Not Confucius, nor Kung Fu:
Economy and Business as Chinese Soft Power in Africa[1]

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The Chinese presence in Africa is a fact that cannot be ignored by anybody interested in China, Africa or in international affairs in general. Various explanations are given for the source of China's success on the continent. Pang (2009) emphasises Chinese foreign policy: its engagement in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Chinese doctrine of international relations – the so-called Beijing consensus as the main reason why many African governments have decided to tighten their relations with China.

Some others, like Bräutigam (2010), Rotberg (2008), and so on, emphasize economic factors: Chinese economic aid, engagement in infrastructure development and its ability to start and conduct business in a difficult African business environment.

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Finally, Versi (2007) argues that the perception of China and the Chinese, is different and better than that of the West and the Westerners (or, at least, at the beginning of the Chinese expansion period). Although some Western countries, due to their colonial presence in Africa, possess much more experience related to the region, they are definitely perceived by Africans from the perspective of colonial history[2]. In contrast, China might be perceived as a country that also suffered during the colonial period and now (due to its contemporary economic success) might be seen as a kind of 'elder brother' whose path should be followed by Africa. This image of China, as an alternative to the Western powers both in terms of actions and expectations, is emphasized by the Chinese authorities as well as promoted by African leaders (Breslin, 2009, p. 831).

Many of the issues mentioned above seem to fit into the popular discourse concerning Chinese soft power success. This term, introduced by Joseph Nye, refers to a particular nation's ability to attract or seduce other countries rather than to force them to do something (Nye 1991, pp. 31-32).

Nye, while talking about sources of soft power, refers mostly to a particular country's culture, political values and foreign policy (Nye, 2004, location 299). We feel that this concept, although important and influential, could create a serious bias if it is treated as universally true over different cultures, eras and circumstances. This is due to the above-mentioned limited characterization of soft power sources as well as a lack of precise definition. Recently some scholars, especially those focused on Chinese soft power development (see for example Kurlanzig 2008 and Li 2008) have underlined the limitations of Nye's approach in its classical form - particularly in the case of the Chinese expansion in Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia.

The main aim of this article is to discuss the limitations of Nye's definition of soft power. We would like to emphasize other sources of soft power not mentioned by Nye, namely business, economy and development. We have to re-

member here that although Nye took note of these factors, he classified them under the category of economic power (2004,) therefore omitting the fact that the image of the Chinese as potential investors may also attract people. We would argue that in this context, the business and development-related tools of soft power are very important, especially in the case of poor, underdeveloped countries. They are probably even more important than freedom and democracy, which Nye characterized as some of the most important American soft power tools. Lum et al (2008) applied this kind of expanded interpretation to the economic constituents of Chinese soft power in South-East Asia. Chinese scholars also tend to supplement Nye's traditional soft power tools with the story of China's economic success and its image as a global economic power (Li, 2008). Breslin (2009, p. 287) also pointed out that in the South Asian context, the Chinese economic system is a source of Chinese soft power. Along with its economical success, China's development model is also indicated as an important source of the Chinese soft power, not only in developing countries, but also in the US (Li and Worm, 2010).

We applied this thesis to information derived from the content analysis of articles published in the online editions of Zambian and Angolan newspapers and Internet information portals, supplemented by comments from Zambian and Angolan internet forum users. In this study we used the above-mentioned sources as indicators of China's spheres of attractiveness. We attempted to check whether such factors as Chinese culture, language, Confucius Institutes, martial arts and other perceived sources of Chinese soft power that are promoted by the Chinese government, are present and how popular they are in the Zambian and Angolan media discourse and among the Internet forum users.

We are aware that the content published in media and produced by netizens can't be treated as a direct determinant of sources of Chinese soft power in Africa. We also understand that what attracts public opinion does not necessarily

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have the same effect on the African political elites. However, we still believe that it could provide a good indicator of the Chinese soft power sources present in Africa, especially while taking into account the fact that among the analysed newspapers there are both government-owned and independent titles. Media content analysis would allow us to trace the effectiveness of the three channels of soft power listed by Li and Worm: "formal diplomacy targeting the political elites, economic and public diplomacy targeting interest groups and public diplomacy targeting the general public of another country" (2010, p. 74)

Fook (2010) mentions the Chinese authorities' awareness of the importance of media image and its relation to soft power, but focuses only on the framing of culture as "particularly relevant here since the discussion is focused on China's media initiatives and how China is perceived by others" (p. 549). While such an attitude seems reasonable and follows Nye's definitions, in the case of Africa it is not well grounded, as will be shown in the latter part of this paper. We assume that soft power is also about the real outcome, not only intended results, of country promotion policies. Wang (2003) has shown that the efforts of the Chinese Publicity Department have not always succeeded in creating its intended image. It is therefore worth taking a closer look at media content to establish the level of coverage of particular social, political and economic areas, not only to examine the applicability of Nye's Western theories in a different cultural context, but also to trace the possible direction of future Chinese activities in Africa, because "once the Chinese government decides to build a certain type of image, that image can have a constraining effect on China's policy choices" (Wang, 2003, pp. 70-71)

We decided to choose Zambia and Angola for both their similarities and differences. Both Zambia and Angola are located in sub-Saharan Africa, possess a significant amount of natural resources (Zambia has copper, while Angola has oil) and in both a significant level of Chinese activities have been observed

(Taylor, 2006). On the other hand, these countries differ significantly. Zambia is one of a few African countries that haven't suffered any domestic war after gaining independence in 1964. Although to a large extent its wealth was built on the basis of rich copper resources, it has also managed to develop a significant level of industry for an African country. The country's infrastructure might not be highly developed but at least it was not destroyed (see, for example, Taylor 2006). The case of Angola is different: it suffered a long civil war. The country's pre-independence infrastructure was almost completely destroyed and after the war its economy was in a very bad condition and needed foreign support (Oyebade 2007). We believe that such differences may significantly influence the perception of China and the Chinese in these countries.

