern Europe Revolution and the collapse of the Soviet Union, some Western anti-Chinese forces began to shift their focus to China. China's economic development led the United States and other Western countries spread their panic from economic security to politics. The enhancement of Chinese national strength and military modernization naturally led to further deepening of United States and other Western countries in the political and military insecurity. Therefore, Western politicians and media thought that nowadays the rise of China is more than ever a "threat".

Some countries which led by US hyped the "China threat theory", and a variety of new versions of "China threat theory" appeared in the Western media, such as "Chinese energy threat theory", "Chinese goods threat theory", "Chinese military threat theory", "Chinese environment threat theory" and "Chinese culture threat theory" and so on. The scope of "China threat theory" was expanded widely and the argument of "contain" China was constant. The establishment and rapid development momentum of Confucius Institutes are interpreted as a signal of "Chinese cultural invasion" by many Western media, and a number of institutions and organizations tried to find the evidence to prove that Confucius Institutes are one sample of "Chinese cultural threat".

On May 28th, 2007, the Canadian Press published an article entitled "CSIS said, Confucius part of Chinese bid to win over western hearts" by the reporter Jim Brownsville, a declassified report of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (Jim Brownsville, 2007). It is said that at the end of May, the purpose of China globally setting up Confucius Institutes are to win over the people in the world. The report concluded Confucius Institutes are the platform which China can export its ideology and policy, the tool for penetrating culture to Canada, and the organization "brainwashing" the Canadians. The officer in charge of Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Judd, even admitted that they spent a lot of energy monitoring China's activities. Once the report was published, it led major Canadian newspapers reprint it. The report was full of hostile attitudes towards

China and Chinese culture. The normal cultural exchange activities between China and other countries were classified as the "evidence" of "China threat theory". China was labeled as a country of outputting the Chinese spirit and cultural infiltration (Li Yao, 2009).

As the Western media have freedom of speech and extensive influence in the information world, the aftermath of "Chinese culture threat theory" also affected many countries and even many developing countries, which have long-term relationships with China. For example, some Southeast Asian countries are worried Confucius Institutes would carried on the past Chinese language and culture education, which can weaken the country's national identity of their young students, especially the Chinese ethnic national identity, thus affecting the stability of their country. Malaysia is deeply influenced by Confucian culture; it feared that "Confucius Institutes" will become "Confucian religion" to promote the spread of religion. Therefore, the Confucius Institutes were set up eventually before it was renamed into "Global Chinese language Center" and "Chinese Confucius Institute".

2. Shortage of Faculty

After the establishment of Confucius Institutes, the headquarters annually dispatch a considerable number of Chinese teachers and volunteers to support the teaching of local schools in Africa. Especially with the rapid increase in the number of Confucius Institutes, the demand for full-time teachers and volunteers is also increasing in Africa. Despite the expanding scale of teachers and volunteers sent by headquarters, the huge demands still become one of the bottlenecks in the development of Confucius Institutes.

In the family of Confucius Institutes in Africa, Confucius Institute at Burundi University is a "six months old" new member. However, in this small landlocked country in Central Africa, people are eager to learn Chinese. Xu Lin, the dean of Confucius Institutes, introduced that "Confucius Institute at Burundi University was established less than six months, 400 people applied to learn Chinese. University reflected the serious shortage of Chinese teachers, they asked Chinese headquarters to dispatch more teachers and

volunteers; but the biggest problem is classroom shortage, University asked us to help them build the teaching buildings"(Xu Lin, 2012).

Currently, the Confucius Institutes in Africa mainly rely on China to dispatch Chinese teachers and volunteers, while native Chinese teachers are very scarce. Confucius Institutes Headquarters will provide Chinese government scholarships to African students; subsidize them to further study in China, hoping they can return to their countries after completing their training as a Chinese teacher. However, as for the job opportunities and development prospects and other considerations, many African students choose to stay in China. In this regard, Xu Lin said, for those Africans who are voluntary to return to Confucius Institutes in Africa to teach Chinese, Confucius Institutes Headquarters will provide a grant for five years to 10 years of wages, in order to establish a native Chinese teacher team gradually.

