

Muhammad Mussa Khan \*

Riaz Ahmad †

Lloyd W. Fernald ‡

## Diplomacy and Education: A Systematic Review of Literature

### Abstract

*Preference is given to the recently published scholarship in prominent journals and publishers. Secondary sources of data related to educational exchanges and its role in diplomacy have been extensively studied. It was observed that whether it's a small country or a major player in the international politics, educational exchanges and bursaries play a vital role in promoting its soft image in addition to culture and history to the foreign audience. Some of the famous providers of scholarships to international students include the USA, UK and China. While recent studies show that China is rising to be the top provider of educational scholarships and the Chinese universities are rapidly getting top positions in the world ranking of universities. Through such initiatives, China's policies are getting acceptance to a greater extent in foreign countries. This study is of high importance to complementary research.*

**Key Words:** Educational Exchanges, Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, Foreign Policy

### Introduction

In the 21st century, many countries, including the superpowers, have expanded their interests abroad in diplomacy and dominance by education. In recent years, the importance of education and intellectual exchange in the development of international relations was defined by the term "soft power." Instead of using aggression, soft power relies on the strength of ideas and culture to influence peoples' interaction and attitude. Higher education is an ideal soft power instrument that can achieve much more than conventional diplomacy approaches (Peterson, 2014). These days, graduates, scholars and analysts are considered to be major players in diplomacy. Educational diplomacy is an important instrument for conducting foreign affairs around the world and has been considered an important and successful tool in public diplomacy practices. Public diplomacy, known as the soft power tool, has arisen as a modern phenomenon in which countries broaden their national interests and seek to mold the attitudes of others and control their behavior. Education exchanges and scholarships have been significant contributors to the strategies of soft power and are an integral aspect of global diplomacy that has yielded many benefits. Through education diplomacy, nations expect the advancement of the political goals and desires of the nation and, ultimately, lead to economic growth and investment of the region. Education diplomacy is an effective tool for mutually favourable and reciprocal ties between nations. Providing educational opportunities to international students is seen by many countries as an important method for achieving soft power objectives. Not only large powers, but small countries also believe in the use of education as a diplomatic instrument to help their governments achieve their national interests and strengthen their identity and trust towards other countries (Vaxevanidou, 2018). Countries, whether they are economically and militarily powerful or not, use education diplomacy in order to ensure development in areas of the socio-economic sector of the country (Waithaka & Maluki 2016). In Asia, China is one of the most successful countries to achieve much from educational diplomacy and portraying a positive image of the country in addition to promoting its culture and history. Chinese students have become a recognizable group all over the world who seek educational opportunities in the world carrying the tales of China with

\* PhD Scholar, Department of Media and International Culture, Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China

† Assistant Professor, Department of Public Policy and Administration, Xi'an Jiaotong University, Xi'an, China.

Email: [drriaz@zju.edu.cn](mailto:drriaz@zju.edu.cn)

‡ Professor, Department of Management, University of Central Florida & Dean of Graduate Studies, Orlando University, Orlando, Florida, USA.

them that eventually reaches the outer world. USA, UK, Europe and other countries have been in the game for a long time, but now the lead is taken by China by providing thousands of scholarships to students all over the world. The increase in the Foreign Educational Exchange is not surprising because it naturally appears to be a constructive approach. Scholars have also been researching about this approach from different aspects, and their research reveals significant importance of education in diplomacy.

The main objective of the current paper is to evaluate the previous research about educational diplomacy with a goal to understand the importance and need for educational diplomacy for different countries. For analysis, published literature in addition to other secondary sources has been studied and concluded in this study to highlight the importance of education in diplomacy. For instance, the focus is given to Chinese students who have been playing a major role in promoting Chinese culture and the national image of China all over the world.

The first section of this paper introduces the topic under discussion followed by the literature review. The second part consists of the major findings from the latest research which are mentioned along with the authors' names and journal/sources in a table form for better understanding. In the following section, the discussion over education, diplomacy and soft power are presented. In the fourth section, a conclusion with policy recommendation is given while suggestions for future research are also mentioned in the final part of this paper.

