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**Representative offices of universities abroad: the case of
U.S. universities in Brazil**

São Paulo
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Revised Version

Doctorate dissertation presented to the Graduate Program in International Relations of the Institute of International Relations at the University of Sao Paulo for the fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

The internationalization of higher education is a growing phenomenon and it may relate to the exercise of soft power and public diplomacy initiatives. Through activities such as academic and industry partnerships, scholarships, students and faculty mobility, alumni relations, and, most recently, off-shore campuses and representative offices abroad, universities and their nations of origin have furthered relationships with key-countries. This study focuses on the internationalization strategy of universities establishing representative offices abroad. The goals are to: (i) describe and understand the types of public diplomacy efforts related to the internationalization of higher education, (ii) describe, understand, and propose new categories of rationales for the internationalization of higher education, (iii) determine the most robust internationalization rationales/theories (considering academic relevance, economic interest, and public diplomacy) behind U.S. universities' decision to establish physical presences in Brazil through the analysis of congruence found in strategy documents of these universities and interviews with universities' leadership and U.S. government officials; and (iv) test through quantitative and qualitative analysis what elements related to Brazil might have been more determinant in the U.S. universities' decision to choose Brazil as a host country (if academic and administrative elements, or external and non-academic soft power elements). The study found that universities and their internationalization efforts are soft power resources used in public diplomacy initiatives, that U.S. universities' main rationale behind establishing a representative office in Brazil is academic, followed by the political and economic rationales. The strength of the political rationale hints to U.S. universities acting as non-state practitioners of public diplomacy, but with no direct involvement of the U.S. government. The study also shows that U.S. universities are "consumers" of public diplomacy information when choosing Brazil as a host country by considering non-academic elements of Brazil's soft power, such as participation in the BRICS group.

Keywords: Public diplomacy. Soft power. Internationalization. Higher education. Representative offices

Resumo

A internacionalização do ensino superior é um fenômeno crescente e pode estar relacionado ao exercício de poder brando e iniciativas de diplomacia pública. Por meio de atividades como parcerias acadêmicas e industriais, bolsas de estudo, mobilidade de estudantes e professores, engajamento com ex-alunos e, mais recentemente, campi internacionais e escritórios de representação no exterior, as universidades e seus países de origem estreitaram os relacionamentos com os países-chave. Este estudo centra-se na estratégia de internacionalização das universidades que estabelecem escritórios de representação no estrangeiro. Os objetivos são: (i) descrever e compreender os tipos de esforços da diplomacia pública relacionados com a internacionalização do ensino superior, (ii) descrever, compreender e propor novas categorias de fundamentos para a internacionalização do ensino superior, (iii) determinar as lógicas/teorias de internacionalização mais robustas (considerando relevância acadêmica, interesse econômico, e diplomacia pública) por trás da decisão das universidades dos EUA de estabelecer presença física no Brasil por meio da análise de congruência encontrada em documentos de estratégia dessas universidades e entrevistas com lideranças de universidades e governo dos EUA; e (iv) testar por meio de análise quantitativa e qualitativa quais elementos relacionados ao Brasil podem ter sido mais determinantes na decisão das universidades norte-americanas de escolher o Brasil como país anfitrião (se elementos acadêmicos e administrativos ou externos e não acadêmicos de poder brando). O estudo constatou que as universidades e seus esforços de internacionalização são recursos de poder brando utilizados em iniciativas de diplomacia pública, que a principal justificativa das universidades norte-americanas para a criação de um escritório de representação no Brasil é acadêmica, seguida pela lógica política e econômica. A força da justificativa política sugere que as universidades dos EUA agem como praticantes não estatais da diplomacia pública, mas sem envolvimento direto do governo dos EUA. O estudo também mostra que as universidades norte-americanas são “consumidoras” de informações da diplomacia pública ao escolher o Brasil como país anfitrião considerando elementos não acadêmicos do poder brando do Brasil como a presença no grupo BRICS.

Palavras-chave: Diplomacia pública. Poder brando. Internacionalização. Ensino superior. Escritórios de representação

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1. Introduction

The phenomenon of the internationalization of higher education and its possible correlation to the exercise of soft power through public diplomacy is at the core of this paper. The internationalization of higher education has experienced several transformations since 1980, especially a widening of its scope and forms. Likewise, the concepts and forms of public diplomacy have changed over the years and have been used interchangeably. Cowan and Arsenault (2008) noted that it is not only government offices that are responsible for transnational collaborations but also private actors, such as higher education institutions. After political scientist Joseph Nye (1990) pioneered the theory of soft power, states and universities recognized the role of international higher education in furthering this notion with or within countries considered vital for their strategies, through research collaborations, academic and industry partnerships, scholarships, education abroad experiences, students and faculty mobility, alumni engagement, and, most recently, off-shore campuses and satellite or representative offices abroad.

The question raised in this dissertation is if the specific internationalization effort of establishing a physical presence abroad can be connected to public diplomacy activities and be considered a form of soft power exertion. In this regard, would universities be actors in public diplomacy or at least "consumers" of information related to countries' public diplomacy and soft power in a way that could affect universities' decisions to internationalize?