Therefore, Confucius Institutes Headquarters has taken two major steps to solve these problems for faculty shortage.

First, Confucius Institutes Headquarters set up a professional Master Degree of "Chinese International Education", through the cultivation of Chinese international education talents to improve the number and professionalism of dispatched Chinese teachers and volunteers;

The second step is to expand the scale of local teachers, set up a "Chinese Foreign Teachers Scholarship Program", and recruit foreign students to pursue a Master's Degree in the international education or Chinese language teaching professional training courses.

According to statistics in 2009, the NOCFL and some local colleges and universities held short-term training courses at home and abroad, 2.3 million foreign teachers were trained. In addition, there were more than 2,200 foreign college students from 117 countries to China, to get the Chinese language training course for preparing for the local Chinese teachers. Confucius Institutes of various countries held short-term training courses; the

scale reached more than 12,000 people (the NOCFL Annual Report, 2009).

Although Confucius Institute Headquarters have invested a lot of resources in faculty constructions, but the gap still exists comparing with the real needs of local Confucius Institutes. The vast majority of dispatched teachers deal with short-term tasks, they are unable to get deep understanding of the local customs, the local language culture and language habits of Chinese learners; to adjust their teaching methods and contents, which makes Chinese language easier to be learnt and popularized.

Yi Fucheng, PhD from Peking University, the Dean of Confucius Institute of Russian National College of Humanities, pointed out some problems, “when analyzing the difficulties of Chinese teaching in Confucius Institute in Russia. He said, Chinese speaking teachers mostly received no training in teaching, thus they do not have rich experience when solving students' problems in language learning process. Local Russian teachers may have graduated as Chinese major, but their Chinese language proficiency is quite limited, they are not fluent in speaking or writing. In addition, they have limited understanding of Chinese culture” (Renmin Website, 2009).

3. Shortages of Teaching Materials

Apart from the problem of faculty, another problem of Confucius Institutes is the serious shortage of textbooks. Since the founding of Confucius Institutes, Hanban (headquarters) has always attached great importance to the preparation of teaching materials development. And has formulated the development plan of teaching materials, and took various ways to expand teaching resources.

According to the statistics of Hanban (headquarters), 160 sets of Confucius Institutes textbooks have been published until 2010. There are 123 kinds copyright materials owned by Hanban (headquarters) only, more than 2,000 volumes, the major books like "New Practical Chinese Reader", "Learn Chinese with me" and etc. There have been more than 50 kinds of media language; they mainly concentrated on English, Japanese and Korean.

From the application of school, university teaching materials accounted for 87%, middle school is 2%. From the practical level, the primary level accounts for 70% (Confucius Institutes Online, 2010).

In addition, according to incomplete statistics, there are more than 12,000 kinds of the global Chinese textbooks published. But in daily teaching activities, many Confucius Institutes in Africa still reflect prominent issue of textbook. The problems are as following, the localization of these textbook is not high and not attractive enough; and it is difficult for African students to accept. Therefore, many Chinese teachers have to prepare teaching materials by themselves in teaching. During the teaching, the existed teaching materials have been outdated and psychological issues of cross cultural communication are neglected. When mentioning the gifts of Chinese weddings, the examples are "daily supplies, bed sheets and etc". When teaching Chinese classifiers, one of the examples is "a foot of cloth". It is hard for African students to understand, and apparently outdated in China nowadays (Wu Ying, Ti Wenjing, 2009).

After several years of exploration and development, many Confucius Institutes have established Chinese teaching services for students of different age levels, including primary and middle school students, college students, adults and so on. Different students have different learning objectives. For example, some students just want to get preparation on Chinese language for visiting China. Some students have higher learning objectives, they are preparing for HSK tests, so that they can go to China to further study, some even want to engage in translation. In addition, different life background will influence the teaching effect. Some students live in modern city; some are from suburb, so they may speak different dialects and have different cultural background. Therefore, in practical application, many different materials are needed, in order to adapt to the needs of students from different cultures, languages background, different ages and levels. In addition to the development of these materials, teachers' effective training and the use of textbooks are also very important tasks.