## Methodology

### Research Design

A conceptual framework is developed for the study of educational exchanges in light of the published work. The research is descriptive in nature; articles, books, websites and other secondary sources which are credible have been thoroughly studied, and their main findings have been added in the table format along with the authors and journal/source. Secondary sources that highlight the importance of educational exchanges have been studied systematically, and their references are given in the bibliography section.

### Sources of Data

Secondary sources such as research articles, review articles, conference papers, working papers, books, government and non-government official websites in addition to dissertations related to educational exchanges and its role in diplomacy have been extensively studied. Most of the data is obtained from the recently published materials which have advanced and up to date information and concepts related to the topic. Review of the published work offers the opportunity to reflect and synthesize the existing work that eventually provides bases for the advancement of new knowledge. Literature reviews significantly contribute to the development of the field, and new theories and findings emerge ([Liu et al., 2014](#)).

### Search Strategy

Renowned and credible sources of publications have been extensively used for the search of related data such as the Google, Google Scholar, Web of Science, Springer and other major search engines and publishers to make sure that the articles or other secondary published sources are credible. Publications published in 2020 were prioritized in addition to 2019 and 2018. The data collection and analysis for this study are conducted in July 2020, so published sources mainly come before this timeframe.

### Data Analysis

Data, related to educational exchanges and its role in diplomacy, are evaluated from different perspectives. Literature about educational exchanges in close connection with public diplomacy, soft power, foreign policy has been extensively searched, evaluated and concluded in this paper.

## Literature Review

Countries broaden their national interests by education in the art of diplomacy and dominance. In the long history of colonialism, it has played a central role to control local citizens. Education served an important role in the promotion of national power during the postcolonial period (Peterson, 2014). As Lima (2007) concluded three key roles which are usually related to educational exchanges: (1) developing mutual understanding; (2) building the host country's favourable image; and (3) promoting the foreign policy of the host country. In the modern-day, countries, whether small or powerful practice diplomacy in various forms depending upon the opportunity, availability of resources and strength of the country. In an integrated global society, higher education creates critical soft power that is able to manoeuvre a modern realm (Li, 2018).

The fostering of educational cooperation in public diplomacy is a generally recognized concept. Many countries use educational exchanges to allow the world to establish a common understanding and cooperation. China has become the destination of students who want to study Mandarin due to its rapid economic growth (Wang, 2020). Scholarships can and must impact not only global policy towards being more diversified (and not only politically and economically driven) but also form future studies, institutional projects, curricula and pedagogical projects with other international development objectives. No doubt, there's nothing necessarily negative regarding political and economic factors influencing the growth of international education, but they are inadequate in itself, and cannot help solve certain criteria or accomplish certain goals, especially the objectives of global social mobility (Galee, 2020; Choudhry & Javed, 2020). US's higher education, research and innovation have brought potential enduring impacts on the foreign audience. For instance, the Fulbright Program is America's best-known public diplomacy program that has gained much popularity and acceptance worldwide. Such projects tend to strengthen soft power; a core part of the current generation of policies and programs aimed at recruiting young international students in the education field (Aras & Mohammed 2019). In this way, the internationalization of higher education encourages building soft power, as a country can draw on a reputation and improve its capacity to engage and affect regional and global impacts by cultivating positive experiences of student mobility and cultural, economic and social ties (Byrne & Hall, 2014). "Educational exchange will turn nations into individuals, leading to the humanization of foreign relations like no other means of communication" (Metzgar, 2015). The exchange might not be a highly efficient tool, but it is the most effective and greatly preferred way to build and maintain interactions (Zaharna, 2010). The evaluation of international education interactions in national universities as public diplomacy includes a long-term view of the possible consequences of attempts to globalize institutions of higher education (Metzgar, 2015). The flow of international students has consequences for universities where students are enrolled beyond the direct monetary or reputational significance. It was found that, for example, Chinese students who had studied in Japan had a better view of Japan in comparison to other countries (Han & Zweig, 2010). Same as the case with other similar examples, if a student studies in one country, there are probable chances that he/she will carry a positive image of that country. Thus, educational exchanges are highly important and play a vital role on different occasions and make the job easier for diplomats of foreign affairs.