The author of this dissertation participates closely in some of these internationalization efforts as a representative of a U.S. university¹ that established an office in Brazil. The author's daily activities include supporting faculty in establishing study abroad programs for students in Brazil and in connecting with Brazilian institutions; helping students to find research and study opportunities in Brazil; serving as the point of contact for alumni in Brazil or from Brazil to connect and reconnect with the university; facilitating recruitment efforts through participation in fairs, school visits, and events; and informing university leadership of Brazil's higher education rules, market trends, and other relevant info.

The activities above informed the decisions and methodology employed in this study and confirmed that few of these offices are in Latin America. Their structure, activities, and

¹ The Ohio State University

responsibilities vary depending on the institution. However, most of them do not offer academic courses, which is something that would differentiate them from another more common cross-border initiative: branch campuses established by universities in other countries. Branch campuses are miniature versions of their home campus and get much more attention from literature and media. These facts might explain why the literature does not focus on understanding what representative offices do and their connection to home and host countries' stakeholders.

This study treats universities as yet another actor in the international arena. Therefore, as objects of this dissertation, the study deems it essential to understand universities' international goals and activities, especially when they involve a cross-border initiative. In that regard, the research will focus on universities from the United States and their physical presence abroad through representative offices, considered by the current literature to be the second generation of a university's internationalization efforts (KNIGHT, 2015). Although there are offices representing German, French, and other universities in Brazil, this research focuses on universities from the United States because the country's universities have the highest visibility through international rankings such as Times Higher Education (THE), movies, and media. U.S. universities have indeed established a physical presence in many countries, but for reasons related to research feasibility stemming from the author's home and work country, interest in South America, and the economic and political importance of the country, the study will focus on Brazil as a receiving country of these U.S. universities' representative offices.

1.1.Database, methodology, and dissertation structure

This dissertation is divided into two parts to address the question of the rationale behind U.S. universities establishing offices in Brazil. The first part will serve as a guide to understanding public diplomacy and the internationalization of higher education. This background, including a more descriptive content study, will lay the groundwork for the discussions and analyses in the second part of the dissertation. This first chapter introduces the theme, questions, methodology, and structure. The second chapter will focus on public diplomacy and its historical background, current literature and discussions, connection to the concept and practice of soft power, and a list of the types of public diplomacy that better connect with higher education efforts according to the literature, such as cultural, scientific, educational, and knowledge diplomacy. The third chapter

aims to understand the development of the internationalization of higher education, including the different initiatives that have contributed to this goal, and to present a first look at the rationales offered by the literature that explain the internationalization of higher education. In the third chapter, this dissertation suggests a slight change to the current literature on rationales for going international. The proposed framework summarizes the current literature based on the author's practical experience with higher education internationalization. It facilitates the analysis of the rationales for the specific effort of establishing a physical presence abroad. By the end of the third chapter, the hope is to confirm the place of public diplomacy as a possible rationale for the internationalization of higher education. The methodology used in the first part of this dissertation is qualitative and involves literature review and analysis.

The second part of the dissertation delves into more practical and exploratory analyses with the support of qualitative and quantitative methodology. It is where the focus on U.S. universities in Brazil starts and, consequently, where the case study starts.

Case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a 'real life' context. It is research-based, inclusive of different methods and is evidence-led. The primary purpose is to generate an in-depth understanding of a specific topic (as in a thesis), programme, policy, institution or system to generate knowledge and/or inform policy development, professional practice and civil or community action. (SIMONS, 2009, p. 12).

The author studied the case of four U.S. universities with offices in Brazil in 2019 by building a complete profile of each office in Brazil. Content analyses included information mined from websites, public strategic documents, and leadership interviews. "Three qualitative methods often used in case study research to facilitate in-depth analysis and understanding are interview, observation and document analysis." (SIMONS, 2009, p. 34).

The first step was to find a database of U.S. universities. Using the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE) database helped avoid the potential impartiality of rankings. CCIHE was created in the seventies by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and it is a framework for classifying colleges and universities in the United States into three comparable groups:

- (i) Doctoral Universities – Very High Research Activity (R1), with 131 universities;
- (ii) Doctoral Universities – High Research Activity (R2), with 132 universities;

(iii) Doctoral/Professional Universities (R3), with 161 universities listed.

For research feasibility, the author focused on the R1 universities, securing a dataset of 131 U.S. universities (Appendix 1). It is important to highlight that the choice to focus on R1 universities only might affect the outputs of the research, for this can be considered a homogenous group of somewhat large research universities. Therefore, any results in the attempt to understand the behavior of higher education institutions towards internationalizations will be limited, directed and potentially biased to institutions with the R1 profile and will show small variance. Future studies might include R2 and R3 universities.