4.2 A Comparative Perspective

In this part, the author briefly introduced the mechanism features of English, French, German and Portuguese languages institutions, which bring us some new experiences and ideas. It is necessary to point out that some of them are not pure language promotion institutes, but there are many resemblances in characteristics, aims, activities and operation between them and Confucius Institutes.

(a) The British Council

The predecessor of British Council is 'United Kingdom Committee on relations with other countries', which was registered in England in 1934 and renamed after two years. Now British Council is a social group with British Royal Charter, focusing on promoting overseas British culture diffusion, English teaching and examination certification. It vigorously promoted international communication and cooperation in education, literature and art, science and technology, etc. British Council set branches in more than 100 countries, more than 200 cities and has cooperative plans with local governments.

The highest functional management department of British Council is the boarding Council, the members of the Council are decided by itself, but two of them must be nominated by the British Foreign Minister, and the chairman is responsible for daily administration. In practice, the British government also regularly checks policies and activities of the Council, to ensure the British Council to consistent with government's guiding. The funding sources of British Council include government grants, private donations and its own revenue. Its own revenue is mainly project management service fees, English training and exam registration fee. In recent years, the government funding obtained by the British Council has declined, but they create their own revenue growth year after year.

(b) The Alliance Française

Under the active advocacy of French diplomat Paul Camborne, the Alliance française was founded in 1883 in Paris. It is a non-profit cultural institution, whose purpose is the global

transmission of French language and culture, in order to expand the world influence of French spirit. The managing agency of Alliance française is the Council headquarters located in Paris, the Executive Board, which is responsible for electing the operation institutions of Alliance française. Its overseas managing agency of each segment Council is locally elected, and members of the segment Council include both French and natives, but most locals are engaged in administration. World Federation of Alliance française coordinates the relationship between the Council headquarters, segment Council and Culture Department of French embassies.

The main funding sources of the Alliance française are from government financial subsidies, corporate or foundation sponsors and their own income. The main activities of Alliance française are to provide French language courses, training local French teachers, accepting French proficiency test registration, organizing and carrying out various forms of cultural exchanges and activities. Nowadays, the Alliance française has already established more than a thousand branches, which is a huge cultural network in more than 130 countries; the number of people who study in the Alliance française is nearly 500,000 every year, more than six million people participated in the cultural activities of the Alliance française.

(c) United States Information Service

United States Information Service (USIS) specializes in providing information and security services to government agencies and commercial enterprises. Headquartered in Falls Church, Virginia, USIS delivers background screening and risk management solutions that not only protect national security, but also support and help empower decision-makers the world over. Since 1996, USIS has been the leading provider of background investigations to the federal government. Along with its focus on protecting national security, USIS is a preeminent source of comprehensive litigation support services in the legal services market.

USIS delivers a wide range of real-time, customer-oriented solutions through two divisions. The Investigations Services Division is the U.S. government's largest supplier of background investigations to all levels of government and law enforcement agencies. The Global Security and Solutions Division focuses on support services, training, surveillance detection, and security consulting. USIS' wide range of professional services include Investigations, Health Care Fraud Solutions, Training, Security Solutions, Information Management & Support Services, Litigation Support, Data Analytics, Innovative technology, etc.

The missions of USIS are to deliver best-in-class people, processes, and technology in partnership with our diverse customer base, creating value for shareholders, employees, and the community. And its visions are to be the premier provider of knowledge-based security solutions, ensuring a safer future today.

(d) German Goethe Institute

Goethe Institute is named after the famous German poet Goethe, in order to promote German language and culture around the world as a non-profit cultural institution. Its predecessor was "the German School" founded in 1925, renamed in 1951 with its headquarters in Munich. Today, the Goethe Institute has established 149 branches and 10 liaison offices in 92 countries. The main aims of Goethe Institute are to provide a platform of learning German, German culture and life, to dedicate to show a real dynamic global image of the country to the world, to make efforts to promote cultural exchanges and international cooperation. Its main task is to promote German, and to offer a variety of information and publicity about German and EU to overseas audiences. The main activities carried out by the Goethe Institute are to create different levels of German courses, to hold German exam and various forms of cultural activities and to provide training scholarships for the local German teachers. In addition, the German cultural and art celebrities often attend the activity of foreign branches, to advocate a lot for Goethe Institute.