## Recent Scholarship on Educational Diplomacy

Following are some of the important and well-known publications regarding the topic under discussion.

Author(s) & Date	Major Findings/Conclusion/Summary	Journal/Source
<a href="#">Joe Bulmer (2020)</a>	The academic world is now a global arena, with little subject pressures and consequences on such a complex environment, from students to parents, employers to leaders, scholars to the indigenous population and political figures in social developments.	Rethinking Education Across Borders, Springer

Author(s) & Date	Major Findings/Conclusion/Summary	Journal/Source
<a href="#">Munusamy, M. M., &amp; Hashim, A. (2020)</a>	Internationalization is a global concept and a major development in higher education. This is also one of the directions that nations respond to the global impact.	AEI-Insights
<a href="#">Makarevskaya, N. Y. (2020)</a>	China is one of the most advanced countries to use culture and education as "soft power" tools and run several exchange programs.	International Scientific Conference" Far East Con"(ISCFEC)
Aras, B., & Mohammed, Z. (2019)	Education exchange plays a significant role in transmitting the cultural values of the state and in developing a community of intellectuals on which the state is able to rely to some degree as it establishes interactions with nations around the world.	Turkish Studies
<a href="#">Nazar et al. (2019)</a>	The countries participating in education and associated programs foster a more stable and positive international climate.	Asia Pacific
<a href="#">Vaxevanidou (2018)</a>	International education as a major player in soft power and as a significant field of public diplomacy can provide a wide range of benefits, including producing business values, promoting the policies and concerns of a country, contributing to the economic expansion and development of a region.	Journal of Media Critique
Jian Li (2018)	In an integrated global society, higher education creates critical soft power that is able to manoeuvre a modern realm.	Conceptualizing Soft Power of Higher Education, Springer
<a href="#">Ikande (2017)</a>	To learn the culture of some other country, it is important to connect with its citizens. Values are often transmitted through student exchanges.	<a href="https://www.legit.ng">https://www.legit.ng</a>
<a href="#">Waithaka &amp; Maluki (2016)</a>	Education as a tool for public diplomacy is a long-term investment that produces long-term returns; the benefits are not obtained in the short term, as with other instruments for public diplomacy, including the media.	International Journal of Science Arts and Commerce
<a href="#">Mäkinen, S. (2016)</a>	As part of its public diplomacy, Russia participates in educational diplomacy. Thereby, cross-border education also supports foreign policy interests in official discourse.	Problems of Post-Communism
<a href="#">Higgins, R. M., &amp; Brady, A. (2016)</a>	Knowledge-economy leads to transparent education promises. New networking and information technology allow language students to efficiently learn a foreign language.	Current Issues in Language Planning
<a href="#">Sheng-Kai, C. C. (2015)</a>	The Chevening Awards, the Fulbright initiative and the scholarships from the Colombo Plan are examples of the use of higher education as a tool of advancement and the propagation of values.	EUC Working Paper No. 23. EU Centre in Singapore
<a href="#">Lee, J. T. (2015)</a>	Certain educational initiatives use cultural and colonial heritage as a soft power instrument by emphasizing shared cultural identities and values. Education attempts to enhance the global stage through its involvement in cultural diplomacy.	Comparative Education