Moving forward on the research steps, the author had to manually visit the R1 universities' websites, especially pages related to the universities' office of international or global affairs, to verify the existence of offices abroad and in Brazil. Conversations with EducationUSA confirmed the information. EducationUSA is a network under the U.S. Department of State with over forty offices in Brazil that supports U.S. universities interested in making connections in Brazil and Brazilians interested in studying in the U.S. This step happened in 2019. The result was that, out of 131 U.S. R1 universities, eight had offices in Brazil in 2019, as seen in table 1 below:

Table 1 – U.S. Universities with offices in Brazil (among 131 universities from Carnegie Classification R1 - Doctoral Universities – Very High Research Activity)

U.S. Universities with offices in Brazil (among 131 universities from Carnegie Classification R1 - Doctoral Universities – Very High Research Activity)	
2	Auburn University
7	Brown University
13	Columbia University in the City of New York
27	Harvard University
42	The Ohio State University - Main Campus
109	University of Notre Dame
110	University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus
117	University of Southern California

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The next step involved searching for strategic documents from the universities with offices in Brazil. Universities usually launch strategic plans and make them available on their websites. The author acknowledges these documents are public, sometimes set up for marketing purposes, and might not always provide details on the research that went into the decision-making process or the financial and political risks taken into consideration; however, these documents are still relevant.

Developing an internationalization strategy involves consultations, negotiations, and decisions about what to include and how to frame these choices (Soliman et al., 2018). Drawing on a neo-institutional theory in sociology, which views organizations as embedded in and affected by their larger environment, we view the development of an institutional internationalization strategy as affected by broader norms within the profession. For the most part, the higher education administrators producing these strategy documents are aware of broader discussions concerning what, why, and how to internationalize occurring at colleges and universities around the world. They are often engaged in professional and practitioner communities and discussions with their peers at other institutions. (BUCKNER *et al.*, 2020, p. 23).

The decision to include only four of the eight strategic documents in this study was based on: (i) Feedback from the qualification exam: on the importance of the universities and on how it would affect the feasibility of the analysis; (ii) Conflict of interest: the author is the representative of one of the universities with offices in Brazil; therefore, documents from that specific university were not analyzed; and (iii) Quality of the documents found: the author could only find departmental strategies of some universities. Therefore, this dissertation provides a content analysis of only four strategic documents and only four of the eight U.S. universities in Brazil. Even with this strategy selection, the documents differ in scope because two are university-wide strategic plans, and the other two are global initiatives plans. This difference might have influenced the results of the analyses, as any other difference would have. However, these documents are still relevant to universities' plans for internationalization, and some went into the specifics of their offices abroad and in Brazil. Strategy documents usually plan for five to six years. The author selected the latest strategic plans found in 2019. Below is a table of the documents used and that can be found at the website links provided in Appendix 1:

Table 2 – Strategy documents of U.S. universities with offices in Brazil

University	Document Title	Scope	Number of Pages	Release Year
1	Global Initiatives Report	Global initiatives strategy	58	2013
2	Global Engagement Overview	Global initiatives strategy	4	2016
3	A Legacy Expanded	University-wide strategic plan	8	2014
4	Answering a Call	University-wide strategic plan	11	2018
TOTAL			81	

Source: Elaborated by the author

For triangulation purposes, the author also performed semi-structured interviews with universities' leadership and U.S. government staff. "Triangulation is a means of cross-checking the relevance and significance of issues or testing out arguments and perspectives from different angles to generate and strengthen evidence in support of key claims" (SIMONS, 2009, p. 130). A whole ethics process was necessary before performing interviews. After many inquiries within the University of Sao Paulo (USP) about the existence of an institutional process, the author was directed to Plataforma Brasil, a unified national database of research records involving human beings for ethical evaluation. The process involved an evaluation of the author's project and consent forms for interviewees. After the approval process, which took almost four months, the author performed eleven interviews, of which only eight could be used. Two interviews were not adequately recorded and could not generate a transcription to be analyzed. Another interviewee did not hand in a signed consent form in time for the writing of this dissertation. Because of the pandemic, all the interviews were done virtually and recorded through Google Meet, a platform preferred by USP for virtual exchanges. All eight interviews were transcribed using free trials of different transcription software (Trint, Otter, and Descript) to limit expenses, since there was no support funding for the research. The script for the interviews is in Appendix 3. A table with more details on the interviews is below:

Table 3 – Interviews performed with U.S. universities leadership and U.S. government staff

Interview	Interviewee's Position	Institution	Duration of recording	Transcription Pages
1	Director of the office in Brazil	University 2	54:34:00	10
2	Director of the office in Brazil	University 4	55:04:00	9
3	Director of the office in Brazil	University 1	50:59:00	10
4	Director of the office in Brazil	University 3	43:43:00	10
5	Country coordinator	EducationUSA Brazil	74:47:00	23
6	Director of global offices	University 4	41:22:00	10
7	Regional coordinator	EducationUSA	44:12:00	15
8	Cultural Affairs Specialist	U.S. Consulate - Public Affairs Office	30:59:00	9
TOTAL			395:40:00	96

Source: Elaborated by the author

The importance of performing interviews can be found in the literature: “The primary way a researcher can investigate an educational organization, institution, or process is through the experience of the individual people, [...] who make up the organization or carry out the process” (SEIDMAN, 2006, p. 20). The documents and interviewees chosen are a good sample and represent the most well-known U.S. universities abroad and important offices or agencies of the U.S. in connection with higher education internationalization. The four strategic documents and the university leadership interviews represent the same institutions. After all, the statistic concept of randomness would be prohibitive in an in-depth interview study, mainly because participants must consent to the interview (SEIDMAN, 2006).

