



School of Sociology and Public Policy

Department of Political Science and Public Policy

**China's soft power impact on Portuguese society: insights regarding Portuguese'
perspectives on China's cultural products and policies**

Sara de Sousa Linhares

**Dissertation submitted as a partial requirement to obtain the Master's degree in
International Studies**

Supervisor:

Prof. Álvaro Augusto da Rosa

ISCTE Department of Marketing, Operations and General Management

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses upon the impact of Chinese soft power based on cultural products on the Portuguese citizens. It assesses the capability of soft power ability to blur the Portuguese perception of the Chinese government's policies, such as human rights. Also, the study examines the results of an online survey that aims to assess the participants' opinions on cultural products and the Chinese governments' policies. The research points out that many of the participants view Chinese cultural products favourably. However, Chinese soft power strategy fails to have a positive long-term outcome. For example, the participants enrolled in the Confucius Institute of the University of Lisbon are more aware and informed about the events in areas that are affected by the Chinese government's policies. The research concludes that many of the participants are aware and disapprove of events and the Chinese government's policies in areas such as Hong Kong and Tibet. However, the participants are not aware about other areas, such as Xinjiang and Taiwan, that also have ongoing situations. These observations can prove to be worrisome for the future of ideals of the Portuguese society which are part of Western's ideology and how the same society will respond to upcoming future events that concern human rights worldwide.

Keywords: Soft power, strategy, cultural products, China, Portugal, human rights.

Resumo

O presente estudo foca no impacto do *soft power* chinês baseado em produtos culturais nos cidadãos portugueses. Igualmente, se avalia a capacidade do *soft power* de obscurecer a percepção portuguesa das políticas do governo chinês, como por exemplo, direitos humanos. Adicionalmente, o estudo examina os resultados de um formulário *on-line* que avalia as opiniões dos participantes sobre os produtos culturais e as políticas do governo chinês. Analisando o mesmo é possível concluir que muitos dos participantes veem favoravelmente os produtos culturais chineses. No entanto, a estratégia chinesa de *soft power* não prevê um resultado positivo a longo prazo. Por exemplo, os participantes inscritos no Instituto Confúcio da Universidade de Lisboa são mais conscientes e informados sobre os eventos em áreas afetadas pelas políticas do governo chinês. Os dados demonstram que muitos dos participantes estão cientes dos eventos em áreas como Hong Kong e Tibete desaprovando os mesmos e as políticas do governo chinês nessas áreas. No entanto, os participantes não têm conhecimento do impacto das políticas em certas áreas, tal como Xinjiang e Taiwan, que também têm situações em curso. Essas observações podem ser preocupantes para o futuro dos ideais da sociedade portuguesa que fazem parte da ideologia ocidental e como a mesma sociedade responderá a futuros eventos relacionados com direitos humanos em todo o mundo.

Palavras-Chave: *Soft power*, estratégia, produtos culturais, China, Portugal, direitos humanos.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

It is undeniable that China's global impact and how the world perceives it has become a critical subject to researchers worldwide. Additionally, it is fascinating to study the foreign policy that a country like China can utilise, in this case, soft power. Joseph Samuel Nye Jr. coined and explained the dynamics of soft power and how it can shape preferable outcomes from other actors in the international system. His work became popular among scholars. Even Chinese scholars started to research this subject after former Chinese President Hu Jintao mentioned it as part of the country's strategy. This strategy might not seem surprising due to the fact that China has been in the spotlight since the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. Moreover, it is well known that China's policies within and outside its borders have been subject to criticism from non-governmental organizations, among others. Reports of human rights violations have reached the western world, where such values are held in high regard. Therefore, the Chinese government understood the necessity to soothe any negative sentiment against China, its people and its culture that can arise. Starting with President Hu Jintao's idea of social harmony and President Xi Jinping's harmonious world, the Chinese government have countered the world's negative perspective of the country. Since 2004, the Confucius Institute program has spread worldwide. It is important to understand that the Confucius Institute is an organisation under the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. The Confucius Institute seeks to promote and teach Chinese culture and language around the world. The focus of the Institute has been to create a positive image of the Chinese culture and its government's policies.

China and Portugal have never had any serious conflicts and have had stable relations. Since the 2008 financial crisis the Sino-Portuguese relations dynamics changed. Portugal was one of the most affected countries within the European Union by the crisis. The Portuguese government tried to battle the economic crisis by showing to China that Portugal was a good economic investment. Chinese enterprises, both state-run and private alike, were quick to invest in Portugal. Additionally, the Confucius Institute set up its first institute in Lisbon and gradually moved on to other cities in Portugal.

This research will focus on understanding soft power's capability in its use of cultural products. However, it cannot always produce a positive outcome or be a part of a

successful foreign policy of a country such as China. Additionally, it aims to comprehend if the outcomes of soft power might cloud awareness in non-state actors on defending ideals and values that are esteemed in the western world, such as human rights and political ideals. Thus, it is very interesting to understand how negative perceptions of human rights violations and political ideals interplay with a country's strategy on soft power. This research will use the survey method, in this case an online survey, to analyse the opinions of Portuguese citizens. It will also assess their opinions on Chinese cultural products and government policies. Additionally, our survey accounts for the participants who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute of the University of Lisbon. It is also necessary to clarify that each Confucius Institute is different and its program may vary due to it being a joint-venture between the Confucius Institute Headquarters and the university which is inserted in. The objectives of this research are expressed in the following questions:

1. Which Chinese cultural products are popular among Portuguese citizens?
2. Which gender group is more inclined to favour Chinese cultural products?
3. Are the participants aware of China's policies on human rights?
4. Are the participants who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute more or less likely to approve of China's policies on human rights?
5. Is China's soft power strategy of using the Confucius Institute to promote a positive image of its culture counteracting the West's concerns on human rights?

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

The term soft power was first coined by Joseph Nye, Jr. in 1990. He explained the term as “the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences of others” (Nye, 2002: 9). In contrast to this type of power, there is the direct and traditional power, which is hard command power that relies on intimidation or threats. Economic power and military power are both examples of hard command power. Nye’s concept of soft power is an indirect way to exercise control (Nye, 2002: 8). Furthermore, soft power is seen to be hard to measure and to execute in order to produce the desired outcome through incentives and enticement. Moreover, an actor’s use of soft powers sets the political agenda rather than having to resort to hard command power (Nye, 2002: 9). Additionally, soft power should not be confused as influence, but as a source of an actor’s influence (Nye, 2002: 9). Nye further explains that the sources of soft power comes from values expressed in culture, policies followed by a country and how an actor handles itself in the international structure, unlike military and economic resources (Nye, 2002: 9). Nye claims that institutions, culture and ideologies can be measured through focus groups and polls (Nye, 2002: 9). Yanzhong Huang and Sheng Ding pointed out that polls can be used as supplemental quantitative data, but should not be the sole unit of measurement for soft power (Huang & Ding, 2006: 24). This opinion is also shared by Jean-Marc F. Blanchard and Fujia Lu (Blanchard & Lu, 2012: 566).

There are still several scholars that are divided about the nature of soft power. Some scholars argue against the operationalization and conceptualization of soft power by criticizing its suitability in the international system. Such is the case with Blanchard and Lu, as they define soft power involving coercion. In other words, the military is not always used in a coercive way in soft power strategies. For instance, disaster relief missions and peacekeeping are military elements with non-coercive purposes (Blanchard & Lu, 2012: 568).

Some scholars argue that soft power is not an effective foreign policy tool and does not achieve national interests as well as hard power. For instance, Niall Ferguson claims that soft power is not a new concept, by connecting it with the idea of imperialism. Moreover, Ferguson points out that the soft power’s range is limited and cannot achieve national interests (Ferguson, 2009:24). Other critics such as Colin Gray states that soft power is an inappropriate and imprecise tool of foreign policy because it depends on the

choices and perceptions of other foreign actors, thus this sort of power cannot be totally controlled by policymakers (Gray, 2011: 10). Todd Hall suggest that soft power is being broadly practiced by states, but the same states lack the knowledge to fully implement the concept. Hall considers whether soft powers' resources have the capability to produce positive policy results (Hall, 2010: 197). Janice Mattern points out the need for practical and normative reformulations about the soft power concept due to the basis of implicit and often assumptions about attraction. Moreover, she states that the soft power concept is poorly understood due to the fact that what is attractive is rather subjective. (Mattern, 2005: 586). Ying Fan claims that Nye's soft power concept is ethnocentric due to Nye's initially using the American context to explain his concept. Moreover, he states that the concept to be unrealistic due to the assumption that there is a connection between attractiveness and the capability to influence others (Fan, Y. 2008: 153). Yongnian Zheng and Chi Zhang criticize Nye's soft power concept due to the contradiction between soft power and hard power. They explain that a power resource may be viewed in a different way by different actors or in different situations (Zheng & Zhang, 2012: 21-24). To counter such criticism, Nye points out that soft power is not strictly controlled by the government and it can be used by organizations, institutions and other global actors (Nye, 2002: 11). Nye continued to publish articles on soft power and soon realised that soft power as an analytical concept has expanded worldwide and is being used by many leaders, especially in China. Nonetheless, Nye considers that the soft power concept has been inappropriately used and is misunderstood. Furthermore, Nye reaffirms that soft power is a descriptive concept and not a normative concept. In addition, he explains that soft power is like any form of power, it can be wielded for good or bad goals (Nye, 2012: 151).

Although Nye's soft power concept rose steeply and was praised by many, the intangibility of soft power resources deems it to be problematic to measure in terms of efficiency. As mentioned before, Hall suggests that soft power resources are an intangible method of producing positive policy results. Furthermore, Hall states that policymakers strategically select and promote certain political values that become part of a nation's identity and characterise a particular national political culture (Hall, 2010: 202-203). Mattern states that Nye does not explain which universal values are the ones that amass soft power or how to acquire such values (Mattern, 2005: 589). Li Mingjiang claims that soft power does not exist in the nature of certain resources of power and it has to be

intentionally developed through a soft use of power (Li, 2009:3). He also states that it is unclear why Nye's criteria of soft power based on culture, ideology and values are the sources of soft power (Li, 2009: 4). Fan states that a country has diverse actors with subjective experiences towards another country's soft power resources. In other words, the country's ability to influence the policy of the target country depends on which actors find it attractive and how much control such actors have on policy making. Likewise, Fan claims that emotional elements such as attractiveness are not a factor in policy making at the state level (Fan, Y. 2008: 147). Zheng and Zhang claim that Nye's soft power theory and depiction of the range of soft power resources are not in accordance or logical with the reality of international relations. Furthermore, they propose that a power resource is only considered to be soft or hard depending on the discernments of the target actors in addition to the context (Zheng & Zhang, 2012: 21-24).

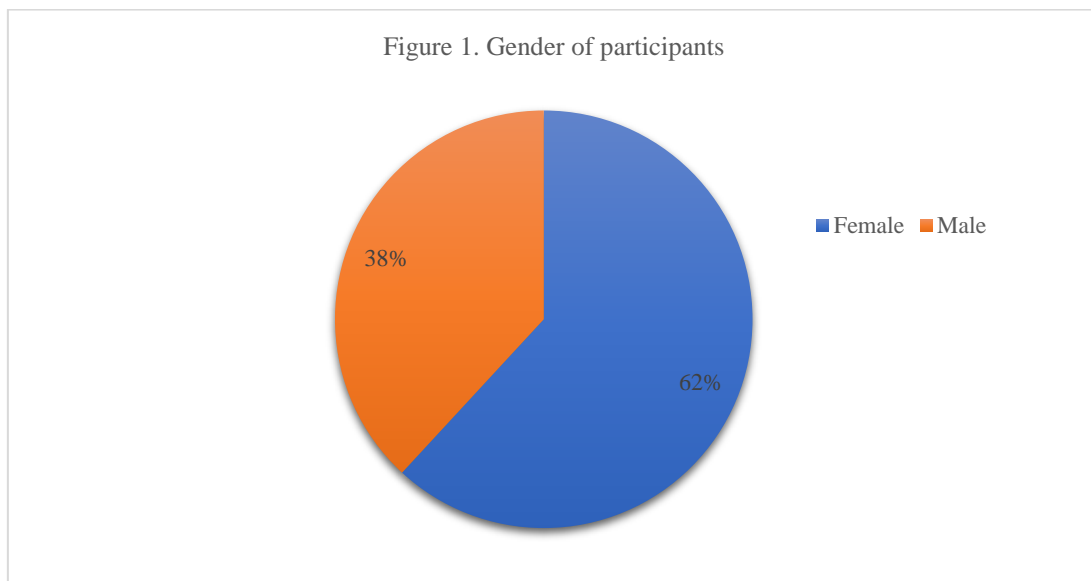
Despite the fact that Nye's soft power idea is not entirely popular with some, most Chinese scholars show to be eager to adopt it, quickly embracing and even further developing this concept. The first published article on soft power within China was in 1993 by Wang Huning, political theorist and one of the top leaders of the Communist Party of China (Wang, H. 1993). Wang is a longstanding member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He belonged to the 16th, 17th and 18th committee and is presently a member of the 19th. Nonetheless, the soft powers' concept excitement only occurred after 2007. Since the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, in which President Hu Jintao officially introduced soft power in his keynote speech as a national strategy, this idea has been used by the current President Xi Jinping. A good introduction to understand China's soft power debates is Li Mingjiang's analysis and compilation of Chinese academic articles. Li summarizes many Chinese scholars' ideas about methods to strengthen China's soft power and national image through promoting traditional Chinese culture (Li, 2008: 288). It is also interesting to note that Nye states that China's expansion of its soft power is also a smart strategy, mainly due to the fact that as China's hard power rises it may frighten its neighbours. For this reason, China develops its soft power to counter such fear. Nye claims that China has attractive traditional culture, due to its Confucian values of social harmony, filial piety and compassionate rule (Nye, 2012: 154). Additionally, he also advised that China should realize that most of a country's soft power comes from its civil society instead from its government (Nye, 2017: 2).

