

CHINA ^{AND THE} WORLD

– THEATRES OF SOFT POWER

中国与世界——软实力的竞技

Edited by Naren CHITTY and Qing LUO

主编：[澳] 奈仁·奇蒂 罗青

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Preface

HU Zhengrong, *Professor, Vice President of the Communication University of China, China*

Several years ago, in the belief that education is the most important heritage of humankind with the mission of steering media and communication, a professional aspiration of our Communication University of China (CUC), the visionary International League of Higher Education in Media and Communication, known as the MLeague, was founded here. Established through CUC's amicable ties with global peer institutions keen to share this common responsibility, MLeague has expanded to embrace twenty three countries across the globe and now involves sixty five universities. Based on MLeague's predominant resources, the Faculty of International Media, CUC, known as the ICUC was also founded. It is irrigating both global academia and industry creating a tide that hopefully will flow ever swiftly and strongly.

We are living in an era when communication and education in combination are influencing modern civilization in an increasingly profound way. Intertwined and mutually complementary, both are devoted to the transmission of culture and the creation of civilization with their influence reaching all levels of society. In an increasingly connected and integrated world, they are steadily assuming the duties of national and cultural identity construction and differential national competition. Now is a special moment, with convergence alongside segmentation, with globalization alongside localization, with challenges alongside opportunities, when media and education together both request and offer unprecedented opportunities for more intensive and productive international cooperation.

Few would dispute that the creation and dissemination of knowledge, the training of technical and academic staff and the offering of services to benefit the development of society are executed significantly by university institutions. It is no surprise that MLeague and ICUC has been founded in such circumstances, and initiated by my beloved CUC, the cradle of China's media talents and China's foremost media university with a distinguished reputation in, and an outstanding contribution to, the fields of culture and information communication. A major pragmatic CUC effort is the promotion of the internationalization of higher education on media and communication through MLeague and ICUC. Furthermore, it proposes international collaboration through the sharing of research and teaching resources and institutional influence by means of this strong combination worldwide. Already, in only four years, MLeague endeavours and accomplishments can be proclaimed and the names of brand projects announced such as the bi-annual MLeague International Symposium and the International Professor Workshop (IPW). National boundaries and East and the West are being bridged on an unprecedented scale.

The *ICUC International Series* is another fundamental academic achievement of

MLeague. It is one of the few book series published in the English language initiated by China, thus takes a significant lead in international media academia with its strong collaboration between Chinese and overseas scholars and with its pioneering interdisciplinary and forward looking research. With China poised to take a more dominant position in global economics and politics, a pressing need of contemporary academia on the one hand, requires domestic academia to consciously undertake the important responsibility of constructing and developing national culture and projecting national soft power, and on the other hand, there is a need for international peers to be aware of China's coming ascendancy: both needs to be achieved by means of academic exchange and cooperation. Therefore, the Series aims both to keep a foothold in China but to possess a global footstep, utilizing the rich resources of the MLeague and ICUC, thus bringing together a world wide global elite to discuss up-to-date research findings, to share exclusive ideas, to improve better understanding and to involve pluralistic voices in consideration of media and communication as an effective medium for promoting international progress. In short, the MLeague and ICUC roles are to carry on the "old" mission to educate but also to built a bridge in order to make possible a "new" connection for cutting-edge studies.

The *ICUC International Series* has been created on the firm foundation of CUC, MLeague and ICUC's impressively remarkable activities. It interacts fully and cooperates fully with distinguished professors and professionals invited through the IPWs, and has adopted an interdisciplinary ethos in order to engage with their advanced theoretical and empirical views in the form of edited books, reviews, translations and monographs. It is represented by a media and communication studies' advance guard involving a wide range of nationalities, while at the same time it has assembled valuable minds from the MLeague network knowledgeable about recent developments in the discipline and keen to disseminate this knowledge to the world. Furthermore, the MLeague and ICUC takes pains to select well-chosen studies to provide cognate and comparative as well as contextualized analyses covering integrative and cross-cultural themes in communication on China from a global perspective in the form of a newly launched high-standard academic journal.

In short, the MLeague and ICUC through its publications, is a united international conduit for the promising young researchers allowing them to seize opportunities to promote communication studies and communication practices in global academia and the media industry, while at the same time it offers established scholars the opportunity to build working networks and exchange peer reviewed knowledge on the widest front in media and communication areas.

