Global American Higher Education: International Campuses for Competition or Cooperation?

By Kyle A. Long

Global American Higher Education: International Campuses for Competition or Cooperation?

Kyle A. Long

December 2023
Figueroa Press
Los Angeles

GLOBAL AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: INTERNATIONAL CAMPUSES FOR COMPETITION OR COOPERATION?

by Kyle A. Long

Guest Editor
Emily Metzgar

Managing Editor
Sohaela Amiri

About the USC Center on Public Diplomacy

The USC Center on Public Diplomacy (CPD) was established in 2003 as a partnership between the Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism and the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California. It is a research, analysis and professional education organization dedicated to furthering the study and practice of global public engagement and cultural relations.

Since its inception, CPD has become a productive and recognized leader in the public diplomacy research and scholarship community. Having benefited from international support within academic, corporate, governmental and public policy circles, it is now the definitive go-to destination for practitioners and international leaders in public diplomacy, while pursuing an innovative research agenda.

USC received the 2008 Benjamin Franklin Award for Public Diplomacy from the U.S. State Department in recognition of the university's teaching, training and research in public diplomacy.

CPD's Mission

The USC Center on Public Diplomacy seeks to advance and enrich the study and practice of public diplomacy through research, professional education and public engagement.

CPD Perspectives

CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy is a periodic publication by the USC Center on Public Diplomacy (CPD), that highlights scholarship intended to stimulate critical thinking about the study and practice of public diplomacy.

Designed for both the practitioner and the scholar, this series illustrates the breadth of public diplomacy—its role as an essential component of international relations and the intellectual challenges it presents to those seeking to understand this increasingly significant factor in global society.

CPD Perspectives is available electronically in PDF form on CPD's website (www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org) and in hard copy by request.

For general inquiries and to request additional copies of this paper, please contact:

USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School
University of Southern California
3502 Watt Way, Suites 232-234
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0281
Tel: (213) 821-2078; Fax: (213) 821-0774
cpd@usc.edu

Author Note

Kyle A. Long ⓘ https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6632-1582

Abstract

The United States leads the world in international university campuses. An international university campus provides the educational framework, methodologies, and standards typical of higher education from one country to students in a different country. These institutions can help the United States gain competitive advantage against adversaries or advance mutual understanding among allies. Scholarship in international relations and international education provides context for the study, which uses the concepts of soft power and knowledge diplomacy to analyze an original data set of 345 institutions in 90 countries over 187 years. The data set includes variables for operating status, location, key dates, revenue model, enrollment, and accreditation status. Research questions include: Where and when have there been American higher education institutions outside the fifty states? What salient features and trends are associated with these institutions? What significance do they have for American public diplomacy and what, if anything, can policymakers do to strengthen this resource? The study finds that American universities abroad enroll approximately 720,000 students. These institutions were first popularized around the Mediterranean, but then proliferated across Asia, especially during the past quarter century. Today, China hosts the most American universities by a wide margin. They take on multiple forms across the world, but the most typical American international university campus is a 5,000-student non-profit university accredited in the United States. The paper concludes with suggestions for policy and future research.

Keywords: universities, international education, soft power, knowledge diplomacy

Introduction

International education is a hallmark of American public diplomacy. Every year, the United States hosts more than a million international students (IIE, 2022). The American college experience is a golden opportunity to win hearts and minds around the world. In general, and especially in the context of public diplomacy, international education is associated with student exchange. But international education is about more than student mobility. Universities, too, can cross borders. Georgetown University—located down the street from where I live and work—operates a campus in Qatar, where it accompanies a handful of other American universities that offer academic programs for Qataris and students from across the Gulf region. These outposts of American higher education afford the United States an unparalleled advantage in reaching foreign audiences. According to the Cross-Border Education Research Team (C-BERT, 2023), the United States (84) has nearly twice as many international campuses as the United Kingdom (46), the second largest exporter.

The branch campus boom is a modern manifestation of a time-honored tradition. America's higher education institutions have been abroad since the middle of the 19th century. Although, the first movers were not direct extensions of established stateside colleges like we see today. Instead, Robert College in Istanbul (1863), the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut (1866), and dozens of others throughout the eastern Mediterranean and China were independent expressions of American higher education. Their boards of trustees, administration, and faculty were populated by American citizens. Many of these colleges even operated under U.S. state government charters. For example, the aforementioned Robert College and Syrian Protestant College were both incorporated in New York (Long, 2020).

Over time, the motivations, forms, and participants for these undertakings evolved and adapted to the needs of their local environments. Today, the global landscape for American higher education consists of both independents (e.g., the United States International University-Africa in Nairobi, Kenya and the American University of Paris)[1] and branch campuses (e.g., Carnegie Mellon University Africa and Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies Europe in Bologna, Italy). There are even newer forms, too. Microcampuses allow U.S. universities to operate degree-granting programs on the grounds of a partner institution (e.g., the University of Arizona issues degrees at La Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas in Lima, Peru and Webster University issues degrees at Astana International University in Nur-Sultan Kazakhstan). International joint universities result from the partnership between a U.S. institution and a foreign university (e.g., Duke University and Wuhan University partnered to create Duke Kunshan University). There are also foreign universities that U.S. regional accreditors recognize as offering American-standard education (e.g., Zayed University in Dubai and the University of the South Pacific in Suva, Fiji). Together these institutions amplify American higher education around the world.

American higher education is generally regarded as the greatest in the world. America's universities dominate global rankings; its faculty earn the most Nobel Prizes; and more of its students come from outside its borders than any other country's higher education system. When practiced in foreign lands, American higher education has the capacity to influence and change the way people think about a university education. Instruction in English, student-centered pedagogy, vibrant student life, and other customary features of American higher education can find their way into the regular practice of neighboring institutions in that

country. Because higher education is such an important economic, social, and political institution, what goes on inside universities matters a great deal. An American business administration program can advance ideas favorable to market capitalism. An American liberal arts curriculum can encourage democratic citizenship. An American gender studies institute can promote women's rights.

The potential for American institu tions to disseminate values makes them a flashpoint for critics and proponents alike. Is the preponderance of American universities abroad evidence of American imperialism or neo-colonialism? Or do these institutions represent t he best of what America has to offer the world? More basic questions come to mind as well. Even though America lea ds the world in overseas campuses, it can be hard for researchers and policymakers to contextualize them. How many American higher education institutions are there outside the United States? In how many countries do they operate? How many students are enrolled in them? Answers to questions li ke these would typically require original research or tim e-consuming literature reviews, and still only get you so far. There is some publicly available information on select institutions or regions or forms. The C-BERT, for example, is an excellent resource for the study of international branch campuses. But it does not include other forms of internati onal universities. As such, there has not been a reliable, c omprehensive resource on the entire global landscape for American higher education intuitions overseas until now.

In 2022, I assembled a research team comprised of five graduate students located in China, India, Nigeria, and the United States to identify, analyze, and visualize American higher education institutions outside the United States. All but one researcher was affiliated with the George Washington University. Over the course of a year, we used

desktop research methods to develop a comprehensive database. This approach involved, among other tasks, country by country web searches for relevant institutions. More information on data sources and analytical techniques can be found in the Methodology section below. In 2023, we launched our findings on a new publicly accessible website, "Global American Higher Education" (www.globalamericanhighereducation.org). The website includes a database with information on these institutions, a worldwide map displayed in an interactive dashboard, and papers that utilize the database/dashboard. The work was completed independently and pro bono, without financial support from any donors, although later affiliation with the USC Center on Public Diplomacy provided valuable encouragement for the project. We aim to update the data on an annual basis. At the time of this writing, researchers are already checking for changes to existing institutions (e.g., closures, revised enrollment figures) and searching for institutions to add (both those that may have been overlooked as well as those that have launched since our initial data release).

The Global American Higher Education database is a singular resource. No equivalent data set exists. It contains information for 345 institutions in 90 countries over 187 years. The 262 active institutions in 80 countries enroll approximately 720,000 students. By comparison, the more than 6,000 stateside higher education institutions enroll 760,000 international students (IIE, 2022). That means American higher education reaches roughly as many students abroad as it does at home. Any consideration of America's international education profile is woefully inadequate without inclusion of these institutions. This paper therefore introduces the Global American Higher Education resource, situates it in leading conceptual frameworks, and examines

the significance of the worldwide landscape of American higher education for U.S. policymakers.