In terms of organization and management, Goethe Institute is an organization with the nature of association, which is divided into three parts: headquarters, domestic segment and foreign segment. Its highest governing body is the representative of Commission, and the Board is responsible for the daily affairs. In terms of funding sources, the foreign segment headquarters and Goethe Institute are supported by the federal government, state or other public funds, while domestic department is mainly relying on the income to maintain their training. In addition, the German large enterprises, the well-known companies are also important donation of the Goethe Institute. They achieved a certain degree of publicity and advertising through cooperation with Goethe Institute.

In terms of relations with German government, the impact of government on the Goethe Institute is extensive; In addition to the financial support provided by government, the German Foreign Ministry has signed an agreement with Goethe Institute in 1976. German delegated its series of tasks within the scope of foreign cultural policy. In exceptional circumstances, the German Foreign Ministry can directly interfere with activities of the Goethe Institute, the direct request of the Board to perform certain decisions; such as when Goethe Institute overseas employees has occurred words and deeds damage Germany national image, the Foreign Ministry can demand the immediate suspension.

(e) Portugal Instituto Camões

Instituto Camões is a Portuguese overseas official agency for prompting Portuguese language and culture, and it is named after the famous Portuguese poet Camões. The predecessor of Instituto Camões is "the Portuguese Language Society", which was founded in 1928. It was renamed in 1992 so after being classified as a Portuguese Ministry of Education Management. It transferred from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal in 1994, and enjoyed a degree of autonomy. Instituto Camões is official agency, it needs all funding comes from government financial allocation. The purpose of Instituto Camões is to promote Portuguese language and culture to the world, and its scope of activities are mainly in the higher education level.

Instituto Camões in the functioning of the institutions are different from the above four languages institutes and Confucius Institutes. Instituto Camões does not directly create fixed Portuguese language course, but it carries out activities through local Portuguese-speaking universities and lecturers indirectly. And its teaching network composed by Academy dubbed Centro de Língua Portuguesa. The Instituto Camões currently claimed a total of nearly two hundred members, more than 30,000 students. It provides salary and support for more than 100 Portuguese-speaking teachers, but also provides scholarship to local students to learn Portuguese language and culture. In terms of the Branch number, Instituto Camões set up 15 cultural centers in these countries, and four regional centers located in seven Portuguese-speaking countries.

The rest are located in the countries which have higher concentration of Portugal immigrants or which have deeper historical relations. In addition to these language promotion institutes, there also have some common ones, such as Turkey YunusEmre Institute, South Korea King Sejong Institute, Center for the Greek language, Japan Foundation, Russia Pushkin Institute, Swedish Institute, etc. Their mechanisms are similar to the above ones.

4.3 Confucius Institutes and Improving Chinese Soft Power

1. Improve Contemporary Chinese Culture

Culture dissemination is an important mission of Confucius Institutes, no matter it is when Hanban (headquarters) in formulating the strategic development for Confucius Institutes, or in the practical work of all Confucius Institutes in the world. It should seriously think about the issues that Confucius Institutes should spread what kind of Chinese culture, how to make dissemination more effective, and how to make foreigners understand Chinese issues more comprehensively and accurately.