The *ICUC International Series* is the substantive academic pioneer of a future, wide and deep cooperation between CUC, MLeague, ICUC and our international peers. By means of the effort and support of our committed partners, the Series, ICUC, and the MLeague, CUC will contribute to the construction of future exceptional and extraordinary education "skyscrapers". My thanks go to all the individuals and institutions involved in the Series project, who bring our efforts to the attention of a global audience, and who share in a notable international achievement. And a special acknowledgement is made to the members of the International Editorial Board. It is always a privilege and a pleasure to be associated with these eminent scholars and professionals.

Media influences the world, and education leads the media. International collaboration will light the way to progress.

总序

胡正荣 教授,博士生导师,中国传媒大学副校长

教育是人类最重要的传承,能够引领传媒,影响世界。本着这样的信心与抱负,几年前,中国传媒大学决定发起现在被大家熟知的“传媒高等教育国际联盟”,并依托联盟成立中国传媒大学国际传媒教育学院——ICUC。通过我校与各国同行友好积极的推进,联盟发展迅速,成绩斐然,自成立至今已经延伸至23个国家和地区,已有65所国际知名院校成为了她的盟校。她正以前所未有的国际合作影响着全球传媒学术和产业界,也希望其未来能够掀起传媒高等教育界发展与革新的浪潮。

在当今时代,传媒与教育均对人类社会的发展产生了不可估量的影响。传播文化,缔造文明,传媒对社会的影响力和高等教育对传媒的引导力相互交织、相辅相成,已经渗透到社会组织与社会制度的核心层面。同时,置身于不断加快连结与融合的世界,各国民族和文化认同及差异化竞争的责任也逐渐交予二者。可以说,这是一个关键的时刻,融合与细分同生,全球化与本土化共存,它为传媒与教育的发展带来了机遇和挑战,也号召更多深入的和实质性的国际合作。

越来越多的人认识到高等教育机构之于创造与传播知识,培养学术与技术人才,及为社会发展提供有益服务的重要性。中国传媒大学作为“中国广播电视及传媒人才摇篮”和“信息传播领域知名学府”,为国家的传媒事业以及经济社会发展作出了重要贡献。我校希望通过发起传媒高等教育国际联盟和国际传媒教育学院,来进一步促进传媒高等教育的国际化,并联合世界各国一流传媒高等院校,利用各自教学、科研与辐射能力,整合优势资源,构建合作平台。经过多方的支持和努力,联盟继续发展,成果丰硕,其开展的活动和项目,如一年两次的“传媒高等教育国际论坛”和“国际教授工作室”,已经成为了传媒高等教育界的知名品牌,跨越国界,联通中西,具有重要的国际影响。

这套由中方发起,英文出版的“中西传媒研究书系”是联盟的又一项重要学术成果。它是传媒高等教育领域第一套由中外双方学者深度合作完成的,体现当今全球传媒研究领域的国际学术前沿,并涵盖新闻传播、传媒艺术与技术、新媒体等诸多新兴交叉学科的品牌书系,是一套传媒特色鲜明的跨学科研究成果。当今中国希望在世界经

济、政治和文化领域取得更多的优势,国内外学术界针对这种现状产生了强烈的研究需求。一方面,中国的学术机构需要自觉地承担起建设和发展本国特色文化和国家软实力的重要责任;另一方面,他国也需要通过学术交流和合作更加自如地面对和应对中国的崛起。因此,本书系充分调动传媒高等教育国际联盟和国际传媒教育学院的资源,以英文编写,立足中国,汇聚国际视野,探索传媒领域融合的、新兴的前沿和课题,传播与分享独特的观点和思想。作为一个有影响力的媒介,本书系囊括多元化的声音,增进了不同文化间的深度了解。它构建了一座桥梁,肩负起教育的“旧责任”,但开启了传媒研究的“新天地”。

本书系围绕传媒研究及其与各学科的交叉前沿课题展开,系统化且升华了联盟开展的各项国际品牌项目,提供了丰富的论文、评论、译著及专著等书刊的出版:它以“国际教授工作室”作为平台和纽带,通过中西方专家和教授的深度交流与合作,推进传媒产业、学术和研究结合以及学科融合,多样化联合编辑和联络出版论文、评论、译著及专著等,囊括世界各国各地的最前沿最权威的传媒理论和实践观点及研究;它集结年度联盟国际学术委员会教授及专家智囊团,深度调研国际知名传媒高等教育机构,评估分析世界传媒高等教育和学科发展趋势;它系统收录年度联盟高等教育国际论坛会议论文和联盟内外高质量论文,并精选相关研究组刊,聚焦世界观点于中国传媒,囊括丰富的同源或比较研究及语境化课题,形成独树一帜的跨学科及跨文化的中国媒介与传播研究。“中西传媒研究书系”作为一个国际出版平台,为青年学者和研究员提供机会以贡献于传媒学术和产业的发展,也为资深专家和学者织构了一个专业的交流与合作的网络。