Literature Review

The Global American Higher Education database matters for policymakers whether they are interested in gaining competitive advantage against adversaries or advancing mutual understanding among potential allies. The database provides information on American cultural assets around the world—where they are, who operates them, what connections they have with local institutions, etc. It is therefore pertinent to scholarship in both the international relations (IR) and international education (IE) domains. IR scholars have emphasized the role of culture in facilitating international relations and of cultural products or institutions in securing long-term benefits for their countries of origin on the world stage. IE scholars have alternately criticized international campuses as neocolonial invaders and lauded them as innovations in the internationalization of higher education. In the section that follows, I review select themes from the IR and IE literature to show how a study of America's international campuses can expand our understanding of each.

International Relations

Some IR scholars recognize the increasingly important role of higher education in international relations (e.g., Iriye, 1997; Wojciuk, Michalek, & Stormowska, 2015). They tend to concentrate their analyses on international student and scholar mobility (Metzgar, 2016; Snow, 2021) or international research collaborations and the production of global science (Ruffini, 2020). When it comes to policy, IR scholars acknowledge the influence of American exchange programs such as the Fulbright and the International Visitor

Leader Program, which introduced foreign elites to American universities and established strong links between the participants and the United States. Indeed, American efforts throughout the second half of the 20th century to target foreign elites and opinion leaders, who were considered key actors in warding off Soviet influence and the expansion of communism, is well chronicled in the literature (Arndt, 2005; Hart, 2013). But in general, international relations scholarship has been slow to recognize the significance of international higher education (Knight, 2023). The role of international universities—institutions that explicitly identify with the intellectual heritage of one country operating in another—therefore is largely, and mistakenly, absent from the discourse.

Still, some IR scholars have begun to consider the significance of American universities abroad vis-à-vis American soft power or public diplomacy (Bertelsen, 2012, 2014; Noori, 2013; Noori & Anderson, 2016). The stateside American university has figured more prominently in international relations, particularly its role during the Cold War (Levin, 2013; Lowen, 1997; Schiffrin, 1997; Simpson, 1999). Yet there has been less attention on how the 'war of ideas' affected American universities abroad, many of which were in critical Cold War battlegrounds (Berghahn, 2001; Trentin, 2012; Westad, 2005). When Cold War scholars have considered international education, they limit their focus to student mobility (Bu, 1999; Scott-Smith, 2008; Shannon, 2017; Snow, 2008) or participation of U.S. universities in modernization and nation-building projects (Ekbladh, 2011; Koikari, 2012; Latham, 2000; Marquis, 2000).

To the extent that international campuses are recognized by IR scholars, they are seen as resources for promoting soft power, which is the field's dominant framework for understanding the significance of international education

(Knight, 2023). Soft power is the ability to get others to produce the outcomes you want without resorting to threats or bribes (Nye, 2004). International education provides opportunities for people to develop an appreciation for other cultures, traditions, and values. When extended to the phenomenon of international campuses, the theory would hold that because of an American university in, for example, Iraq—in the long run—things in that country are more likely to turn out in ways favorable to American interests. Furthermore, and chiefly, the presence of an American university there—or three, as is actually the case in Iraq—strengthens the American geopolitical position vis-a-vis rivals, like Russia, China, and Iran who are also competing for influence in the region (Long, 2023a).

International Education

The modern practice and study of international education has developed generationally (Knight, 2012). The first generation—essentially the Cold War era—focused on students and scholars crossing borders. Eventually, educational programs and providers went abroad, too. By the 1990s, governments and institutions were setting up transnational joint degree programs and branch campuses. Then they began to cluster into hubs. An education hub refers to an intentional effort by a government to build a critical mass of education actors in a single location that allows it to exert more influence in educational markets (Knight, 2011). Examples include Education City in Qatar (with branches of Carnegie Mellon, Cornell, Georgetown, Northwestern, Texas A&M, and Virginia Commonwealth as well as France's HEC Paris and Qatar's Hamad bin Khalifa University) and the Incheon Global Campus in South Korea (with branches of George Mason, SUNY, Utah, and the Belgium's University of Ghent).

Perhaps not surprisingly, scholars of international education have therefore been somewhat attuned to issues concerning international campuses. Early concerns about assuring the same standard of quality (Long, 2018; Wilkins, Stephens Balakrishnan, & Huisman, 2012; Zamberi Ahmad, 2015;) and aligning with home campus values (Harding & Lammey, 2011; Healey, 2015; Tierney & Lanford, 2015)— things like academic freedom, labor protections, financial motives—have since been supplemented, perhaps even supplanted, by critical scholarship that sees international campuses perpetuating colonial belief structures and therefore maintaining Western hegemony (Clarke, 2021; Jing, Ghosh, & Liu, 2023; Siltaoja, Juusola, Kivijärvi, 2019). One way international campuses maintain global inequities, Zhenyang Xu (2023) contends, is through the "world-class" discourse. Demand for so-called "world-class" universities ends up equating this label with Western universities, and in turn, with whiteness. And so, to aspire to world-class status effectively means to aspire to whiteness. Whiteness is wrapped up in everything from faculty epistemologies, to marketing materials, to the kind of credentials most valued in global labor markets. The concern that international campuses reinforce white supremacy gets traction with domestic U.S. higher education's anti-racism movement and growing interest in decolonizing educational institutions, policies, and practices (Long, 2023b).

Some critical scholars propose the principle of mutuality to circumvent the harmful possibilities of international higher education partnerships under the neocolonial status quo (George Mwangi, 2017; Hanada, 2021; Leng & Pan, 2013; Mendoza, 2022). This is a concept for structuring partnerships that originated in peace and conflict studies during the early 1980s and has grown in popularity in recent years. The idea is to build partnerships around equity, accountability, solidarity, and participation. Proponents believe this approach can

mitigate the dominance and exploitation that can occur in traditional arrangements where a university partner from the Global North leads, imposing "best practices" on the partner from the Global South. Cooperative arrangements based on mutuality seek to restore balance to such partnerships. Studies have generally focused on mutuality in university partnerships funded by development agencies seeking to strengthen capacity of one of the partners. The literature has not sufficiently addressed the extent to which international campuses operationalize the principles of mutuality. But the emphasis on correcting power imbalances in international higher education demonstrates the field's continued interest in international cooperation and suggests its potential application in a new context.

International education scholars also use a soft power lens to analyze international campuses (He & Wilkins, 2019; Lee, 2015; Trilokekar, 2021). And a burgeoning research area on American universities abroad has identified the role of these institutions in developing American soft power (Chougule, 2022; Jafar, 2023; Lovett, 2022). But research generally distinguishes between the motivations of governments and institutions. Where the former may see opportunities for geopolitical influence, the latter typically pursue "altruistic" ends such as capacity strengthening in developing countries (Wilkins, 2021). Indeed, international higher education has long been animated by a normative approach known as "meliorism," the belief that research and practice can and should seek to improve the "other" (Chankseliani, 2022). International education scholarship, therefore—whether critical or meliorist—has a strong undercurrent of promoting cooperation.

Synthesis: Soft Power v. Knowledge Diplomacy

International relations scholarship gives us a perspective on international campuses that emphasizes competition.

International education writers, on the other hand, call for cooperation. Knight (2023) argues that these approaches are fundamentally conflicting. Soft power, as Nye (2004) conceptualizes it, is getting others to want the same outcomes as you without resorting to sticks or carrots. It is the power of attraction, but it is essentially about gaining competitive advantage. Dominance is the end game. Knight believes that international education scholars have failed to appreciate that objective. In recognizing it as a desirable alternative to hard power, they have mistakenly interpreted that soft power is a veritable approach to advancing mutual understanding. But according to Nye (2010), cooperation is not the goal of soft power. The soft power semantic shift has yielded ideological inconsistencies. Knight (2023) instead urges international education scholars to take up the mantle of *knowledge diplomacy*, which she explicitly positions in opposition to soft power and defines as "the process of building and strengthening relations between and among countries through international higher education, research and innovation" (20).