Methodology.

We decided to apply content analysis techniques to determine the image of China and the Chinese as presented in the Zambian and Angolan media and by the netizens commenting on the media content. In order for our analysis to yield the best possible results, we followed Weber's (1990) approach to content analysis, combining both quantitative and qualitative analysis, performed in sequential steps.

To obtain a wide range of material for analysis, we decided to base it on articles published in electronic versions of Zambian and Angolan newspapers and Internet information portals, instead of analysing the paper editions of particular newspapers. This choice was also dictated by the relatively ease of access to the entire content published between 2000 and 2010.

 The following titles were chosen as sources:

I. Zambian newspapers and portals

1.   The Zambia Times

2.   The Post Online

3.   Lusaka Times

4.   Zambian Watchdog

5.   Daily mail

II. Angolan newspapers and portals:

1.   Jornal de Angola

2.   Angonoticias

This choice resulted from a combination of various factors. Among the most important were the following: access to full archives, the potential for obtaining data, and the character of the newspaper. By this we mean its relationship with state: whether it is government-dependent or whether it maintains an independent or oppositional stance. In our case, Zambia Times, Daily Mail and Journal de Angola are official government newspapers and portals while Lusaka Times, The Post Online, Zambian Watchdog and Angonoticias are oppositional and/or independent or semi-independent. We assumed that such diversification would significantly increase the overall representativeness of the analysed data.

Using various search engines we managed to create a database of 1760 articles: 834 from Zambia (respectively, 16 articles from The Zambia Times, 171 from Daily Mail, 245 from Lusaka Times and 83 from Zambian Watchdog) and 926 from Angola (respectively, 472 from Journal de Angola and 454 from Angonoticias).

In the case of user comments we decided to use the same sources. However, the websites of the official government-owned Zambian newspapers, such as *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily,* do not allow the posting of comments. Therefore, we decided to choose two Internet portals instead – *Zambian Watchdog* and

Lusaka Times. They both are run by independent editors and claim to be objective sources of information concerning Zambia and its internal politics.

Lusaka Times publishes articles from *Zambia Daily, Times of Zambia*, ZNBC (Zambia News and Information Services) and ZANIS (Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation). *Therefore, we assumed (as a working hypothesis) that the netizens interested in discussing the news published on this portal might be influenced by government-directed content and therefore might tend to be pro-Chinese. The other source, Zambian Watchdog, is a website that openly declares its opposition to the government, and we assumed that its users are likely to be more anti-Chinese and that they perhaps discuss political issues more actively.*

We collected 7218 statements, of which 3960 were posted on *Lusaka Times and refer to 245 news articles concerning China and/or the Chinese, and 3258 were posted on Zambian Watchdog and refer to 83 such articles.*

The use of online content as a source of material for analysis was dictated by the following factors: 1) most of the texts appeared also in paper editions of the particular newspapers, 2) Internet coverage in both Zambia and Angola is relatively high by African standards[3] 3) we assumed that the Internet users occupy a higher economic level and probably have the highest level of education among Zambian citizens. They would therefore be the social group with the highest influence on state policies[4].

General analytical procedure

The categorization procedure and analysis are, to some extent, similar to these used in grounded theory (see for example Strauss, 2003), and are supported by advanced quantitative analysis methods.

Categorization and dictionary:

The three-stage process of creating the categorization model and dictionary was

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definitely the most important and time-consuming part of the research. The preliminary frame version of the categorization model consisted of basic notions related to specific areas - social, political, economical and so forth, connected with the context in which the image of China and the Chinese would be analysed. These included crime, economy, corruption and natural resources.

In the next step we assigned certain keywords to each category. These keywords were directly and interchangeably related to particular categories and were chosen on the basis of a preliminary analysis of Sino-African relationships. An important step was the creation of the category 'China', consisting of keywords related to China and the Chinese.

After generating the frame categorization model with its basic keywords, we used software to analyse the frequency with which the words appeared in the analysed data set. In this step every word with a frequency higher than 10 was either assigned to an existing or a newly created category. In cases where we decided that it wasn't relevant to any area of interest, we placed it on the exclusion list – a pre-defined list of conjunctions, articles and so on that was provided by the software. This procedure was later repeated for phrases containing two to five words, and by reviewing synonyms of the already assigned keywords suggested by the software and assigning them to particular categories.

In the next step examined the already assigned keywords in the context of the analysed statements, After this step most of the categories were recoded; this process was repeated several times until we obtained a dictionary consisting of keywords grouped into 125 different categories. The inter-subjectivity of categorization, proposed by Holsti (1996) was secured through a discussion between the researchers on newly formed categories and a subsequent review of the dictionary.

The process of categorization was then started again, this time supplemented by

cluster analysis. The application of this tool allowed us to re-categorize some of the groups and merge them into wider sets. Finally, we obtained four general categories (sub-dictionaries) related to the following aspects: words related to emotional attitudes (positive or negative), geographical references, social references (such as categories with reference to family, tribe and nation), and sets of various activities (such as economy, sport, culture, and so on.) In this paper we are focusing mostly on the last of these categories. As we already mentioned, the main goal of this study is to verify to which extent the areas traditionally referred to as sources of soft power (such as culture, political values and foreign policy) are present in Zambian and Angolan media discourse. In this way we treat media content as an indicator pointing to potential sources of soft power. In this paper we focus on the connections between references to China and various types of keywords associated with particular types of activities, derived during the categorization process. We particularly looked at categories usually associated with soft power – such as references to culture, foreign policy, political values, democracy and so on. We also took into account categories occurring most frequently in the analysed material, such as economy, infrastructure, energy, investment and education/science.