Author(s) & Date	Major Findings/Conclusion/Summary	Journal/Source
<a href="#">De Wit, H. (2013)</a>	Enhanced international exchanges and collaboration affect social, cultural, academic, political and economic motives.	<a href="http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/">http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/</a>
<a href="#">Pan, S. Y. (2013).</a>	The Confucius Institute project can be interpreted as an element of state and university-piloted cultural diplomacy platform, a joint endeavour to garner a more welcoming global acceptance of China.	Asian Education and Development Studies
<a href="#">Byrne, C., &amp; Hall, R. (2013)</a>	The international education in Australia serves as public diplomacy instrument, primarily attracts and affects masses in contexts that promote Australian national interests and international policy goals.	Australian Journal of International Affairs
Akli, M. (2012)	Students and educators crossing national boundaries will restructure soft power. They are also the future representatives of a transition to cultural diplomacy and international education: today they are the current unofficial cultural diplomats.	Journal of Phi Beta Delta Honor Society for International Scholars Publication
<a href="#">Tarrant et al. (2011)</a>	Environmental initiatives are being assisted by educational travel across all communities. They also contribute to call to encourage global citizenship	Journal of Leisure Research
<a href="#">Jones, W. J. (2010)</a>	Funding for higher education in Southeast Asia by the European Union is built on motivating the revival of European interest and influence in the region.	Silpakom University International Journal
<a href="#">Ferreira de Lima, A. (2007)</a>	In public diplomacy, international educational exchanges play a significant role, especially as face-to-face interaction between the citizens of different nations significantly reduces misconceptions and eventually promotes cooperation between cultures.	Place Branding and Public Diplomacy

### Education as Public Diplomacy

Today, countries concentrate on connections between individuals through a number of mechanisms such as cultural and educational projects, scholarships opportunities and exchanges programs (Bryn, 2016; [Gilani et al., 2020](#)). There are several approaches to public diplomacy as a mean of soft power. These include international broadcasting, cultural diplomacy and international exchanges of educational opportunities. In modern times, the foreign exchange of education means the non-reciprocal involvement of people from distinct countries in the host Country's education programs ([Aras & Mohammed, 2019](#)). Participants, governments and hosting organizations, in addition to the role of facilitators in the development of soft power, benefit from these interactions for Chinese-based international higher education [programs \(Metzgar, 2016\)](#). Schools and universities are important instruments of public diplomacy that contribute to the study process and cultural promotion. Universities are also important in promoting cultural diplomacy and adequately communicating messages of public diplomacy. In addition, universities host international conferences, workshops and seminars to facilitate the correspondence processes ([Özkan, 2015](#); [Khan et al., 2020](#)). Other examples include the Full-Bright program of USA, Chevening and Commonwealth of UK, and China Scholarship Council of China in addition to so many other programs of different countries. Education is one of the main instruments of public diplomacy; that is why it is being practised by many countries around the globe.

### Higher Education and Soft Power

Through his seminal thesis, Joseph Nye introduced the word 'soft power' to academic debate bound

to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power, and in his later book, he further established the concept, Soft Power (Aras & Mohammed, 2019).

In recent years, the importance of education and intellectual exchange in establishing international relations has been defined by the term 'soft power,' which relies, instead of employing coercion, on the strength of ideas and culture to influence others' friendship and disposition. Higher education is an acceptable soft power platform (Peterson, 2014). Today, there is rising numbers of countries worldwide relying on higher education grants as a way to promote national interest on the global stage (Aras & Mohammed, 2019). According to Castiello-Gutiérrez (2019), higher education is an instrument for rising political soft power and special interests. Countries such as the USA, UK and Australia have established educational opportunities as an important soft power tool. The students on bonds work on senior roles, as they return to their home countries, where they apply the skills they have gained in the foreign country (Nazar et al., 2019). Thus, the provision of higher education to international students plays one of the most significant roles in achieving soft power, and major players in global politics use it to achieve national interests. For instance, China can be seen as a successful country to get benefit from educational diplomacy providing thousands of scholarships to African and other nationals which has eventually facilitated China's policies across the globe.