What are the implications of the conceptual contradistinction of soft power and knowledge diplomacy for the Global American Higher Education database? If Nye and Knight are to be believed, we can think about international campuses as competitive or cooperative resources, but not both. For example, a soft power perspective on American universities in Iraq sees their primary value in enabling the United States to outmaneuver geopolitical rivals. A knowledge diplomacy perspective sees their primary value in building and strengthening ties between Americans and Iraqis, independent of what that might mean for Chinese attempts to influence Iraqis. In the next sections, I introduce the study's questions, methods, and findings before returning to these questions in the discussion.

Research Questions

This study poses the following questions: Where and when have there been American higher education institutions outside the fifty states? What salient features and trends are associated with these institutions? What significance do they have for American public diplomacy and what, if anything, can policymakers do to strengthen this resource?

Methodology

To answer these questions, I constructed and analyzed the Global American Higher Education data set, described below and located here: www.globalamericanhighereducation. org.

Types of Institutions in the Data Set

The data set includes descriptive information about higher education institutions outside the United States and its territories that are (or were) American in some way. An institution is included in the data set if it has met one or more of the following criteria:

- It is a branch of a higher education institution, the primary campus for which is located in one of the fifty states or the District of Columbia (e.g., Texas Tech University - Costa Rica). For a discussion on the evolving definition of the international branch campus, cf. Wilkins & Rumbley (2018).

- It is established by an institution based in one of the fifty states or the District of Columbia and a foreign institution. In China, for example, national law prohibits the operation of a branch campus

without a local partner institution. When foreign and local universities cooperate there, they sometimes establish a third entity. This category includes institutions like Duke Kunshan University or Yale-NUS College. We refer to these institutions as international joint universities. For an overview of this approach, cf. Knight & Simpson (2021).

- It is an outpost of a higher education institution, the primary campus for which is located in one of the fifty states or the District of Columbia, located on a foreign university's campus. Not all Sino-foreign cooperative ventures produce new institutions. In some cases, the foreign partner provides one or more degree programs on the host partner's campus (e.g., the University of Arizona's microcampus at the Ocean University of China). These are essentially dual degree or twinning programs. We refer to these arrangements as microcampuses, even among institutions that do not themselves use the term. For an overview of the microcampus model, cf. Ghosh, Lee, & Haupt (2021).

- It is an independent American university abroad. For a review of this type of institution, cf. Long (2020). Many of these institutions use "American" or "United States" in their names. This category includes institutions chartered in the United States (e.g., the American University of Beirut, the American University in Cairo, etc.) and abroad (e.g., the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani, the American University of Nigeria, etc.). This category also accounts for:

  ° Subsidiaries of global proprietary education companies like Laureate, which operates the American University of Bahrain.

     °   Higher education institutions established and administered—in whole or in part—by American citizens, viz., missionary institutions like Forman Christian College.

     °   Higher education institutions that are regular or associate members of the Association of American International Colleges and Universities (AAICU), a consortium of standard-bearing American higher education institutions abroad. This category includes institutions like Effat University, John Cabot University, et al.

- It is accredited by one of the six U.S. regional accrediting agencies. This category accounts for institutions that do not meet any of the preceding criteria but yet still provide students an opportunity to earn a U.S. recognized degree, e.g., University of the South Pacific, Zayed University, and others. For more on U.S. approaches to accrediting institutions from around the world, cf. Blanco Ramirez (2015).

Beyond these initial criteria, other requirements for inclusion are:

- Offers at least one bachelor's degree (ISCED Level 6 or higher). Institutions with associate's degrees only (e.g., American College in Spain) do not qualify. Nor do study abroad sites without degree programs (e.g., Miami University Dolibois European Center in Luxembourg). Institutions that are still operational but no longer offer bachelor's degrees (e.g., Robert College) do qualify, but are listed as inactive.

- Has a physical presence abroad, i.e., at least some courses are taught in person. Institutions with online degrees only (e.g., Open University) do not qualify.

- Degree program does not require study in the United States. 3+1 or 2+2 programs with mandatory foreign study do not qualify.

Sources

We primarily developed the data set through publicly available information. We identified most institutions for inclusion via web searches. A team of graduate students from Columbia University's Teachers College developed the initial data set, focusing exclusively on currently operational independent American higher education institutions. That team used Google Alerts for "American University of" and "American University in" to identify relevant institutions and conducted country-by-country searches for "American University of [country]," leading to a list of approximately 80 institutions. The Global American Higher Education research team later expanded this data set by drawing from Long (2020) and Lutz (1971) to include non-operational independent institutions established by American citizens, viz. defunct missionary colleges in the former Ottoman Empire and China.

We then expanded the data set to include other institutional types. We brought in qualifying American institutions from the international campuses list compiled by the Cross-Border Education Research Team (C-BERT). C-BERT is a research initiative led by education scholars Kevin Kinser and Jason Lane that created the first open access listing and database of international branch campuses. Next, we used lists on accreditors' websites to identify regionally accredited overseas institutions. We

consulted the U.S. Department of Education's Closed School Search File to identify U.S. institutions that operated branch campuses or microcampuses abroad. This database lists institutions that at one point participated in federal student aid programs but are no longer operational. Finally, we referred to a Government Accountability Office (GAO) report that translated official Chinese sources for lists of U.S. universities approved by the Chinese Ministry of Education to operate cooperative education institutions or programs. For each of these sources, we conducted web searches to determine if a potential institution qualified for inclusion. This process resulted in snowball sampling that led to discovery of yet additional qualifying institutions.

It is probable that the data set does not capture the complete universe of institutions in each category. Due to the scope of the project, it is likely that some eligible institutions have escaped our grasp. However, the rigorous search methods detailed above have generated such a large volume of institutions that we are confident our sample is comprehensive, if not exhaustive.

After identifying institutions that met the international campus criteria outlined above, we scanned their websites for relevant information (see list of variables below). Institutional websites are the most common source of information. In some cases, though, we make use of other secondary sources, such as newspapers, books, and blogs.

Variables

The data set includes a wide range of information for each institution (where available), such as: operating status, location, key dates, revenue model, enrollment, and accreditation status.

Operating Status

We note of each institution whether it is active or inactive. Active means that it offers at least one relevant bachelor's degree-granting program at present. Inactive means that it is either a closed institution or no longer offers a qualifying program. For example, London Metropolitan University (est. 2002) was regionally accredited in the United States from 2007 to 2020. It still operates today, but not as a qualifying institution in our database. We therefore mark it as inactive.

Key Dates

The data set tracks two sets of dates for each institution: 1) the years it was established and, where applicable, closed; as well as 2) the years its tertiary programs started and, where applicable, ended. Such distinctions are useful for many institutions in the data set. For example, Lebanese American University was first established as a school for girls in 1835, but did not offer tertiary level programming until 1924. For institutions that qualify for the data set on accreditation status alone, the university's first year of accreditation is used as the tertiary start date. Abu Dhabi University was established in 1976 but did not achieve U.S. regional accreditation until 2016. It is only on this latter date that the institution qualified for inclusion.

Revenue Model

We use a binary profit/non-profit variable for classifying an institution's approach to revenue. This variable is complete for all institutions in the data set. For branch campuses, international joint universities, and microcampuses, we ascribe the revenue model used by the U.S. university involved. For independent institutions, we ascribe non-profit status to those with websites that indicate it operates a non-

profit model. We regard independent institutions that do not make this claim as proprietary. For accredited institutions, we list the revenue model posted on accreditor websites.

Location

We obtained geographic coordinates for campuses using Google Maps. In most cases, coordinates reflect the precise location of the campus. In instances where precise coordinates were not available, we used city coordinates as proxies. We use the United Nations member list for our country framework and the Sustainable Development Goals for regional groupings.

Enrollment

Wherever possible, we use institutional websites to source the most up-to-date enrollment figures (all degree-seeking students). We only include figures for students studying outside the United States. However, many institutions do not publish this information. In such instances, we sought out estimates from other websites (e.g., rankings providers, membership organizations, and companies that aggregate information on universities for prospective students). In general, it is best to regard enrollment figures as approximations.

Accreditation

The dashboard allows users to filter by a variable called accredited degree (yes, no, N/A). This variable is inclusive of but distinct from institutional accreditation. The purpose of the filter is to show institutions where a student could

obtain a degree accredited in the United States. Some independent institutions are not accredited in the United States, but host microcampuses that enable students to earn accredited degrees. American University of Phnom Penh is not accredited, but its students are eligible to earn degrees from the University of Arizona. Conversely, some microcampuses are operated by regionally accredited institutions but do not award accredited degrees. Troy University is accredited in the United States, but the degrees it awards at its microcampuses in Vietnam and Malaysia are not. The same is true of some international joint universities. Yale-NUS College has a foundational relationship with Yale University, but not with its accreditation status. Inactive institutions are listed as N/A.