However, we must emphasize that none of these categories was chosen before the analysis started. The conclusions of this paper are the result of categorization obtained through our analytical methodology – the categorization was not the result of any kind of hypothesis concerning soft power. All the conceptual and analytical categories were designed from the bottom up, through direct interaction with the newspaper articles and reader comments. We did however group certain keywords, trying to find common labels for them. For example, the category of culture covers (except for the term culture *per se*) all the areas connected with the arts. The category of economy mostly consists of purely economical, abstract terms, while industry/investment covers mostly keywords strictly related to this area, such as investment, manufacture, etc. It is easy to observe that

some of these categories relate to each other. The decision about whether we should create a unique category or assign certain keywords to an existing category was influenced by 3 factors:

- The frequency of a particular term

- A preliminary cluster analysis

- Our research interest.

Furthermore, we wanted to check if any differences related to the source of analysed content exist: whether it came from an article or a reader comment, as well as the country from which it came.

The analytical process was conducted in two steps. The first was based on a simple frequency analysis, in relation to various factors, while in the second we applied a more sophisticated method of content analysis, namely the co-occurrence of particular categories with the 'China references' category.
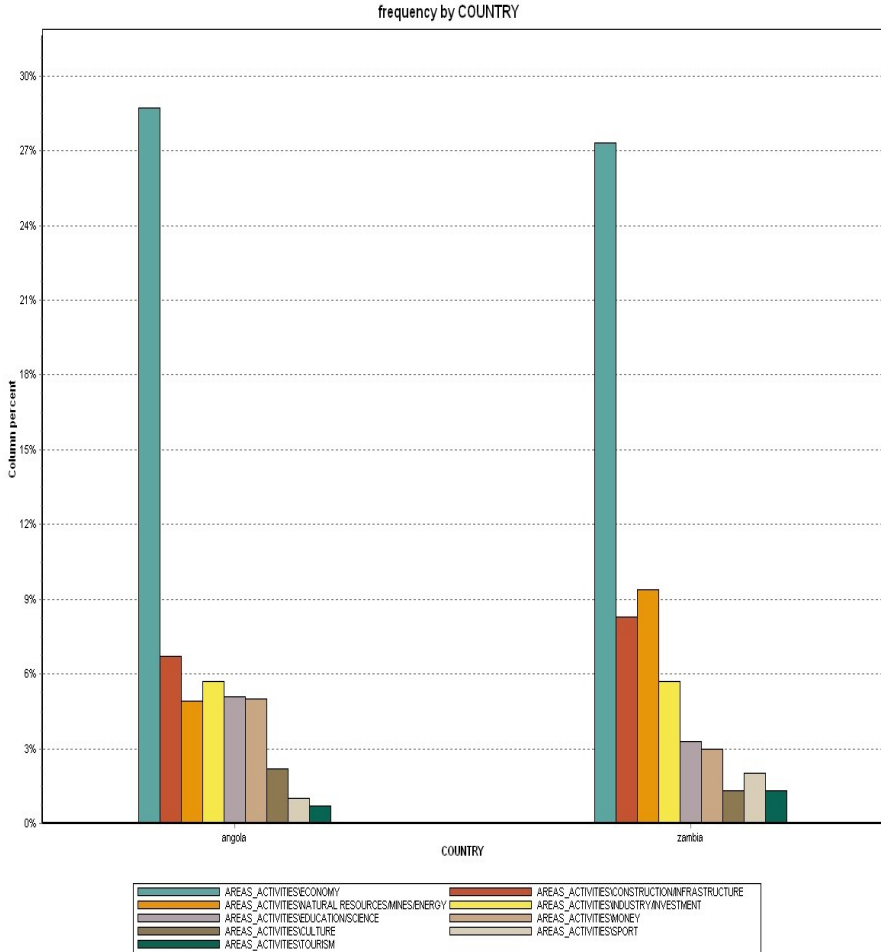
Descriptive analysis of frequencies