“中西传媒研究书系”是中国传媒大学与世界知名学府发展更广更深交流和合作的先导。感谢我们的盟校和合作伙伴的帮助和支持,本书系、联盟以及中国传媒大学会继续努力为传媒和教育做出突出贡献。感谢所有参与本书系的个人和机构,没有他们的支持,本书系不会取得如此出色的学术成就。另外,特别感谢本书系的国际编委。能够和这些杰出的同行一起工作,深感荣幸。

传媒影响世界,教育引领传媒。未来的合作将点亮新的进步之路。

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FOREWORD

引言

China's public diplomacy has attracted much attention because of the emphasis the Chinese government has placed on it and the amount of funding China has provided for it. Many discussions about this phenomenon are based on speculation and anecdote. If other nations' responses are to be sound, thorough and diverse analysis of China's activity is needed. This volume provides that kind of analysis, examining, from varied perspectives, Chinese efforts to wield soft power.

During the post-Mao era, China has struggled to define itself in terms of how it is to be perceived by the rest of the world. Is it a more gently assertive member of the community of nations, as symbolized by its Confucius Institutes and pandas? Or symbolized by other? The answer is found in a combination of these and other elements.

This matters because as China has become an ever more significant global player, it has employed soft power as an integral tool in reaching its foreign policy goals. In Africa, for instance, to which China has turned as a supplier of essential natural resources, Chinese largesse is visible in roads, sports stadiums, and even the new headquarters of the African Union, all funded by China. In its relatively new incarnation as a superpower, China should not be surprised to find its motives being questioned. Do its African efforts reflect just generosity toward developing countries, or something more? If the latter, what ethical issues should be considered by those throughout the world deciding for themselves how to deal with China?

Similarly, China's *bona fides* have been questioned on environmental issues. China has cited its ambitious plans for economic growth as the reason for its reluctance to adopt a progressive response to the perils posed by climate change. This has led to Chinese environmental policies being challenged in the news media and other public forums around the world. This response illustrates that merely claiming to embrace a soft power approach does not guarantee success in winning friends abroad.

Chinese policy makers have come to realize (as Confucius did long ago) that influence resides in culture. Foreign audiences have been found to respect Chinese tradition and arts and to somewhat shape their views of modern China accordingly. But given China's obvious ambitions, some people see cultural manifestations of soft power, such as the Confucius Institutes, as more insidious than altruistic. Similarly, some might question the long-term effects of the huge numbers of Chinese students attending universities abroad. Are these young people becoming more globalized in their outlook? Will they serve as a bridge between China and the rest of the world? To what extent is their "Chineseness" affected during their over-

seas stays?

Another facet of Chinese cultural diplomacy can be found in its mass media enterprises. The Chinese film industry has, to some extent, tried to emulate American and other Western cinema production in its efforts to cultivate strong domestic and international audiences with the same product. This is an interesting test for China because it requires a willingness to adapt content to match the interest of global moviegoers, which some in China may consider to be “selling out” their cultural principles.

Throughout this book, Chinese soft power policies are contrasted with those of other states: the United States, Australia, India, Japan, and others. It also examines topics ranging from terrorism to gender-oriented communication governance. The authors’ thoughtful analyses will prove of great value to scholars, policy makers, and anyone else interested in how China’s worldview and global role are developing.

The chapters’ general topics and specific cases illustrate the breadth of China’s approach to using soft power to advance its national interests. This is a strategy of great importance to the rest of the world, and the insights provided in this volume make far more comprehensible the tactics being employed by China to achieve its ends.

Philip Seib
University of Southern California
June 2013

Introduction

导言

Naren Chitty

Soft power is a powerful term coined by Joseph Nye.^[1] It has captured the imagination of governments and scholars. It offers some a way of reformulating political communication. The amalgamation of soft and power has irked some others. One meets criticism of the term from time to time with calls for its replacement with something other. Suggestions that have been made include charisma,^[2] hegemony^[3] and propaganda and persuasion^[4]. All of these have some relevance, greater or lesser to soft power. So does Foucault's notion of discursive power that is omnipresent and omnigenous.^[5] Machiavelli seems also to have anticipated soft power.