### Educational Exchanges and Foreign Policy

State-supported student exchange programs are an integral aspect of Modern education and other foreign connections. Most studies put state-funded exchanges in the sense of public diplomacy and discuss their position in current international relations and their impact; as well as policy and correspondence from a diplomatic point of view for international viewers (Åkerlund, 2014). Within the perspective of public diplomacy, an international educational exchange is still attributable to a third political objective which favours the foreign policy of a state. In fact, higher educational exchanges can facilitate a country to progress its foreign policy, understood as choices, decisions, core values or ambitions pursued overseas, are hard to explain or demonstrate (Lima, 2007). It is clear that the educational exchanges positively impact foreign policy in addition to portraying a positive image of the country. The local culture is appreciated and promoted in foreign countries. It also helps the researchers and scholars that shed light on the importance of local culture to be assessed while devising foreign policies, and foreign policies can be more successful when the local culture of the targeted countries are considered while devising foreign policies.

### Chinese International Students as Soft Power Instrument

The notion of employing international students to connect foreign peoples' hearts and minds for several reasons is significant and fascinating. Firstly, it demonstrates clearly that the Chinese government is increasingly interested in using non-governmental elements in its public diplomacy and in presenting an adequate understanding of China to eradicate probable misinterpretations. Secondly, foreign students are also viewed as a social characteristics power outlet (Atkison, 2010: McLory, 2014). Finally, as the number of foreign Chinese students worldwide increases, they become an increasingly recognizable group and thus the focus of extensive discourses on the future effect of a large community of Chinese students on education, university life and as a source of income for colleges and universities around the world. But detailed research, whether for students or for receiving countries (or both), on the soft power impact of studying abroad, are scarce. Research these days appears to be focused on surveys to assess if a student stays abroad has strengthened their inclination towards their host country, with little debate about whether or not a more optimistic sense of entitlement necessarily transforms into soft power. Therefore, it is in the potential desire of a more comprehensive involvement of international students in sending or receiving countries as soft power tools (Yang, 2015; Khan et al., 2018). China, these days, is one of the successful countries to greatly get the benefit of educational diplomacy. They have been providing a large number of scholarships to the counties where they are doing some great projects such as the One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR). Therefore, China has gained favorable appreciation in these countries in addition to the successful foreign policy acceptance.

## **Conclusion and Policy Recommendations**

This study analyzes the educational exchanges and their impact on diplomacy in a variety of aspects. Several countries around the globe use educational exchanges to enhance their diplomatic relations formally and informally. It is also one of the main approaches to project their positive image to the globe, especially to the target audience. Promoting culture is also one of the domains they can play in through educational scholarships and exchange programs. Among different countries, China is one of the most successful providers of educational scholarships, especially to the countries where they are doing a large number of projects. Full-bright program of the USA and British Council of UK are among other successful examples of scholarships and education providers too, as education is an acceptable soft power with huge impact. With regards to the foreign policy, educational exchanges eventually affect foreign policies of the countries on both sides with positive output. Through educational exchanges, the political objective is attributed to favours the foreign policy of the country that provides these educational opportunities. In fact, higher educational exchanges greatly facilitate a country to progress its foreign policy in the targeted country. Moreover, the Chinese government is increasingly interested in using non-governmental elements in its public diplomacy and in presenting an adequate understanding of China to eradicate probable misinterpretations about its national image in the foreign publics. Chinese students are one of the biggest recognized groups in the world who have been studying all over the world and most of the foreign universities, especially private, are highly depending on their study fee. Thus, China is one of the dominant and successful countries in exercising soft power through educational diplomacy.

Therefore, it is recommended for the policymakers to invest smartly in educational diplomacy as it is highly impactful that can help to attain not only political but economic and technological goals. When more talent comes to the country, more venues of technological innovations open. Not only this but a country's history, culture, traditions and interests are accepted to a greater extent.