Findings

Classification

The data set includes entries for 345 institutions. Of these, 262 (76 percent) are active and 83 (24 percent) are inactive. A plurality of entries are for independent institutions. Branch campuses (29 percent) and microcampuses (25 percent) are the second and third most common expressions of degree-granting American higher education abroad. When considering active institutions only, the distribution of classifications generally stays the same. Notably, though, the percentage of microcampuses increases to join independent institutions as the most common form (29 percent each). The actual number of institutions in each category is likely much higher.

Figure 1

Classification of All Entries in GAHE Data Set

Created with Datawrapper
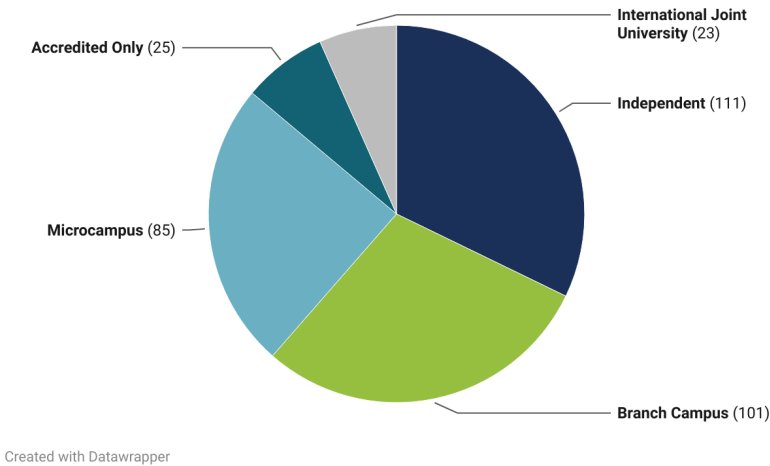
Operating Status

Notably, the database includes entries for institutions that no longer operate (e.g., the American College of Switzerland [1963-2009] and UNLV Singapore [2006-2015]). In other words, the data set captures institutional closures. Given the high volume of independent institutions and branch campuses overall, it is not surprising that these two categories would also have the most closures. Among inactive entries, 42 percent were independent institutions and 41 percent were branch campuses. Notably, closure figures likely undercount microcampuses. Due to their relatively smaller scale, microcampuses are easier to close than institutions with more substantial infrastructure. Further, the closure of a foreign-provided degree program is

not as newsworthy as the closure of a branch campus. The comparative paucity of reporting on microcampus closures generally precludes their inclusion in the data set, although the data set has identified eight such instances.

Location

   The data set's 345 institutions span 90 different countries. There are 262 active institutions in 80 countries. A plurality is in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia (33 percent). This is largely due to the prominence of China, the most common host to American higher education institutions by a wide margin. Europe and Northern America (27 percent) and Northern Africa and Western Asia (20 percent) are also regions populated highly by American higher education institutions.

Figure 2

Regional Distribution of Active Entries in GAHE Data Set
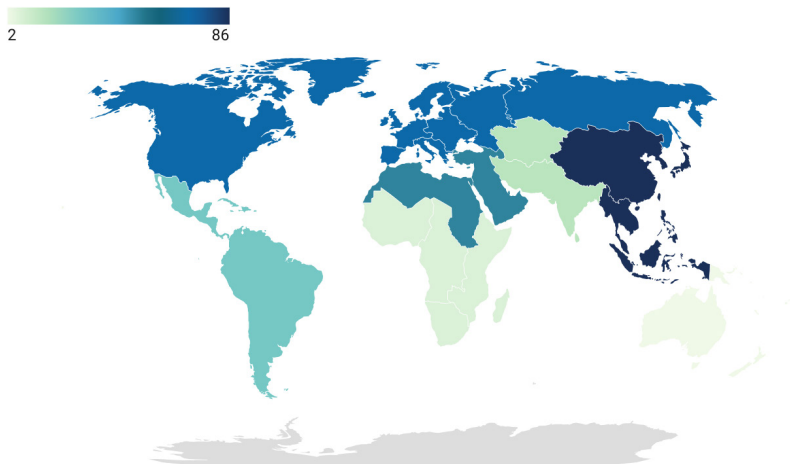
Created with Datawrapper

The data demonstrate that the popularity of American higher education models differs by region. Sizable majorities of the world's American international joint universities (96 percent) and microcampuses (69 percent) are in Eastern and Southeast Asia. Nearly half of American branch campuses are in Europe and Northern America (49 percent). A plurality of institutions in the accredited category are in Latin America and the Caribbean (36 percent). Similarly, a plurality of independent institutions are in Northern Africa and Western Asia (33 percent).

Independent American universities are at least a plurality of American higher education institutions in a majority of world regions. Most American higher education institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa (56 percent), Northern and Western Asia (56 percent), and Central and Southern Asia (56 percent) are independent. In Latin America and the Caribbean (38 percent), independent institutions are the most common form of American higher education—largely driven by for-profit medical colleges—but are not a majority.

The median country hosts only one American higher institution. But a number of countries have more than one. With the exception of Switzerland and Mexico, which have had a variety of institutional types, high volume countries typically concentrate their forms into one or two categories. In half of the top ten countries, the most common form is the branch campus. In Singapore (70 percent), Canada (69 percent), Greece (60 percent), and Qatar (60 percent), a majority of American higher education institutions take the form of branch campuses. This model is also a plurality in the United Arab Emirates (41 percent).

China has had nearly a hundred different American higher education institutions. Half have been microcampuses and nearly a quarter (23 percent) have been international

joint universities. Its 13 independent colleges were all closed in the middle of the 20th century. Vietnam also has a high concentration of microcampuses. Ninety percent of its American higher education institutions take this form. Lebanon is the only country in the top 10 that has independent institutions as a plurality, let alone a majority (75 percent).

Figure 3

*Countries with the Most American Higher Education Institutions (Active and Inactive)*
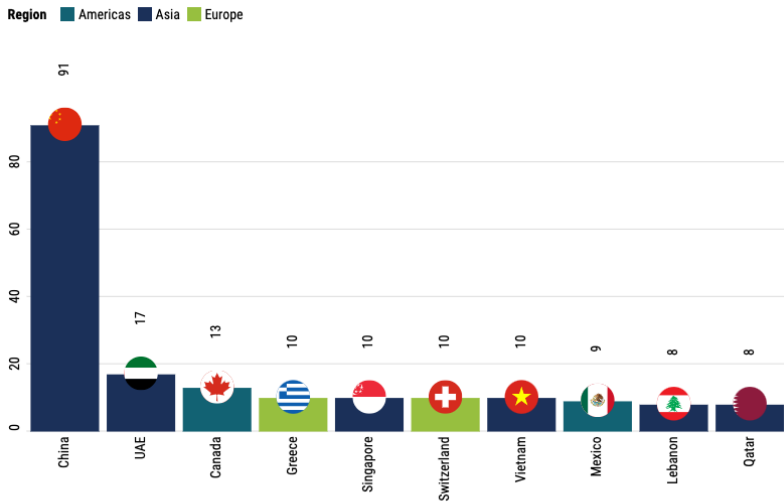
Enrollment

The data set includes approximate enrollment figures for 59 percent of active institutions. These figures suggest that at least 720,000 students are enrolled in active American higher education institutions abroad. Of these, over 600,000 are enrolled in accredited degree programs. These figures are surely undercounted. However, enrollment by institution type is likely inflated. Unless they are required to disclose the information, institutions with low enrollment may not wish to publicly communicate their student body sizes. If these figures were added to the data set, they would likely lower the mean. That caveat aside, the average active institution has nearly 5,000 students. Institutions included in the data set in the accredited category have the highest average enrollment, while microcampuses have the lowest.