To analyze the strategy documents and the interviews, totaling twelve documents and 177 pages, the author used NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software package produced by QSR International. Again, to diminish the cost related to the research, a 14-day free trial was used. The following systematic approach, taken from Simons (2012:120), was used: (i) Data reduction: as a process of selecting, focusing, and abstracting key data from interviews, and observations, guided by choice of questions, coding, and clustering; (ii) Data display: reduced data displayed in tables, charts, and word clouds; and (iii) Data conclusion drawing and verification: analysis of emerging patterns, propositions, and explanations gradually confirmed and verified.

The fourth chapter, which initiates part two of this dissertation, can be considered the core of the research because it will analyze why U.S. universities go abroad. The rationales found in the literature on higher education, with a slight change proposed by the author, served as a framework for the extensive document analysis of the universities’ strategies and semi-structured interviews with higher education leadership and government staff. The rationales served as codes and themes to guide the content analysis within the NVivo software.²

Whatever strategies or processes you use to make sense, all involve sorting, refining, refocusing, interpreting, making analytic notes and finding themes in the data. Some, like coding, categorizing, thematic analysis and cognitive mapping, relate more to formal inductive analysis (SIMONS, 2009, p. 120).

The fourth chapter also presents a profile of the four selected U.S. universities with offices in Brazil. The chapter brings a framework to help in the congruence analysis of possible rationales

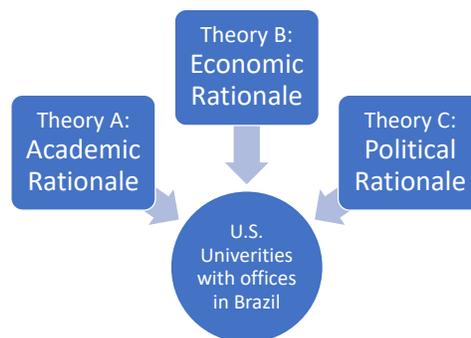
² The codebook organized by the author is in chapter four.

(economic, academic, and, finally, potential public diplomacy, as found in the literature) for establishing these offices. Congruence analysis is an analytical strategy that aims to verify the compatibility between theory describing a phenomenon and real-life observations of that phenomenon in order to gauge the theory's relevance:

What we call congruence analysis (CON) is an approach that focuses on drawing inferences from the (non-)congruence of concrete observations with specified predictions from abstract theories to the relevance or relative strength of these theories for explaining/understanding the case(s) under study [...] CON is much more open to a less strict understanding of congruence and coherence but uses a much broader set of predictions and observations [...] CON relies on the discriminatory power of specific observations and on the competition between internally coherent theoretical frameworks (BLATTER; BLUME, 2008, p. 326).

Therefore, chapter four used the three main rationales for the internationalization of higher education found in the literature as theories to be tested against real-life observations found in the universities' strategy documents and semi-structured elite interviews. The idea is to understand which of the theories/rationales has more relevance when explaining the specific internationalization strategy of establishing an office abroad. Figure one below shows the three main rationales brought in chapter four.

Figure 1 – Rationales for the internationalization of higher education considered theories to be analyzed to understand the establishment of representative offices of universities in Brazil:



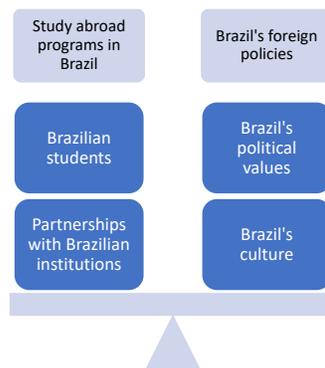
Source: Elaborated by the author

Finally, the fifth chapter of this dissertation looks for elements related to Brazil that might have been more significant or drawn more attention from U.S. universities. The author built a dataset

based on the 131 R1 U.S. universities from the aforementioned Carnegie classification (Appendix 1). It is even more important for this chapter to highlight that the focus on R1 universities might have affected the outputs of the research, for this can be considered a homogenous group of somewhat large research universities and, therefore, any results in the attempt to understand the behavior of higher education institutions towards internationalizations will be limited and directed to institutions with the R1 profile and will show small variance. In any case, the idea was to manually search for information on the websites of the 131 R1 universities typically used by universities to describe and track their internationalization efforts, but specifically focusing on Brazil. The information collected includes the following: (i) Number of Brazilian students in the university, (ii) Number of partnerships with Brazilian institutions, and (iii) Number of study abroad programs (programs offered by universities to their students to travel abroad for varied short-term activities such as language instruction, cultural immersion, internships, etc.) in Brazil.