It is often argued that several Chinese scholars followed or adapted Nye's theoretical framework, while highlighting culture as the source of China's soft power. Many Chinese scholars stated that soft power ideas are entrenched in Chinese theory and practice. Claiming that their ability to attract to accomplish goals can be traced to Chinese philosophy. For instance, Stephen Chan claims that Chinese strategists addressed and relied on the appeal of Confucian ideals to administer the country (Chan, 2013: 64). Yanzhong Huang and Sheng Ding claim that China's cultural heritage is an important source of China's soft power (Huang & Ding, 2006: 26). Moreover, Ding claims that many ancient Chinese rulers promoted and applied the idea of soft power and military strategies stressed the importance of diplomacy and winning hearts and minds (Ding, 2008: 193-213). Later on, Sheng Ding explains in his article that the idea of soft power is quite common in ancient Chinese philosophy based on the teachings of Confucius and Mencius (Ding, 2010: 259). Wei Liang likewise states that Chinese culture is appealing and attractive due to the importance of harmony and its Confucianism roots. In addition, he states that these ideas with its origins in ancient China proves that its contemporary culture lacks attractiveness (Liang, 2012: 684-685).

Chapter 3 – The sampling and the data analysis

Participants' gender

A total of 160 participants responded to the survey. A total of 147 of the 160 are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute of the University of Lisbon, while 13 are enrolled. Exactly 38% of the non-students are male, while 62% are female (see Figure 1.). Students from the Confucius Institute shows the same results as the general population, with 38% male and 62% female (see Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2).



Participants' employment or occupational status

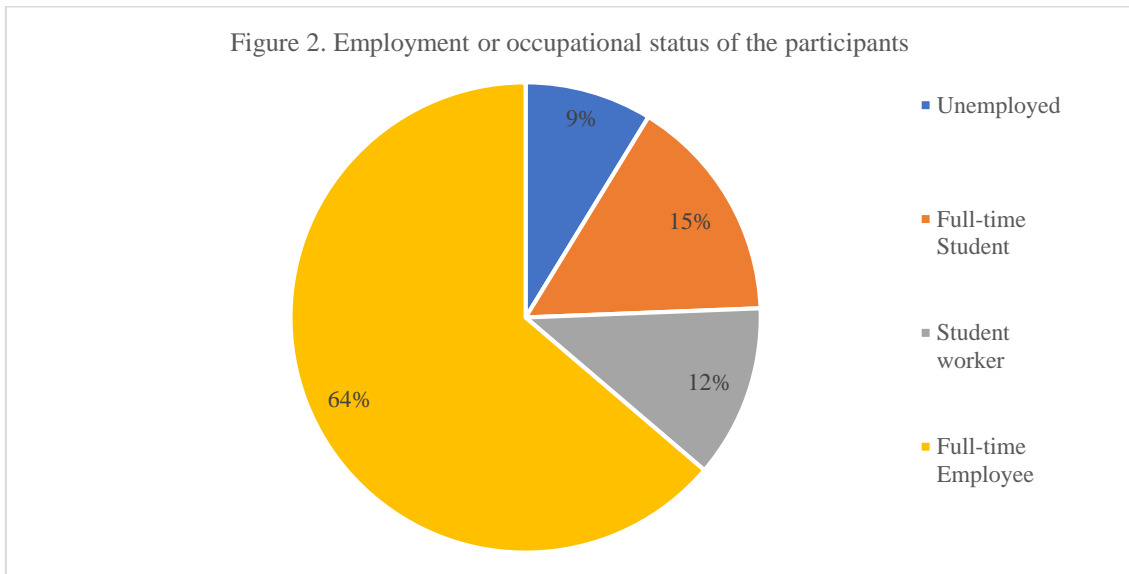
In terms employment or occupational status, we have 64% of the participants are full-time employees, 15% are full-time students, 12% are student works and 9% are unemployed (Figure 2).

Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, 62% are full-time students, 23% are unemployed and 15% are working students (Figure 2.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, 69% are full-time employees, 12% are student workers, 12% are full-time students and 7% are unemployed (Figure 2.2).

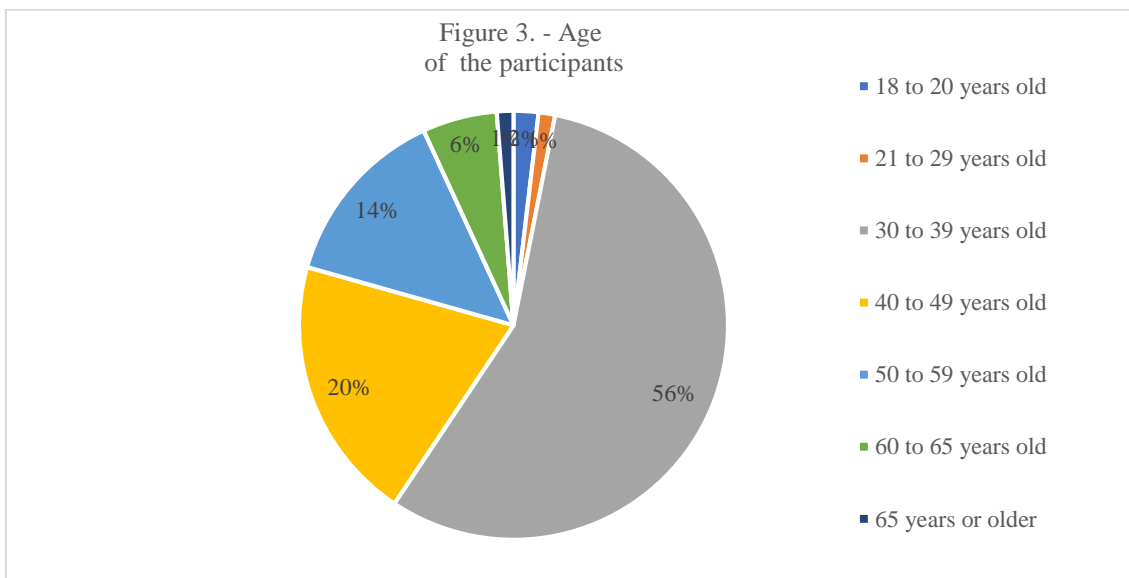
While concerning both gender groups, it is also worthwhile to notice that both share similar results. Most of the female participants are full-time employees at 64%, 15% are full-time students, 12% are full-time student workers and 9% are unemployed (Figure 2.3).

With the male participants, 64% of male participants are full-time employees, 15% are full-time students, 12% are student workers and 8% are unemployed (Figure 2.4).



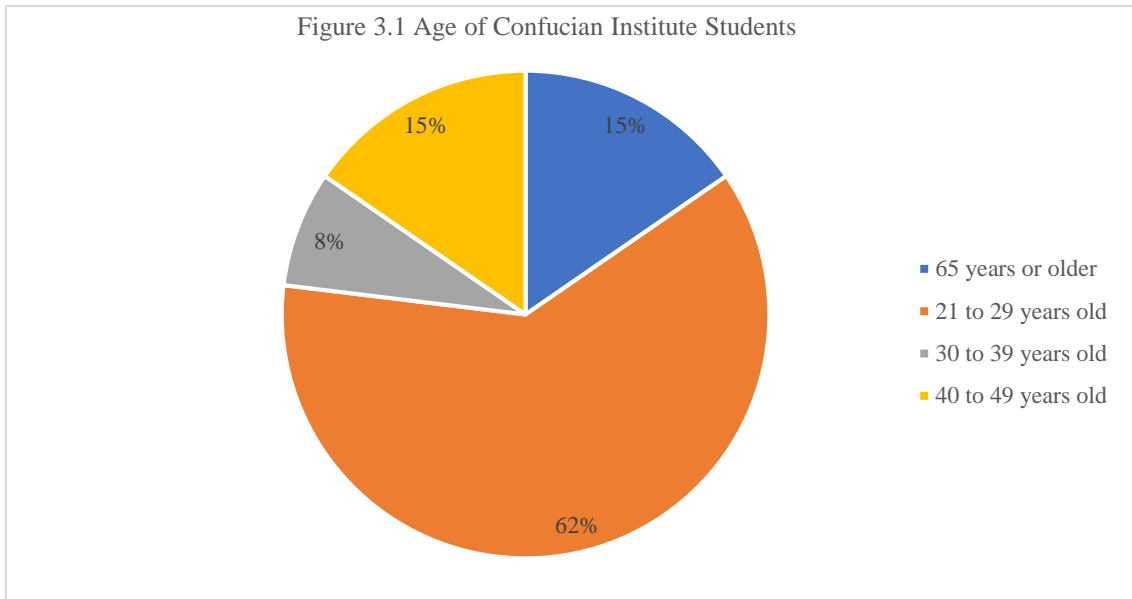
Participants' age

In terms of age, we have 2% of the participants between the ages of 18 to 20 years old, 1% are 21 to 29 years old, 56% are 30 to 39 years old, 20% are 40 to 49 years old, 14% are 50 to 59 years old, 6% are 60 to 65 years old and 1% are 65 years and over (1%) (Figure 3.).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, the analysis of the age groups shows that 62% are between the ages of 21 to 29 years old, 8% are 30 to 39 years old, 15% are 40 to 49 years old, 15% are 40 to 49 years old and 1% are 65 years old and over (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Age of Confucian Institute Students



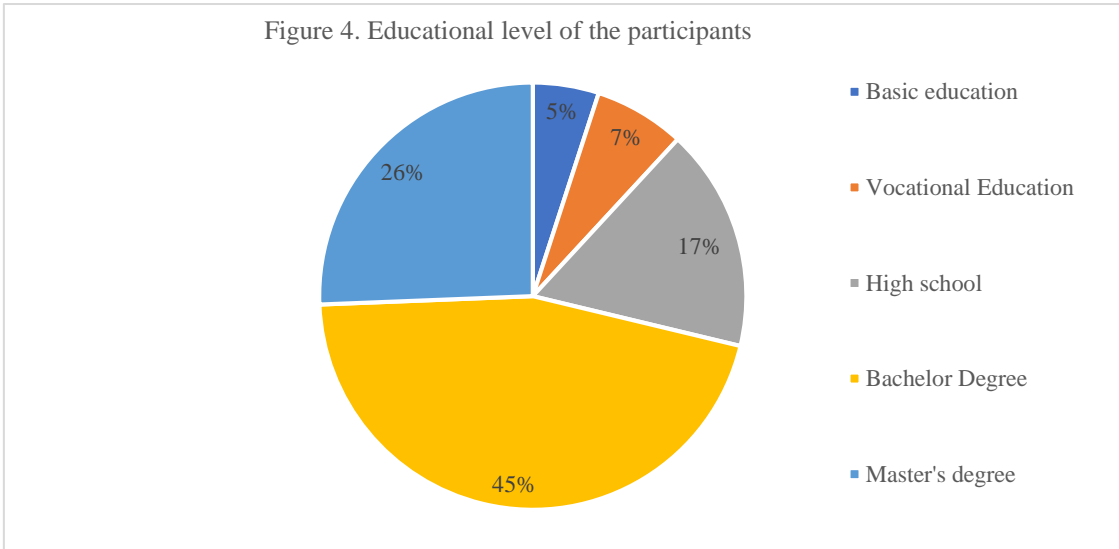
Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, the analysis of the age groups shows that 1.5% are 18 to 20 years old, 56% are between 21 to 29 years old, 21% are 30 to 39 years old, 14% are 40 to 49 years old, 6% are 50 to 59 years old and 1.5% are 65 years old and over (Figure 3.2).