In the international communication of Chinese language teaching and culture, Chinese teachers have been consciously or unconsciously focusing on Chinese traditional culture, the four great inventions or lyre-playing, chess, calligraphy and painting which are often

taken as the essence of Chinese culture to present to foreigners. Those contents are very important as a comprehensive introduction of Chinese culture in shaping a traditional image of ancient China. However, it is limited in the publicity of China's modern civilization and contemporary cultural development, and it will also make foreigners' understanding on China limited only in the ancient time, lacking the understanding of contemporary China. Therefore, in the process of cultural transmission, Confucius Institutes should not only carry on a full introduction of Chinese traditional cultural elements, but also should spare no effort in exploring and demonstrating the prosperity of contemporary literature, art, science, technology, education and other aspects. They should present a tremendous progress in national building and economic development, in order to give people an opportunity to realize both the ancient China and modern China, a full access to the charming Chinese culture. Confucius Institutes should become the window of showing the past and present of China.

2. Marketing Mode of Confucius Institutes

Confucius Institutes are founded under the background of the global Chinese popularity and huge demand for Chinese learning in the world. The international promotion of Chinese language is an industry with huge potential. Recalling the developing process of the world's major languages and cultural promotion institutes, it can be found that their success is inseparable from the market. For example, Britain made good use of English as their greatest natural and cultural resources, and English is developed and exported. It is reported that British education export revenues is more than 10 billion pounds per year from 2000 to 2005, which is equivalent to 1% of UK annual GDP. By 2020, educational contribution to UK economy may be more than 50 billion pounds, which will be close to 2% of GDP. When Gordon Brown was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he once said that the number of students learning English in China is now more than that of Britain during his visit in China (Wen Hui Newspaper, 2005).

Chinese language teaching is becoming an increasingly popular business. Xu Lin, Director of Hanban (headquarters), held the view that the international promotion of

Chinese language education is not pure education, because the language itself is a product, especially in the time of international promotion, it is even a cultural product, thus, the operation must be based on marketing approach. International promotion of Chinese language has been carrying on the marketing mode, and it achieved preliminary results, such as carrying on Chinese language test for foreigners, establishing specialized agencies, and exploring "Chinese test" market by ways of certification exams. HSK test has developed from annually 4 million RMB of Chinese government financial subsidiaries, to get its own benefits and without subsidiary nowadays (Gunag Ming Website, 2009).

In the development of Confucius Institutes, some foreign cooperative institutions have also made a positive exploration in marketing. The first Confucius Institute in France, Confucius Institute at University of Poitiers is established under tripartite cooperation of Nanchang University, University of Poitiers in France and Shenzhen ZTE Corporation in China. ZTE not only provides a world-class distance learning equipment to help build a multimedia network teaching platform, but also provides a steady students source, who are ZTE customers, employees and expatriate technical support staffs, they all have received Chinese training or education in Confucius Institute (Ma Jian, 2006). But overall, Confucius Institutes seem to be rather weak in the pioneering work of in marketing area. If the development of promoting Chinese international education almost entirely depends on the huge investment from Chinese government, it is difficult to establish a mature business model, and the marketing operations cannot be achieved in the long run. Further development of the teaching base, especially those overseas teaching base and maintaining such a large base system will be a huge burden on China government.

In the future, Confucius Institutes can take the model of state investment, private educational institutions management and operation to set up market-oriented model of operation of Confucius Institutes at home and abroad. Meanwhile, we can take appropriate establishment models according to the local conditions in different countries and foster self-development capabilities. For example, neighboring countries which are in the circle of Chinese Confucian cultural, as well as countries that have large demand of

Chinese language learning, can take marketing model to achieve self-balance.

3. Promoting Cultural Exchange and Local Social Service

Confucius Institutes have already spread around the world. The number has reached to a considerable scale, and it quickly becomes an important platform to accelerate the step of introducing Chinese language to the world, and promoting Chinese culture to foreigners. The overseas influence of Confucius Institutes is gradually expanding, initially established a positive image of Chinese language and culture communicators.

In the speech of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on Oct. 15, 2007, it explicitly proposed to strengthen the development of Confucius Institutes, put forward new and higher requirements for Confucius Institutes, to play a greater role in the process of promoting Chinese culture to the world. Facing a changing domestic and foreign environment, how should Confucius Institutes further develop, how to enhance their influence and radiation? The author believes that Confucius Institutes should take the initiative to adjust its position, strengthen the service function instead of taking ideology demarcation; put more efforts in promoting Sino-foreign cultural exchanges, and the development of multi-cultural world; develop different educational and business model for countries with different national conditions and social systems, and strive to build Confucius Institutes as a platform for the comprehensive cultural exchange.