This information was considered academic information and was compared to external, non-academic information about Brazil to verify which might have been more significant for universities. The non-academic information was based on what Nye (2006) pointed out as the three resources of soft power: (i) culture, (ii) political values, and (iii) foreign policies. For that analysis, the author created variables that could serve as proxies for the soft power elements in a regression model. To verify the results of this quantitative exercise, word searches and content analysis of the universities' strategic documents and the interviews were also carried out, looking at the same variables.

Figure 2 – Academic metrics of universities' internationalization efforts related to Brazil vs. non-academic elements of Brazil's soft power



Source: Elaborated by the author

Therefore, chapter five complements chapter four by analyzing what might have been specifically considered about Brazil during the decision-making process for setting up offices in the country. In summary, chapter four verifies if universities might be actors in public diplomacy, whereas chapter five verifies if universities have been "consuming" public diplomacy information for their decision-making. Therefore, this dissertation investigates the rationale for universities to have a physical presence abroad through a case study of U.S. universities with a physical office in Brazil.

The objectives per chapter are to:

- (i) Describe and understand the types of public diplomacy efforts related to the internationalization of higher education as a whole through literature review of the field of public diplomacy and higher education;
- (ii) Describe, understand, and propose new categories of rationale for the internationalization of higher education that could especially apply to the establishment of a representative office abroad;
- (iii) Determine the most robust internationalization rationales/theories (considering academic relevance, economic interest, and public diplomacy) behind U.S. universities' decision to establish physical presences in Brazil through the analysis of congruence found in strategy documents from these universities available online and through semi-structured interviews with universities' leadership and diplomats; and
- (iv) Test through quantitative and qualitative software analysis what elements specifically related to Brazil might have been more determinant in U.S. universities' decision to choose Brazil as a host country of their physical presence abroad (if academic, administrative elements, or external non-academic soft power elements).

PART I – PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

2. Public diplomacy – history, developments, and types

To understand how public diplomacy relates to the internationalization of higher education and, more specifically, how it might connect to the establishment of universities' offices abroad, it is essential to go through the history of public diplomacy, its new developments, and its thematic types that, according to literature, are more closely related to higher education: knowledge diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, science diplomacy, and education diplomacy. Traditional diplomacy is about relationships between the representatives of states to further the interests of a state, and it has delineated roles and responsibilities for actors in international relations. On the contrary, public diplomacy targets the general public in foreign societies and people that are not necessarily foreign services officers, either involved in a diplomatic activity or at the receiving end of international politics. Therefore, public diplomacy connects to "postmodern transnational relations" and one of the signs of these postmodern relations is that no actor has much control over its initiatives (MELISSEN, 2005). According to Cull (2008), a professor in the Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism at the University of Southern California, public diplomacy has five core components: (i) Listening: research, analysis, and the feedback of information into policy such as public opinion polls by an embassy; (ii) Advocacy: creation and dissemination of information to build an understanding of an issue, such as an embassy press conference; (iii) Cultural diplomacy: dissemination of cultural practices such as a music tour; (iv) Exchange diplomacy: the exchange of persons for mutual advantages, such as students, and (v) International broadcasting: news over state-funded international radio.

In this chapter, we will later go back to cultural diplomacy, not only as a component of public diplomacy but also as a type of public diplomacy and involvement with foreign countries. Gilboa (2008), a professor and director of the Center for International Communication at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, explains that public diplomacy is a new field in political science. It "inspired many studies of the different tools the superpowers and other states used to achieve their international goals" (CULL, 2008, p. 55-59) especially during the Cold War, when states, such as the United States, used public diplomacy to counter antagonistic propaganda in other countries, such as the Soviet Union. The idea then was to sway public opinion to see the United States

favorably and, therefore, pressure governments against hostile policies and actions (CULL, 2008). Because of that connection with the Cold War, the term "public diplomacy," developed by the United States, brings much debate as a "product of a specific time and place" although its "constituent practices of listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, and international broadcasting have precedents and even antiquity" (CULL, 2008, p. 497). Modern public diplomacy has gone through some changes recently, as states' leaderships and scholars started noticing that a country's "[f]avorable image and reputation around the world, achieved through attraction and persuasion, have become more important than territory, access, and raw materials, traditionally acquired through military and economic measures" (GILBOA, 2008, p. 56).