Figure 4

Average Enrollment by Institution Type
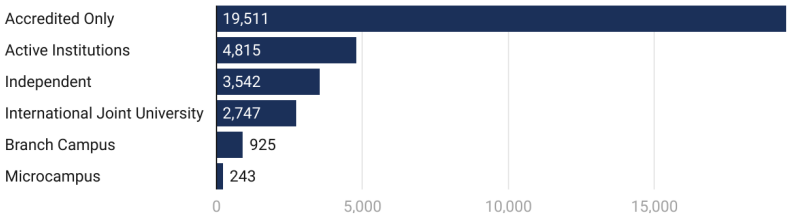
Created with Datawrapper

Founding Dates

The data set spans nearly 200 years (1835-2022). Lebanese American University has its roots in the American Girls School established in 1835. Webster University began courses at its new international campus in Tbilisi, Georgia in Fall 2022. Even though there are two centuries' worth of institutions, the data point to the fecundity of the last quarter century in particular. Among all institutions, the median founding date is 2002 and the median tertiary start date is 2004. Independent institutions appear earliest, followed by branch campuses. Then, by the second decade of the 21st century, accreditation, microcampuses, and international joint universities start to become more popular.

Figure 5

Median Tertiary Start Dates by Institution Type

All Institutions	2002
Accredited Only	2010
Branch Campus	2004
Independent	1991
International Joint University	2012
Microcampus	2010

Created with Datawrapper

Other patterns emerge when we look at tertiary start dates by region. American higher education institutions generally appear first in Europe and Northern America. After the turn of the 21ˢᵗ century, they start to diffuse globally. Median tertiary start dates are 2005 or 2006 for Central and Southern Asia, Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, Northern Africa and Western Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean. The final destinations are Sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania, with median tertiary start dates of 2011 and 2012, respectively. The data set may represent some recency bias. But it does include 15 institutions with tertiary start dates before 1900, 34 institutions offering tertiary programs before 1950, and 87 before the fall of the Soviet Union.

Figure 6

Median Tertiary Start Dates by Region

|	
Central and Southern Asia	2006
Eastern and South-Eastern Asia	2005
Europe and Northern America	1998
Latin America and Caribbean	2006
Northern Africa and Western Asia	2005
Oceania	2012
Sub-Saharan Africa	2011

Created with Datawrapper

Revenue Model

Four in five American higher education institutions abroad operate as not-for-profit institutions. These figures do not change significantly when considering operating status, but they do when factoring in institutional type. The proprietary model is most common among independent institutions. Fully half of all active independent institutions operate for profit.

Accreditation

Over three-quarters of American higher education institutions abroad are accredited in the United States. Middle States and the Higher Learning Commission are responsible for accrediting most of them.
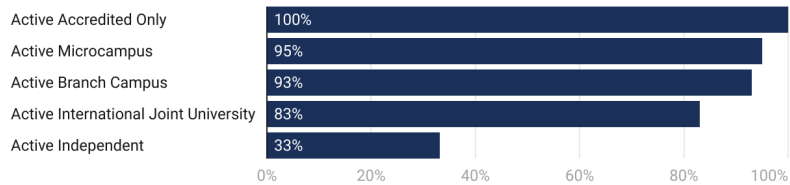
Figure 7

Accreditors of American Higher Education Institutions Abroad

Created with Datawrapper
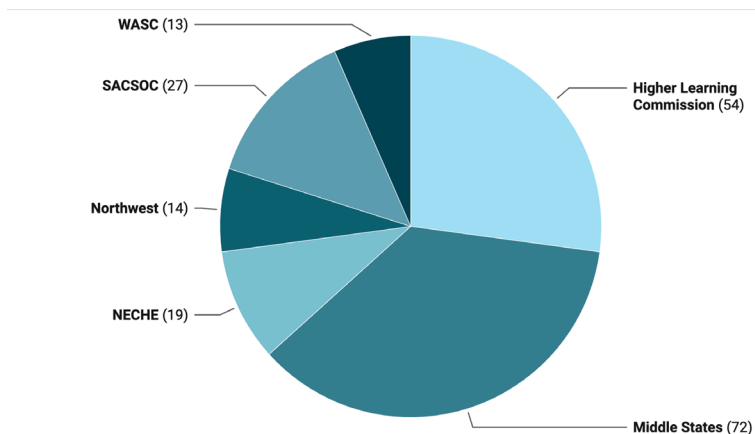
Microcampuses are the surest way to get a U.S. accredited degree abroad. Nearly all microcampuses are accredited. The Higher Learning Commission is the most common accreditor of this institutional type. Independent institutions are least likely to be accredited. Only 33 percent of them have achieved U.S. regional accreditation. Forty-eight percent of accredited independent institutions are accredited by Middle States. This accreditor is also the most common accreditor of branch campuses (40 percent).

Figure 8

Accreditation Status by Institutional Type

Active Accredited Only	100%
Active Microcampus	95%
Active Branch Campus	93%
Active International Joint University	83%
Active Independent	33%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

Created with Datawrapper

Discussion

The data show that American higher education outside the United States is substantial, diverse, and far-reaching. American universities exist in ample numbers and multiple forms all over the world. The findings corroborate global reception of the "American" educational brand. A former American University of Beirut president once posited that "American" is to education what "Swiss" is to watches (Waterbury, 2003). But does that brand help the United States to compete against its adversaries or to cooperate with its friends? Knight contends that soft power and knowledge diplomacy are in conflict. I think that she is right.

And I think that U.S. campuses still offer both opportunities. Policymakers would be wise to consider them as efficacious soft power tools. But educators ought to regard them primarily as knowledge diplomacy ventures. Otherwise, they stand to lose credibility. Legitimacy is difficult to maintain when local stakeholders perceive international campuses as government propaganda. Institutions should demonstrate disinterestedness in foreign policy. But policymakers should reward that stance with resources. This is a difficult needle to thread. More research can inform yet greater advances in policy. I discuss below potential avenues for both policy and research.

Policy Directions

American universities abroad are a distinctive resource for our modern era, rife as it is with geopolitical tensions. The United States has suspended its flagship international education program with China (Redden, 2020). Without the Fulbright, international campuses there take on added significance. Fortunately, China is host to more American higher education institutions than any other country—by a wide margin. These institutions enable unique opportunities to establish ties between American and Chinese citizens. Their capacity to advance mutual understanding during such a fraught time ought to make them highly prized foreign policy assets.

At the same time, the United States must also counter Chinese influence in other nations, especially in youth-booming Africa where a quarter of the world's children live (Anthony et al., 2017). Analysts project that by 2030, Africa's under-18 population will increase by 170 million. The educational preferences that African children and their families develop now and in the coming years will structure global power networks and geopolitical dynamics.

Especially with Chinese universities climbing the global rankings, U.S. policymakers can no longer take for granted America's position as the higher education model of choice. Developing educational and cultural ties with African nations ought to be a long-term foreign policy imperative for any nation with aspirations for global influence. Facilitating the development of more international campuses should be part of the plan. Chinese higher education can tout its ascendant scientific prowess and technical expertise. But in the long run, an American liberal arts education is more likely to provide the transformative experience African youth seek and the soft skills employers require (Muftahu, 2022). Besides, a long tradition of institutional disinterestedness can help to insulate American higher education institutions from occasional and inevitable geopolitical flare-ups. The same cannot be said for the government-operated international campuses of rivals. American institutions' independence from government control enables them to innovate and take bold action.

America's rivals understand the soft power possibilities of foreign campuses. China is even setting up campuses where American education initiatives have failed. After the illiberal Orban regime forced the American-chartered Central European University out of Budapest, China swooped in to fill the international campus void. It is currently planning on opening a branch of Fudan University in the Hungarian capital in 2024 (Keller-Alant & Standish, 2022). Russia is one of the world's largest exporters of international campuses with at least 39 branches in 13 countries. Russia's approach to exporting institutions differs from Western nations because they are not meant to generate revenue (Chankseliani, 2021). Russia uses them primarily to disseminate narratives on Russian ideas and values among the region's future political leaders. Iran, too, has embarked on an ambitious but secretive branch campus strategy to reach students beyond

its borders (Sawahel, 2017). With 60 overseas locations—not necessarily degree-granting branches—Al-Mustafa International University (MIU), in particular, is a cornerstone of Iran's "soft war" (Ra'ees & Banikamal, 2018). The university has a special mission to train clerics and missionaries to export the Islamic revolution abroad (Dai, 2018).