The first part of the research consisted of a quantitative analysis of the occurrence of keywords. We presumed that the frequency with which keywords occurred would serve as a basic indicator of the importance of particular factors in the totality of the texts we analysed.
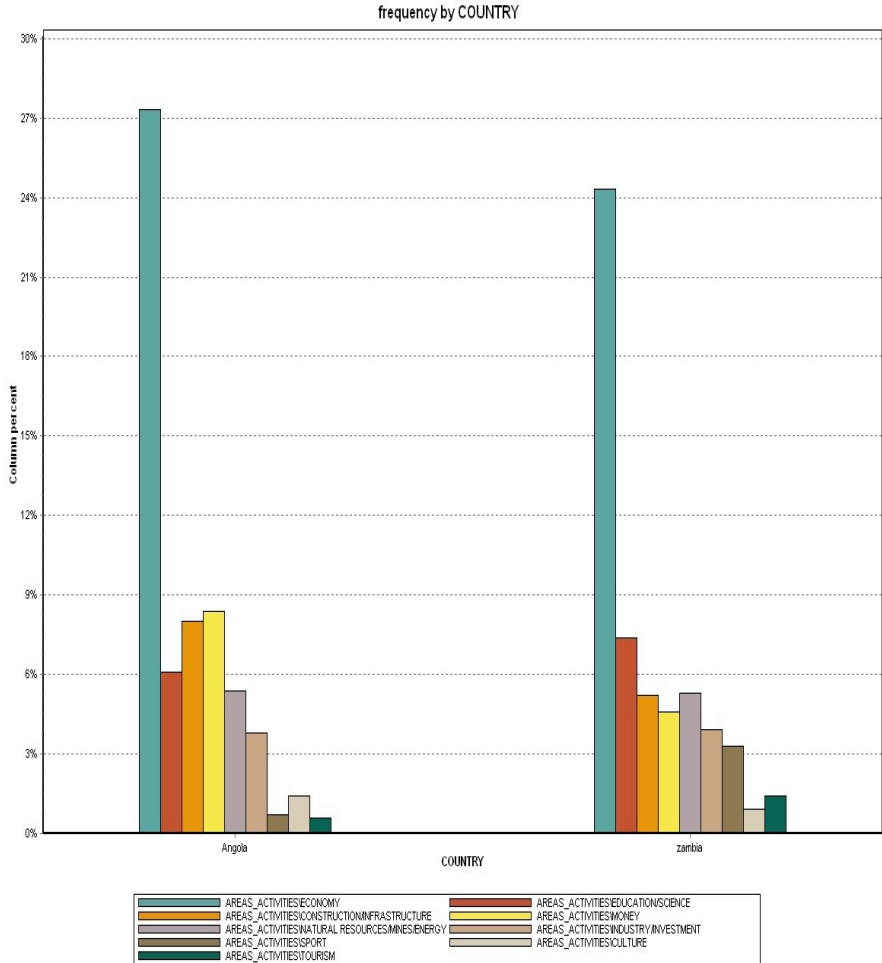
In the latter part of this paper we will refer to two types of analysed texts: the original media content published in electronic versions of newspapers and on internet portals and the netizens' comments. To ease the reading process, the first group is referred to as *content*, while the second is labelled *comments*.

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	FREQUENCY	NO. CASES	% CASES
CHINA_REFERENCE SIMPLE	9696	1306	100,00%
ECONOMY	15512	1169	89,50%
CONSTRUCTION/INFRASTRUCTURE	4251	682	52,20%
NATURAL RESOURCES/MINES/ENERGY	4171	634	48,50%
INDUSTRY/INVESTMENT	3155	690	52,80%
EDUCATION/SCIENCE	2269	556	42,60%
MONEY	2162	585	44,80%
MEDIA	1701	760	58,20%
HEALTHCARE	1622	277	21,20%
POLICY	1495	486	37,20%
FOOD	1318	423	32,40%
	1218	458	35,10%
CULTURE	934	221	16,90%
SPORT	857	189	14,50%
DEMOCRACY/REPUBLICAN	771	217	16,60%
LAW/JUSTICE	676	239	18,30%
AGRICULTURE	655	291	22,30%
TOURISM	594	260	19,90%
ENVIRONMENT	580	245	18,80%
EMBASSY/DIPLOMACY	555	224	17,20%
RELIGION	493	132	10,10%
TEXTILE	171	92	7,00%
DRUGS	142	33	2,50%
NUCELAR	127	41	3,10%
WEAPONS	110	45	3,40%
IDEOLOGY	108	53	4,10%
HUMAN_RIGHTS	105	41	3,10%
INTERNET	70	50	3,80%
TELECOM	61	42	3,20%

Table 1. Frequencies of particular categories in content

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Graph1. Articles content - choice of categories with regards to the country

Graph 2 Comments - choice of categories with regards to the country

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In the table above we see that the predominant categories occurring in the analysed material related to infrastructure, energy, investment and money. All these categories are directly connected to the economy, business and development (52.50 per cent of coded keywords). These would not traditionally be treated as sources of soft power. Moreover, the frequency with which categories traditionally associated with soft power occur is very low. Actually only the categories related to culture, tourism and sport are sometimes mentioned (each of them makes up less than 2 per cent of all the coded keywords). Direct references to political values and foreign policy (such categories as diplomacy, democracy, ideology, human rights) were also rarely mentioned[5]. The only frequently occurring category not directly related to business and the economy was a merged science and education category (4.1 per cent of coded keywords). This is not traditionally considered the most important source of soft power but in terms of China's portrayal in Africa it occupies a high position.

The above description of the data visualized by Table 1, although referring only to the content of media articles, could be generally applied to both Angola and Zambia as well as to both types of content, regardless of whether they are articles or netizens' opinions.

Both graphs show that a large share of the coded keywords belongs to a limited number of categories. We chose the most frequent ones (connected with economy and business), as well as those traditionally associated with soft power sources, as well as the category of science and education we mentioned before. In all the cases (regardless of country and content type) we observed the extremely dominant position of the economy, business and development-related categories. Issues connected with culture, sports or tourism received quite minor attention. The Education/Science category was usually located in the middle.