In his book on American propaganda and public diplomacy, Cull (2008) delineates the history of public diplomacy from 1945 to 1989 in the United States. The starting point was the creation of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953. The ambassador Edmund Gullion coined the term "public diplomacy" as an alternative to the debated term "propaganda." The definition would encompass "an actor's engagement with a foreign public to policy ends" (CULL, 2008, preface). Indeed, most of the literature in public diplomacy is from the United States or about the country. However, before the United States started initiatives in this realm, some European countries had private societies committed to international cultural projection. "For example, in 1880, French citizens established the Alliance Française to teach the French language overseas" (CULL, 2008, p. 3-4). The foundation of the first formal and private structures similar to Alliance Française of American cultural diplomacy began with the establishment of philanthropic foundations, such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, established in 1910; the Institute of International Education (IIE), created in 1919; the Rockefeller Foundation, and Rotary Club still in existence today (CULL, 2008). "These organizations supported academic exchange in the name of liberal internationalism" and provided initiatives that the government did not (CULL, 2008, p. 5-10). In 1919, Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States, established the Committee on Public Information (CPI), a propaganda apparatus; however, US Congress withdrew its funding after allegations that the CPI was too partisan. Also, at that time, the world saw much American culture through Hollywood, but, again, there was no government control over it (2008). Other countries had public diplomacy-related initiatives. In 1925, for example, the Soviet Union established the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS); in 1926, Italy opened its first Italian Cultural Institutes overseas; in 1933, Germany spent substantial sums

on cultural propaganda; and a little later, in 1934, the British Council, still very active today, was established (2008).

In 1938, the United States tried to structure a specific department and created the Division of Cultural Relations at the State Department. Oil magnate Nelson Rockefeller was the Coordinator for Commercial and Cultural Relations there. He developed commercial and cultural projects in Latin America, establishing offices and libraries and coordinating and extending the network of binational centers. The Rockefeller Foundation was instrumental in at least one of the U.S. universities with an office in Brazil in 2019 as gathered during interviews. Nevertheless, back then, the focus on cultural activities might have been too much. In 1941, Chancellor Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil quipped, “one more goodwill mission and Brazil will declare war on the U.S.A.” (CULL, 2008, p. 13). In 1943, the formal title of cultural relations attaché was created, and it is still in existence today. In 1944, there was a change in the division that moved it into the State Department’s new Office of Public Information, which was seen as an acceptance that cultural diplomacy could contribute to the foreign policy of the United States (2008). Later, two Advisory Commissions were created: an Advisory Commission on Information and an Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange (2008). At the time, there was a special exchange visa to facilitate travel to American universities, hospitals, businesses, and foundations. “By the 1970s, around 50,000 people a year entered the country under 1,700 programs authorized under the scheme” (CULL, 2008, p. 51).

The Voice of America (VOA), a United States international radio broadcaster, was established in 1942 and is still on the air. At the time, academics from MIT and Harvard were asked to be consultants for the Campaign for the Truth and analyze VOA jamming. “The State Department named the exercise Project TROY, equating American propaganda with the famous wooden horse” (CULL, 2008, p. 60). Another connection with academia was during Eisenhower’s administration, when he selected Arthur Larson, Dean of Law at the University of Pittsburgh, to head the USIA (2008). The recommendation was “that the USIA focus on the ‘opinion formers’ in any country rather than aiming for the masses” (CULL, 2008, p. 171). However, the State Department worried that too much emphasis on U.S. military information in the administration’s public statements could detract from U.S. objectives, warning “[a] gun not produced today can still be produced next month. A psychological attitude not created or supported today may never be brought into being” (CULL, 2008, 65-66).

Senator Fulbright insisted that educational exchanges should remain the responsibility of State, to avoid tainting 'his' scholarship program, the still well-known Fulbright Program of students and scholars mobility, with any hint of propaganda. The USIA had no desire to 'pick a losing fight' on the issue in the Senate (CULL, 2008, p. 195).

Going forward in time, the Fulbright program was mentioned many times as necessary to the U.S.'s public diplomacy and the internationalization of higher education during interviews with U.S. government staff.

By 1956, the network of binational centers that focused on English teaching programs also operated by USIA was present in fifty-five countries. Six countries were considered a priority for these initiatives in Latin America: Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Mexico, Guatemala, and Argentina, which were called "partners in progress" (CULL, 2008, p. 120). In chapter four, we will see another "partner in progress" initiative in Brazil through a partnership between Brazil's Ministry of Education (MEC) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1966 that influenced a reform of Brazil's higher education system. But back to Cull's (2008) history, all USIA's initiatives in Latin America did not prevent the growing anti-American sentiment in the region. When a right-wing dictatorship ruled Brazil, the USIA maintained its usual links with the academic world. When the government arrested Paul Singer, an internationally known economist, USIA warned the consulate in Sao Paulo, which caused such a stir by investigating his disappearance that the government released him (2008). As mentioned earlier, the word "propaganda" was seen negatively in the United States; therefore, the new term "public diplomacy" gave the USIA a respectable identity as an office of foreign relations. "[I]t was a perfect piece of propaganda about propaganda" (CULL, 2008, p. 259). Gullion coined the concept:

[Public diplomacy deals] with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications (CULL, 2008, p. 259-260).