Yet branch campuses and independent institutions have figured only peripherally into American foreign policy. Unlike its geopolitical rivals, the United States does not employ a strategic framework that leverages its international campuses. In fact, the government does not have a federal higher education internationalization strategy of any kind, which is unusual among developed countries (Craciun, 2022). Without a national higher education internationalization strategy, a country can miss opportunities for global engagement and collaboration, diminishing the coherence and impact of its international presence. And indeed, the United States has missed opportunities to leverage its international campuses. In locations where they have been particularly successful, diplomats have even perceived them as impediments to promoting study in the United States (Long, 2020) or to placating strongmen (Witte, 2018). Instead of viewing overseas campuses as competition, American policymakers and policy implementers should see them as permanent, supplemental quasi-embassies. When the United States and Egypt broke off diplomatic relations in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the American University in Cairo was practically the only American presence in the country (Long, 2020). Indeed, America's best exports have long made contributions to progress and prosperity in regions where the U.S. government cannot so easily.

The U.S. government should therefore seek to support extant institutions as well. Branch campuses are often subsidized by host countries, but independent ones rely

much more heavily on tuition and donations. Unlike branch campuses, which tend to grow in stable countries, their independent counterparts often take root in more fragile environments like Iraq, Nigeria, and Ukraine. As such, they are often financially distressed. The American Schools and Hospitals Abroad (ASHA) unit of USAID provides small grants toward facilities improvements and equipment purchases. But its paltry $31.5 million budget (McCabe & Gill, 2023) does not support operational costs. By contrast, the federal government spends 25 times the ASHA budget on educational and cultural exchanges ($777.5 million). Congress has occasionally earmarked some operational funds for independent American universities abroad, but such instances are rare and typically independent of a larger strategy (Long, 2017).

Traditional ways of thinking about the soft power of international education operate on outmoded assumptions. New research shows that student exchange may even be counter-productive. Jiang (2021) argues that Chinese students' experiences with racism and xenophobia in the United States lead them to return home with more nationalist views than when they left. International student mobility should continue to be the cornerstone of U.S. soft power strategies that involve education. But it should not be the only stone. Campuses matter. U.S. policy—such as it is—was formed during the first generation of international education. We are multiple generations past that now.

But what are realistic policy options? Weakening public perception of the value of higher education, the war in Ukraine, and growing isolationism, among other factors, severely limit the possibilities for change. In September 2023, a proposed amendment to a House appropriations bill would eliminate all funding for the Department of State's educational and cultural exchanges (Amendment

to H.R. 4665, 2023). The amendment did not make it into the final version of the bill, but it is concerning that it got to mark up at all. More government funding seems highly unlikely. But there is still some low-hanging fruit. Absent increases in funding, Congress can still change legislation to allow for ASHA to fund operations. The Department of State can leverage the EducationUSA network of over 430 international student advising centers in more than 175 countries and territories to direct students to international campuses. Diplomats can identify potential partners among host governments and the private sector for new campuses in Africa. They can also link campuses without accreditation to resources that will help to raise standards. Educators and policymakers alike can raise awareness about international campuses and the role they play in advancing American interests abroad—whether competitive or cooperative.

Research Directions

This study is foundational and exploratory. It provides a baseline understanding of the global landscape for American higher education. Other important questions, however, remain unexplored. To what extent do American international campuses practice mutuality? What is the return on U.S. taxpayer investment in American universities abroad? What is the return on student investment in American universities abroad? Future research can provide greater insights into institutional finances and effectiveness, curricular developments, and alumni impact. In turn, policymakers can use findings from such studies to refine government support for America's international campuses. Scholars can use the Global America Higher Education data set to inform their work. Over time, we hope to expand the data set to include more variables and more detailed analyses.

Conclusion

American higher education institutions outside the fifty states operate all over the world, and have done so for nearly two centuries. They were first popularized around the Mediterranean, but then proliferated across Asia, especially during the past quarter century. They take on multiple forms, but the most typical is a 5,000-student non-profit university accredited in the United States. These institutions serve both to advance American soft power and facilitate knowledge diplomacy. They have not featured prominently in official American public diplomacy efforts, and domestic political considerations constrain opportunities for incorporating them into official strategy. By surfacing foundational information on the size and scope of the landscape, though, policymakers may begin to recognize their potential and seek out options for strengthening them.

Author's Biography

Kyle Long is a strategist and scholar at the intersection of higher education and international affairs. He serves on the faculty at the George Washington University and has held appointments at Northwestern University and Columbia University. His research concerns international campuses, international crises, and international politics. He directs the Global American Higher Education research initiative. Dr. Long's book, *The Emergence of the American University Abroad*, was awarded the 2022 Best Book Prize by the Comparative & International Education Society's Higher Education Special Interest Group. As an administrator, he has led change management, communications, development, and research units. Previous roles include Senior Director of Organizational Strategy and Change at Northwestern University, UNESCO Co-Chair of International Education for Development at the George Washington University, and inaugural Director of the U.S. Office for the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani. He holds a PhD in International and Comparative Education from Columbia University.

Endnotes

1. NB The American University in Paris has no relation to the American University in Washington, DC; nor do any other institutions around the world that use the "American University of" naming convention.

References

Amendment to H.R. 4665, as reported offered by Mr. Biggs of Arizona, H.R. 4665, 118th Cong. (2023). http://bit.ly/418q4Nw

Anthony, D., You, D., Hug, L., Beise, J., Choi, Y., Lee, S., & Mshvidobadze, A. (2017). *Generation 2030 Africa 2.0*. UNICEF. https://data.unicef.org/resources/generation-2030-africa-2-0/

Arndt, R. (2005). *The first resort of kings: American cultural diplomacy in the twentieth century*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books.

Barbosa, M. & Neves, C. (2020). Internationalization of higher education: Institutions and knowledge diplomacy. *Sociologias*, *54* (22), 22-44. https://doi.org/10.1590/15174522-104425

Berghahn, V. (2001). *America and the intellectual cold wars in Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bertelsen, R. (2012). The effect of public and private decisions on university governance on the transnational relations of American-associated universities in the Middle East. *Revue des Mondes et de la Méditerranée*, *131*, 45–63. https://doi.org/10.4000/remmm.7623

Bertelsen, R. (2014). The university as a transnational actor with transnational power: American missionary universities in the Middle East and China. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *47* (3), 624–627. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096514000754

Blanco Ramírez, G. (2015) Translating quality in higher education: US approaches to accreditation of institutions from around the world. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, *40* (7), 943-957. https://doi.org/10.1080/02602 938.2014.960361

Bu, L. (1999). Educational exchange and cultural diplomacy in the Cold War. *Journal of American Studies*, *33* (3), 393– 415. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875899006167

Chankseliani, M. (2021). The politics of exporting higher education: Russian university branch campuses in the "Near Abroad." *Post-Soviet Affairs, 37* (1), 26-44. https://doi.org/1 0.1080/1060586X.2020.1789938

Chankseliani, M. (2022). International development higher education: Looking from the past, looking to the future. *Oxford Review of Education*, *48* (4), 457-473. https://doi.or g/10.1080/03054985.2022.2077325

Chougule, P. (2022). *American universities in the Middle East and U.S. foreign policy*. Boston, MA: Brill | Sense. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004521629

Clarke, L. (2021). 'To educate and liberate?' Moving from coloniality to postcoloniality in the international branch campus model. J*ournal of Comparative & International Higher Education*, *13* (5), 15-35. https://doi.org/10.32674/ jcihe.v13i5.3655

Craciun, D. (2022). National policies and higher education internationalization. In D. Deardorff et al. (Eds.), *The handbook of international higher education*, 2nd ed. (pp. 95-109). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Cross-Border Education Research Team (2023, March). C-BERT International Campus Listing. [Data originally collected by Kevin Kinser and Jason E. Lane]. Available: http://cbert.org/resources-data/intl-campus/. Oxford, OH: Author.