However, we observed some minor differences according to the country and the type of text:

In the Angolan newspaper content, categories related to culture, science and

Graph 3. Changes of frequency of culture and economy categories in content

frequency by DATE
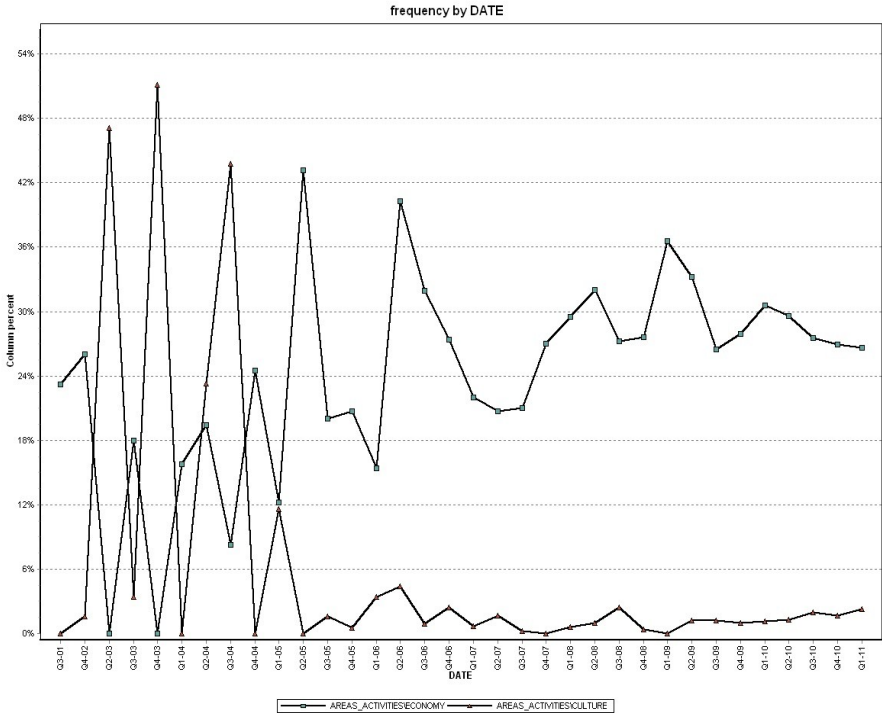
education seem to be slightly more important than in Zambia, where the most important ones (after economy, which had the highest frequency in both countries), were energy and infrastructure[6]. General references to culture are more frequent in Angolan content, while sport and tourism dominate in Zambia.

Graph 4 Changes of frequency of culture and economy categories in comments
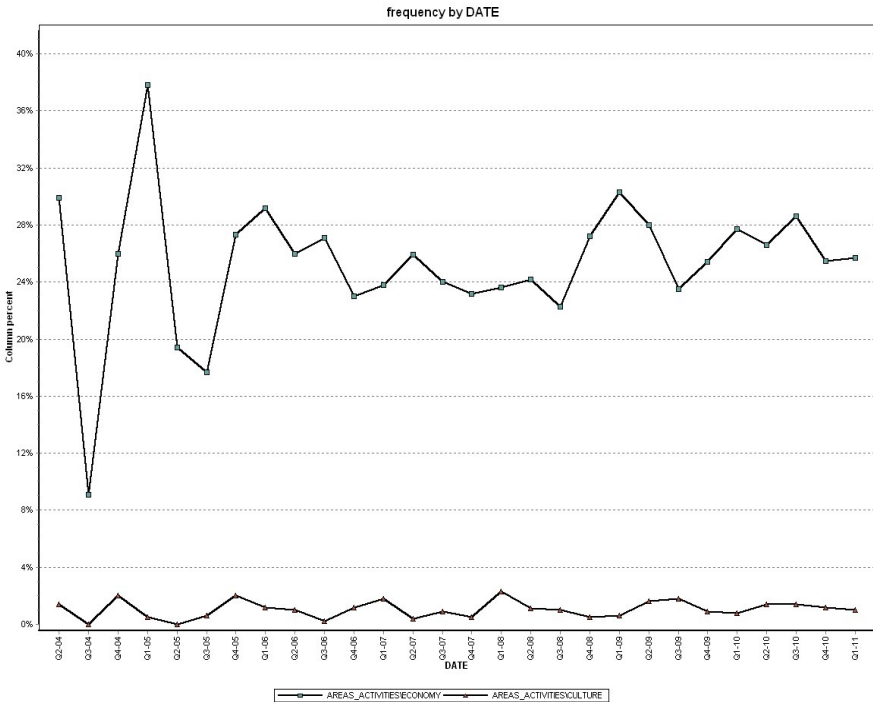
Education and science occupy a higher position in the case of comments, and therefore seem to be deemed as more important by the commenters compared to the frequency of these categories in content. The Zambian comments mention sport much more frequently[7] but culture appeared in a very limited number of references.

The next part of the frequency analysis was intended to answer the question concerning the dynamics of the occurrence of certain categories. Graph 3 and 4 show changes of share occupied by two particular categories (economy and cul-

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ture) over time, respectively for articles and comments. In case of culture refer-
ences there appears to be no dynamics at all – the irregularity between the 3rd
quarter of 2001 and the 2nd quarter of 2006 is presumably the result of a gener-
ally lower number of China-related articles published during these periods. Ac-
tually, it also seems that the number of culture-related references in the articles
decreased after 2007 and have only recently started to increase slowly. Yet the
frequency of these keywords compared to those related to the economy remains
very limited.

On this basis we assume that there is no evidence that the overwhelming atten-
tion paid to economic coverage is likely to change in the short term. For now,
we cannot provide any well-grounded explanation for this trend. However possi-
ble explanations might be that Africans might be still too poor to be interested in
foreign cultural issues.

Co-occurrence analysis.