In the operation of contemporary western society, a prominent feature is that the community became the center of urban residents' life. Community carries a very important role of social services and becomes a multi-functional center of life for community residents. Therefore, Confucius institutes must go deeply into the community, strengthen links and interaction with community residents, which can improve their affinity, expand their influence in society and be known by more and more people. In order to carry out community service, Confucius institutes should follow the three points as follows.

- 1) Adhere to the people-oriented policy and improve the quality of community services. Confucius Institutes should pay more attention to the needs of residents and carry out various forms, content-rich, and high-quality community services according to local conditions;
- 2) Enrich cultural and community service content. Try to carry out dialogue and exchanges among different cultures, in the community as widely as possible to deepen mutual understanding about historical and current situation, to meet the local people's needs of understanding Chinese culture, to promote affection and friendship between Chinese and the people around the world;
- 3) Uphold the idea of harmony and common prosperity of the world. It should adhere to the tenet of the Confucius Institute, absorb advantages, seek common ground, while putting differences aside and expand consensus to contribute to build a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity.

In December 2009, the Fourth Confucius Institute Conference took "Confucius Institute and Community Service" as the theme, invited operators and experts from Confucius Institute around the world, and launched an in-depth discussion (Confucius Institute Online, 2013). It is obvious that only when Confucius Institute follow the saying, “when in Rome, do as the Romans do”, integrate closely functional positioning and development needs of the community, which can achieve the purpose of cultural transmission and exchange effectively, and the localization and long-term sustainable development will be realized.

The percentage of Confucius Institutes in Africa in the global term is not high, but Africa is the most rapid and most dynamic region. However, the rapid development and expansion in short time create problems and critics, the domestic development in China can't keep the pace of external demands. Indeed, Confucius Institutes should take these critics as a sustainable way of development. The cooperation should be carried out by both Confucius Institutes and the host countries in Africa, in order to create a better

environment for African students to learn Chinese.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion

China's increasing soft power can be explained by China's economic growth, popularity of Confucius Institutes and blooming tourism, etc. Confucius Institutes are the

outstanding components in China's soft power , which become the bridge of friendship in cultural diplomacy between Chinese and foreign cultures. Facilitating Chinese language and culture teaching for local people are the main contents of Confucius Institutes around the world. Therefore, Confucius Institutes make a great contribution to internationalization of Chinese language and familiarization of Chinese Culture for foreigners, no matter in African or other countries.

The role of Confucius Institutes in enhancing Chinese soft power has been well recognized by the international community. This is mainly because Chinese government had a clear understanding of the importance of cultural diplomacy and language promotion, and has taken a series of measures to improve China's soft power. Chinese government set up Hanban (headquarters) as early as 1987. Since 2002, the Chinese Ministry of Education and Hanban (headquarters) started to learn the experiences from other countries' language promotion institutes. As overseas language promotion agency, the first Confucius Institute was established in 2004 in Korea. Since then, Chinese government has always attached great importance to enhance China's soft power, made a lot of investments and attention on the promotion and development of Confucius Institutes.

China stressed in the 2008 Diplomatic White Paper, "If there is no soft power, then it can't convince other countries, can't create a friendly international environment for China, therefore, China needs to improve its soft power". China has been trying to build Confucius Institutes abroad continuously, and to dispatch more Chinese teachers and volunteers. China's leadership goes all out in every respect for the development of Confucius Institutes. Former Chinese President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao and many other top leaders have participated in the opening ceremony of Confucius Institutes worldwide.

Many countries already put "through the promotion of language" included in the national

strategy for cultural diplomacy, which already became an important government behavior. Harvard professor Joseph Nye, who is the first one who proposed the concept of "soft power", he said, the main cause of "soft power" is the cultural aspect, including language influence. From this perspective, the reason why Confucius Institutes can be called the brightest brand which reflect China's soft power, not only because Confucius Institutes assume an important role in the promotion of Chinese language, but also because it plays an important role on the cultural diplomacy. Confucius Institutes have become the symbol of the "go out" policy of contemporary China.

