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Confucius Institutes

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Introduction

Confucius Institutes are a cluster of non-profit educational organizations that promote the Chinese language and culture outside China. At the center of this cluster is the Confucius Institute Headquarters, a public-sector institution affiliated with the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China that also operates under the name of *Hanban*. *Hanban* (汉办), in Chinese, is a colloquial abbreviation of the *Guojia hanyu guoji tuiguan lingdao xiaozu bangongshi* (国家汉语国际推广领导小组办公室), the official English title of which is the Office of Chinese Language Council International. Overseen by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban, the first Confucius Institute opened its door in Seoul in November 2004. As of December 2017, there were 525 Confucius Institutes and 1,113 Confucius Classrooms in 146 countries and territories around the world. Although the Confucius Institutes are sometimes viewed in parallel to other state-sponsored cultural institutions such as the British Council, Alliance Française, and Goethe-Institut, their structure and development strategies are significantly different from the foreign counterparts, which often operate as stand-alone corporations. Confucius Institutes and Classrooms, however, are normally affiliated to universities, schools, cultural organizations, and community centers outside China, and they are almost always jointly established and managed between the host institutions and their Chinese partner institutions, which are generally, though not without exception, universities in China. The Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban provides financial support and teaching resources to Confucius Institutes and Classrooms around the world. It also selects the Chinese director for and sends teaching staff and volunteers from China to Confucius Institutes and Classrooms. These directors, teaching staff, and volunteers are often selected from the Chinese partner institutions. For each Confucius Institute, the host institution appoints one of its staff members as the foreign director, who manages the Institute together with the Chinese director. On some occasions, the foreign director acts as the chief operation officer of their Confucius Institute and the Chinese director plays an assisting role. Due to these complicated arrangements, the actual levels of autonomy, styles of operation, and ranges of activities can be considerably diverse among different Confucius Institutes and Classrooms despite the standardized *Constitution and By-Laws* set up by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban. Although the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban restricts its objectives to teach the Chinese language, promote the Chinese culture, and enhance the development of multiculturalism, Confucius Institutes and Classrooms are widely regarded by observers both within and outside China as important players in the making and shaping of China's soft power. Confucius Institutes have received both criticisms and admiration for their activities as well as their rapid development and expansion. Assessments have also been made on the impact that Confucius Institutes have on international economic and people flows, as well as on China's image and influence. The rest of this article starts by introducing sources that offer general overview on Confucius Institutes. It is then divided into several thematic sections that focus on the most discussed aspects of Confucius Institutes, including their operation and development, their involvement in shaping China's soft power, perceptions of Confucius Institutes in academia and media, and the impact that Confucius Institutes have on various aspects of China's relation with the rest of the world.

General Overview

Although a significant number of scholarly enquiries have been made into various social and political aspects of Confucius Institutes, much fewer academic publications can provide a one-stop comprehensive overview on the nature, history, and organizational structure of this rapidly growing network of institutes. This probably is due to a series of factors. Firstly, the Confucius Institute project is still relatively new, and it has constantly been in rapid development. Thus, any attempt to capture the latest status of Confucius Institutes is easily outdated by what has happened more recently. Moreover, although noticeable concerns have been made on the considerable influence that the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban in Beijing has on an individual Confucius Institute or Classroom outside China (see *Doubts and Criticisms*), considerable diversities exist among different Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in terms of their specific activities and their actual working relations with various departments and individuals in host institutions. Furthermore, although

Confucius Institutes are often used as one of the several cases or examples to illustrate some broader arguments, such as the rise of China's cultural diplomacy, they are much less frequently to be chosen as the actual subject of academic discussions. That said, it is still possible to obtain some general overview on the essential information regarding Confucius Institutes through at least three bodies of materials, which are, namely, monographs and Internet portals specifically devoted to the study of Confucius Institutes, periodicals published by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban and academic institutes, and the diaries and memoirs written by former directors of Confucius Institutes. In addition, many academic works that focus on certain aspects of Confucius Institutes also include an overview on the history, activities, and organizational structure of the system (see, for example, Paradise 2009, cited under Roles and Mechanisms).

Monographs and Internet Portals

With new institutes and classrooms opened almost every month (and existing ones closed at times), the development of Confucius Institutes is highly dynamic. Therefore, the best way to be kept updated with the latest accurate information is to directly follow the bilingual (in both Chinese and English) Confucius Institute Annual Development Reports, which is available on the official website of the Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban). In addition, an increasing number of monographs published in Chinese and in English—albeit still in relatively small numbers—are devoted to study Confucius Institutes and their operation in various countries. The book-length studies in English include Stambach 2014, Hartig 2016, and Gil 2017, and the book-length studies in Chinese include Huang 2016, Ning 2016, and Liu 2017. Although to this day there has not been any aggregated source to provide an exhaustive coverage on the activities launched by Confucius Institutes and Classrooms all over the world, some institutes, such as the Sheffield Confucius Institute in the United Kingdom and the ELTE Modell Konfuciusz Intézet in Hungary, have made some of their regular newsletters available through their websites. These newsletters are useful primary sources reflecting not only the activities carried out by Confucius Institutes but also how these activities were viewed and framed by these institutes. In addition, some Confucius Institutes have also made their annual reports available online. For example, the Confucius Institute at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia, offers access to each of its annual reports since 2014.

Confucius Institute Annual Development Reports.

Chinese title: Kongzi xueyuan niandu fazhan baogao (孔子学院年度发展报告). This series of annual reports are published bilingually, with identical Chinese and English information in the same volumes. Produced by the Confucius Institute Headquarters, they are the official source for information regarding the latest development of Confucius Institutes, especially the precise information on, for example, the total number of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms. Only reports between 2011 and 2016 have been made publicly available.

Confucius Institute at the University of New South Wales.

This webpage offers access to the annual reports of the Confucius Institute at the University of New South Wales since 2014. Each annual report includes reports on the major events and activities launched by the institute, as well as the information on the organizational structure and staff of the institute.

Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban.

Chinese title: Kongzi xueyuan zongbu/Guojia hanban (孔子学院总部/国家汉办). Available in Chinese, English, French, Spanish and Arabic, this official website of the Confucius Institute Headquarters offers a wide range of up-to-date data and materials. It also includes a news aggregation section that presents selected media coverages (mostly positive) on Confucius Institutes around the world.

ELTE Modell Konfuciusz Intézet.

This webpage offers access to an online archive of eleven volumes of *Konfuciusz Krónika* released by the ELTE Modell Konfuciusz Intézet between 2007 and 2013. The contents are mostly in Hungarian, complimented by some Chinese notes. In addition to coverage on the major activities held by the institute, each volume of *Konfuciusz Krónika* also includes essays introducing the Chinese language and culture.

Gil, Jeffrey. *Soft Power and the Worldwide Promotion of Chinese Language Learning Beliefs and Practices: The Confucius Institute Project*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2017.

This book, through an analysis of official documents, interviews, survey data and relevant academic and media sources, presents an informative overview of the Confucius Institute project, with a focus on evaluating the aims of this project and the extent to which these aims are being met. This book is highly readable and provides comprehensive information on various important aspects of Confucius Institutes, including their background, status of development, impacts and implications.

Hartig, Falk. *Chinese Public Diplomacy: The Rise of the Confucius Institute*. London: Routledge, 2016.

This book offers very comprehensive discussions on how Confucius Institutes, although primarily defined as a promoter of Chinese language and culture, also work for the foreign policy goals of the Chinese government. In particular, this book provides empirical evidence and in-depth analysis on how Confucius Institutes serve as an instrument for the Chinese government to promote the country's soft power in Australia and Germany.

Huang Mei 黄湄. *Dajigou guan yu Zhongguo daolu: Kongzi xueyuan fazhan bijiao yanjiu* (大机构观与中国道路：孔子学院发展比较研究). Beijing: Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe, 2016.

The author worked at the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban when this book was written. Drawing upon the author's professional experience, this book discusses the organizational structure and the operation of Confucius Institutes through the perspective of organizational studies. It also offers insightful comparisons between Confucius Institutes and their counterparts in the West, such as the British Council, Alliance Française, and Goethe-Institut.

Liu Cheng 刘程. *Wenda Kongzi xueyuan* (问答孔子学院). Guangzhou, China: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2017.

The author of this book is a former Chinese director of Lancaster University Confucius Institute as well as a researcher on the Confucius Institute project. This book is organized into a dialogic format, and it covers a series of aspects that are of interest to students and observers of the Confucius Institute, including the motivation for higher education institutions to set up Confucius Institutes, the mechanisms through which Confucius Institutes operate, and the geographical distribution and the typology of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms.

Ning Jiming 宁继鸣, ed. *Kongzi xueyuan fazhan baogao* (孔子学院发展报告). Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2016.

This book represents the academic frontier of the study into Confucius Institutes in China. It offers information and reflection on the operation, development, impacts, and perceptions of the Confucius Institutes project.

Sheffield Confucius Institute.