While crossing age and gender, we have 2% of female participants between 18 to 20 years old, 56% are 21 to 29 years old, 17% are 30 to 39 years old, 19% are 40 to 49 years old, 5% are 50 to 59 years old and 1% are 65 years old and over (Figure 3.3).

On the other hand, while crossing age groups and male participants, the data shows that 3% of male participants are between 21 to 29 years old, 57% are 30 and 39 years old, 25% are 40 to 49 years old, 6% are 50 to 59 years old, 7% are 60 to 64 years old and 2% are 65 years old and over (Figure 3.4).

Participants' educational level

In terms of education, we have an education level of 45% of the participants that have a bachelor's degree, followed by 26% with a master's degree and 17% with secondary education complete. In addition, 7% are people with vocational education and 5% people with basic education (Figure 4.).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, 54% have a bachelor's degree, followed by 38% with a master's degree and 8% with secondary education (Figure 4.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, 45% have a bachelors' degree, followed by 25% with master's degree and 18% with secondary education. Moreover, 5% are people with vocational education and 7% people with basic education_ (Figure 4.2).

While considering the education level of the female participants, the predominant level of education correlates to a total of 52% have a bachelor's degree with about 52%, followed by master's degree 25% and secondary education 16% with secondary education. Furthermore, 4% are people with vocational education and 3% people with basic education (Figure 4.3).

Concerning the male participants' educational level, the predominant level of education correlates to a total of 62% belonging to the higher education category, bachelors' degree corresponds to about 36%, followed by master's degree with 26% and secondary education with 18%. Furthermore, 12% are people with vocational education and 8% people with basic education (Figure 4.4).

Summary

Our surveys show that there are more female participants compared to male participants. The same results applied regardless of whether they are male or female, or if they are enrolled in the Confucius Institute or not. Our survey shows that the majority of participants have a full-time job. Most of the participants enrolled in the Confucius Institute are full-time students, however some are unemployed or worked a part-time job. Our survey shows the largest age group is from 30 to 39 years old. Our survey shows

that the largest age group of participants enrolled in the Confucius Institute and those not enrolled was 21 to 29 years old. In addition, most female participants are 21 to 29 years old while most of the male participants are between 30 and 39 years old. Our survey shows that most participants have a bachelor's degree or higher. The same result applies to the other groups, such as the participants enrolled in the Confucius Institute. This result would seem due to the fact that most Confucius Institutes in Portugal are located in higher education institutions. Moreover, information about the institute is more visible and accessible to people who study at a university level. Slightly more males have a bachelor's degree or higher compared to females.

Chapter 4 – The description and the data analysis of the Chinese cultural products and the data analysis

Concerning the issue of "The Chinese culture is popular"

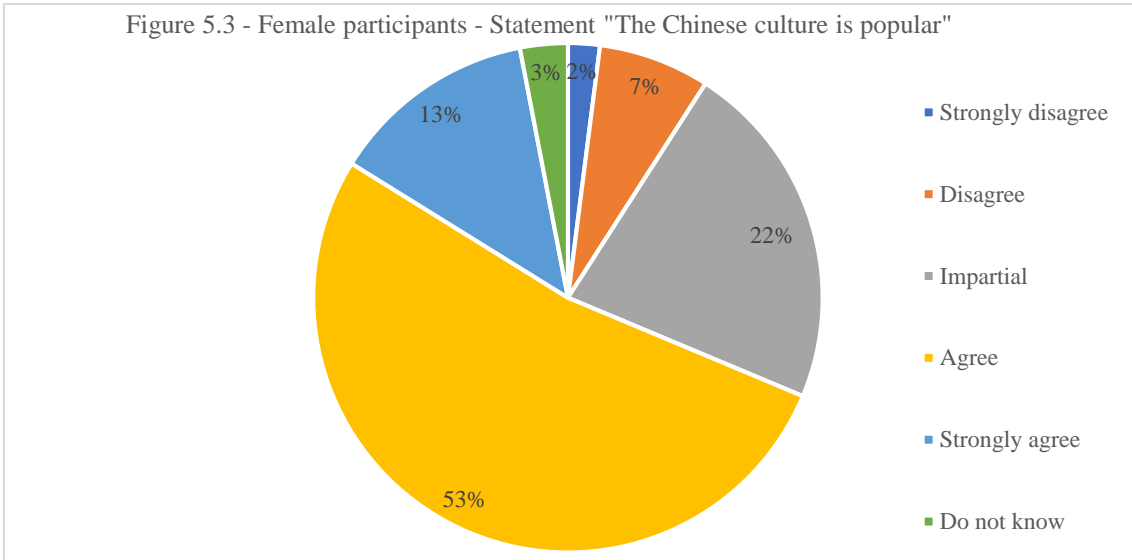
The first issue relates to whether or not Chinese culture is popular. Every society has a culture. According to Raymond Williams, culture is made of two separate components. The first component denotes a way of life and the second refers to the arts and learning. Culture as a way of life establishes cultural norms, customs and creates an identity. The other component concerns culture as a body of creative and intellectual work, wherein the human experience is documented (Williams, 1958). Considering Raymond Williams's notion, the first issue aims to know if the target audience shares a favourable opinion of Chinese culture.

In terms of the overall opinion of the popularity of the Chinese culture, 61% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement that Chinese culture is popular. While 12% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. In addition, there are only 22% of participants who do not have an opinion on and 5% do not know about the popularity of Chinese culture (Figure 5.).

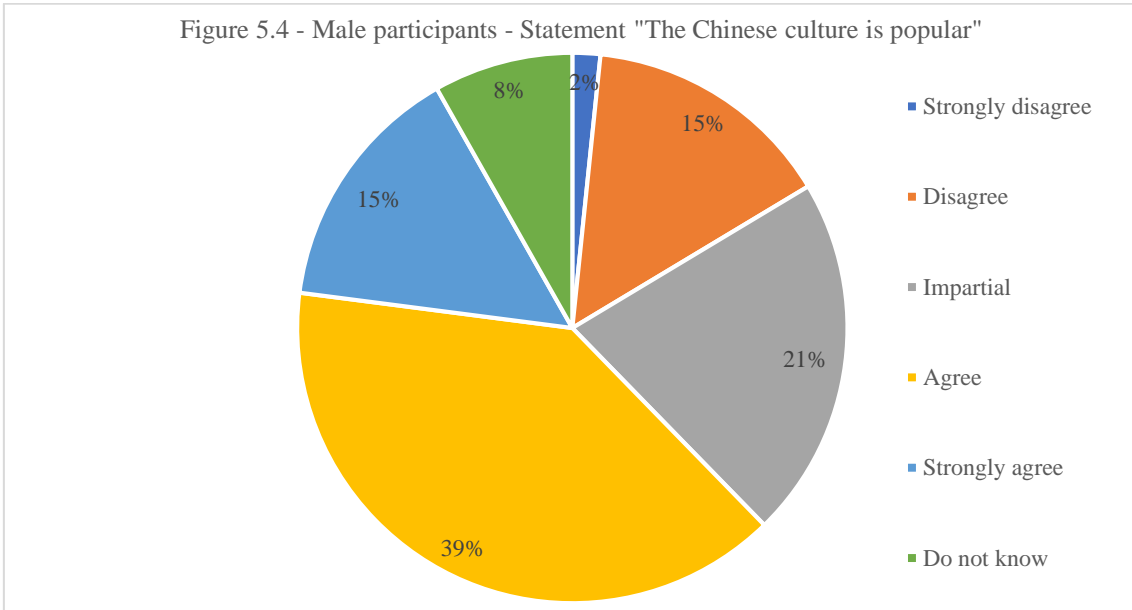
Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 85% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While there are only 15% that do not have an opinion regarding the statement (Figure 5.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 59% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 13% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Likewise, there are about 23% of participants who do not have an opinion and 5% are unaware of the popularity of Chinese culture (Figure 5.2).

Regarding the female participants, our survey shows that 66% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 9% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. Moreover, 23% of participants do not have an opinion and 3% participants that are unaware of the topic concerning the popularity of Chinese culture (Figure 5.3).



Concerning the male participants, our survey shows that 54% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 17% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Additionally, there are only 21% of participants who do not have an opinion on the popularity of Chinese culture and 8% are unaware of the topic concerning the statement (Figure 5.4).



Concerning the issue of “Chinese music is pleasant”

The second issue is one of several that concern the awareness and attractiveness of Chinese cultural products and if the participants shares favourable opinions. Chinese music has been recorded since the early periods of the Chinese civilization. Moreover, throughout time, Chinese music developed into various forms of music, producing a rich heritage of music that is part of the Chinese culture. Most of the musical instruments are

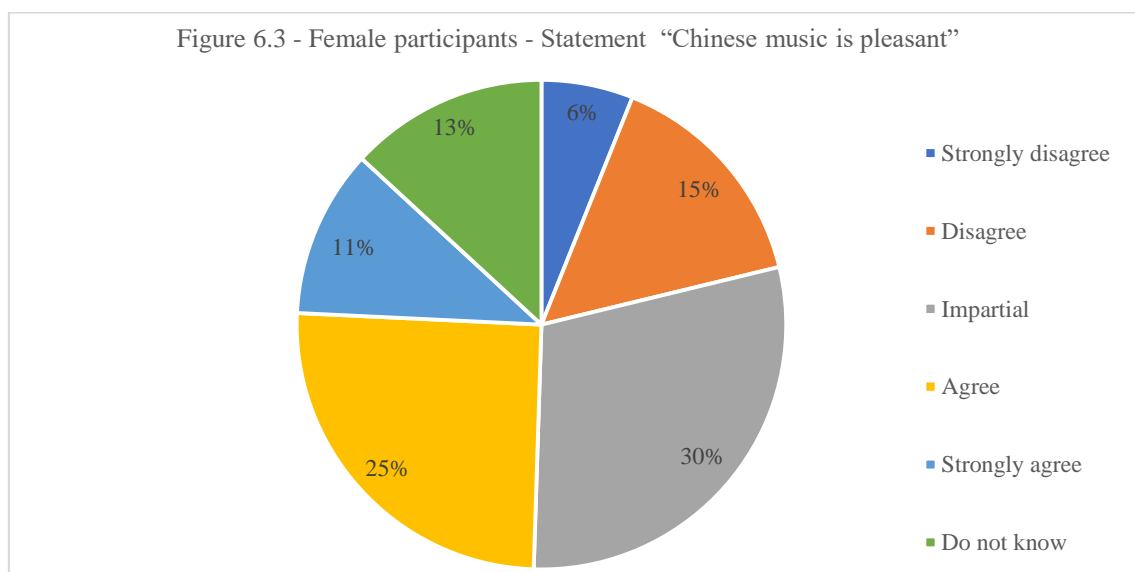
well known and unique, from drums, flutes, gongs, cymbals and stringed instruments. This cultural product was chosen due to its impact worldwide, especially considering that Portugal and China were and are in constant cross cultural exchange due to areas such as Macau.

In terms of the overall opinion of the pleasantness of the Chinese music 36% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. Additionally, 28% of participants do not have an opinion on Chinese music, 15% are unaware and 15% disagree and 6% strongly disagree with the statement that Chinese music is enjoyable. These data show that Chinese music is not well known and there are few admirers (Figure 6.).

Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that that 69% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 8% of the participants disagree with the statement. Only 23% of participants do not have an opinion on Chinese music. (Figure 6.1).

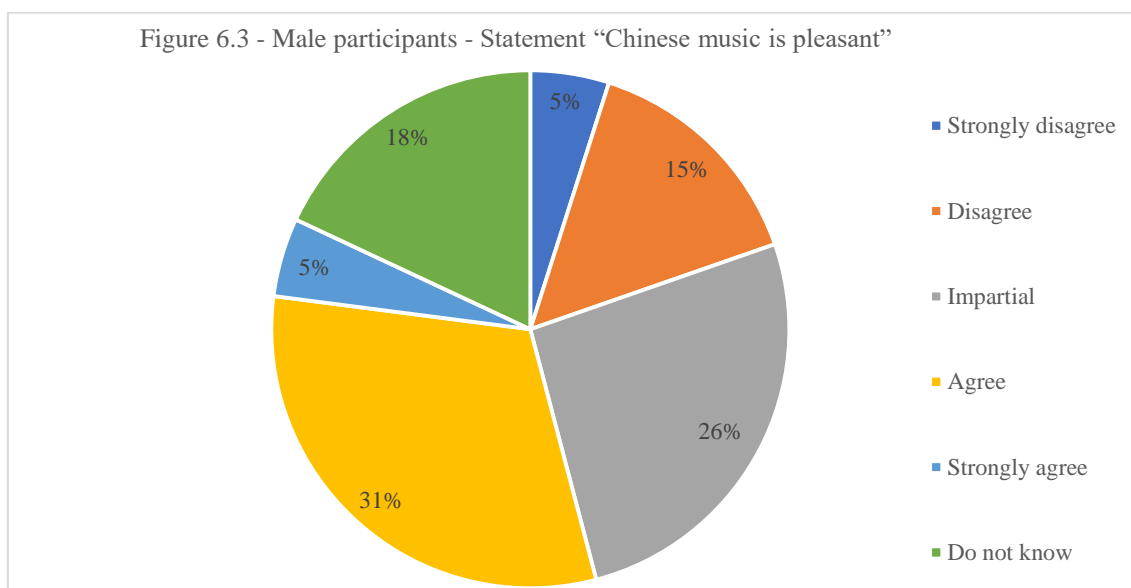
Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 33% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 22% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Only 29% of participants do not have an opinion on Chinese music, along with 16% unaware of Chinese music. (Figure 6.2).