Melissen (2005), a senior fellow at the Institute for Security and Global Affairs at Leiden University, Netherlands, explains the difference between propaganda and public diplomacy as a matter of communication. He says public diplomacy is a ‘two-way street’ and that although the diplomats practicing public diplomacy will still have their own country’s interests in mind, public diplomacy is fundamentally different from propaganda in the sense that in the former, diplomats also listen to what people have to say (MELISSEN, 2005, p. 20). A recent example of what that difference would be, is that during Obama’s administration, he avoided the use of the Alhurra television channel to address the Middle East because that channel was Bush’s public diplomacy initiative. At the time, “[...] the American government’s voice overseas [was to] lose much of its brashness and self-glorification [and] sound less like propaganda” (BROWN, 2009, p. 155). Snyder, an Associate Professor of History, Global Studies, and US Foreign Relations at the University of South Carolina, affirms the idea that everything communicated by a government is propaganda by saying there is a need and duty for governments to "counter misinformation, disinformation, and our adversaries’ distortions and propaganda [...] Communicating effectively is a legitimate and necessary tool of national power” (SNYDER, 2013, p. 3). Indeed, the literature understands that public diplomacy and communications have the closest of links. Citing Soroka, Gilboa (2008) affirms that public diplomacy is “based on a complex relationship between three major components: the government, the media, and public opinion [and that its framing is similar to foreign diplomacy because they] attempt to influence elites and the media in a target state” (GILBOA, 2008, p. 62-65).

Because of the issue between propaganda and public diplomacy in the United States, the USIA was merged with the State Department’s Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs in 1978, and a new agency was established: the United States International Communication Agency (ICA or USICA). Some of President Carter’s objectives within public diplomacy were “to increase America’s ideological impact on the world [and] to restore America’s political appeal to the Third World” (CULL, 2008, p. 362). Some focus on Latin America remained in 1983 as the Reagan administration created an Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean and hosted legal scholars from Brazil, Chile, and Venezuela who were interested in reforming their constitutions (2008).

On 11 September 2001, America awoke to the need to do something to rebuild its relationships with ordinary people around the world and the realization that the key

mechanism to accomplish this – its public diplomacy – was in disarray. ‘Why do they hate us?’ became the question of the season (CULL, 2008, p. 484).

That happened as the terrorist attacks by al-Qaeda impacted different cities and symbols of the United States. As it was important to differentiate public diplomacy from propaganda in the past, it is now important to differentiate it from new concepts such as nation branding and public relations. Much is said of the connection between public diplomacy and nation branding. Nation branding was coined by Simon Anholt in 1996 and has since then become a field of research and practice. Anholt has advised heads of various states and governments on the issue to help nations create strategies and policies to improve their reputations with other nations. Anholt also created a measurement system (Nation Brands Index) to assess how people view different nations by combining six dimensions: (i) Exports—The public's image of products and services from each country and the extent to which consumers proactively seek or avoid products from each country of origin; (ii) Governance—Public opinion about national government competency and fairness and its perceived commitment to global issues such as peace and security, justice, poverty, and the environment; (iii) Culture and Heritage—Global perceptions of each nation's heritage and appreciation for its contemporary culture, including film, music, art, sport, and literature; (iv) People—The population's reputation for competence, openness and friendliness, and other qualities such as tolerance; (v) Tourism—The level of interest in visiting a country for its natural and artificial tourist attractions; and (vi) Investment and Immigration—The power to attract people to live, work or study in each country and how people perceive a country's quality of life and business environment (IPSOS PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 2019).

Although "[r]eferences to the nation and its image go as far as the Bible, and international relations in ancient Greece and Rome" (MELISSEN, 2005, p. 3), nation branding is a newer concept. Gilboa explains that it "entails giving products and services an emotional dimension with which people can identify" (GILBOA, 2008, p. 67). Therefore, it can refer to what people think about a particular state, NGO, international organization, or individual. Gilboa exemplifies:

The United States, for example, is associated with self-expression and technology, Germany with engineering and quality products, Japan with miniaturization, Italy with style, France with chic, Britain with class, Sweden with design, the Catholic Church with the Crucifix and the Arab world with Al-Jazeera (GILBOA, 2008, p. 67).

Nation-branding prospers where there are public diplomacy efforts and vice versa because they are complementary. "Both are principally aimed at foreign publics" (MELISSEN, 2005, p. 21); however, public diplomacy not only aims to project an identity but also to promote international relationships characterized by connections between civil societies and the influence of non-governmental actors that strengthen relationships with non-official organizations abroad (2005). Public diplomacy is also often compared to public relations. Grunig (1993) explains that, for public relations scholars, public diplomacy is the application of public relations to strategic relationships of organizations with the international community. Citing Wilcox, Philip Ault, and Warren Agee, he adds, "[i]nternational public relations may be defined as the planned and organized efforts of a company, institution or government to establish mutually beneficial relations with the publics of other nations" (GRUNIG, 1993, p. 141).

This study considers these two terms complementary to public diplomacy efforts carried out by traditional and new actors. Finally, when discussing the development of the theory and methodology in public diplomacy, Gilboa (2008) sees limitations, such as the lack of research on public diplomacy initiatives from countries other than the United States and says "[a] few scholars have suggested paradigms for related areas including world politics, world order, and foreign policy, but even these suffer from many theoretical and methodological weaknesses" (GILBOA, 2008, p. 68-69).