This webpage offers access to the online archive of Sheffield Confucius Institute's *Newsletters* (in English) and *News Briefings* (in Chinese), both reporting the main activities carried out by, or at, the institute. Altogether, there are fourteen issues of the biannual *Newsletters*, published between 2007 and 2014, and forty-two issues of the monthly *News Briefings*, published between 2008 and 2013.

Stambach, Amy. *Confucius and Crisis in American Universities: Culture, Capital, and Diplomacy in US Public Higher Education*. London: Routledge, 2014.

This book offers rich ethnographic data obtained through the author's interviews with the teachers, students, administrators and management involved in the operation of various Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in the United States. It provides insightful analysis into the local context of the US-based Confucius Institutes. It also highlights some broader, often unexpected, impacts that Confucius Institutes have on the American society.

Periodicals

There are two periodicals specifically focusing on Confucius Institutes. Published bimonthly, *Kongzi xueyuan* 孔子学院 is a series of bilingual magazines produced by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban, featuring the activities of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms all round the world as well as those of the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban. On the other hand, *Kongzi xueyuan fazhan yanjiu* 孔子学院发展研究 is a peer-reviewed quarterly journal that aims to report the latest academic findings regarding the Confucius Institute project.

***Kongzi xueyuan* 孔子学院. 2009–.**

Launched in 2009, this magazine is now published in eleven bilingual editions (Chinese with English, Spanish, French, Russian, Thai, Korean, Japanese, Arabic, German, Portuguese, and Italian). Each edition includes country-specific information. This magazine is a source for up-to-date information regarding the development of Confucius Institutes. Each issue of every edition is available through the magazine's designated website.

***Kongzi xueyuan fazhan yanjiu* 孔子学院发展研究. 2012–.**

This Chinese academic journal, published quarterly since 2012, is based at the Overseas Education College of Xiamen University. Being the world's only academic journal dedicated to the study of Confucius Institutes, this periodical publishes articles that analyze Confucius Institutes and their development from various disciplinary perspectives, with most articles focusing on topics relevant to the Chinese language and culture.

Diaries and Memoirs

The diaries and memoirs of former directors of Confucius Institutes not only provide useful information on the activities held by these units but also offer valuable first-hand insights into their daily work of managing these units, including their interactions with various stakeholders. The memoirs, such as Lai 2013, Zheng 2013, and Zhang and Xu 2014, often include specific sections on the activities that were conducted or witnessed by the authors in their capacity as the Chinese director of Confucius Institutes. The dairies, such as Wang 2011 and Liu 2014, often provide more detailed information on a wider range of issues related to both their own Confucius Institutes and the entire Confucius Institute project. To this day, all the published diaries and memoirs regarding Confucius Institutes are written by the Chinese directors. There is still no book-length diary or memoir published by the foreign directors of Confucius Institutes.

Lai Zhijing 赖志金. *Huanqiu tongmeng: Laibixi Kongzi xueyuan shouji* (环球同梦：莱比锡孔子学院手记). Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2013.

When this book was published, the author had served as the Chinese director of the Confucius Institute at the University of Leipzig for five years. This collection of essays offers first-hand information on many activities organized by the Confucius Institute under the author's directorship. It also provides insights on the interactions between the Confucius Institute and various local individuals and organizations in Leipzig.

Liu Cheng 刘程. *Xingzou Yinglun: Kongzi xueyuan Zhongfang yuanzhang rizhi* (行走英伦：孔子学院中方院长日志). Guangzhou, China: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2014.

The author is the first Chinese director of the Lancaster University Confucius Institute in the United Kingdom, which was established at the end of 2011. As a result, this diary includes substantial details on how a new Confucius Institute manages to overcome various challenges in working with multiple stakeholders and to extend its influence through organizing an extensive range of activities.

Wang Hongtu 王宏图. *Bu du zai yixiang: Yige Kongzi xueyuan yuanzhang de riji* (不独在异乡：一个孔子学院院长日记). Shanghai: Shanghai weyi chubanshe, 2011.

This diary was written between November 2008 and November 2009. It records the daily activities of the author during the second year of his tenure at the Confucius Institute at the University of Hamburg as its Chinese director. The details on how the author

communicated with the German director of the institute, the administrative staff and Chinese language teachers, and various stakeholders of the institute are particularly fascinating.

Zhang Xiaohui 张晓慧 and **Xu Guanglie** 许光烈. *Women ceng zouguo: Kongzi xueyuan Zhongfang yuanzhang shouji* (我们曾走过: 孔子学院中方院长手记). Beijing: Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe, 2014.

This volume includes essays written by thirty-six former Chinese directors of various Confucius Institutes all over the world. In their essays, many authors not only introduce the activities organized by their institutes, but also reflect on the interactions they had with various stakeholders during their tenures. This volume has been adopted as training materials by the Confucius Institute Headquarters for newly appointed Chinese directors of Confucius Institutes.

Zheng Qiwu 郑启五. *Hong yueliang: Yige Kongzi xueyuan yuanzhang de Hanjiao chuanqi* (红月亮: 一个孔子学院院长的汉教传奇). Wuhan, China: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2013.

This memoir includes primary information on the activities carried out by the Confucius Institute at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey, where the author worked as its Chinese director between 2008 and 2010.

Operation and Development

Generally speaking, four bodies of materials are useful in understanding the operation and development of Confucius Institutes. Firstly, a considerable number of scholarly works have been devoted to reveal the organizational structure of Confucius Institutes and how they operate on a daily basis. Some of these publications take on the Confucius Institute project as an entity, while others feature case studies based on the observation and analysis of particular Confucius Institutes and Classrooms. Secondly, a related yet distinguishable body of literature offers information and insights into the ongoing rapid development and expansion of Confucius Institutes. Thirdly, several publications provide insightful discussions on the teachers and learners in Confucius Institutes and Classrooms. Finally, more and more information has become available on how Confucius Institutes participate in and shape the enterprise of teaching Chinese as a foreign language, thanks to a growing body of research literature and primary sources in this field.

Organization and Operation

As outlined in the bilingual template agreement on the establishment of new Confucius Institutes (available through the official website of the Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban), cited under Monographs and Internet Portals), a Confucius Institute is typically a joint venture set up between a non-Chinese host higher education institution and a Chinese partner institution. In most cases, the host institution and its Chinese partner institution each appoint one director to co-direct the institute. A detailed account of the unique structure of Confucius Institutes, including their daily operation, their links with the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban and the host institutions, their sources of funding, and the processes of establishing new institutes, can be found in, for example, Starr 2009, Yang 2010, Hartig 2012, and Yan 2014. In addition, Chen 2013; Yan, et al. 2015; and Gao, et al. 2016 offer case studies of the organizational structures and daily operation of three Confucius Institutes, each of which locates in a different country. As explicitly noted in Yang 2010, much more needs to be done to systematically assess the actual effectiveness of Confucius Institutes, as these institutes are “still in their preliminary stage of development” (p. 235). That being said, there have been case studies based on first-hand experience, such as Liu 2014 (cited under Diaries and Memoirs), Lahtinen 2015 (cited under Challenges), and Kragelund and Hampwaye 2016, offering local insights into the complex nature of the dual leadership in Confucius Institutes and various challenges that arise.

Chen Herong 陈荷荣. *Xifeng dongjian: Yu Paduofa Kongzi xueyuan tongxing* (东风西渐: 与帕多瓦孔子学院同行). Guangzhou, China: Shijie tushu chubanshe Guangdong youxian gongsi, 2013.

This book is published bilingually in Chinese and English. It provides information on various aspects of the structure and operation of the Instituto Confucio di Padova in Italy, including its process of establishment, activities in teaching Chinese language and promoting Chinese culture, and interactions with various individuals and organizations in Italy.

Gao Bo 高博, Chang An 常安, and Chang Shiru 常世儒. “Kongzi xueyuan yunying moshi yanjiu: Yi Basailuona Kongyuan weilu (孔子学院运营模式研究：以巴塞罗那孔院为例).” *Kongzi xueyuan fazhan yanjiu* (孔子学院发展研究) **6** (2016): 13–25.

This article provides detailed information on the organizational structure and daily operation of the Instituto Confucio de Barcelona in Spain. It also includes an extensive coverage on the existing Chinese literature on the organization and operation of Confucius Institutes.

Hartig, Falk. “Confucius Institutes and the Rise of China.” *Journal of Chinese Political Science* **17.1** (2012): 53–76.

This article contains an overview of the processes of establishing new Confucius Institutes as well as a general introduction on the structure, financing, and activities of the existing Confucius Institutes.

Kragelund, Peter, and Godfrey Hampway. “The Confucius Institute at the University of Zambia: A New Direction in the Internationalisation of African Higher Education?” In *Higher Education and Capacity Building in Africa: The Geography and Power of Knowledge*. Edited by Hanne Kirstine Adriansen, Lene Møller Madsen, and Stig Jensen, 83–104. London: Routledge, 2016.

This chapter provides detailed information on the Confucius Institute at the University of Zambia, including its trajectory of development and its daily operation. It shows that while the Confucius Institute is “a result of collaboration between two partners in the Global South,” its operation is rather “donor driven” (p. 83).

Starr, Don. “Chinese Language Education in Europe: The Confucius Institutes.” *European Journal of Education* **44.1** (2009): 65–82.