Concerning the female participants, our survey shows that 36% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 21% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 13% female participants that are unaware of Chinese culture, 30% do not have an opinion. (Figure 6.3).



Regarding the male participants, our survey shows that 36% of the participants agree or

strongly agree with the statement. While 20% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 18% of the male participants that are unaware of Chinese music. Only 26% of the male participants do not have an opinion (Figure 6.4).



Concerning the issue of "Chinese cinema has quality"

The Chinese cinema industry is the fastest growing film market in the world, rivalling American Hollywood and Indian Bollywood. Chinese culture and entertainment industry is on the path for a promptly expansion in the European continent. Many Chinese and American media businesses are collaborating and showing their movies across the European continent. In addition, this cultural product was chosen due to being a contemporary cultural product of China. This issue seeks to understand if the participants value and are familiar with this cultural product.

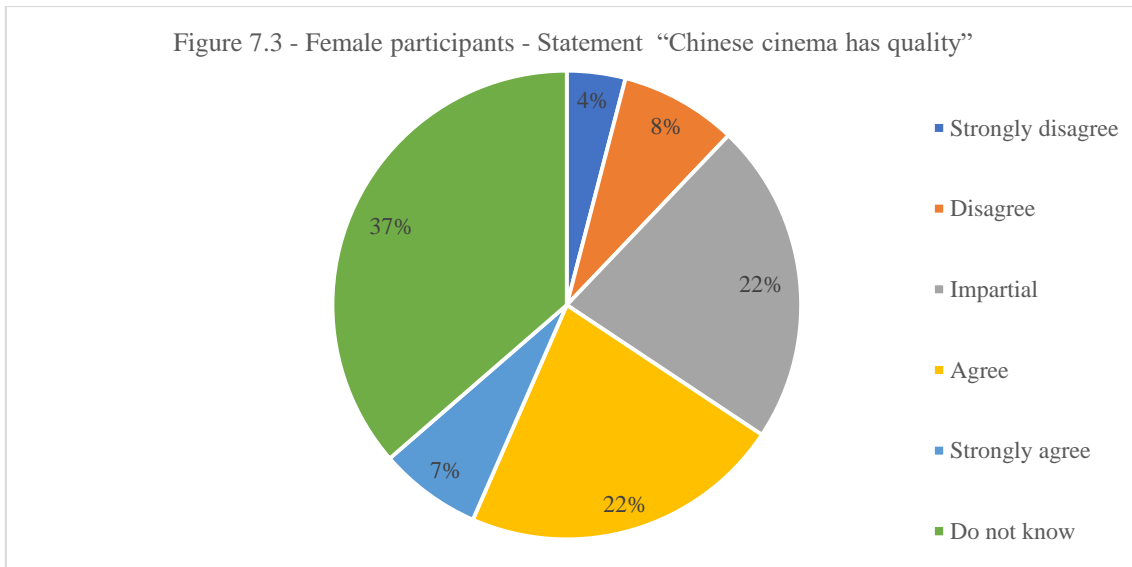
In terms of the overall opinion of the quality of the Chinese cinema, 29% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 13% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 34% participants that are unaware of Chinese cinema and 25% do not have an opinion. (Figure 7.).

Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 46% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 8% of the participants disagree with the statement. There are about 31% of the participants are unaware of the cultural product and 15% do not have an opinion. (Figure 7.1).

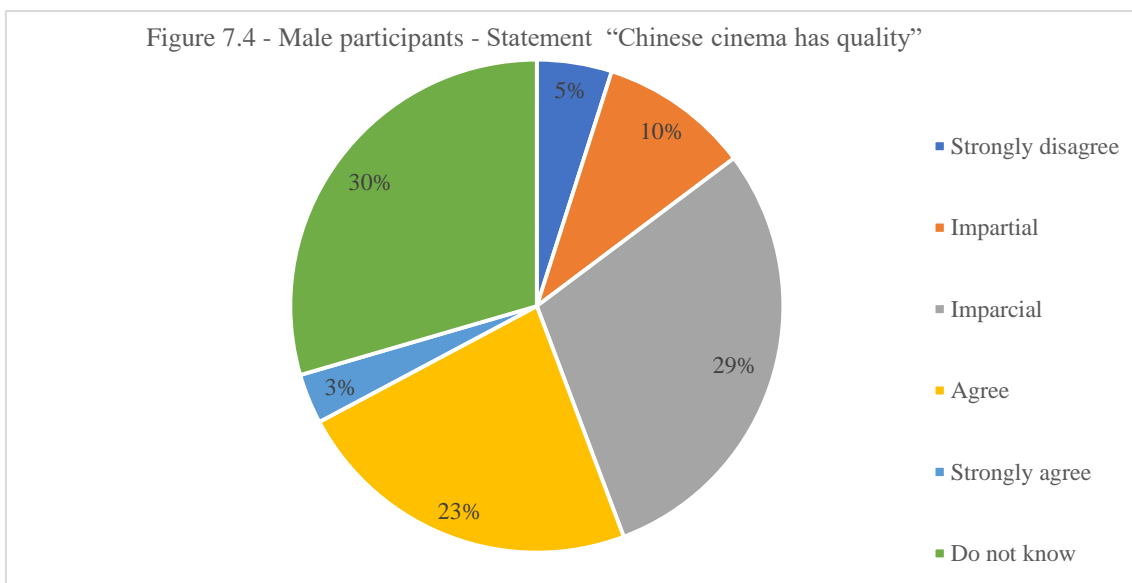
Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 27% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 14% of the participants

disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are 34% of the participants that are unaware of Chinese cinema and 36% do not have an opinion (Figure 7.2).

Regarding the female participants, our survey shows that 46% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. There are also 31% female participants that are unaware and 15% do not have an opinion. (Figure 7.3).



Concerning the male participants, our survey shows that 26% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 15% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Moreover, there are also 31% male participants that are unaware of the cultural product in the statement and 29% do not have an opinion. In addition, those who share an unfavourable opinion corresponds to a total of 15% (Figure 7.4).



Concerning the issue of “Chinese television series are appealing”

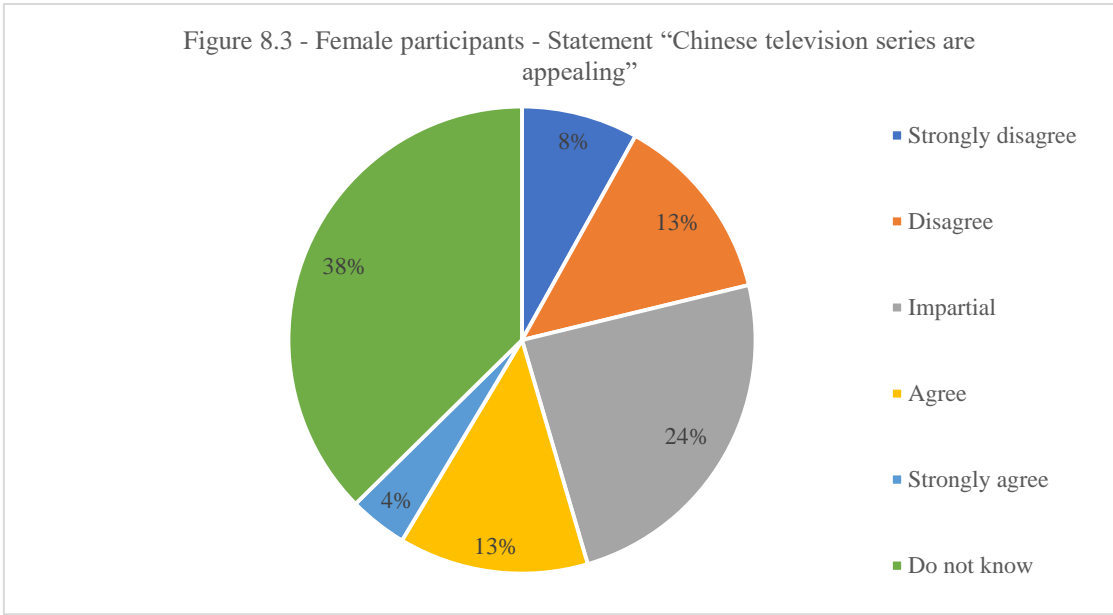
This issue seeks to understand if Chinese television series have risen in popularity with viewers in Portugal. The China Central Television (CCTV) is a Chinese state-run television company that broadcasts worldwide. Chinese television series are not new to Portugal, since the creation of CCTV-4 Europe channel, a Chinese media channel. This issue seeks to understand if Chinese television series have risen in popularity with viewers in Portugal. For this reason, this cultural product was chosen due to being a contemporary cultural product of China that is slowly expanding in Portugal.

In terms of the overall opinion of the appeal of the Chinese television series, 14% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. About 39% of the participants are unaware of such cultural product and 22% do not have an opinion. There are also participants that share an unfavourable opinion, such as 16% who disagree and 9% strongly disagree with the statement (Figure 8.).

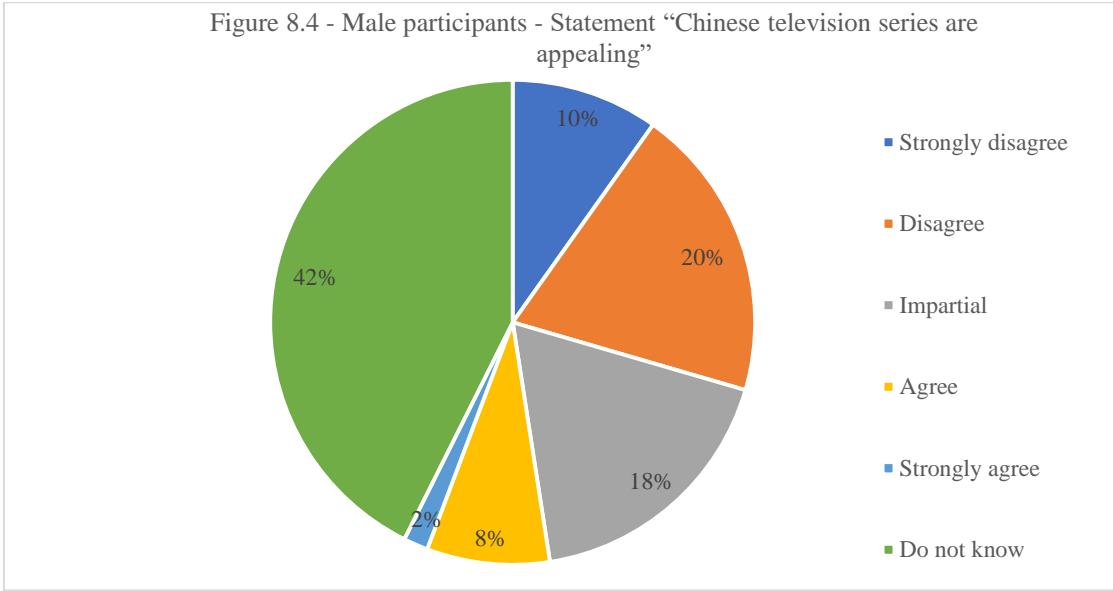
Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 85% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. Only about 15% do not have an opinion regarding the statement (Figure 8.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 13% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 26% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Moreover, 39% of participants are unaware and 22% do not have an opinion (Figure 8.2).

Concerning the female participants, our survey shows that 17% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 21% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. In addition, there are about 38% of female participants that are unaware of Chinese television series and 24% of female participants do not have an opinion (Figure 8.3).



Regarding the male participants, our survey shows that 10% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 30% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Moreover, 42% of the male participants are unaware of series Chinese television series. Only about 18% do not have an opinion regarding the statement (Figure 8.4).