## **Future Research Directions**

Future research can be done analyzing the potential of China, USA and UK's educational diplomacy that search for soft power. Researchers can also conduct comparative research on China and USA as they are the dominant players in the world's politics; both have been investing a huge amount of money in educational scholarships and connecting with the world's leading universities and researchers. Chinese universities are rising to hold top ranks in the university rankings worldwide while the American universities and research institutes have been holding the top-ranking positions already. The competition between the two giants is tougher than before, and there is much that researchers can explore. The conflict over patents and technology is another perspective that can be researched from the educational perspective exploring the innovative technologies being introduced and implemented by the two countries.

## References

- Åkerlund, A. (2014). The impact of foreign policy on the educational exchange: The Swedish state scholarship programme 1938–1990. *Paedagogica Historica*, 50(3), 390-409.
- Akli, M. (2012). The Role of Study-Abroad Students in Cultural Diplomacy: Toward an International Education as Soft Action International Research and Review. *Journal of Phi Beta Delta Honor Society for International Scholars Publication*, 2, (1), Fall 2012. ISSN: 2167-866932.
- Aras, B., & Mohammed, Z. (2019). The Turkish government scholarship program as a soft power tool. *Turkish Studies*, 20(3), 421-441.
- Atkinson, C. (2010). Does soft power matter? A comparative analysis of student exchange programs 1980–2006. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 6(1), 1-22.
- Bulmer, J. (2020). What Motivates International Students for Higher Education: Insight from an International College in Thailand. In *Rethinking Education Across Borders* (pp. 103-112). Springer, Singapore.
- Byrne, C., & Hall, R. (2013). Realising Australia's international education as public diplomacy. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2013.806019>
- Byrne, C., & Hall, R. (2014). International Education as Public Diplomacy. <https://www.ieaa.org.au/documents/item/258>
- Castiello-Gutiérrez, S. (2019). Reframing internationalisation's values and principles. *University World Reports*.
- Choudhary, F. R., & Javed, T. (2020). Context Factors Affecting Cognition and Performance of Undergraduate Science Students. *Global Regional Review*, 1(1), 160–169. <https://doi.org/10.31703/gr.2020>
- De Lima, A. F. (2007). The role of international educational exchanges in public diplomacy. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 3(3), 234-251.
- De Wit, H. (2013). An introduction to higher education internationalisation. (H. de Wit, Ed.). Milan, Italy: Vita E Pensiero. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.905.8413&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Ferreia de Lima, A. (2007). The role of international education exchanges in public diplomacy. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 3(3), 234-251
- Gaulee, U. (Ed.). (2020). *Rethinking Education across Borders: Emerging Issues and Critical Insights on Globally Mobile Students*. Springer Nature.
- Gilani, N., Abdul Waheed, S., & Hussain, B. (2020). Multiculturalism and Integration: Challenges, Strategies and Prospects of Students Integration in Educational Environment and Society. *Global Social Sciences Review*, 1(II), 174–181. [https://doi.org/10.31703/gssr.2020\(V-II\).16](https://doi.org/10.31703/gssr.2020(V-II).16)
- Han, D., & Zweig, D. (2010). Images of the world: Studying abroad and Chinese attitudes towards international affairs. *The China Quarterly*, 202, 290-306.
- Higgins, R. M., & Brady, A. (2016). Language policy, planning, and enactment: the necessity and empowering potential at the local level. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 17(3-4), 242-259.
- Ikande, M. (2017). Types of diplomacy in international relations. Legit. Retrieved from: <https://www.legit.ng/1131145-types-diplomacy-international-relations.html> (Accessed on July 18, 2020)
- International Affairs Office (IAO) (2018). Succeeding globally through international education and engagement. International Affairs Office, U.S. Department of Education.: <https://sites.ed.gov/international/objective-2-learn-from-and-with-other-countries-to-strengthen-u-s-education/> (Accessed on July 10, 2020)
- Jones, W. J. (2010). European Union Soft Power: Cultural Diplomacy & Higher Education in Southeast Asia. *Silpakorn University International Journal*.
- Khan, N., Ahmad, R., & Xing, K. (2018). China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Regional Development, Employment Opportunities and Policy Challenges. *Global Political Review (GPR)*, 11(1), 12–23. [https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2018\(III-I\).02](https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2018(III-I).02)
- Khan, S., & Imran Haider, S. (2020). *Women's Education and Empowerment in Islamabad, Pakistan*. 1(1). [https://doi.org/10.31703/ger.2020\(V-I\).05](https://doi.org/10.31703/ger.2020(V-I).05)