This article includes a comprehensive account of the organizational structure of Confucius Institutes. It also provides figures regarding the spread of Confucius Institutes in Europe between 2004 and the end of 2007. While this article primarily focuses on Chinese language education in Europe, its detailed overview goes well beyond Europe.

Yan Liping 闫丽萍, Zhao Li 赵莉, and Ban Zhenlin 班振林. “Jierjisi guoli minzu daxue Kongzi xueyuan Hanyu guojia jiaoyu fazhan xianzhuang yu sikao (吉尔吉斯国立民族大学孔子学院汉语国际教育发展现状与思考).” *Xinjiang zhiye daxue xuebao* (新疆职业大学学报) **23.3** (2015): 49–53.

This article provides detailed information on the operation of the Confucius Institute at Kyrgyz National University, based on the authors’ participant observations. It also highlights some of the challenges that the featured Confucius Institute faces during its daily operation, including its interactions with various academic and administrative units within the host higher education institution—Kyrgyz National University.

Yan Xiaopeng 严晓鹏. *Kongzi xueyuan yu Huawen xuexiao fazhan bijiao yanjiu* (孔子学院与华文学校发展比较研究). Hangzhou, China: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2014.

This book offers a detailed comparison of the external environments, the internal structures, and the pattern of development between Confucius Institutes sponsored by China and the independent Chinese language schools outside China. In particular, this book features a case study of the Confucius Institute in Burapha University, Thailand.

Yang, Rui. “Soft Power and Higher Education: An Examination of China’s Confucius Institutes.” *Globalisation, Societies and Education* **8.2** (2010): 235–245.

This paper has a section on the operation of Confucius Institutes, which covers examples of Confucius Institutes in various countries, including Australia, Italy, Iran, and the United States. It also offers insightful comments on the challenges and issues that these Confucius Institutes face in their operation.

Development and Expansion

Scholarly efforts have been made to depict the development and expansion of Confucius Institutes in various regions of the world. Jiang 2011 and Nguyen 2014, for example, introduce the development of Confucius Institutes in Southeast Asia. Han and Mu 2016 depicts the challenges that Confucius Institutes face during their development in Russia. Hartig 2015 (cited under Contributing to China's Cultural and Public Diplomacy) offers detailed accounts of the rise of Confucius Institutes in Australia and Germany. King 2010, Duan and Hu 2012, and King 2014 discuss the development of Confucius Institutes in Africa. Yuan 2014 and Lien and Oh 2014 analyze the spatial distribution of Confucius Institutes.

Duan Shengfeng 段胜峰 and Hu Qiliang 扈启亮. "Libiliya daxue Kongzi xueyuan xianzhuang ji fazhan fenxi (利比里亚大学孔子学院现状及发展分析)." *Changsha ligong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* (长沙理工大学学报 – 社会科学版) 27.2 (2012): 121–124.

This article provides a detailed case study of the establishment and development of the Confucius Institute at the University of Liberia, the first and only Confucius Institute in Liberia. It introduces several activities that the featured Confucius Institute has organized to enhance its roles and influence in Liberia. It also highlights the institute's trajectory of future development.

Han Lijun 韩丽君 and Mu Dai 牟岱. "Kongzi xueyuan wenhua chuanbo de kunjing yu yingdui: Yi Eluosi daxue de Kongzi xueyuan weili (孔子学院文化传播的困境与应对: 以俄罗斯大学的孔子学院为例)." *Renmin luntan* (人民论坛) 4 (2016): 253–255.

This article provides information on the challenges that several Confucius Institutes have had during their course of development in Russia. It gives some vivid examples on the problems, doubts, and criticisms that these Confucius Institutes have been encountering.

Jiang Dongmei 姜冬梅. "Yinni Kongzi xueyuan jiangshe de xianzhuang fenxi ji jieju fangan (印尼孔子学院的建设现状分析及解决方案)." *Hunan keji xueyuan xuebao* (湖南科技学院学报) 32.3 (2011): 13–15.

This article was written by a Chinese language teacher at the Confucius Institute at the Bina Terampil Insan Persada in Jakarta, Indonesia. It provides an overview of the process of the development of Confucius Institutes in Indonesia, highlighting the challenges faced by these institutes as well as the successes achieved by them.

King, Kenneth. "China's Cooperation in Education and Training with Kenya: A Different Model." *International Journal of Educational Development* 30 (2010): 488–496.

Drawing on over sixty interviews conducted in companies, development agencies, universities, ministries, public and private training institutes in Kenya, as well as with many Kenyans who have acquired training in China, this article presents the first detailed study of the characteristics and particularity of China's rapidly growing education and training cooperation with Kenya through channels including Confucius Institutes.

King, Kenneth. "China's Higher Education Engagement with Africa: A Different Partnership and Cooperation Model?" In *Education, Learning, Training: Critical Issues for Development*. Edited by Gilles Carbonnier, Michel Carton, and Kenneth King, 152–173. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014.

This chapter includes a section that highlights the unique characteristics that Confucius Institutes have in comparison to the British Council, Goethe Institute, and Alliance Française regarding their development and expansion in Africa.

Lien, Donald, and Chang Hoon Oh. "Determinants of the Confucius Institute Establishment." *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 54.3 (2014): 437–441.

This paper applies large-scale international data to investigate the determinants of the locations of Confucius Institutes. It reveals that Confucius Institutes are under-represented in non-English, distant, less wealthy developing countries that trade infrequently with China.

Nguyen, Van Chinh. "Confucius Institutes in the Mekong Region: China's Soft Power or Soft Border?" *Issues and Studies* 50.4 (2014): 85–117.

This article introduces how China works to enhance the strength of its cultural power in relation to its neighbors through establishing Confucius Institutes in the Mekong region. It also provides information on the responses that countries in the region have about the development and expansion of these institutes.

Yuan Li 袁礼. *Jiyu kongjian buju de kongzi xueyuan fazhan dingliang yanjiu* (基于空间布局的孔子学院发展定量研究). Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 2014.

This book suggests locations for new Confucius Institutes based on the existing Confucius Institutes' trend of development during 2005 and 2011. It also includes information, data, and case studies to illustrate the development status of the existing Confucius Institutes.

Teachers and Learners

The rapid development of Confucius Institutes has generated an increasing demand for Chinese language teachers, and several publications have offered insightful discussions on the implications of this process. Li and Tucker 2013 highlights the opportunities and challenges associated with the process. Tinsley and Board 2014 addresses the emerging concerns over the quantity and quality of the Chinese language teachers in Confucius Institutes. Du and Kirkebæk 2012 reports the local initiatives taken by staff members of a Danish Confucius Institute to improve the effectiveness of Chinese teaching. Cáceres-Lorenzo 2015, through a case study of a European Confucius Institute, provides information on the learners in some Confucius Institutes and classrooms. Pérez-Milans 2015 offers insights into the relations between the teachers and learners of the Chinese language in a secondary school that houses a high-profile Confucius Classroom.

Cáceres-Lorenzo, MTeresa. "Teenagers Learning Chinese as a Foreign Language in a European Confucius Institute: The Relationship between Language Learner Strategies and Successful Learning Factors." *Language Awareness* 24.3 (2015): 255–272.

Drawing on the empirical data from a Spanish Confucius Institute, this paper reports the diverse learning outcomes achieved among the young learners in the institute. It identifies the factors involved in making some learners in the institute perform better in the standardized Chinese language tests than their classmates.

Du, Xiangyun, and Mads Jakob Kirkebæk, eds. *Exploring Task-Based PBL in Chinese Teaching and Learning*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2012.

Based on educational research conducted by the Confucius Institute for Innovation and Learning at Aalborg University in Denmark, this work reports an alternative approach to teaching Chinese, i.e., renovating the current teaching practice by combining task-based teaching and learning and problem- and/or project-based learning.

Li, Shuai, and G. Richard Tucker. "A Survey of the US Confucius Institutes: Opportunities and Challenges in Promoting Chinese Language and Culture Education." *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 48.1 (2013): 29–53.

Drawing on the findings from a survey questionnaire conducted at twenty-four Confucius Institutes and qualitative interviews at four focal Confucius Institutes, this paper reports on the opportunities and challenges facing the Confucius Institutes in the United States.

Pérez-Milans, Miguel. "Mandarin Chinese in London Education: Language Aspirations in a Working-Class Secondary School." *Language Policy* 14.2 (2015): 153–181.

Drawing from a sociolinguistic ethnography of Chinese language teaching and learning in a secondary school in London's working-class area, this paper examines the interaction between the teachers and learners in a Confucius Classroom. It also offers information on the interactions between the Confucius Classroom, the host school, and the Confucius Institute Headquarters.

Tinsley, Teresa, and Kathryn Board. *The Teaching of Chinese in the UK: Research Report*. London: Alcantara Communications, 2014.