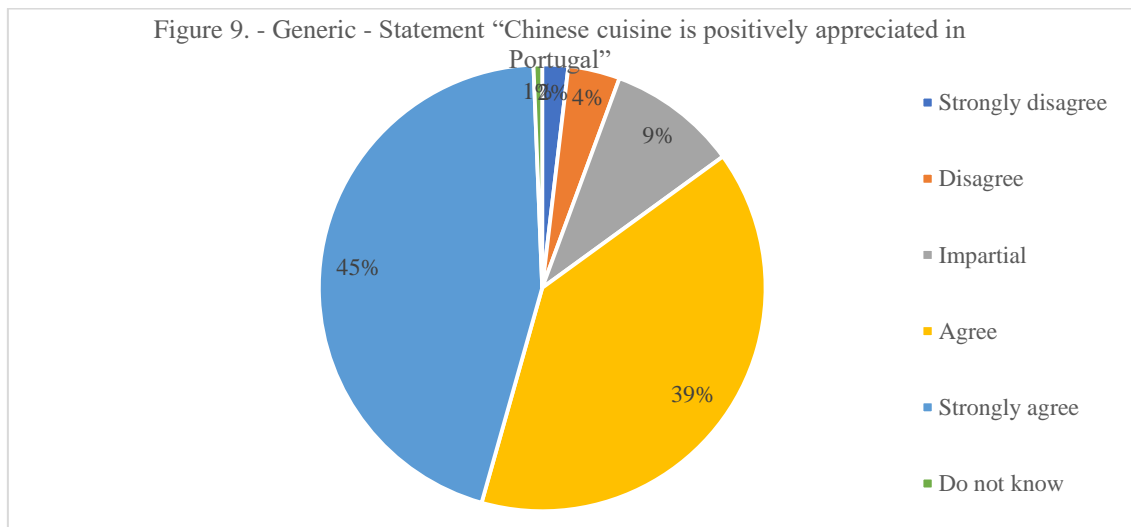


Concerning the issue of “Chinese cuisine is positively appreciated in Portugal”

It would appear obvious that Chinese cuisine is praised for its diversity and can be found worldwide. The Chinese catering industry in Portugal is very common and widespread. This issue seeks to understand if Chinese cuisine is valued and known by the participants.

This certain cultural product was selected in the survey because Chinese cuisine is recognisable for its natural uniqueness.

In terms of the overall opinion of the appreciation of the Chinese cuisine, 84% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There is a minority that consist of 1% of the participants who are unaware of Chinese cuisine and 9% do not have an opinion (Figure 9).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 31% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 8% of the participants disagree with the statement. There are about 23% of participants who are unaware of Chinese cuisine and 38 % do not have an opinion of such matter. (Figure 9.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 84% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 4.5% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 1.5 % of participants who are unaware of Chinese cuisine and 9% do not have an opinion (Figure 9.2).

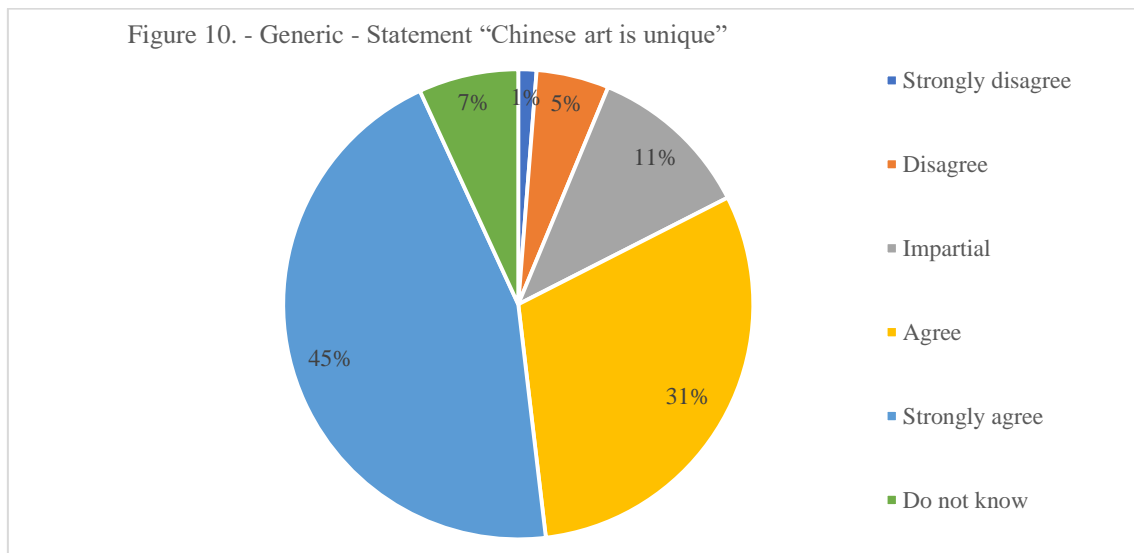
Regarding the female participants, our survey shows that 88% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 4% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. In addition, 7% do not have an opinion (Figure 9.3).

Concerning the male participants, our survey shows that a total of 79% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree with the statement. There are about 2% of male participants who are unaware of Chinese cuisine and 13% do not have an opinion (Figure 9.4).

Concerning the issue of “Chinese art is unique”

Chinese art, whether ancient or modern, sometimes might be confused with other Asian arts. To the untrained eye, it can appear to be Japanese or Korean art. This issue prompts to know if Chinese art is well known and if it is valued for its uniqueness. This cultural product was chosen due to its historical significance. Throughout ages, many merchants traded Chinese cultural artefacts, which eventually ended up in every western world household and nowadays are on display on many museums throughout Europe.

In terms of the overall opinion of the uniqueness of the Chinese art, 76% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 9% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 11% of the participants who do not have an opinion and 7% participants who are unaware of Chinese art (Figure 10).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 84% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 8% of the participants disagree with the statement. Moreover, 8% of participants who do not have an opinion on this subject and 8% disagree with the statement (Figure 10.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 75% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 12% of participants who do not have an opinion and 7% do not know Chinese art (Figure 10.2).

Concerning the female participants, our survey shows that 84% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree or strongly

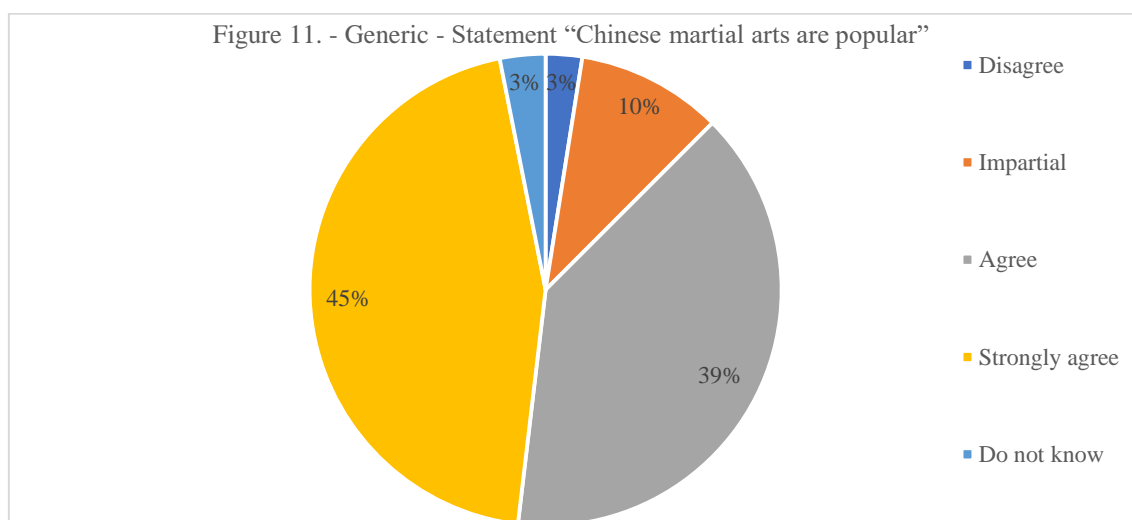
disagree with the statement. Moreover, 6% are unaware and 6% have no opinion about the statement (Figure 10.3).

Regarding the male participants, our survey shows that 66% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree with the statement. There are about 20% of participants who do not have an opinion and 8% of the male participants are unaware of the subject discussed (Figure 10.4).

Concerning the issue of “Chinese martial arts are popular”

Chinese martial arts are various fighting styles that have developed over the centuries in China. In addition, it is practiced worldwide and became very popular due to the spread of the Chinese action films that focus on fighting. This cultural product was selected for the survey due to the fact Chinese martial arts are connected to China’s different historic phases. This issue sets to understand if this well-known cultural product is still prevalent.

In terms of the overall opinion of the popularity of the Chinese martial arts, 84% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 3% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 10% of participants who do not have an opinion. Moreover, 6% are unaware of the above-mentioned subject (Figure 11).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 92% of the participants share a favourable opinion, with 38% agreeing and 54% strongly agreeing with the statement. There are about 8% of the participants who do not have an opinion (Figure 11.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 84% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. There are about 10% of participants who do not have an opinion. There is a minority that is unaware (3%) or disagree (3%) with the statement (Figure 11.2).

Regarding the female participants, our survey shows that 87% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. The minority amount to 7% have no opinion (Figure 11.3).

Concerning the male participants, our survey shows that 80% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 5% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 15% of the male participants who do not have an opinion (Figure 11.4).

Concerning the issue of “Chinese festivals are appealing”

Chinese festivals are an integral part of Chinese culture. Some festivals such as the Chinese New Year (Spring Festival) is practiced worldwide due to the Chinese overseas community established in many different countries. In Portugal this event alone is organized annually with parades and performances. Other not so well-known festivals, such as the Lantern Festival, the Qingming Festival, the Dragon Boat Festival and the Mid-autumn Festival, are also being slowly introduced to the Portuguese community, especially through the Confucius Institute. This cultural product was selected for the survey due to its growing importance and impact on many societies that integrate Chinese communities. This issue seeks to understand if these events are popular and admired.

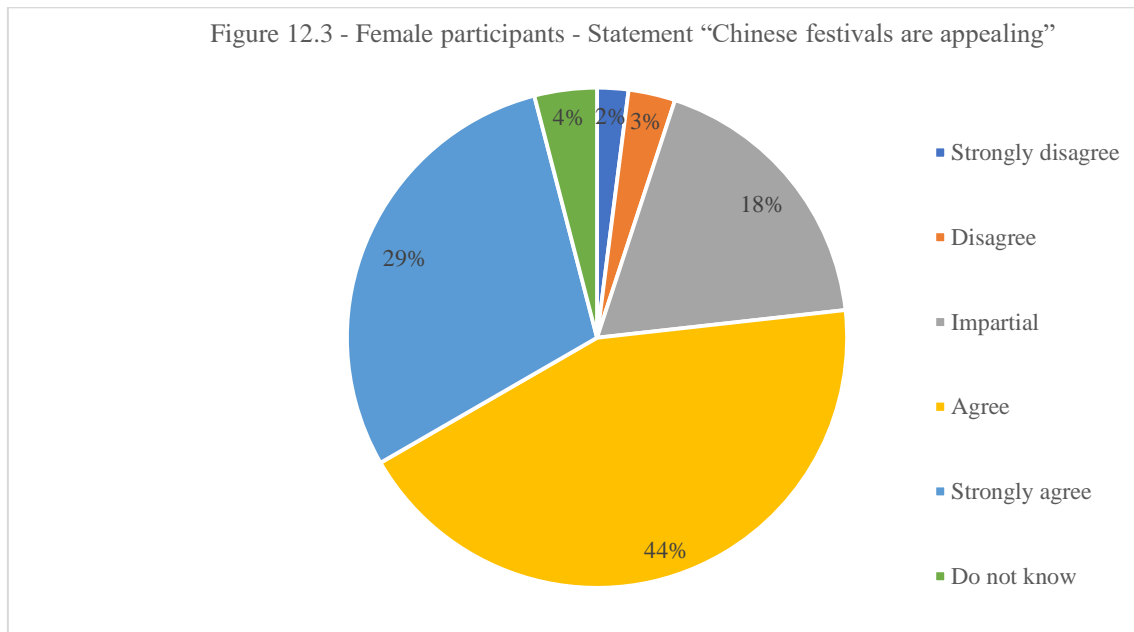
In terms of the overall opinion of the appeal of the Chinese festivals, 68% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 21% of the participants that do not have an opinion. Furthermore, 5% that are unaware of the mentioned subject (Figure 12).

Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 92% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. There are about 8% of participants who do not have an opinion (Figure 12.1).