- Lee, J. T. (2015). Soft power and cultural diplomacy: Emerging education hubs in Asia. *Comparative Education*, 51(3), 353-374
- Li, J. (2018). Conceptualizing Soft Power Conversion Model of Higher Education. In *Conceptualizing Soft Power of Higher Education* (pp. 19-65). Springer, Singapore.
- Liu, C., Kuang, Y., Huang, N. and Liu, X. (2014) An Empirical Research on Evaluation of Low-Carbon Economy in Guangdong Province, China: Based on "Production, Life and Environment". *Low Carbon Economy*, 5, 139-152. <https://doi.org/10.4236/lce.2014.54015>
- Makarevskaya, N. Y. (2020, March). The Use of "Soft Power" Tools by Asia-Pacific Region Countries, as the Expansion of Influence Way. In *International Scientific Conference "Far East Con"(ISC FEC 2020)* (pp. 287-291). Atlantis Press.
- Mäkinen, S. (2016). In Search of the Status of an Educational Great Power? Analysis of Russia's Educational Diplomacy Discourse. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 63(3), 183–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2016.1172489>
- McClory, Jonathan (2016), The Soft Power 30 Report, Portland Communications, online: <http://softpower30.portland-communications.com/wp-content/themes/softpower/>
- Metzgar, E. T. (2015). Institutions of Higher Education as Public Diplomacy Tools. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 20(3), 223–241. doi:10.1177/1028315315604718
- Metzgar, E. T. (2016). Institutions of higher education as public diplomacy tools: China-based university programs for the 21st century. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 20(3), 223-241.
- Munusamy, M. M., & Hashim, A. (2020). The Internationalisation of Higher Education: A Networking Based Conceptual Framework. *AEI-Insights*, 35.
- Nazar, N., Siddiqui, S., & Khoso, G. M. (2019). Achieving Soft Power Goals through Education Diplomacy by Southeast Asian Nations. *Asia Pacific*, 37, 21–34.
- Özkan, A. (2015). Strategic practices of public diplomacy policies in educational field and Turkey's potential for cultural diplomacy. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 176(12682), 35-43.
- Pan, S. Y. (2013). Confucius Institute project: China's cultural diplomacy and soft power projection. *Asian Education and Development Studies*, 2(1), 22–33. <https://doi.org/10.1108/20463161311297608>
- Peterson, P. M. (2014). Diplomacy and education: A changing global landscape. *International Higher Education*, (75), 2-3.
- Sheng-Kai, C. C. (2015). Higher education scholarships as a soft power tool: An analysis of its role in the EU and Singapore. *EUC Working Paper No. 23*. EU Centre in Singapore.
- Tarrant, M.A., Stoner, L., Borrie, W.T., Kyle, G., Moore, R.L. and Moore, A. (2011). Educational travel and global citizenship. *Journal of Leisure Research* 43. (3): 403–426.
- Vaxevanidou, M. (2018). Education as public diplomacy: How to build on international image in education. *Journal of Media Critique*, 4 (14), 55-70
- Waithaka, J. W., & Maluki, P. (2016). International education exchanges as a public diplomacy instrument. *International Journal of Science Arts and Commerce*, 1, 1-8.
- Wang, X. (2020). Education Diplomacy. In *Winning American Hearts and Minds* (pp. 89–100). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-3184-2\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-3184-2_7)
- Yang, Y. (2015). Does the academic programme work? The Jean Monnet Programme and European Union public diplomacy. *Journal of European Integration*, 37(6), 611-628.
- Zaharna, R. (2010). *Battles to bridges: U.S. strategic communication and public diplomacy after 9/11*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.