This research report was commissioned by the British Council, China, and the Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban). It focuses on the good practice and problems regarding teaching Chinese in schools in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language

Confucius Institutes have been playing a highly active and very significant role in promoting teaching Chinese as a foreign language, as discussed in Ding and Saunders 2006, Gil 2009, and Zhao and Huang 2010. According to Churchman 2011 (cited under Doubts and Criticisms) and Duff, et al. 2013, although there are many varieties of the Chinese language, the vast majority, if not all, Confucius Institutes and Classrooms teach only Mandarin (or *Putonghua*). Such an approach, as argued by Zhu and Li 2014, has reshaped the practice of teaching Chinese as a foreign language. In addition to these scholarly works, the industry standards, official guidance, and teaching materials published by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban should be regarded as primary sources that offer explicit and inexplicit information on Confucius Institutes' position on teaching Chinese as a foreign language.

Ding, Sheng, and Robert A. Saunders. "Talking Up China: An Analysis of China's Rising Cultural Power and Global Promotion of the Chinese Language." *East Asia* 23.2 (2006): 3–33.

This paper explains the connection between the Chinese language's increasing popularity and China's growing cultural power. It illustrates that how Beijing, recognizing the centrality of Chinese language in China's increasing cultural attractiveness, introduced a series of strong measures to promote the global spread of Chinese language, including establishing Confucius Institutes overseas.

Duff, Patricia, Tim Anderson, Roma Ilnyckyj, Ella VanGaya, Rachel Wang, and Elliott Yates. *Learning Chinese: Linguistic, Sociocultural, and Narrative Perspectives*. Boston and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013.

Drawing upon a multiple-case study of the experiences of five of the authors who are Anglo-Canadian learners of Chinese and cross-case analysis, this book offers an in-depth investigation of the acquisition of Mandarin Chinese as a foreign/second language, exploring the challenges and opportunities associated with learning it.

Gil, Jeffrey. "The Promotion of Chinese Language Learning and China's Soft Power." *Asian Social Science* 4.10 (2009): 117–122.

This article offers a summary of China's main programs, including Confucius Institutes, in promoting the Chinese language, which have resulted in a noticeable increase in the number of learners worldwide.

Zhao, Hongqin, and Jianbin Huang. "China's Policy of Chinese as a Foreign Language and the Use of Overseas Confucius Institutes." *Educational Research for Policy and Practice* 9.2 (2010): 127–142.

This paper includes a concise chronology of China's policy of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (CFL), which is dated back to before 1949. It also presents analysis of the modern evolution of China's CFL curriculum policy, particularly through Confucius Institutes.

Zhu, Hua, and Li, Wei. "Geopolitics and the Changing Hierarchies of the Chinese Language: Implications for Policy and Practice of Chinese Language Teaching in Schools in Britain 2014." *The Modern Language Journal* 98.1 (2014): 316–329.

With a specific focus on the empirical evidence in the United Kingdom, this article offers valuable insights into how Confucius Institutes' rapid expansion has affected the teaching and learning of Chinese as a foreign language.

Industry Standards and Official Guidance

The Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban has published a range of guiding materials to shape the sector of teaching Chinese as a foreign language. Firstly, it sets the industry standards for teachers of Chinese to speakers of other languages (see Hanban 2007a) and organizes the examination for CTCSOL (Certificate for Teachers of Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages) (see CTCSOL). It also formulates Chinese language proficiency scales for speakers of other languages (see Hanban 2007b). Moreover, it oversees the organization and execution of the HSK (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi 汉语水平考试, or the Chinese Proficiency Test), the most recognized standardized examinations that assess non-native speakers' abilities in using the Chinese language in their daily, academic, and professional lives. Detailed information regarding the HSK is available in Hanban 2009 and through the official website of Chinese Testing International. It is worth to notice that the HSK scores have been made as one of the most important requirements for the Confucius Institute Scholarships (CIS), and Confucius Institutes around the world also run preparation sessions for the HSK test.

Chinese Testing International.

Chinese title: Hanyu kaoshi fuwuwang (汉语考试服务网). This is the official website of the language testing service overseen by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban. This website is in English as well as in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, French, Russian, and Spanish. It offers a wide range of materials and services regarding the HSK, including the schedules of the test.

Confucius Institute Scholarships (CIS).

Chinese title: Kongyuan jiangxuejin (孔院奖学金). This is the official website of the Confucius Institute Scholarships. It contains an online application system and a list of the Chinese host universities which have been authorized to receive Confucius Institute Scholarship holders. This website is bilingual in Chinese and English, and some webpages are often available in Spanish.

CTCSOL.

This is the official website dedicated to the CTCSOL (Certificate for Teachers of Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages) examination, which is run by the Confucius Institute Headquarters. It provides a wide range of information, including the examination guidelines. Although this website is named by the English abbreviation of the examination (i.e., CTCSOL), its actual contents are in Chinese.

Hanban. *Standards for Teachers of Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2007a.

This book, published bilingually in Chinese and English, is China's first official industry standard for teachers of Chinese to speakers of other languages. It consists of five modules: language knowledge and skills, culture and communication, second language acquisition theories and learning strategies, teaching methods, and professionalism.

Hanban. *The Chinese Language Proficiency Scales for Speakers of Other Languages*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2007b.

This bilingual publication sets out the first industry standard on the scales of the Chinese language proficiency of speakers of other languages. It has been widely used as a guiding document for teaching Chinese as a foreign language around the world.

Hanban 汉办. *Xin hanyu shuiping kaoshi dagang 1–6* (新汉语水平考试大纲 1–6). Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2009.

This series of six books, published by the Confucius Institute Headquarters, are the official guide for the HSK test. Each book in this series is devoted to a particular level of the HSK test, containing information about the test and a sample paper.

Curricula, Resources, and Teaching Materials

The Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban has published a wide variety of materials for teaching Chinese as a foreign language. Firstly, Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban 2014, the latest edition of the *International Curriculum for Chinese Language Education*, provides generalized guidance on important aspects of Chinese language teaching and testing outside China. However,

diversity exists among the actual curricula adopted by different Confucius Institutes and Classrooms, as evident in Zang 2012. Secondly, the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban has set up a specialized website, titled *Guoji Hanyu jiaocai bianxie zhinan* (国际汉语教材编写指南, or Guidelines for CLT Materials Development), to provide guidance and resources for developers of materials for teaching Chinese as a foreign language, and it has also directly produced several textbooks such as the *Chengo Chinese* series (Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban 2006) and the *Welcome to China* series (Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban 2011), which intend to integrate the teaching of Chinese language and the promotion of Chinese culture.

Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban, ed. *Chengfeng hanyu* (乘风汉语). Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006.

Official English title of the series: *Chengo Chinese*. This textbook series is produced by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban as one of the teaching materials recommended to learners who study Chinese as a foreign language. Each textbook is designed for learners who aim to achieve a certain level of the HSK, and each textbook is accompanied by a volume of teaching guidance and resources for instructors.

Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban, ed. *Zhongguo huanying ni* (中国欢迎你). Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2011.

Official English title of the series: *Welcome to China*. This textbook series was originally designed for participants of the “Chinese Bridge” Chinese Proficiency Competition. It now covers a very broad range of topics, including travelling advice and guidance about various Chinese provinces and introductions to China’s traditional arts and cultural heritages. This textbook series aims to briefly inform the readers on the language, culture, history, geography, and history of China.

Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban. *International Curriculum for Chinese Language Education*. Rev. ed. Beijing: Beijing Language and Culture University Press, 2014.

This document, first published in 2008, has played a role in guiding the methods of teaching Chinese language in Confucius Institutes and Classrooms. It provides information and guidance on various pedagogical issues including course design, teaching methods, and delivery strategies. The revised edition, in English, was developed to fully comply with the structure of the HSK.

Guoji Hanyu jiaocai bianxie zhinan (国际汉语教材编写指南, or Guidelines for CLT Materials Development)

This website, set up by the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban, is a comprehensive and practical online application platform that provides research references and evaluation references for Chinese language researchers, as well as guidance and service for Chinese language teachers.

Zang Shengnan 臧胜楠. “Haiwai Kongzi xueyuan kecheng jiegou yanjiu (海外孔子学院课程结构研究).” *Yunnan daxue xuebao* (云南大学学报) 10.6 (2012): 78–83.

This article offers a brief comparison between the curriculum adopted by the Confucius Institute at the University of Western Australia and that adopted by the Confucius Institute at the Queensland University of Technology. It provides evidence on, and insights into, the diverse curricula adopted by different Confucius Institutes.

Promoting China’s Soft Power

Although Confucius Institutes are officially defined as non-profit educational organizations, their rapid spread has been widely regarded by observers both within and outside China as a strategic move taken by the Chinese government to advance the country’s soft power. The link between Confucius Institutes and China’s soft power is probably the most discussed topic among all scholarly studies centered on the Institutes, and this topic has been explored and examined from multiple perspectives. Among the body of literature that offers general discussions on this topic, some works focus on the important roles that Confucius Institutes play in promoting China’s soft power, whereas others place more emphasis on the challenges and paradoxes faced by the institutes in terms of promoting China’s soft power. A further body of literature explores the link between Confucius Institutes and China’s soft power explicitly within the framework of cultural or public diplomacy.