Dai, H. (2018). Middle Eastern interventions in Africa: Tehran's extensive soft power. *Middle East Quarterly, 25* (4). https://www.meforum.org/7254/middle-eastern-interventions-in-africa-tehran

Ekbladh, D. (2011). *The great American mission: Modernization and the construction of an American world order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fan, Y. (2010). Branding the nation: Towards a better understanding. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 6*, 97-103. https://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2010.16

Feng, E. (2018, August 7). China tightens grip on foreign university joint ventures. *Financial Times*. https://www.ft.com/content/dbb7b87e-99f7-11e8-9702-5946bae86e6d

George Mwangi, C. (2017). Partner positioning: Examining international higher education partnerships through a mutuality lens. *The Review of Higher Education*, *41* (1), 33-60. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2017.0032

Ghosh, S., Lee, J., & Haupt, J. (2021). Understanding the attraction of the microcampus: A quantitative investigation of students' motivations to enroll in transnational education. *Journal of Comparative & International Higher Education*, *13* (5), 53–71. https://doi.org/10.32674/jcihe.v13i5.3679

Gregory, B. (2008). Public diplomacy: Sunrise of an academic field. *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 616* (1)*,* 274-290. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311723

Hanada, S. (2021). Higher education partnerships between the Global North and Global South: Mutuality, rather than aid. *Journal of Comparative & International Higher Education, 13* (5), 135-144. https://doi.org/10.32674/jcihe.v13i5.3686

Harding, L. & Lammey, R. (2011). Operational considerations for opening a branch campus abroad. In J. Lane & K. Kinser (Eds.), *Multinational colleges and universities: Leading, governing, and managing international branch campuses* (pp. 65-78). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Hart, J. (2013). *Empire of ideas: The origins of public diplomacy and the transformation of U.S. foreign policy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

He, L. & Wilkins, S. (2019). The return of China's soft power in South East Asia: An analysis of the international branch campuses established by three Chinese universities. *Higher Education Policy*, *32*, 321–337. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41307-018-0084-x

Healey, N. (2015). The optimal global integration–local responsiveness tradeoff for an international branch campus. *Research in Higher Education*, *59*, 623–649. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-017-9480-0

IIE. (2022). *Open Doors*. Institute of International Education. https://www.iie.org/research-initiatives/open-doors/

Iriye, A. (1997). *Cultural internationalism and world order*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Jafar, H. (2023). Fertile ground for establishing American-Style universities in post-conflict societies: Historical comparisons and current rationales. *Higher Education Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41307-023-00312-5

Jing, X., Ghosh, R., & Liu, B. (2023). Resisting neocolonial harm and localising global standards at international branch campuses: A comparative study of two Canadian cases. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *45* (3), 276-290. https://doi.org/10.1080/1360080X.2022.2150799

Keller-Alant, A. & Standish, R. (2022, June 8). What's next for China's Fudan University campus in Hungary? *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*. https://www.rferl.org/a/hungary-orban-china-fudan-budapest/31888800.html

Knight, J. (2012). Concepts, rationales, and interpretive frameworks in the internationalization of higher education. In D. Deardorff et al. (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of international higher education* (2nd ed., pp. 27-42). SAGE.

Knight, J. (2023). Analysing knowledge diplomacy and differentiating it from soft power and cultural, science, education and public diplomacies. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *18*, 1-33. https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10145

Knight, J. & Simpson, D. (2021). The growth of international joint universities around the world. In D. Deardorff et al. (Eds.), *The handbook of international higher education* (pp. 447-462). Routledge.

Koikari, M. (2012). 'The world is our campus': Michigan State University and ColdWar home economics in US-occupied Okinawa, 1945–1972. *Gender & History*, *24* (1), 74–92. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0424.2011.01669.x

Latham, M. (2000). *Modernization as ideology: American social science and 'nation building' in the Kennedy era*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Lee, J. T. (2015). Soft power and cultural diplomacy: Emerging education hubs in Asia. *Comparative Education*, *51* (3), 353-374. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2015.1037551

Leng, P. & Pan, J. (2013). The issue of mutuality in Canada-China educational collaboration. *Canadian and International Education, 42* (2). https://doi.org/10.5206/cie-eci.v42i2.9231

Levin, M. (2013). *Cold war university: Madison and the new left in the sixties*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Long, K. (2017). America and American universities abroad: Towards a public diplomacy research agenda. In T. Purinton & J. Skaggs (Eds.), *American universities abroad: The leadership of independent transnational higher education institutions* (pp. 287-310). Cairo, Egypt: AUC Press.

Long, K. (2018). Battle of the brand: Independent 'American' universities abroad. *International Higher Education*, *95*, 4-5. https://doi.org/10.6017/ihe.2018.95.10716

Long, K. (2020). *The emergence of the American university abroad*. Boston, MA: Brill | Sense. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004425767

Long, K. (2023a, June). Do the right thing: American and Chinese higher education interests in the Middle East. *CPD Blog*. https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/do-right-thing-american-and-chinese-higher-education-interests-middle-east

Long, K. (2023b). Global American higher education: Diversity, unity, mutuality. *Change: The Journal of Higher Learning, 55* (3), 28-36. https://doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2023.2195273

Lovett, C. (2020). Higher education as a dimension of America's influence and power in the world: What does it mean in the 21st Century? *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, *52* (4), 15-18. https://doi.org10.1080/00091383.2020.1794251

Lowen, R. (1997). *Creating the Cold War university: The transformation of Stanford*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lutz, J. (1971). *China and the Christian colleges, 1850–1950*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Marquis, J. (2000). The other warriors: American social science and nation building in Vietnam. *Diplomatic History*, *24* (1), 79–105. https://doi.org/10.1111/0145-2096.00199

McCabe, E. & Gill, C. (2023, January 23). Department of State, foreign operations, and related programs: FY2023 budget and appropriations. *Congressional Research*

Service, R47070. https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47070

Mendoza, P. (2022). Fostering long-lasting international partnerships based on mutuality. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning, 54* (2), 52-58. https://doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2022.2030165

Metzgar, E. (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. https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315315604718

Muftahu, M. (2022, October 6). Soft, smart skills key to graduates' workplace success. *University World News*. https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20221003191811722

Noori, N. (2016). The politics of American-style higher education in the Middle East. In E. Lundy & E. Lundy (Eds.), *Practicing transnationalism: American Studies in the Middle East* (pp. 33–49). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Noori, N. & Anderson, P. (2013). Globalization, governance, and the diffusion of the American model of education: Accreditation agencies and American-style universities in the Middle East. I*nternational Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, *26*, 159–172. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-013-9131-1

Nye, J. (2004). *Soft power: The means to success in world politics.* New York, NY: PublicAffairs.

Nye, J. (2010). *The power to lead.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Ra'ees, W. & Banikamal, A. (2018). Iran's educational diplomacy in the Muslim world: Activities of Al-Mustafa International University in Malaysia and Afghanistan. *Insight Turkey, 20* (1), 165-188. https://doi. org/10.25253/99.2018201.10

Redden, E. (2020, July 15). Trump targets Fulbright in China, Hong Kong. *Inside Higher Ed*. https://www.insidehighered. com/news/2020/07/16/trump-targets-fulbright-china-hong-kong

Ruffini, P. (2020). Collaboration and competition: The twofold logic of science diplomacy. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *15* (3), 371-382. https://doi. org/10.1163/1871191X-BJA10028

Sawahel, W. (2017, March 21). Ambitious but secretive Arab education provider: Iran. *Al-Fanar*. https://www. al-fanarmedia.org/2017/03/ambitious-secretive-arab-education-provider-iran/

Schiffrin, A. (Ed.). (1997). *The Cold War & the university: Toward an intellectual history of the postwar years*. New York, NY: New Press.

Scott-Smith, G. (2008). Mapping the undefinable: Some thoughts on the relevance of exchange programs within international relations theory. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *616*, 173–195. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311953

Shannon, M. (2017). *Losing hearts and minds: American-Iranian relations and international education during the Cold War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Siltaoja, M., Juusola, K., Kivijärvi, M. (2019). 'World-class' fantasies: A neo-colonial analysis of international branch campuses. *Organization, 26* (1), 75-97. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508418775836

Simpson, C. (Ed.). (1999). *Universities and empire: Money and politics in the social sciences during the Cold War*. New York, NY: New Press.

Snow, N. (2008). International exchange and the U.S. image. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *616*, 198–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311864

Snow, N. (2021). Student mobility and its relevance to international relations theory. *E-International Relations*. https://www.e-ir.info/2021/12/05/student-mobility-and-its-relevance-to-international-relations-theory/

Szondi, G. (2008). *Public diplomacy and nation branding: Conceptual similarities and differences*. Discussion papers in diplomacy. The Hague, Netherlands: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'.