As we already mentioned, the very frequency with which particular keywords
occur cannot be treated as a perfect indicator of the prominence of China-related
areas of reference. For example, in some texts China might be mentioned in a
completely different context, not really associated with groups of keywords oc-
curring in this text. Therefore we decided to employ a co-occurrence analysis of
China-related references with categories linked to the areas we are interested in.
There exist various algorithms used to detect and trace similarities in a given
dataset. In our case we decided to apply Jaccard's coefficient, as it was proven
that analysis based on this coefficient results in datasets of the highest level of
coherence (Huang, 2008). It is based on the hierarchical modelling of correla-
tions and starting from single clusters of data (in our case: particular categories
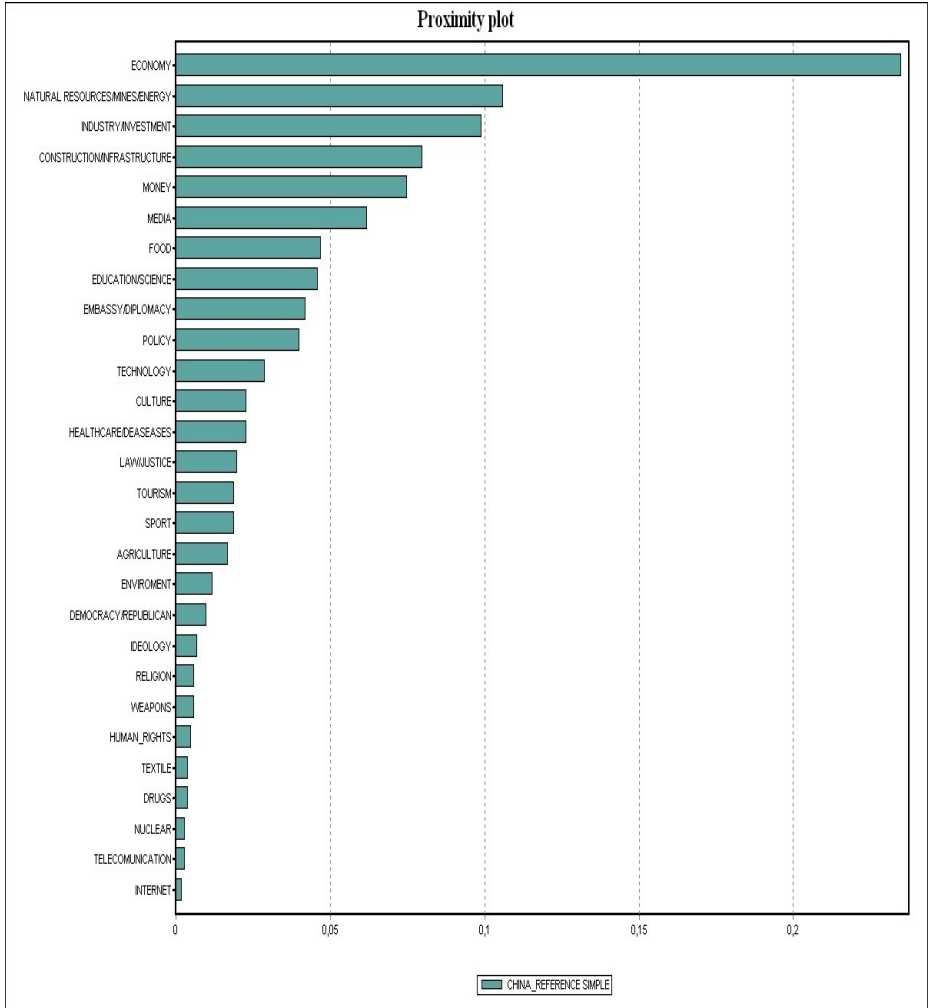of keywords) it creates a structured dataset.