Roles and Mechanisms

Although the chief executive and general director of the Confucius Institutes officially denied that the Institute intends to project China's soft power (as featured in Confucius Institute Annual Development Reports, cited under Monographs and Internet Portals), a considerable number of academic inquiries have been made to identify the mechanisms through which Confucius Institutes contribute toward the advancing of China's soft power. For example, Paradise 2009 discusses how Confucius Institutes "bolster" Beijing's soft power by projecting an image of China as "a benign country" through spreading the Chinese language and culture. Yang 2010 reveals that Confucius Institutes provide Chinese universities and their foreign partners "a platform for collaboration and exchange," as well as a platform for the Chinese government to launch pro-Beijing initiatives. Hubbert 2014 offers anthropological observations and reflections on how the practices of the teachers in a Confucius Classroom make some American students and parents "disaggregate perceptions of a monolithic Chinese state in a manner that reinforces the state's soft power goals" (p. 329). Zaharna, et al. 2014 examines how the development of Confucius Institutes is intertwined with China's efforts to extend its influence to places that are strategically important to the country. Nogayeva 2015 discusses how Confucius Institutes are used by the Chinese government as a tool to eliminate the negative perceptions against China in Central Asia.

Hubbert, Jennifer. "Ambiguous States: Confucius Institutes and Chinese Soft Power in the U.S. Classroom." *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 37.2 (2014): 329–349.

This article offers primary information and insightful reflections on how some American students and their parents experience the Chinese state through their everyday encounters with its policies, representations, and representatives, which are channeled by a Confucius Classroom. The informants include students, parents, teachers, and school administrators.

Nogayeva, Ainur. "Limitations of Chinese 'Soft Power' in Its Population and Language Policies in Central Asia." *Geopolitics* 20.3 (2015): 583–605.

This article provides detailed information on the development of Confucius Institutes in Central Asia. It also analyzes the mechanisms through which Confucius Institutes are skillfully used by the Chinese government as a tool to eliminate the negative perceptions against China in the region.

Paradise, James F. "China and International Harmony: The Role of Confucius Institutes in Bolstering Beijing's Soft Power." *Asian Survey* 49.4 (2009): 647–669.

This article is one of the most cited academic works that focus on the link between Confucius Institutes and China's soft power. Through the extensive use of secondary data as well as some primary interviews, this paper offers useful information on how Confucius Institutes are viewed outside China, how they fit into China's grand strategies, and what impacts they have on China's global standing.

Yang, Rui. "Soft Power and Higher Education: An Examination of China's Confucius Institutes." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 8.2 (2010): 235–245.

This article offers direct discussion on the role of higher education in projecting China's soft power, with a specific focus on how Confucius Institutes contribute toward the internationalization of China's higher education sector through fostering academic collaborations and exchanges between Chinese universities and their overseas partners. It includes an interesting case study of a Confucius Institute in a major Australian university.

Zaharna, R. S., Jennifer Hubbert, and Falk Hartig. *Confucius Institutes and the Globalization of China's Soft Power*. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2014.

This volume, organized by the USC Center on Public Diplomacy, includes three papers that examine the link between Confucius Institutes and China's efforts in establishing and extending its global influence through different perspectives, covering Confucius Institutes' network structure, network synergy, network strategy, and their link with China's broader foreign aid, and how they influence the views that the participating students have on China and the Chinese culture.

Challenges

Although Confucius Institutes have emerged as a noticeable force in the shaping of China's soft power, they also face various challenges during this process. Many works that investigate the link between the Confucius Institutes and China's soft power (e.g., Paradise 2009 and Yang 2010, both cited under Roles and Mechanisms) also discuss how the institutes undermine, rather than contribute toward, China's soft power under certain circumstances. There are also many articles that specifically discuss the limits, challenges, and paradoxes that the Confucius Institutes face during the course of shaping China's soft power. For example, Lahtinen 2015, Ning 2015, and Lin 2016 highlight how issues associated with resource, management, and operation may undermine the efficiency and effectiveness of Confucius Institutes in promoting China's soft power. Lo and Pan 2016 and Zhou and Luk 2016, on the other hand, question the moral challenges and ideological paradoxes that Confucius Institutes face in promoting China's soft power.

Lahtinen, Anja. "China's Soft Power: Challenges of Confucianism and Confucius Institutes." *Journal of Comparative Asian Development* 14.2 (2015): 200–226.

This article provides useful insights into the issues and problems associated with the management and operation of Confucius Institutes, which sometimes undermine the roles that these institutes play in shaping China's soft power. The author served as the Finnish director of the Confucius Institute at the University of Helsinki and hence is able to provide valuable first-hand experience and reflections on these issues and problems.

Lin Yichen 林奕辰. "Kua wenhua chuanbo yu wenhua guannian zhuanxing de juxian he kunjing – Yi Kongzi xueyuan weili (跨文化傳播與文化觀念轉型的侷限和困境—以孔子學院為例)." *Zhanwang yu tansuo (展望與探索)* 14.1 (2016): 37–58.

This article provides information on, and analysis of, how the lack of qualified and competent language teachers may undermine China's efforts to promote its language and culture through Confucius Institutes. It also highlights the challenges that Confucius Institutes face in constructing a favorable image of China in the era when people are often exposed to the negative news of China on the Internet.

Lo, Joe Tin-yau, and Suyan Pan. "Confucius Institutes and China's Soft Power: Practices and Paradoxes." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 46.4 (2016): 512–532.

This article highlights that the use of Confucianism as an ideational attraction is problematic and historically unjustifiable, as the current ruling regime in China emerged from a movement that rejected the traditional Chinese culture that is closely associated with Confucianism. It also questions the reliability and validity of some methods that have been widely applied to measure the actual impact and effectiveness of the Confucius Institutes.

Ning Yougen 宁友根. *Zhongguo zai Taiguo de wenhua ruanshili yanjiu – Yi Mahashalakan daxue Kongzi xueyuan wei li (中国在泰国的文化软实力研究—以玛哈沙拉坎大学孔子学院为例)*. MA dissertation, Xiamen University, 2015.

This dissertation offers an in-depth analysis of the problems and challenges that are faced by Mahasarakham University Confucius Institute in promoting China's soft power in Thailand. Drawing upon the author's own experience and the information collected through participant observations, this dissertation reveals that the Confucius Institutes, which cost a significant amount of human, financial, and material resources, have not been effective in winning hearts and minds for China in Thailand.

Zhou, Ying, and Sabrina Luk. "Establishing Confucius Institutes: A Tool for Promoting China's Soft Power?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 25.100 (2016): 628–642.

This paper offers information collected through directors and officials of Confucius Institutes. It highlights the irony that China's aggressive initiatives in promoting its soft power through establishing new Confucius Institutes in fact triggers a sense of "China threat." It shows that many countries regard the Confucius Institute as a propaganda tool and a threat to academic freedom and the local community.

Cultural and Public Diplomacy

Many scholarly works are devoted to exploring, explaining, and examining how Confucius Institutes play a part in China's cultural and public diplomacy. Among this body of literature, two general strands can be identified. The first strand directly focuses on Confucius Institutes, investigating or articulating the roles that these institutes play in advancing the foreign policy goals of the Chinese government. The second strand provides a more general and comprehensive overview on China's endeavors of cultural and public diplomacy in recent years, with Confucius Institutes depicted as an important instrument and a typical example of such endeavors.

Contributing to China's Cultural and Public Diplomacy

A considerable amount of scholarly effort has been made to examine how Confucius Institutes serve as a means by which the Chinese state advances its foreign policy goals from different angles. For example, while Pan 2013, Hartig 2015, and Hartig 2016 (cited under Monographs and Internet Portals) offer general accounts of the link between the activities of Confucius Institutes and China's foreign policy goals, Dai 2013 and Wheeler 2014 provide more specific discussions how teaching and promoting the Chinese language and culture through Confucius Institutes help China to extend its global reach.

Dai Rong 戴蓉. *Kongzi xueyuan yu Zhongguo yuyan wenhua waijiao* (孔子学院与中国语言文化外交). Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2013.

This book is the first Chinese monograph specifically devoted to exploring how Confucius Institutes contribute to China's cultural diplomacy. Three out of its four chapters directly focus on Confucius Institutes, offering a comprehensive analysis of the goals, organizational structure, developmental path, influence and impacts of these institutes, as well as the strengths, weakness, threats, and opportunities these institutes facing in their further development.

Hartig, Falk. "Communicating China to the World: Confucius Institutes and China's Strategic Narratives." *Politics* 35.3-4 (2015): 245-258.

This article offers information on the strategies, goals, and impacts of Confucius Institutes, with a specific focus on how these institutes, acting as an important tool in China's public diplomacy, communicates the "correct" rather than the "real" version of China to the world. Original empirical evidence is drawn from the author's intensive interviews with managers or directors in several Confucius Institutes as well as with relevant Chinese officials.

Pan, Su-Yan. "Confucius Institute Project: China's Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power Projection." *Asian Education and Development Studies* 2.1 (2013): 22-33.

This article offers analysis into several important issues regarding the link between Confucius Institutes and China's cultural diplomacy, including China's rationales in establishing and expanding Confucius Institutes, the ties between Confucius Institutes and the Chinese state, China's diplomatic concerns over the name of Confucius Institutes, and the approaches through which Confucius Institutes advance China's foreign policy goals.