The soft power role of Confucius Institutes has been greatly praised by Chinese government and international community. Meanwhile, they criticized negative impacts of Confucius Institutes stressed on improving China's soft power. "Japanese Economic News" pointed out, the purpose of the establishment of Confucius Institutes is to expand China's influence on international community, to resolve the alert and skeptical of the world, due to the substantial growth of China's economic and military power.

The Development of Confucius Institutes is a microcosm of China's rising comprehensive national strength. During the growth process, Confucius Institutes always encountered a variety of obstacles; therefore, the booming Confucius Institutes prone to attract troubles naturally. The significance of Confucius Institutes' existence is nothing more than to help international friends to learn Chinese language and strengthen cultural exchanges. But even so, some western countries still take suspicious attitude on Confucius Institutes. Singapore "Lianhe Zaobao" pointed out that "the promotion of Confucius Institutes will help the outside world understand China, to eliminate the world's misunderstanding of 'China's peaceful development'". Deputy Director of the Confucius Institutes Headquarters, Hu Zhiping has said, through the promotion of Chinese and traditional Chinese culture, it gradually change the misunderstanding of China, such as "China threat theory".

Increasingly close of China-Africa trade and personnel exchange needs are the reasons of the booming development of Confucius Institutes in Africa. More and more Africans want to learn Chinese and China, to seek development opportunities in the future. At the end of 2013, Chinese Hanban (headquarters) has established 440 Confucius Institutes and 646 Confucius Classrooms worldwide, which distributed in 120 countries (regions) and has 37 Confucius Institutes in the 27 African countries.

For the Confucius Institutes in Africa, from the beginning of the course design, it is necessary to reflect the differences. Not only to teach the local people to learn Chinese, but also to help them gain some practical skills through learning Chinese. Compared with the Confucius Institutes in Europe and America, Confucius Institutes in Africa, especially at the secondary Confucius Classroom, some vocational technical training courses should be implanted, so that students can learn practical skill s to make a living when they learn Chinese. They should learn some key language skills when they work in Chinese enterprises especially.

While there exists some challenges for the development of Confucius Institutes in Africa. Compared with European countries, African own uniqueness brings obstacles to the development of Confucius Institutes. A few Africa universities open Chinese language major, because of the general shortage of local teachers; due to their undeveloped economy, the teaching facilities of many Confucius Institutes in Africa are quite shabby, and the living conditions of Chinese teachers and volunteers are comparatively difficult. For these cases, the Headquarters of Confucius Institutes provides special care for the Confucius Institutes in Africa.

Although there are many arguments on the impact of Confucius Institutes on China's soft power, Confucius Institutes undoubtedly play very positive and affirmative role in order to improve China's soft power in Africa. Confucius Institutes reflect the enhancement of China's soft power, and the enhancement of China's soft power also makes Confucius Institutes get more spaces for development, these two are inseparable. Confucius

Institutes can not represent the whole soft power of China, but at least, they can be regarded as the most important part.

It is undeniable that education and culture are the basic meanings of soft power. It is the reason why we can't ignore the study of Confucius Institutes, when we study China's soft power. Therefore, the development of Confucius Institutes would not only mean the development of language, cultural and educational institutions. Furthermore, it means the enhancement of China's soft power, as well as a means to enhance China's comprehensive national power.

Appendix

Questionnaire

- 1) Why do you choose Chinese Language major?
- 2) How long time have you learnt Chinese Language in Confucius Institute?
- 3) How is your Chinese level after learning one semester Chinese?
- 4) How do you think about the teaching method and curriculum of Confucius Institute?
- 5) How do you think of China and Chinese culture?
- 6) Do you like Chinese traditional culture? Why?
- 7) Does Confucius Institute help you improve the image of China?
- 8) Do you have some recommendations about Confucius Institute?

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