Graph 5 – Dendrogram content (19 clusters)
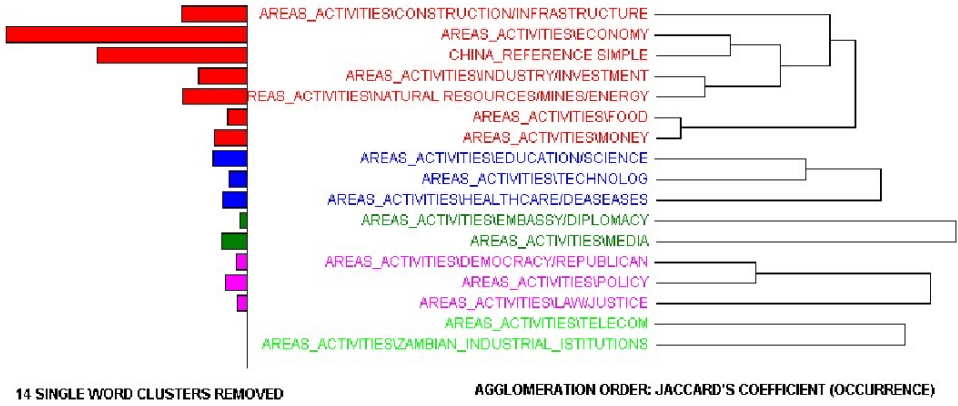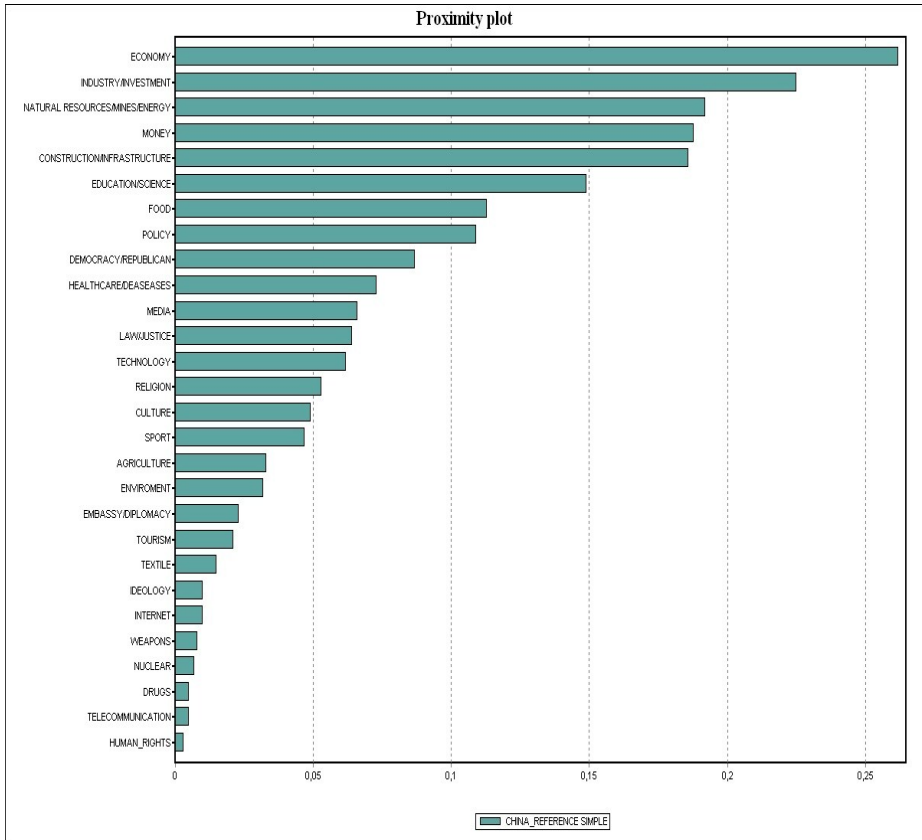
Graph 6 Dendrogram - comments (19 clusters)
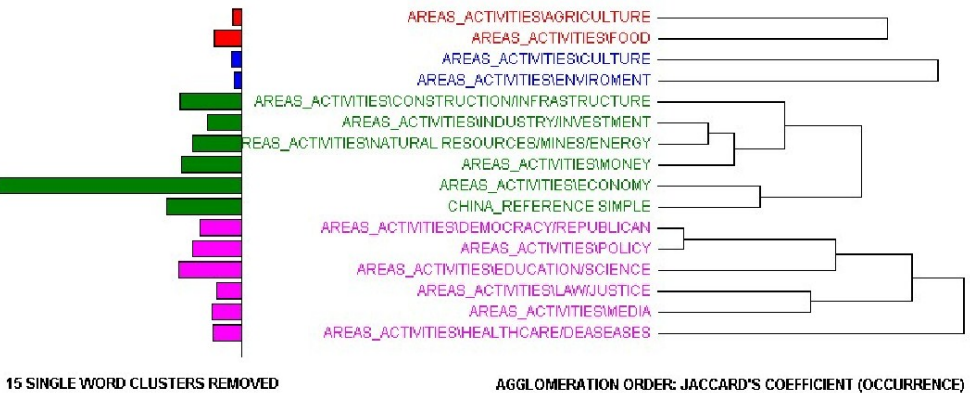
Graph 7 – Proximity Plot: Content

Proximity plot — CHINA_REFERENCE SIMPLE

We analysed text strings consisting of the China reference keywords and the adjacent 13 words on each side.

Graph 8 Proximity Plot: Comments

This number was decided on in order to provide the potential for broad analyti-

cal content that still (on the basis of our pre-analysis of database content) related more or less directly to China.

The frequency analysis depicted by the dendrograms above echoes our previous frequency analysis. In both cases references to China occur most frequently with economy-related keywords, as well as keywords linked to infrastructure, energy, investment and money, economic integration, business and development-related categories as the most often mentioned in connection with China.

In the next step we plotted proximity, based on keywords constituting particular categories of interest. Proximity plots – often used in data-mining techniques – allowed us to graphically represent similarities between and co-occurrences of particular nodes (in this case keywords) of the analysed text content.

The above proximity plots once again reinforce the observations from our earlier analysis. However, it is worth commenting on certain differences between the content and reader comments as they appear on proximity plots.

First of all, references to China and strictly economy-related keywords do not co-occur to the same extent in reader comments as they do in article content. However, the highest co-occurrence remains between references to China and those related to the economy, infrastructure, energy, investment and money. In our opinion, the fact that we don't observe such a big gap between the proximity of economy-related keywords and the other categories, indicates that the Zambian and Angolan Internet users refer to more concrete and less abstract issues when mentioning China (for example, they often tend to employ words related to particular investments, mines, or energy sources rather than use abstract economy-related vocabulary such as GDP, inflation, etc.).

Moreover, where readers employed keywords relating to democracy, policy, law, justice, and so on in their comments (usually associated with soft power), the proximity is higher than in the case of articles. However, it is still not the highest. Of course, we have to remember that the higher proximity of such categories with references to China should not be automatically interpreted as an

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indicator of soft power. However, on the basis of the analysis we conducted for the purpose of another, paper (Jura and Kaluzynska, forthcoming), we can say that the perception of China and the Chinese as related to such issues tends to be, at the very least, not overwhelmingly positive, which means that it cannot necessarily be treated as an indicator of Chinese soft power. On the other hand, it could also be interpreted as a possible indicator that Zambian and Angolan internet users are more interested in (or more sensitive to) traditional soft power sources than the journalists working in the Zambian and Angolan media.