Wheeler, Anita. "Cultural Diplomacy, Language Planning, and the Case of the University of Nairobi Confucius Institute." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49.1 (2014): 49-63.

This article provides a case study based on the Confucius Institute at the University of Nairobi in the capital of Kenya. The empirical evidence comes from the author's interviews with thirty-three participants, including the students, alumni, teachers, and the administrators of the Confucius Institute as well as Kenyans who worked directly with Chinese people or companies.

Signaling the Rise of China's Cultural and Public Diplomacy

The development and expansion of Confucius Institutes is often depicted as a typical example to signal China's recent endeavors in further advancing its cultural and public diplomacy. For example, d'Hooghe 2007 and Wang 2008 view the rapid expansion of Confucius Institutes as a sign of the "rise" of China's public diplomacy; Barr 2012 considers the branding of Confucius Institutes as a part of China's "image campaign"; Metzgar 2016 views the development of Confucius Institutes, together with the establishment of elitist China-based English-language postgraduate programs, as marking China's effort of using higher education institutions as public

diplomacy tools; and Shambaugh 2007 argues that China's substantial effort to expand Confucius Institutes globally is a "prominent example" of the country's "external propaganda work."

Barr, Michael. "Nation Branding as Nation Building: China's Image Campaign." *East Asia* 29.1 (2012): 81–94.

This article uses Confucius Institutes as an example to illustrate the links between China's nation-building exercises and the Chinese state's efforts to "create and manage its identity as orderly, prosperous and legitimate." It articulates how naming the institutes after Confucius, the great Chinese philosopher, reflects China's efforts of crafting a positive image of itself both at home and abroad.

d'Hooghe, Ingrid. *The Rise of China's Public Diplomacy*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2007.

This report offers a general overview on how the Chinese state, either directly or indirectly through an increasing number of individuals and civil society groups, tries to promote its image and interests with various public diplomacy tools, among which Confucius Institutes are deemed as one of the most significant example.

Metzgar, Emily T. "Institutions of Higher Education as Public Diplomacy Tools: China-Based University Programs for the 21st Century." *Journal of Studies in International Education* 20.3 (2016): 223–241.

This article compares the types of higher education institutions used by China as public diplomacy tools: Confucius Institutes on the one hand, and China-based English-taught postgraduate programs in top Chinese universities on the other. The author sees the simultaneous emergence of both types of higher education institutions complement each other in promoting China's soft power despite the apparent differences in their developing strategies and orientations.

Shambaugh, David. "China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy." *The China Quarterly* 57 (2007): 25–58.

This article is one of the most authoritative overviews of the institutions, processes, and efficacy of the propaganda system in contemporary China, and Confucius Institutes are identified as a "prominent example" of China's external propaganda work. Although its discussion on Confucius Institutes is relatively brief, this article offers valuable information regarding how the funding for Confucius Institutes is laundered within China's political system.

Wang, Yiwei. "Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 257–273.

This highly cited article is one of the early attempts to make sense of the Chinese government's increasing understanding and deployment of public diplomacy. Throughout this article, Confucius Institutes are constantly used as an important example to showcase the advantages and challenges that China has in regard to the further advancing of its skills and effectiveness in applying public diplomacy to achieve its foreign policy goals.

Perceptions and Reactions

The rapid growth of Confucius Institutes has attracted a considerable level of interest not only from the stakeholders in countries where Confucius Institutes and Classrooms are established but also from a wide range of keen observers in and beyond academia. It has become obvious that the perceptions of, and the reactions toward, Confucius Institutes are highly diverse among individuals and institutions who assess Confucius Institutes and their activities from different perspectives. This is demonstrated in academic articles such as Chen 2013 and Leung and du Cros 2015 and reflected by the archive of a major online debate over Confucius Institutes as featured in ChinaFile 2014a and ChinaFile 2014b.

Chen Haiyan 陈海燕. “2012 nian Kongzi xueyuan xiangguan baodao ji yanjiu wenxian pingxi (2012年孔子学院相关报道及研究文献评析).” *Sichuan ligong xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* (四川理工学院学报 – 社会科学版) 28.2 (2013): 81–85.

This article offers an overall review of how the development of Confucius Institutes was received by the Chinese traditional and online media in 2012. The findings reveal that, while the major state-sponsored traditional media showed significant interest and support toward Confucius Institutes, the online media tended to express more concerns and doubts on the costs and benefits of setting up new Confucius Institutes.

“The Debate over Confucius Institutes: A ChinaFile Conversation.” *ChinaFile* (23 June 2014a).

This archive captures the first part of an online discussion among some leading China experts over whether Confucius Institutes are anathema to academic freedom, especially the possible costs and benefits of having a Confucius Institute in a university. It should be noted that, as specified by ChinaFile, this archive does not include opinions from people who work for or with a Confucius Institute.

“The Debate over Confucius Institutes: Part II.” *ChinaFile* (1 July 2014b).

This is the archive of the second part of an online discussion initiated by ChinaFire among some leading China experts over whether Confucius Institutes are anathema to academic freedom.

Leung, Chi-Cheung and Hilary du Cros. “Confucius Institutes: Multiple Reactions and Interactions.” *China: An International Journal* 12.2 (2015): 66–86.

This article reports empirical findings from a primary survey with academics, researchers, and administrators who study or work with Confucius Institutes. It shows that the general perceptions of Confucius Institutes are rather mixed. While some respondents agree that Confucius Institutes promote the learning of Chinese language and culture, others accuse the institutes of expanding China’s soft power at the expense of the host countries.

Doubts and Criticisms

The doubts and criticisms toward Confucius Institutes emerged both within and outside China in just a few years after the establishment of the first Confucius Institute in Seoul, Korea, in 2004. In some host countries of Confucius Institutes, primarily the English-speaking countries which are traditionally labelled as the “West,” Confucius Institutes have been criticized by some observers as an “academic malware” that undermines academic freedom or as China’s “Trojan-horse” for prompting the country’s political influence. Examples of such criticisms include Chey 2008, Mosher 2012, Sahlins 2013, and Sahlins 2015. In addition, Hughes 2014 argues that the missions of Confucius Institutes are not compliant with those of the host higher education institutions. Churchman 2011 and Stambach 2015 both point out the control and influence that Confucius Institutes have over the ideas and ideologies embedded in the Chinese language and culture that these institutes teach at the host universities. The “Braga incident” in July 2014, when the boss of the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban ordered her staff to remove pages referring to the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange from the published program for an academic conference that was particularly sponsored by Beijing, attracted much media coverage and is often referred as a typical example of Confucius Institutes’ interference in academic freedom (see, for example, European Association for Chinese Studies 2014, Greatrex 2014). Criticisms of Confucius Institutes from within China, on the other hand, tend to focus more on the effectiveness and efficiency of Confucius Institutes, based on comparisons between their costs and benefits. Examples include Chen 2013 (cited under Perceptions and Reactions) and Ning 2015 (cited under Challenges).

Chey, Jocelyn. “Chinese ‘Soft Power’—Cultural Diplomacy and the Confucius Institutes.” *The Sydney Papers* 20.1 (2008): 32–46.

This is a transcript of a talk given at the Sydney Institute. The speaker, who is a former diplomat and visiting professor, calls for universities to “vigilantly guard their autonomy and academic freedom” from the possible influence of Confucius Institutes, which the speaker sees as closely linked with the Chinese government in many aspects.

Churchman, Michael. "Confucius Institutes and Controlling Chinese Languages" *China Heritage Quarterly* 26 (2011).

This article reviews how the Chinese state manages to encourage non-Chinese to extend their knowledge of China in ways that are acceptable to Beijing through controlling the version of the Chinese language that is taught in Confucius Institutes. The author argues this practice is "by nature detrimental to a wider understanding of China as is the exclusion of certain censored topics."

European Association for Chinese Studies. "The "Braga Incident"—Timeline with Links to Articles and Comments." 31 August 2014.

This webpage provides links to a wide range of media coverage—mostly negative—on the "Braga Incident," including materials in English, Japanese, Portuguese, simplified Chinese, and traditional Chinese.

Greatrex, Roger. "Report: The Deletion of Pages from EACS Conference Materials in Braga (July 2014)." *European Association for Chinese Studies* (30 July 2014).

This report was issued by the European Association for Chinese Studies (EACS) shortly after the "Braga incident." In addition to a detailed account on what happened during the incident, this report also clearly states the disapproval of the EACS on the censoring attempts from the Confucius Institute Headquarters/Hanban.

Hughes, Christopher R. "Confucius Institutes and the University: Distinguishing the Political Mission from the Cultural." *Issues and Studies* 50.4 (2014): 45–83.

This paper offers a careful look at the organizational links between Confucius Institutes and the Chinese Communist Party. It argues that the mission of the Confucius Institute, which the author sees as a political one, is not compliant with the mission of modern universities.

Mosher, Steven W. "Confucius Institutes: Trojan Horses with Chinese Characteristics." *Population Research Institute* (28 March 2012).