Machiavelli asked if a ruler should want to be loved or feared. He answered his own question by saying that a ruler should wish to be both loved and feared. But a single individual would find it challenging to inspire both love and fear in the same populace. If a choice had to be made between "good cop" and "bad cop", Machiavelli said it was safer to be feared than loved.^[6] Fear and love are after all responses to personal hard and soft power, or coercive and attractive power respectively. Though arguably, the Stockholm Effect is a case of hard power eliciting a soft power response.^[7] The original impetus in this case is coercive power. Kings may enslave populations and their descendants may grow up in a discourse of love and loyalty for the royal family. At some point hard power recedes to the background as military pomp and pageantry and love of the monarch steps to the foreground. Weber used the term charisma as one of the sources of authority that is based on personal qualities.^[8] But this charisma may in practical terms be generated by a number of attributes such as wealth (Bill Gates), beauty (Audrey Hepburn), goodness (Mother Teresa), military (General Moshé Dayan) and royalty. The terms cultural hegemony^[9] and cultural imperialism^[10] are also sometimes suggested as alternatives to soft power.

To my mind, soft power, while it has links to these ideas, has a distinctive character of its own—if one reduces it to its fundamental idea of the power of attractiveness or allure. Attractiveness can be presented by design (meaning both strategy and aesthetic composition) or may exist in the mind of the attracted individual sans design on the part of that which is attractive. There is a difference between active seduction and attractiveness, between persuasion and appeal, the former categories being volitional. To make an appeal is to engage in a form of persuasion, but to have appeal is to possess a quality of attraction. An appeal one makes may or may not have appeal to a member of the audience. The quality of appeal within an appeal (as a piece of rhetoric) would depend on the crafting of rhetoric and/or the recognition of value by the member of the audience. Machiavelli saw the love or

fear of the populace as something a parvenu prince had to earn through virtue—meaning here political prowess—which would include the crafting of rhetoric. Machiavelli seems to invest the term virtue with the notion of possession of political skills that draw on physical and mental strength in a utilitarian way. One could say that virtue is the exercise of hard and soft power—or smart power, to use Nye's term.^[11]

But intent is important here and that is why Habermas is useful in the configuration of soft power. We can distinguish between teleological and non-teleological attraction.^[12] Non-purposeful physical attraction between sexes may have a Darwinian biological intent. The social construction of beauty may be an extension to society of the Darwinian intent. Despite this a person may have no intention of using beauty in a particular social interaction. In the case of human beauty, attractiveness may be used for purposes of seduction, but an individual may be attracted without there being an intent to attract him or her. What attracts an individual to something is the value that he or she sees in it. Here again value has many dimensions ranging from utility to aesthetics

However it is perhaps important to differentiate between the power in soft power and the power in hard power. Hard power is exercised instrumentally by states, institutions, groups or individuals. Soft power as discussed above can be exercised by human agents but can also be generated in human behaviour and culture without there being an immediate intention to generate soft power. An example of this may be found in the case of the Chinese girl that I encountered in Kenya in July 2012. I had been attending a conference on "Sino-African Communication in a Global Setting" in Nairobi. A group of my Chinese colleagues and I went to the Junction Mall for dinner. The girl was asked in Chinese what she was doing in Kenya. She said she was an undergraduate student from Wuhan University who had elected to spend her summer working in a slum in Nairobi. Now, it is possible that Chinese institutions mobilise people-based soft power programs in a strategic manner to generate soft power. But it is entirely possible that the girl was acting out of her own interest in community engagement without a thought about generating soft power. If she was attracted to Kenya, Kenya's soft power beckoned her—but without intention. Her community service in Kenya would generate soft power for the Chinese people—but may not have been intentional. So there is this soft power generated non-intentionally that is very interesting to observe.

Soft power's reference to the power of attraction is, in my view, a reason for the retention of the term. Additionally the term has a soft power of its own and rather than seeking to replace a term that has become so popular across the world, one could stay with it, expand on it and critique it where necessary.

There is also the intra-state soft power dimension of governance, where a soft power approach will engender a participatory democratic political culture. In a sense soft power relations at an international level may be conceived of as belonging to "organization" at a global level and also be analysed in terms of governance. This is another way of approaching the anarchy problematique. We could look at the "political culture" of world politics, to evaluate to what extent and in what way today, in various domains of international and transnational interaction, there is participation or participatory democracy.