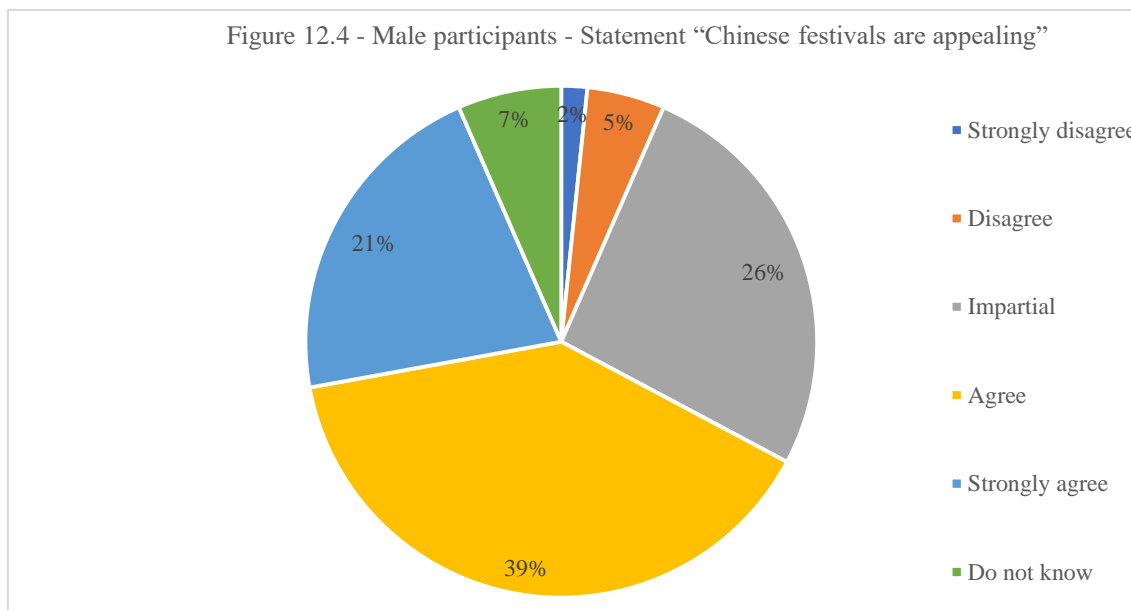
Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 66% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 6% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 23% of participants who

do not have an opinion. Moreover, 5% that are unaware of the subject discussed in the statement (Figure 12.2).

Concerning the female participants, our survey shows that 73% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 5% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Furthermore, 4% that are unaware of the subject discussed (Figure 12.3).



Regarding the male participants, our survey shows that 60% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 7% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 26% of the male participants who do not have an opinion. Moreover, 7% that are unaware of the subject discussed (Figure 12.4).



Concerning the issue of “The Chinese language is interesting”

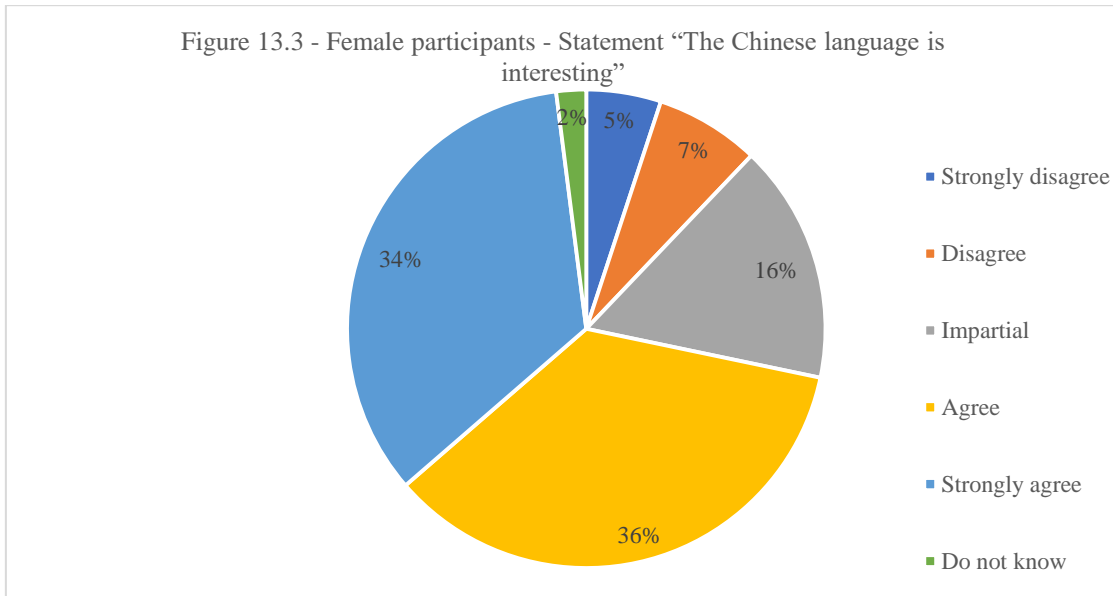
The Chinese language is one of the oldest languages in the world, with the first written records appeared over 3,000 years ago during the Shang dynasty (1046–256 BC). Due to the high population of Chinese nationals and Chinese diaspora, this language is spoken worldwide. This cultural product was chosen due to the fact that language itself is a way of portraying a society’s cultural values, way of life and beliefs. This issue aims to understand if this language is appealing and recognised.

In terms of the overall opinion of the curiosity towards Chinese language, 65% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 12% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. There are about 20% of participants who do not have an opinion. Furthermore, 3% are unaware of the mentioned subject (Figure 13.).

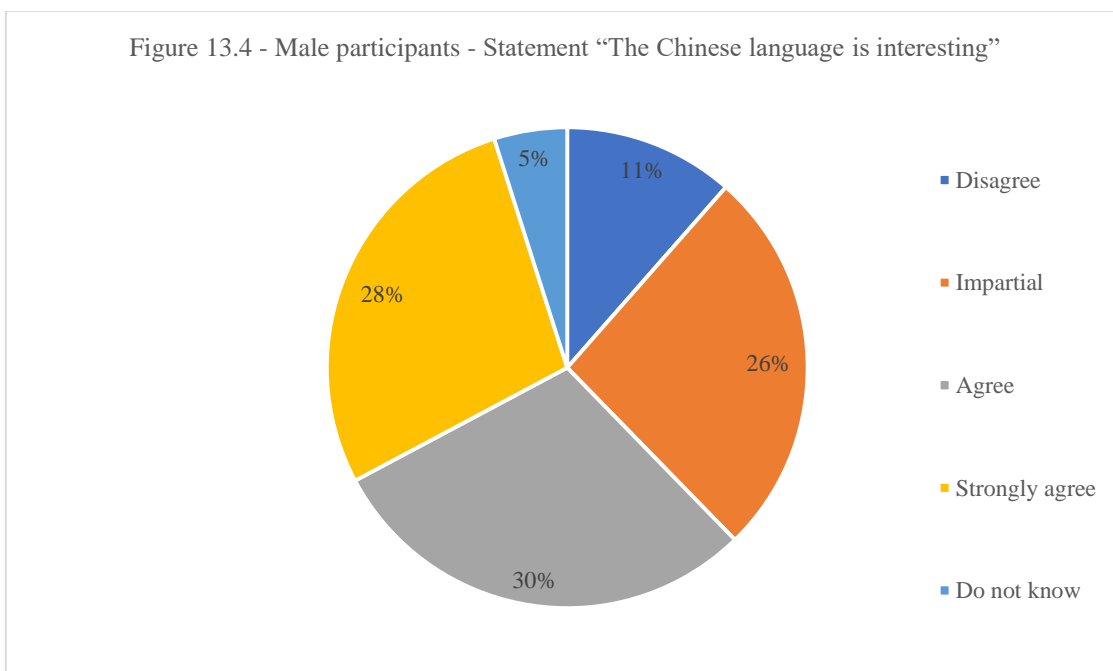
Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, the analysis shows 15% agree and 85% strongly agree with the statement. This outcome would be very difficult to be disputed, since all the students that enrol in the Confucius Institute are very intrigued with the Chinese language (Figure 13.1).

Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 42% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. There are about 22% of participants who do not have an opinion on the subject. While 13% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Moreover, 3% are unaware of the subject of the statement (Figure 13.2).

Regarding the female participants, our survey shows that 70% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 12% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Furthermore, 16% that have no opinion and 2% are unaware of the subject of the statement (Figure 13.3).



Concerning the male participants, our survey shows that 58% of the participants agree or strongly agree with the statement. While 11% of the participants disagree with the statement. here are about 26% of participants who do not have an opinion and 5% are unaware of the subject discussed (Figure 13.4).



Summary

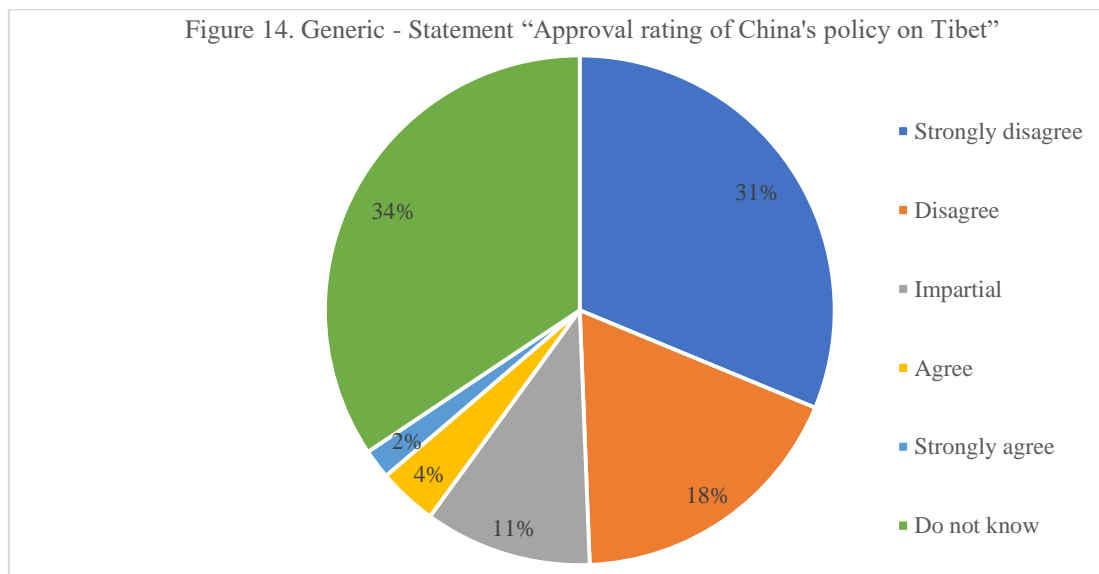
Our surveys show that many of the participants share a favourable opinion towards Chinese culture and its cultural products. The most popular and well-liked cultural products concern martial arts, art and cuisine. Nevertheless, there were some cultural products that were not so well-known by the participants. This is the case for Chinese cinema and television series. Only the Confucius Institute students' group results show that they value and acknowledge all the Chinese cultural products. Which is not surprising, due to the fact that these participants are more in contact with the Chinese culture. Concerning the gender groups, the female participants seemed more aware and prone to view favourably Chinese cultural products in contrast to their male counterparts.

Chapter 5 – The description and the data analysis of the Chinese government’s policies

Concerning the issue of “Approval rating of China's policy on Tibet”

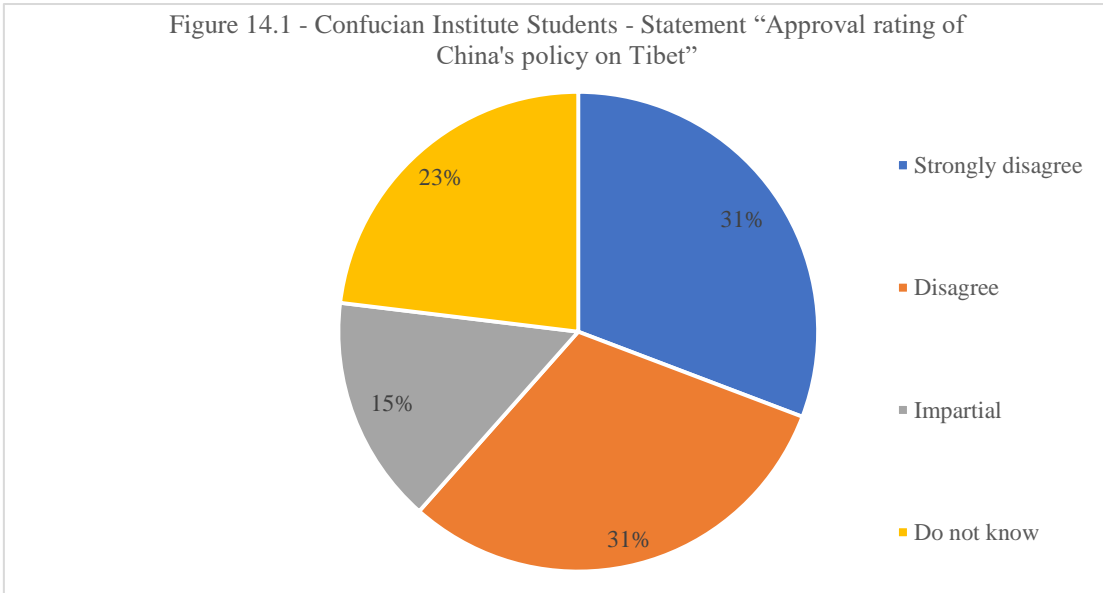
Tibetans share their allegiances with their exiled spiritual leader, the 14th Dalai Lama, which fled Tibet in 1959 after a failed anti-Chinese uprising. Moreover, Chinese officials see this spiritual leader as a separatist threat. It is also crucial to notice that during China's Cultural Revolution, most of Tibet's monasteries are demolished. There is also a claim that thousands of Tibetans are killed during periods of repression and martial law. Many rights groups claim that the Chinese government violate human rights as well as politically and religiously repress the Tibetan people. This issue considers the participants awareness of ongoing confrontations that China’s policies executed.