This is a transcript of a testimony presented to the US House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, in which the author accuses Confucius Institutes of "sanitizing China's image abroad, enhancing its 'soft power' globally," and creating a new generation of China watchers who "[are] well-disposed towards the Communist dictatorship."

Peterson, Rachelle. *Outsourced to China: Confucius Institutes and Soft Power in American Higher Education*. New York: The National Association of Scholars, 2017.

In this report, published by and on behalf of the National Association of Scholars in New York, the author examines the staffing, organization, operation, teaching activities of some Confucius Institutes in the United States, and questions the way in which the teachers and operators of Confucius Institutes deal with the topics and information that they consider as "politically sensitive" or "inappropriate." This report, based on the information gathered from a series of case studies, advocates that "all universities close their Confucius Institutes" to "protect the integrity of American education and intellectual freedom."

Sahlins, Marshall. "China U." *The Nation* (18 November 2013): 36–41.

In this magazine article that has been widely circulated within and beyond academia, Marshall Sahlins, a prominent anthropologist and a committed activist, criticizes Confucius Institutes for censoring political discussions and restraining the free exchange of ideas. Following this article, several learned societies, such as the Canadian Association of University Teachers and the American Association of University Professors, called on North American universities and colleges to cease hosting Confucius Institutes.

Sahlins, Marshall. *Confucius Institutes: Academic Malware*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2015.

This brief monograph, developed from an article that the author published under the same title in the *Asia-Pacific Journal*, is one of the most influential publications that criticize the Confucius Institute. Though not a typical academic publication, this volume includes an

extensive range of materials which, according to the author, reflect the threats that the Confucius Institute presents to the principles of academic freedom and integrity.

Stambach, Amy. "Confucius Institute Programming in the United States: Language Ideology, Hegemony, and the Making of Chinese Culture in University Classes." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 40.1 (2015): 55–70.

This paper is based on the author's first-hand experience of attending various teaching activities offered in a Confucius Institute, including two eight-week courses and additional workshops and evening sessions. The author sees Confucius Institutes as ideological constructs that reflect and (re)produce China's official policies.

Defenses and Praises

Admiring comments concerning the value of Confucius Institutes are made from two aspects. On the one hand, according to the arguments made in, for example, Liu and An 2014 and McCord 2014, the criticisms that the Western media and scholars have made on Confucius Institutes are regarded by some as selective and biased. On the other hand, Confucius Institutes are regarded by others as making positive contributions to the host countries. Li, et al. 2009 and Selmier 2016, for example, argue that Confucius Institutes are needed by the host countries to meet the increasing demands of Chinese language learning. Lien and Co 2013 suggests that Confucius Institutes contribute positively to the stimulation of trade between China and the host countries.

Li, Hsi Chang, Sam Mirmirani, Joseph A. Ilacqua. "Confucius Institutes: Distributed Leadership and Knowledge Sharing in a Worldwide Network." *The Learning Organization* 16.6 (2009): 469–482.

This article highlights the many similarities that exist between the operations of Confucius Institutes and multinational businesses. It discusses the roles that Confucius Institutes play in distributing knowledge on Chinese language and culture. It also offers examples on how some Confucius Institutes are not as politically driven as they are often portrayed by the critics.

Lien, Donald, and Catherine Yap Co. "The Effect of Confucius Institutes on US Exports to China: A State Level Analysis." *International Review of Economics and Finance* 27 (2013): 566–571.

This paper applies a trade gravity model to examine the effects of Confucius Institutes on the exports of US states to China in 2006–2010. It finds that the trade with China grows significantly after the establishment of new Confucius Institutes. According to the authors, this paper "provides strong robust evidence that CIs [Confucius Institutes] provide direct economic benefits to the United States" (p. 566).

Liu Cheng 刘程 and An Ran 安然. "Yishi xingtai xia de xinwen tushi: Yingguo zhuliu meiti dui Kongzi xueyuan de 'xuanzhexing wudu' (意识形态下的新闻图式: 英国主流媒体对孔子学院的"选择性误读")." *Xinwenjie (新闻界)* 6 (2014): 32–39.

This article critically reviews the discourses of four major British media outlets (the *Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the BBC) on Confucius Institutes between 2004 and 2011. It demonstrates how these media choose to report and discuss Confucius Institutes. The authors also argue that the mainstream British media is selective and biased in the framing of Confucius Institutes, placing disproportionately high emphasis on the negativities.

McCord, Edward A. "Confucius Institute: Hardly a Threat to Academic Freedoms." *The Diplomat* (27 March 2014).

This is a rejoinder to Sahlins 2013 (cited under Doubts and Criticisms). The author discusses how Confucius Institutes normally operate in America, including the actual roles played by the directors of these institutes. This article argues that "there is little evidence to suggest Confucius Institutes on US campuses restrain academic freedoms" and that the criticisms toward Confucius Institutes "often leap from suspicions and concerns to a conclusion of fact."

Selmier, W. Travis. "Why the English-Speaking World Needs Confucius Institute?" *International Communication of Chinese Culture* 3.2 (2016): 261–274.

This article reviews the challenges faced by the monolingual native English speakers in a globalized world. It highlights the gaps between the demand and the supply for Chinese language training, arguing that Confucius Institutes may narrow this gap and help young native English speakers by “showing them that understanding another language gives them not only a tool, but also provides them with a bridge to an ancient, exciting, vibrant culture” (p. 272).

Media Perceptions

The perceptions of Confucius Institutes in the mass media have received a significant amount of scholarly attention, and this topic has been examined against data from various countries. For example, Li and Dai 2011; Luek, et al. 2014; Ye 2015; and Metzgar and Su 2016 offer useful information on the media coverage of Confucius Institutes in the United States. Peng and Yu 2016 focuses on the British media. Zhang and Song 2016 provides a case study in Russia. Fallon 2014 assesses the diverse images of Confucius Institutes portrayed in China’s domestic media. Wang and Adamso 2015 compares the various perceptions of Confucius Institutes in China and the United States.

Fallon, Tracey. “Chinese Fever and Cool Heads: Confucius Institutes and China’s National Identities.” *China Media Research* 10.1 (2014): 35–46.

This article offers useful information on how Confucius Institutes are viewed in China’s domestic media by analyzing two sets of discourses surrounding Confucius Institutes: the official discourses that appear in major state-sponsored newspapers, magazines, and TV shows on the one hand, and the unofficial texts of Chinese bloggers and netizens on the other.

Li Kaisheng 李开盛 and Dai Changzheng 戴长征. “Kongzi xueyuan zai Meiguo de yulun huanjing pinggu (孔子学院在美国的舆论环境评估).” *Shijie jingji yu zhengzhi* (世界经济与政治) 7 (2011): 76–93.

This article reviews the perceptions of Confucius Institutes in thirty-three US-based print and online media between 2005 and 2010. A corpus of eighty articles were examined both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Luek, Therese L., Val S. Pippis, and Yang Lin. “China’s Soft Power: A *New York Times* Introduction of the Confucius Institute.” *Howard Journal of Communications* 25.3 (2014): 324–349.

Although this article only covers one newspaper—the *New York Times*—it offers a lens for understanding how media and journalism shape the image of Confucius Institutes among the American public, thanks to the significant influence that the featured newspaper has on shaping the agenda for other media venues in the United States.

Metzgar, Emily T., and Jing Su. “Friends from Afar? American Media Coverage of China’s Confucius Institutes” *Journalism Practice* (2016): 1–26.

This study presents a content analysis of 183 articles focusing specifically on the activities of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in the United States published since 2003. It provides information on the distribution of these articles by year and region. It also reveals the tone and sources of the sample articles. To date, this article provides the most comprehensive information on the portrayals of Confucius Institutes in the US media.

Peng Fei 彭飞 and Yu Xiao 于晓. “Yingguo zhuliu meiti baodao zhong de Kongzi xueyuan xingxiang yu huayu tixi (英国主流媒体报道中的孔子学院形象与话语体系).” *Xueshu tansuo* (学术探索) 11 (2016): 112–119.

This article reviews the discourse on Confucius Institutes presented in seventeen articles that were published by major British media between 2012 and 2015.

Wang, Danping, and Bob Adamso. “War and Peace: Perceptions of Confucius Institutes in China and USA.” *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher* 24.1 (2015): 225–234.

This paper offers discussions on a wide range of perceptions of Confucius Institutes in China and the United States. The comparisons of these perceptions, especially the comparison between the official and unofficial views within China, highlight the complexity in the perceptions that different groups of people have developed on Confucius Institutes.

Ye Ying 叶英. "Cong waimei baodao kan Kongzi xueyuan de haiwai xingxiang (从外媒报道看孔子学院的海外形象)." *Sichuan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* (四川大学学报 – 哲学与社会科学版) **198 (2015): 48–57.**

This article reviews the media coverage of four leading American media outlets on Confucius Institutes between 2006 and 2013. It offers an informative breakdown of the subjects that these news reports covered.