Summary

Although the above analysis is strictly quantitative and is limited to only two African countries, we believe that it provides some interesting findings. First of all, it shows that economy, business and development occupy a central position both in the media content concerning China and in the discussions among netizens. This is true both in Zambia and Angola. If we presume that both these data sources may be treated as channels of soft power, we can then try to look at soft power in these countries from a perspective quite different to traditional approaches.

All the areas Nye that described as fundamental sources of soft power seem to have almost zero significance in the analysed data. The overall number of references to culture, tourism or even sport[8] is really low; what's more, there were almost no references to political culture, democracy, human rights and foreign policy. Thus the method used in our study clearly shows the limitations of Nye's approach, at least as soft power relates to the press. Both the frequency and cluster analyses showed that China and the Chinese are associated with business, the economy and development – not with traditional soft power areas. Moreover, these findings are based not only on media content analysis but also the opinions of readers. In such a way the methodology we applied can be treated as a tool which could test the quite theoretical and at least somewhat ethnocentric con-

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cept of soft power in other contexts as well, and in such way could suggest a different, broader and more empirical approach[9].

There appeared only one area of higher frequency among the categories related to culture, namely education and science. These areas are related to the traditional conceptions of soft power but are not treated as its core and might be more closely related to development. On the other hand, they definitely constitute a core value for China and Chinese culture. Education has traditionally been one of the most important aspects of Chinese Confucianism and a very basic mode of social advancement.

It is also worth mentioning that business, economy and development – areas not considered by Nye as constituents of soft power have always been connected with the Chinese imperial expansion policy for centuries[10]. The expansion of the Chinese empire was mostly based on economic forces, later supported by culture (in particular material culture in the form of commodities), than on a military basis[11]. However it is worth mentioning here that it is not our intention to claim that China is consciously trying to colonize or neo-colonize Africa. While we concede that it is almost impossible to prove such a thesis, it seems difficult to deny that Chinese influence is expanding in Africa and according to us this expansion is based (at least partly) on the traditional Middle Kingdom "economic soft power" pattern.

We believe that the above findings show quite clearly the limitations of Nye's soft power approach. Although both the acclaimed term 'soft power' and the approach stating that power might also be treated as "an ability to achieve goals through attraction rather than coercion" (Nye 2004), retains its interest, the areas mentioned by Nye – namely culture, political values and foreign policy – seem to be, at least in this particular case, far from universal. His ideas were based on a particular (American or Western) cultural context and a particular time (following the collapse of the Soviet block). They appear to be less effective as

soft power tools in the case of other cultures possessing a completely different tradition of "attracting" other societies and states. Moreover, quite a long time has elapsed since the collapse of communism and democracy and human rights might not be considered very popular or important ideas. Or maybe these ideas are not crucial for Africa, where most countries are still poor and developing and remain focused mostly on economic progress and prosperity[12].

On the other hand, additional media content analysis, as well as a field study conducted in Zambia show that certain cases of labour abuse (such as the infamous shooting at the Sinazongwe mines in October 2010) strongly influences the perception of the Chinese in Zambia. Such phenomena could be an indicator that human rights might be perceived in Africa from a local (Zambian miners' abuse) rather than global (for example issues relating to Tibet or Chinese dissidents) perspective. It is also a warning that the "charm" of Chinese political and economic expansion in Africa might disappear soon in Africa.

Nevertheless, it does not change the general impression that taking into account all the data we analysed (as well as our wider research) show that Chinese power, image and status in Africa is based mostly on its economical position and not cultural nor ideological influence.

End Notes

[1] This paper is based on research supported by the National Science Centre (Poland). The authors gratefully acknowledge this support.

[2] This remark directly concerns former colonial countries such as the UK, France and Portugal. but to some extent, as a result of stereotyping, may extend to the "whites" in general

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[3] In 2010 it was estimated at 10 internet users per 100 citizens (http://www.indexmundi.com).

[4] Due to the open nature of the internet, the users of internet forums also probably include diaspora members and some non-Zambians living inside and outside of Zambia. Being aware of such facts we still presume that internet forums are soft power channels and in the contemporary internet era there is no need to constrain one's analysis only to Zambian residents.

[5] The presence of particular categories can't necessarily be treated as an indicator of soft power. For example, in the case of democracy or human rights, China is not necessarily described positively. Nevertheless, we assumed that the relatively small number of such references indicated that this area was probably not very relevant in the analysed material.

[6] Probably due to a recent increase in the number of new Chinese investments in Zambian mines, power station development, and so on.

[7] This might be connected with fact that Zambians are very enthusiastic football fans and Chinese firms recently finished a big stadium in Ndola.

[8] Sports is an important dimension due to the fact that the analysed time frame covers Beijing's 2008 Olympic games usually treated as strongly influencing Chinese soft power

[9] Of course as we have already mentioned in the introduction, this point has been raised by some of the authors. Nevertheless empirical proving it is an important asset of this article.

[10] Here is its worth mentioning the famous concept of "five baits." Chinese expansion in the South-western and Western territories since the Han dynasty or the whole Chinese tributary system construct – see for example "Trade and Expansion in Han China: A study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic

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Relations" by Ying Shih Yu (1967) or "China's March toward the Tropics: A Discussion of the Southward Penetration of China's Culture, Peoples, and Political Control in Relation to the Non-Han-Chinese Peoples of South China and in the Perspective of Historical and Cultural Geography" by Harold Wiens (1954).

[11] Of course this is somewhat of a simplification as there were periods when the Chinese empire expanded on a strictly military basis. On the other hand the proportion of non-violent economic expansion was quite significant.

[12] There exists the probability that, after reaching a certain level of development and prosperity issues as human rights, freedom and democracy, are more frequently raised in the media and by netizens.

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