In this volume—one with sections dealing with theoretical perspectives, Chinese international communication, educational soft power and public diplomacy, cultural industries and regional perspectives—we encounter additions to the growing literature on soft power. We begin in the section on theoretical perspectives with a significant research study entitled

“China’s soft power in the U. S. ” in which Guan Shijie and Wang Liya examine data from over a thousand questionnaires in which respondents from the United States demonstrated their awareness of Chinese culture. Their findings are in keeping with a growing belief among members of the public diplomacy scholarly community that soft public diplomacy, particularly in the form of people-to-people interactions and cultural and educational diplomacy, is a valuable “force” to foster positive national images overseas. Included under soft public diplomacy is health diplomacy, a subject dealt with in Naren Chitty and Dong Leshuo’s paper on “Soft power of international communication—China in Africa”. They also discuss symbolic interactionist underpinnings to the concept of soft power that could bridge between its birthplace of international relations theory and adopted domicile of international communication theory. In “Networks and power in gender-oriented communication governance” Claudia Padovani and Elena Pavan develop an analytical framework to investigate power dynamics in contemporary governance related to women and media. Power having contradictory impulses such as dominance and democracy, they undertake a multidimensional analysis of power through an exploration of power relations across networks of social and semantic interactions.

In the section on Chinese international communication, Li Ji uses inductive framing analysis to assess the compatibility of China’s soft power strategy in the Australian discourse on climate change. The empirical findings demonstrate the proposition that China’s soft power strategy is somewhat at odds with the Australian media discourse in the climate change context. In “Exercising soft power” Leah Xiu-Fang Li examines China’s self-portrayed and perceived images in the early twenty-first century, describing the difference between China’s image as seen by its image builders and its image as presented by Australian media. Song Qi reports on Confucius Institutes (CI) in Australia and New Zealand, examining whether the CI approach might be characterized as propaganda or soft power. Naren Chitty and Li Ji report on action research in the “Engaging Chinese media project”, where Chinese media personnel from Beijing were tested for mental frames about Australia before and after a short educational visit to Sydney. The visit was hosted by Macquarie University and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Universities and media have been recognized as non-government agencies that can be very effective in public diplomacy. Indeed the term educational diplomacy has been used in this connection.

Educational diplomacy could be a purposeful activity of government or may be a cooperative response by universities to policy-generated opportunities. There are, however, countervailing forces to the generation of soft power through educational diplomacy. In the section on educational soft power and public Jiang Ying investigates digitalized Chinese nationalism that seems to offset Australian soft power. Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen looks at selected American missionary universities in the Middle East and China in order to examine the effects of state and non-state tolerance of these institutions, and what they signify in international relations. Parama Sinhapalit compares Indian and Chinese Strategies in South and Southeast Asia noting that the Indian state seems to play a muted role in this respect, in comparison with the robust efforts of the Chinese state. In a second chapter on comparative educational soft power Ryan Allen discusses the relative soft power in education of the U. S. and China.

In the section on cultural industries, Wendy Su analyses policy development in the first decade of the 21st century in relation to China’s cultural industries. The formation of the Chinese film industry is employed as a case study of the fostering of cultural industries to

grow China's soft power. The interdisciplinary study seeks to understand the role of soft power in possible power shifts from Washington to Beijing. Yuji Gushiken, Tatiane Hirato, Quise Goç Alves Brito and Tais Marie Ueta look at Japanese pop culture through Animé (animated cartoons) and Manga (comic books) . They examine the contribution of these cultural industries to cool soft power.

The final section is devoted to regional perspectives. Jordi Xifra examines the building of relationships with foreign publics by Catalonia, a nation without a state—through what he calls public paradiplomacy. Gina Hammond and Andrew Simpson focus on the experiences of the National Museum of Australia in the integration of First Nation (Aboriginal) voices in the interpretation of national identity. They describe a barometer of the incorporation of soft power principles in postcolonial museum work. Prithi Nambiar explores the relationship between the concepts of soft power and sustainability in the context of their discursive construction by the English speaking community in India.

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Notes

- [1] Nye, *The Future of Power*.
- [2] Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*.
- [3] Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*.
- [4] Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*.
- [5] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*.
- [6] Machiavelli, *The Prince and Other Political Writings*.
- [7] de Fabrique et al. , "Understanding Stockholm Syndrome. "
- [8] Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*.
- [9] Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*.
- [10] Saïd, *Culture and Imperialism*.
- [11] Nye, *The Future of Power*.
- [12] Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*.

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