In terms of the overall opinion regarding the approval of China’s policy on Tibet, 49% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 6% of the participants agree or strongly agree. About 11% of participants do not have an opinion and 34% are unaware of the questioned subject (Figure 14).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 62% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. About 15% of participants do not have an opinion and 23% do not know about the questioned subject (Figure 14.1).

Figure 14.1 - Confucian Institute Students - Statement “Approval rating of China's policy on Tibet”



Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 48% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 6% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Additionally, 10% of participants do not have an opinion and 36% do not know about the questioned subject (Figure 14.2).

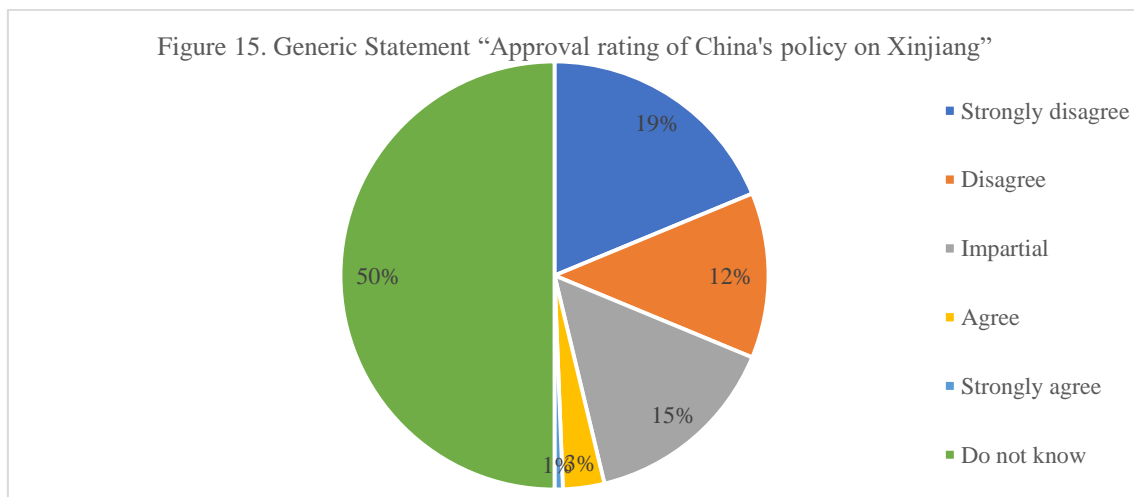
Regarding the female participants, our survey shows that 55% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. In addition, 9% of participants do not have an opinion and 30% do not know about the questioned subject. The minority amount to 4% agreeing and 2% strongly agreeing (Figure 14.3).

Concerning the male participants, our survey shows that 51% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 5% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Moreover, 13% of participants do not have an opinion and 31% are unaware of the questioned subject (Figure 14.4).

Concerning the issue of “Approval rating of China's policy on Xinjiang”

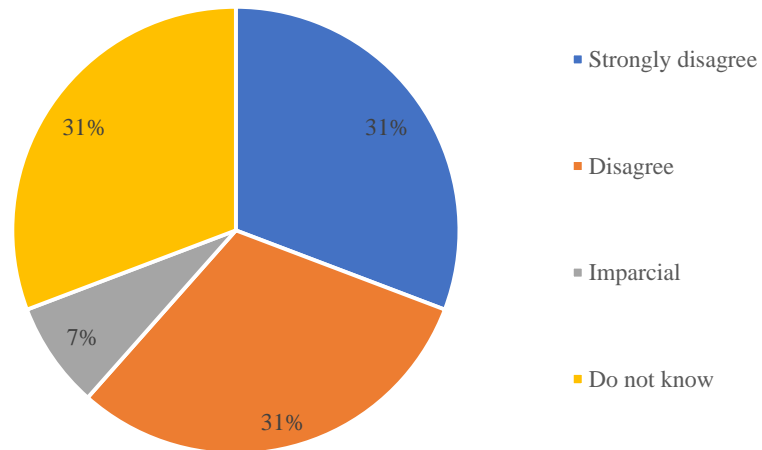
The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region is an autonomous region in China that is facing ongoing violations of the Uyghurs’ human rights, a predominantly Turkic-speaking ethnic group. This situation is not new, there have been reports since 2014 and until recently, the Chinese government has intensified their actions. The Chinese government has allegedly imprisoned around a million Muslims in re-education camps. Many detainees who have fled China describe harsh conditions, which they are forced to pledge loyalty to the Communist Party of China and reject Islam, praise communism and learn Mandarin. The camp monitors the detainees’ movements with cameras and microphones.

Some claimed they are tortured and subjected to sleep deprivation during interrogations. It is also worthwhile to understand that most of the detainees have never been charged with crimes and most are targeted for simply practicing their religion. Furthermore, foreign governments, United Nations officials and Human rights organizations are urging China to stop the suppression. Nonetheless, Chinese officials maintain that the re-education camps are vocational training centres. Moreover, they refuse to share information and prevent foreign investigators and journalists from exploring the alleged training centres. Outside of the re-education camps, Xinjiang is overwhelmed with surveillance pioneering technology and many Uyghurs' actions are regularly monitored. In terms of the overall opinion regarding the approval of China's policy on Xinjiang, 31% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 4% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Moreover, 50% of participants are unaware of the issue and 15% do not have an opinion (Figure 15).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 62% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. Furthermore, 31% of participants are unaware of the issue and 7% do not have an opinion (Figure 15.1).

Figure 15.2 - Confucian Institute Students - Statement “Approval rating of China's policy on Xinjiang”



Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 29% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 4% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Additionally, 15% of participants do not have an opinion and 52% are unaware of the subject questioned (Figure 15.2).

Concerning the female participants, our survey shows that 30% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 5% of the participants strongly agree. Moreover, 56% of participants are unaware of the issue and 9% do not have an opinion (Figure 15.3).

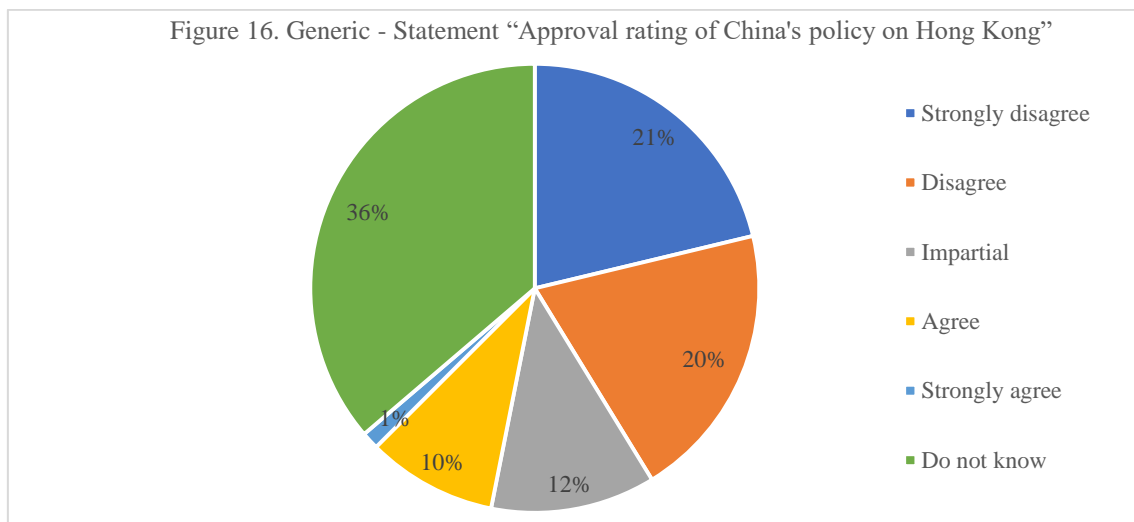
Regarding the male participants, our survey shows that 32% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 2% of the participants strongly agree. Additionally, 41% of participants are unaware of the issue and 25% do not have an opinion (Figure 15.4).

Concerning the issue of “Approval rating of China's policy on Hong Kong”

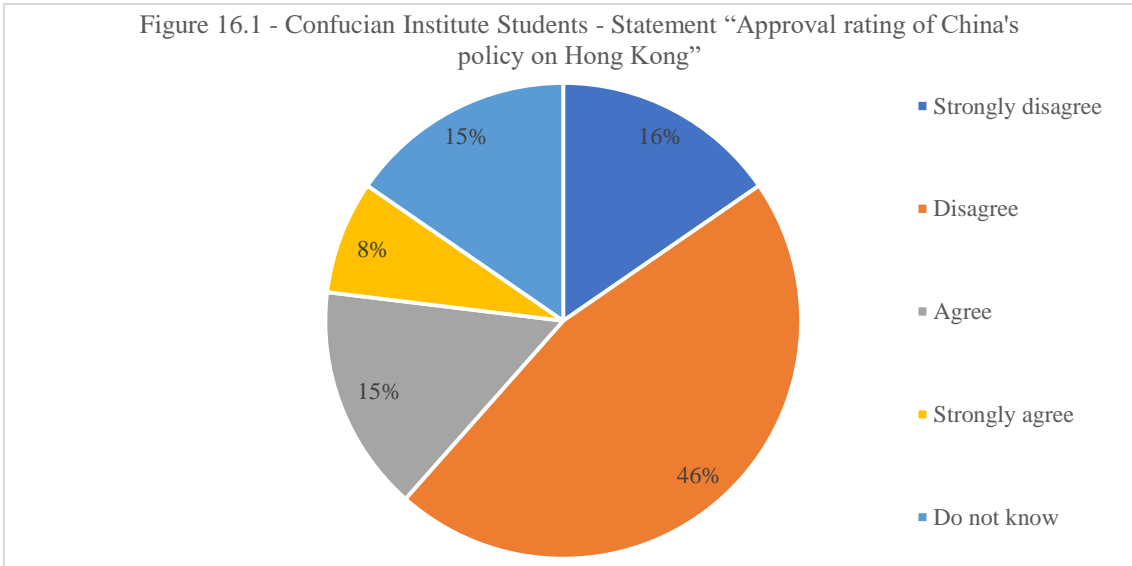
The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China is a special administrative region and has some autonomy and more rights than the mainland under a "one country, two systems" principle imposed by Deng Xiaoping. Hong Kong's protests is a relatively new event that is enduring and it has been broadcasted in media worldwide. In June, Hong Kong's protesters started to go against proposals to allow an extradition bill, which would have allowed for criminal suspects to be extradited to mainland China under certain circumstances. Furthermore, protesters stated that this bill could lead to unfair trials and violent treatment and target activists and journalists. In addition, they also claimed that the bill would give China more influence over Hong Kong. On a daily basis, media broadcast gradually more violent confrontations between police and protesters. Hong Kong's Chief Executive Carrie Lam decided to suspend the bill.

However, protesters are apprehensive that the bill could be revived, so protests continued, appealing for it to be fully withdrawn. In September, the bill was withdrawn, but the protests continued. They are demanding universal suffrage for the elections of the chief executive and Legislative Council, amnesty for all arrested protesters and an independent inquiry into alleged police brutality. China was a quiet bystander throughout, but recently condemned Hong Kong’s protests. Moreover, there are reports of Chinese military and police crossing the border in Shenzhen. Due to these recent events, it is interesting to know if the participants are aware of this situation and if China’s policy towards Hong Kong is suitable under Portuguese and European standards.