Tierney, W. & Lanford, M. (2015). An investigation of the impact of international branch campuses on organizational culture. *Higher Education*, *70*, 283–298. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-014-9845-7

Trentin, M. (Ed.). (2012). *The Middle East and the cold war: Between security and development*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Trilokekar, R. (2021). International education as soft power: A history of changing governments, shifting rationales, and

lessons learned. In J. Lee (Ed.), *U.S. power in international higher education* (pp. 23-41). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Vinet, L. (2010). Universities and knowledge diplomacy. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences, 41*, 6772-6776. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.05.023

Waterbury, J. (2003). Hate your policies, love your institutions. *Foreign Affairs*, *82* (1), 58-68. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2003-01-01/hate-your-policies-love-your-institutions.

Westad, O. (2007). *The global cold war: Third world interventions and the making of our times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkins, S. (2021). Two decades of international branch campus development, 2000−2020: A review. I*nternational Journal of Educational Management*, *35* (1), 311-326. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEM-08-2020-0409.

Wilkins, S., Stephens Balakrishnan, S., & Huisman, J. (2012). Student satisfaction and student perceptions of quality at international branch campuses in the United Arab Emirates. *Journal of Higher Education Policy & Management, 34* (5), 543-556. https://doi.org/10.1080/1360080X.2012.716003

Wilkins, S. & Rumbley, L. (2018). What a branch campus is: A revised definition. *International Higher Education*, *93*, 12-14. https://doi.org/10.6017/ihe.0.93.10416

Witte, G. (2018, November 30). The Trump administration tried to save a U.S. university by playing nice with an autocrat. It failed. *The Washington Post*. https://

www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/the-trump-administration-tried-to-save-a-us-university-by-playing-nice-with-an-autocrat-it-failed/2018/11/30/f028718a-e831-11e8-8449-1ff263609a31_story.html

Wojciuk, A., Michalek, M., & Stormowska, M. (2015). Education as a source and tool of soft power in international relations. *European Political Science, 14*, 298-317. https://doi.org/10.1057/eps.2015.25

Xu, Z. (2023). Whiteness as world-class education? Internationalization as depicted by Western international branch campuses in China. *Higher Education*, *85*, 919-936. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-022-00872-2

Zamberi Ahmad, S. (2015). Evaluating student satisfaction of quality at international branch campuses. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, *40* (4), 488-507. https://doi.org/10.1080/02602938.2014.925082

Other Papers in the CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Series

All papers in the CPD Perspectives series are available for free on the Center's website (**www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org**). To purchase any of the publications below in hard copy, please contact: cpd@usc.edu.

2023/3 Strategic Humor and Post-Truth Public Diplomacy
      by Dmitry Chernobrov

2023/2 An Inter-Event Comparison of Two Historic
      Global Mega Events:
      FIFA 2022 and Expo 2020
      by Matthew K. Asada

2023/1 Subnational Diplomacy in the Wake of Social Justice
      Movements:
      The Work of Black Women Elected Officials
      by Shearon Roberts

2022/4 Sport-Tech Diplomacy at the Tokyo 2020 Olympic
      Games
      by Yoav Dubinsky

2022/3 U.S. Sports Diplomacy
      by Edward Elliott

2022/2 Exploring the Semiotics of Public Diplomacy
      by Ilan Manor

2022/1 Planning for Global Engagement in Cities
      by Joel Day

2021/4 Implementing the EU Strategy for International
      Cultural Relations—Toward a New Paradigm
      by Dr. Mafalda Dâmaso

2017/1 Why the Voice of America Remains a Vital Force in the
World
by Geoffrey Cowan

2016/5 The Reem Island Ghost: Framing State Narratives on
Terror
by Vivian Walker

2016/4 The Public Diplomacy of Emerging Powers Part 2:
The Case of Indonesia
by Ellen Huijgh

2016/3 Canadian Public Diplomacy and Nation-Building:
Expo 67 and the World Festival of Arts and Entertainment
by Kailey Hansson

2016/2 Intersections between Public Diplomacy & International
Development: Case Studies in Converging Fields
by James Pamment

2016/1 The Public Diplomacy of Emerging Powers, Part 1:
The Case of Turkey
by Ellen Huijgh and Jordan Warlick

2015/7 Public Diplomacy in Global Health: An Annotated
Bibliography
by Tara Ornstein

2015/6 Democratization through Public Diplomacy: An Analysis
of the European Parliament's Reaction to the Arab Spring
by Michael Reinprecht & Henrietta Levin

2015/5 Centers of Gravity in Public Diplomacy:
A Case Study of U.S. Efforts in South Africa
by Amelia Arsenault

2015/4 Public Diplomacy of Multilateral Organizations:
The Cases of NATO, EU, and ASEAN
by Zhikica Zach Pagovski

2015/3 Benghazi: Managing the Message
      by Vivian Walker

2015/2 Soft Power and Public Diplomacy: The Case of the
      European Union in Brazil
      by María Luisa Azpíroz

2015/1 Distinguishing Cultural Relations from Cultural
      Diplomacy: The British Council's Relationship with Her
      Majesty's Government
      by Tim Rivera

2014/3 Confucious Institutes and the Globalization of China's
      Soft Power with contributions
      by R.S. Zaharna, Jennifer Hubbert, and Falk Hartig

2014/2 De-Americanizing Soft Power Discourse?
      by Daya Thussu

2014/1 Britain's International Broadcasting
      by Rajesh Mirchandani and Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar

2013/6 Public Diplomacy and the Media in the Middle East
      by Philip Seib

2013/5 Public Diplomacy in Germany
      by Claudia Auer and Alice Srugies

2013/4 The Syrian Crisis of 1957: A Lesson for the 21st Century
      by Kevin Brown

2013/3 "Psychopower" of Cultural Diplomacy in the Information
      Age
      by Natalia Grincheva

2013/2 Cases in Water Diplomacy
      Edited by Naomi Leight

2013/1 Considering the "Illogical Patchwork": The Broadcasting Board of Governors and U.S. International Broadcasting
by Emily T. Metzgar

2012/10 Engaging India: Public Diplomacy and Indo American Relations to 1957
by Sarah Ellen Graham

2012/9 Silicon Valley's Foreign Policy
by Ernest J. Wilson III

2012/8 Buddhist Diplomacy: History and Status Quo
by Juyan Zhang

2012/7 Public Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution: Russia, Georgia and the EU in Abkhazia and South Ossestia
by Iskra Kirova

2012/6 Practicing Successful Twitter Public Diplomacy: A Model and Case Study of U.S. Efforts in Venezuela
by Erika A. Yepsen

2012/5 Media Diplomacy and U.S.-China Military-to-Military Cooperation
by Thomas A. Hollihan and Zhan Zhang

2012/4 The Cultural Awakening in Public Diplomacy
by R.S. Zaharna

2012/3 Promoting Japan: One JET at a Time
by Emily T. Metzgar

2012/2 Experiencing Nation Brands: A Comparative Analysis of Eight National Pavilions at Expo Shanghai in 2010
by Jian Wang and Shaojing Sun

2012/1 Hizbullah's Image Management Strategy
by Lina Khatib

2011/11 Public Diplomacy from Below: The 2008 "Pro-China"
Demonstrations in Europe and North America
by Barry Sautman and Li Ying

2011/10 Campaigning for a Seat on the UN Security Council
by Caitlin Byrne

2011/9 A Resource Guide to Public Diplomacy Evaluation
by Robert Banks

2011/8 Essays on Faith Diplomacy
Edited by Naomi Leight

2011/7 A Strategic Approach to U.S. Diplomacy
by Barry A. Sanders

2011/6 U.S. Public Diplomacy in a Post-9/11 World:
From Messaging to Mutuality
by Kathy R. Fitzpatrick

2011/5 The Hard Truth About Soft Power
by Markos Kounalakis and Andras Simonyi

2011/4 Challenges for Switzerland's Public Diplomacy:
Referendum on Banning Minarets
by Johannes Matyassy and Seraina Flury

2011/3 Public Diplomacy of Kosovo: Status Quo, Challenges and
Options
by Martin Wählisch and Behar Xharra

2011/2 Public Diplomacy, New Media, and Counterterrorism
by Philip Seib

2011/1 The Power of the European Union in Global Governance:
A Proposal for a New Public Diplomacy
El poder de la Unión Europea en el gobierno global:
Propuesta para una nueva diplomacia pública
by Teresa La Porte

CPD | USC Center on Public Diplomacy
at the Annenberg School