Zhang Jing 张婧 and Song Yiyang 宋伊洋. "Cong Eluosi meiti de xinwen baodao kan Kongzi xueyuan de haiwai xingxiang (从俄罗斯媒体的新闻报道看孔子学院的海外形象)." *Kongzi xueyuan fazhan yanjiu* (孔子学院发展研究) **11 (2016): 26–35.**

This article provides a case study on the media perceptions of Confucius Institutes in Russia. It analyzes how five major Russian print and online news providers covered the news after the Confucius Institute in the Blagoveshchensk State Pedagogical University was alleged by local prosecutors to not have been properly registered and to have breached taxation laws.

Impact

The impact of Confucius Institutes has been assessed from two major perspectives. The first perspective, viewing Confucius Institutes as players of China's cultural and public diplomacy, focuses on the impact that these institutes have on the crafting of a desired external sociopolitical environment for China. The second perspective goes further to examine the impact that Confucius Institutes have on the economic and people flows between China and the host countries of these institutes. One needs to be cautious, however, about the methodological challenges with regards to assessing the impact, or the potential impact, that Confucius Institutes may have. Paradise 2009 (cited under Roles and Mechanisms) highlights the difficulties in disentangling the effects of Confucius Institutes from those of a variety of China's other cultural promotion activities.

Impact on China's Image and Influence

The actual impact that Confucius Institutes have on the crafting of a desired external sociopolitical environment for China has been assessed by a considerable number of scholars through various methods. The findings are highly diverse. Wu 2011, for example, finds that the participants of a summer language course provided by two Confucius Institutes in the United States generally increased their appreciation of China and its people after the training. Kluver 2014 shows that Confucius Institutes serve as sites of symbolic Chinese cultural capital and hence can enhance China's bargaining power and geopolitical influence. However, drawing on information collected through multiple methods, Dinnie and Lio 2010, Xie and Page 2013, and Gil 2015 all find that Confucius Institutes do not have any significant impact on China's image and soft power despite the impressive frequency and coverage of their activities. Servaes 2016 and Zhou and Luk 2016 (cited under Challenges) argue that the rapid expansion of Confucius Institutes may actually backfire on China's efforts to craft a more desirable external environment as this is often perceived as a threat to academic independence and freedom.

Dinnie, Keith, and Ada Lio. "Enhancing China's Image in Japan: Developing the Nation Brand through Public Diplomacy." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* **6.3 (2010): 198–220.**

Drawing on extensive interviews, this paper assesses the level of success regarding the Chinese public diplomacy in Japan, of which an important part is establishing and operating Confucius Institutes. According to the evidence reported in this paper, despite the investment that China has made in establishing Confucius Institutes in several Japanese universities, the interviewees showed a low level of awareness of their existence.

Gil, Jeffrey. "China's Cultural Projection: A Discussion of the Confucius Institutes." *China: An International Journal* **13.1 (2015): 200–226.**

This paper uses a wide variety of materials, including “academic literature, media reports, internet documents, interviews with people involved in or with an interest in the Confucius Institute project, interviews with Chinese-language teachers, and a survey of Chinese-language students’ views” (p. 220). It suggests that the impressive frequency and coverage of the activities hosted by Confucius Institutes have not necessarily contributed to the crafting of China’s desired external environment.

Kluver, Randolph. “The Sage as Strategy: Nodes, Networks, and the Quest for Geopolitical Power in the Confucius Institute.” *Communication, Culture & Critique* 7 (2014): 192–209.

This paper highlights the roles that the Confucius Institutes play in enhancing China’s communication power. Unlike many articles that directly focus on how Confucius Institutes serve as China’s propaganda tools, this paper takes a different angle to assess the impact of Confucius Institutes. That is, the author regards these institutes as sites for China’s cultural capital which enhance China’s geopolitical influence in a globalized world.

Servaes, Jan. “The Chinese Dream Shattered between Hard and Soft Power?” *Media, Culture & Society* 38.3 (2016): 437–449.

This article includes a section that specifically discusses the impact of the Confucius Institutes on China’s image and soft power in the context of the Xi Jinping administration’s growing emphasis on the “China Dream.” The author highlights the ironical facts that Confucius Institutes sometimes harm China’s soft power abroad despite the fact that its initial objective is quite the opposite.

Wu Xiaoping 吴晓萍. “Zhongguo xingxiang de tisheng: laizi kongzi xueyuan jiaoxue de qishi (中国形象的提升: 来自孔子学院教学的启示).” *Waijiao pinglun* (外交评论) 28.1 (2011): 89–102.

Drawing on primary surveys of participants of the summer courses provided by two Confucius Institutes in the United States, this paper shows that the training offered in these institutes has a positive impact in improving China’s image among the participants of the featured summer courses.

Xie, Tao, and Benjamin I. Page. “What Affects China’s National Image? A Cross-National Study of Public Opinion” *Journal of Contemporary China* 22.83 (2013): 850–867.

This paper reports on a quantitative analysis of the 2007 Pew Global Attitudes Survey, with a specific focus on the “macro-level sources of variations across countries regarding China’s national image” (p. 850). It shows that the number of Confucius Institutes and classrooms in a country has no significant measurable impact on China’s image in that country, raising doubts on the actual impact that Confucius Institutes have on promoting China’s image.

Impact on Economic and People Flows

Although Confucius Institutes are primarily regarded as promoters of the Chinese language and culture, some scholarly efforts have been made to investigate the wider impact of these institutes on the trading, financial, and people flows between China and the host countries. For example, Lien, et al. 2012; Lien and Co 2013; Xie 2016; and Akhtaruzzaman, et al. 2017 provide useful information on the impact that Confucius Institutes have on China’s trading and financial links with host countries. On the other hand, Lien, et al. 2014; Miao and Chen 2015; and Lin, et al. 2016 discuss the impact of Confucius Institutes on the people and educational flows between China and the host countries. Most of these studies apply panel gravity models to examine the links between the establishment of new Confucius Institutes and the subsequent change of the economic and people flows between China and the host countries.

Akhtaruzzaman, Muhammad, Nathan Berg, and Donald Lien. “Confucius Institutes and FDI Flows from China to Africa.” *China Economic Review* 44 (2017): 241–252.

Drawing on quantitative data from 2004 (when the first Confucius Institutes were established in Africa) through 2012, this paper estimates the relevance between the establishment of new Confucius Institutes and China’s economic relations with African countries. The empirical results indicate that the establishment of a new Confucius Institute in an African country is often followed by an increase in China’s direct investment in that country, whereas the link between Confucius Institutes and China’s foreign aid in Africa does not seem to be apparent.

Lien, Donald, Sucharita Ghosh, and Steven Yamarik. "Does the Confucius Institute Impact International Travel to China? A Panel Data Analysis." *Applied Economics* 46.17 (2014): 1985–1995.

This paper, applying a panel gravity model of inbound tourism flows to China between 2004 and 2010, examines the impact that Confucius Institutes have on inbound travel to China. To this day, it is the only academic article which specifically studies the impact of Confucius Institutes on the tourism flow.

Lien, Donald, Chang Hoon Oh, and W. Travis Selmier. "Confucius Institute Effects on China's Trade and FDI: Isn't It Delightful When Folks Afar Study *Hanyu*?" *International Review of Economics and Finance* 21.1 (2012): 147–155.

Based on international trading and financial data, this paper reveals the difference between the impact that Confucius Institutes have on China's trade and FDI in developing countries and that in developed countries. It also shows that Confucius Institutes "command stronger impacts on FDI than on [China's] outward trade" (p. 147).

Lien, Donald, and Catherine Yap Co. "The Effect of Confucius Institutes on US Exports to China: A State Level Analysis." *International Review of Economics and Finance* 27 (2013): 566–571.

This paper applies a similar research design used in Lien, et al. 2012, but with a specific focus on the United States, which not only is China's largest trading partner but also houses more Confucius Institutes and classrooms than any other country or territory in the world. This paper shows that there is "a 5–6% increase in state exports for each additional Confucius Institute established in a given state" (p. 566).

Lin Hang 林航, Xie Zhizhong 谢志忠, and Zheng Ruiyun 郑瑞云. "Kongzi xueyuan shifou cujin le haiwai xuesheng lai hua liuxue (孔子学院是否促进了海外学生来华留学)." *Guoji shangwu* (国际商务) 5 (2016): 52–65.

This paper reports the results of an empirical test based on the panel data that covers forty countries from 2004 to 2014. It shows that establishing new Confucius Institutes often results in more foreign students going to China from the developing countries but fewer from the developed countries.

Miao Liqing 苗莉青 and Chen Cong 陈聪. "Kongzi xueyuan dui woguo gaodeng jiaoyu chukou de yingxiang (孔子学院对我国高等教育出口的影响)." *Guoji shangwu* (国际商务) 6 (2015): 27–35.

This paper demonstrates a clear positive correlation between the number of Confucius Institutes in a country and China's educational export to the country through a panel data analysis. It also reveals that this positive correlation is more significant in countries with common-law traditions and a higher volume of trading with China.

Xie Mengjun 谢孟军. "Wenhua nengfou yinzhi chukou (文化能否引致出口)." *Guoji maoyi wenti* (国际贸易问题) 1 (2016): 3–11.

This article provides evidence on the link between Confucius Institutes and China's export to countries along the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road, also known as the (One) Belt and (One) Road Initiative, where China prioritizes its trading and investing engagements.

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