In terms of the overall opinion regarding the approval of China’s policy on Hong Kong, 41% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. About 36% of participants are unaware of the issue and 12% do not have an opinion. There are about 10% agree with the policy and 1% strongly agree with the policy by the government (Figure 16).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 61% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. Moreover, 15% of participants do not have an opinion and 15% agree with the policy and 8% strongly agree with the policy by the government (Figure 16.1).



Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 40% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 9% of the participants agree. Additionally, 13% of participants do not have an opinion formulated and 38% do not know about the subject questioned (Figure 16.2).

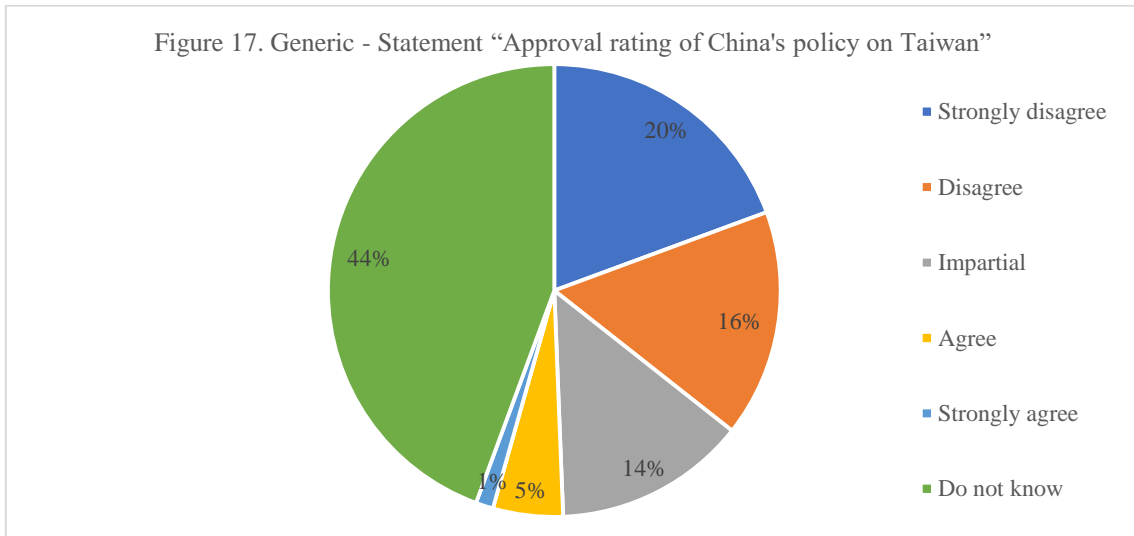
Regarding the female participants, our survey shows that 40% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 10% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Moreover, 10% of participants do not have an opinion and 40% do not know about the questioned subject (Figure 16.3).

Concerning the male participants, our survey shows that 43% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 11% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Furthermore, 15% of participants do not have an opinion and 31% are unaware of the questioned subject (Figure 16.4).

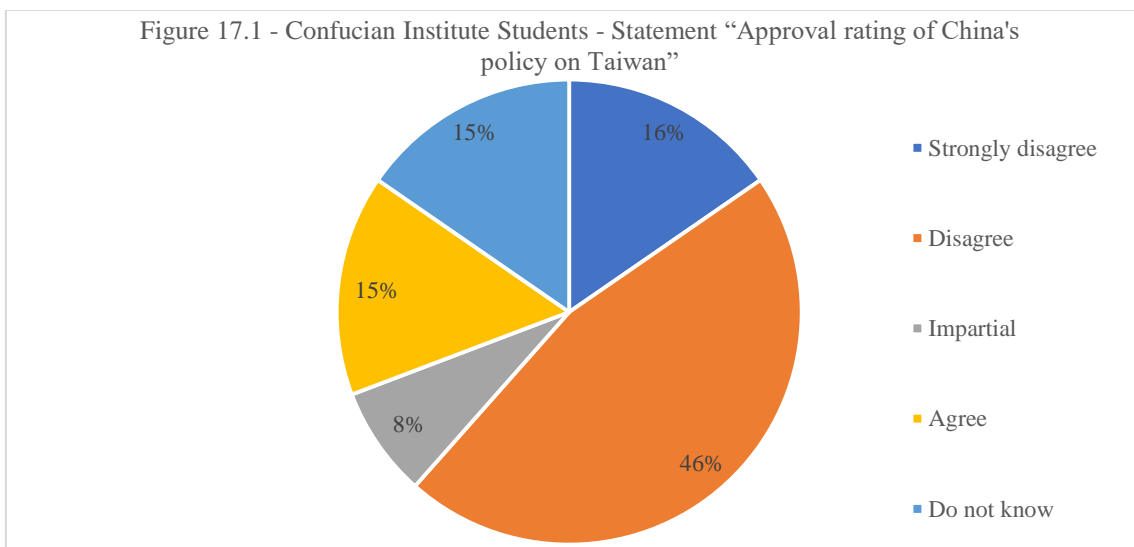
Concerning the issue of “Approval rating of China's policy on Taiwan”

China and Taiwan have a controversial and complex relationship mostly due to the dispute on the political status of Taiwan. After the 1949 civil war these two entities are subsequently divided by rivalling governments. On one hand, the People's Republic of China has throughout years claimed that Taiwan is part of the same country. On the other hand, Taiwan has claimed to be an independent country. In addition, China’s increasing military spending in the Taiwan Strait, based on a defence strategy, does not help de-escalate the situation. This statement seeks to understand whether the participants understand this relationship and how it perceives it.

In terms of the overall opinion regarding the approval of China’s policy on Taiwan, 36% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 6% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Additionally, 44% of participants are unaware of the issue (Figure 17).



Those who are enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 62% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 23% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Moreover, 15% of participants do not have an opinion (Figure 17.1).



Those who are not enrolled in the Confucius Institute, our survey shows that 37% % of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 5% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Furthermore, 16% of participants do not have an opinion and 42% are unaware of the subject questioned (Figure 17.2).

Concerning the female participants, our survey shows that 35% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 6% of the participants agree. Moreover, 11% of

participants do not have an opinion and 48% are unaware of the subject questioned (Figure 17.3).

Regarding the male participants, our survey shows that 38% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree. While 6% of the participants agree or strongly agree. Additionally, 18% of participants do not have an opinion and 40% are unaware of the questioned subject (Figure 17.4).

Summary

Our surveys show that many of the participants share an unfavourable opinion regarding China's government's policies towards Tibet, Xinjiang, Hong Kong and Taiwan. It is worthwhile to consider that the majority of the participants are unaware of the situation in Xinjiang. The most surprising fact is that the Confucius Institute students' group results demonstrate that this group is informed regarding Xinjiang's current situation. Overall, concerning the groups that have no connection to the Confucius Institute, the results infer that many disapprove and are unaware of the China's government's policies impact in the mentioned areas.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

Our survey approached many questions that concern China's soft power strategy on Portuguese citizens. It ranged from questions concerning soft power strategy focused on cultural products. In addition, how these participants consider the Chinese government's actions and policies in specified regions that concern state of politics and human rights.

Considering the question of which Chinese cultural products are the most popular among Portuguese citizens, our survey's data shows that martial arts, cuisine and art are the most popular and viewed positively by the participants. Furthermore, of all the Chinese cultural products, our survey results demonstrate that the most popular is martial arts. Each demographic group analysed shows a positive opinion towards Chinese martial arts with very few disliking or not knowing this cultural product. Regarding the overall results of the Chinese art, the results show that in all group, a majority have a favourable opinion. Lastly, as regards to the statement of Chinese cuisine is positively appreciated in Portugal, the results display overall favourable opinions.

The female participants were more likely to favour Chinese culture. This fact is clear regarding the analysis of the statements results concerning culture, music, festivals, language and cinema. While music and culture there was only a slight increase of the females participant positive opinion, other cultural products such as festivals, language and cinema the females participants results reach higher numbers than their male counterparts.

Our results infer that the Xinjiang area is the least well-known area and that the participants are unaware of events and policies implemented by the Chinese government. Exactly 50% of the participants were uninformed of the situation in the Xinjiang region. This is followed by 44% of participants being uninformed of the events and policies by the Chinese government in Taiwan. Hong Kong follows up with 36% of the participants and Tibet with 34% of the participants being uninformed of China's policies in those regions. The area which the participants are most informed is the Tibet region by analysing the results of the participants that approved and disapproved of the Chinese government's actions. For instance, China's policies on Tibet and Hong Kong, with 49% and 41% respectively having an unfavourable opinion. For the participants that agree, there are 6% that favour China's policy in Tibet. While there 11% participants that agree

that agree with China's policy in Hong Kong. Furthermore, 36% of the participants hold an unfavourable opinion towards China's policies on Taiwan. Only 6% of participants agree with China's policy on Taiwan. Lastly, our survey shows that 31% of the participants shared an unfavourable opinion towards the Chinese government's action in the Xinjiang region. Only 4% of participants agree with China's policy on Xinjiang. Summing up, around 55% of the participants are aware of the situation in Tibet, 52% of the participants are aware of the situation in Hong Kong, 42% of the participants are aware of the situation in Taiwan and 35% of the participants are aware of the situation in Xinjiang.

The participants enrolled in the Confucius Institute proved to be the group that disapproves of China's policies on human rights. For instance, our survey presents majority with an unfavourable opinion with 62% of the participants regarding the Chinese government's policy on the areas of Tibet, Xinjiang and Hong Kong. While balancing with the data related to China's soft power through culture, the participants enrolled in the Confucius Institute are more prone to view favourably the Chinese culture while sharing a negative opinion towards the human rights situations that the Chinese government's policies affect.

In conclusion, the overall results of our survey show that many participants view Chinese cultural products favourably. Moreover, our survey points out that females are more prone to look favourably upon Chinese culture. Nevertheless, this does not translate into positive soft power that the Chinese government is trying to captivate. As mentioned before, Nye explained the sources of soft power as part of values expressed in culture, policies as well as how the country acts in the international structure. Considering that most of China's scholars view soft power differently from Nye's concept, this shows that China's soft power strategy, based on culture, cannot counter the other values mentioned by Nye, such as the Chinese government's policies and actions towards Tibet, Xinjiang, Hong Kong and Taiwan. While our survey shows that Chinese soft power based on culture does produce a positive outcome of China's culture, China's soft power strategy cannot endure or produce long lasting positive results to change the participants' attitudes on human rights in China. This is especially true due to the fact that our survey included participants that were enrolled in the Confucius Institute. This group showed to be the most informed on China's policies while admiring Chinese cultural products. When it comes to culture, this group shows that they value Chinese culture more than other groups

with a total of 85% sharing a positive opinion of Chinese culture. Other cultural products that were viewed positively by this group were related to music, cinema, television series, art, martial arts, festivals and the language. In contrast, the overall results from our survey demonstrated that many of the participants lack knowledge about the Chinese government's policies.

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Annexes

Annex A - Survey

This questionnaire aims to assess the impact of the soft power of the People's Republic of China on the attitudes of Portuguese citizens and takes approximately 3 minutes to complete.

Fill in the questions with (X) on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Please take a moment to reflect on each issue addressed and try to be as truthful as possible.

Responses will remain confidential and will be used for research purposes only.

Thank you for your collaboration.

1) Select your gender:

Male

Female

2) Select your status:

Worker

Student

Working student

Unemployed

3) Are you a student at the Confucius Institute?

The Confucius Institute is a non-profit public educational organization affiliated with the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, with the purpose of promoting Chinese language and culture, supporting Chinese education and facilitating cultural exchanges.

Yes

No

4) Select your age:

14 to 17 years old

18 to 20 years old

21 to 29 years old

30 to 39 years old

40 to 49 years old

50 to 59 years old

60 to 64 years old

65 years old or older

5) Select your level of education:

Basic education

High school

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree

PhD

Questions	Strongly disagree 1	Disagree 2	Impartial 3	Agree 4	Strongly agree 5	Do not Know
Chinese culture is popular.						
Chinese music is pleasant.						
Chinese cinema has quality.						
Chinese television series are appealing.						
Chinese cuisine is positively appreciated in Portugal						
Chinese art is unique.						
Chinese martial arts are popular.						
Chinese festivals are appealing (Chinese New Year, among others).						
The Chinese language is interesting.						
To know Mandarin can be an advantage for us Portuguese.						
The Confucius Institute is favorable for China.						
The Confucius Institute is favorable for Portugal.						
Chinese investment in Portugal is beneficial for China.						
Chinese investment in Portugal is beneficial for Portugal.						

The relationship between Portugal and China is favorable.						
Approval rating of China's policy on Tibet.						
Approval rating of China's policy on Xinjiang.						
Approval rating of China's policy on Hong Kong.						
Approval rating of China's policy on Taiwan.						