2.1. New actors in public diplomacy

After the public diplomacy crisis in the United States, the business sector and the tourist industry created groups to lobby for better public diplomacy: the Business for Diplomatic Action and the Discover America Partnership, respectively (CULL, 2008). In academia, public diplomacy emerged as a major field of study:

Public diplomacy is a dimension of the foreign policy process [...] most skillful public diplomacy in the world cannot save a flawed policy, but a flawed policy can compromise the best-established public diplomacy [...] One way of boosting the power of public diplomacy is to recognize its role in the wider foreign policy process and include public diplomats at the planning stage (CULL, 2008, p. 496-497).

Although consensus on the meaning of public diplomacy is that it “[...] is the effort by the government of one nation to influence public or elite opinion of another nation for the purpose of turning the policy of the target nation to advantage” (POTTER, 2002, p. 5), Melissen draws attention to the fact this view is “too mechanistic and ambitious”:

What is problematic with the approach of public diplomacy as an immediate foreign policy tool is that it exposes public diplomacy to the contradictions, discontinuities, fads and fancies of foreign policy. If it is too closely tied to foreign policy objectives, it runs the risk of becoming counterproductive and indeed a failure when foreign policy itself is perceived to be a failure. In such circumstances, a foreign ministry’s public diplomacy becomes a liability and no longer serves as a diplomatic tool that has the special quality of being able to go where traditional diplomacy cannot (MELISSEN, 2005, p. 15).

Indeed, this problematic close relationship between public diplomacy and foreign policy goals allows different actors to pursue public diplomacy efforts, such as universities, businesses, and nonprofits. Their lack of or apparent lack of direct contact with foreign policy and traditional diplomacy gives these non-governmental actors an impression of impartiality and uninterested engagement with the public of foreign countries. In his book on public diplomacy, when also telling the story of the USIA, Snyder (2013) cited newsman Edward R. Murrow, who famously said, “[i]t has always seemed to me the real art in this business is not so much moving information or guidance or policy five or 10,000 miles [...] That is an electronic problem. The real art is to move it the last three feet in face-to-face conversation” (SNYDER, 2013, p. 2). In that case, higher education institutions, nonprofits, and businesses with a presence abroad seem to understand this need for the “last three feet” connection with their target audience, if any public diplomacy efforts are connected to their internationalization efforts.

It actually took some time for authors to include actors in the public diplomacy definition, even if just governments. In this sense, the Nonstate Transnational Model “is a theoretical concept designed to investigate public diplomacy activities of groups, NGOs, and individuals using public diplomacy across national boundaries” (GILBOA, 2008, p. 59). Gilboa complements saying that “[w]hen policies and positions of states or nonstate actors have moral authority, or are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, their soft power is increased” (2008, p. 61). Gilboa provides examples of this by citing his previous 2007 work with Powers, saying that “[a]ctors such as the Vatican, NGOs, and global news organizations possess only soft power” (2008, p. 61). Today, actors in public diplomacy are no longer diplomats only, “but include various individuals, groups

and institutions who engage in international and intercultural communication activities which do have a bearing on the political relationship between two countries” (GRUNIG, 1993, p. 140). There was a “development from a hierarchic state-centered one-way public diplomacy to a network based public diplomacy [...] where legitimacy is a crucial currency and information moves in many directions” (BERTELSEN, 2012, p. 3).

“Some skeptics have concluded that Americans should accept the inevitable and let market forces take care of the presentation of the country’s culture and image to foreigners. Why pour money into VOA when CNN, MSNBC, or Fox can do the work for free?” (RAWNSLEY, 2012, p. 105). However, that would focus only on the profitable mass information of American culture, thus reinforcing stereotypes and leading to underinvestment since the market favors short-term profits and establishing long-term relationships does not always bring a fast financial return. On the other hand, American companies play an important role because their representatives and brands directly touch the lives of more people than government representatives do and can take the lead in sponsoring specific public diplomacy projects. Another benefit of indirect public diplomacy is that it can often take more risks in presenting various views (NYE, 2008). In addition, nonstate actor “can develop relationships between the source of the message and the intended recipient, meaning that the state's role may best be confined to creating and facilitating the operation and creativity of nonstate sector networks to help the public diplomacy effort” (RAWNSLEY, 2012, p. 123). During the interviews with university leadership for this dissertation, a university representative said they would rather stay far from direct connections with the government. Although one of the office's main funders had received financial support from the U.S. government, no other direct connection with the U.S. government was made prior to the establishment of the office. Similarly, during an interview with a U.S. cultural affairs specialist, he mentioned that their job is to introduce U.S. institutions to Brazilian institutions, after which they should "get out of the way" and avoid getting involved in any possible academic partnership. However, while higher education may pay for itself and nonprofit organizations can help, many exchange programs would shrink without government support (RAWNSLEY, 2012, p. 104).

Still discussing actors, Potter (2002) explains that “[w]hat distinguishes public diplomacy from classic diplomacy is that the former's programmes are not exclusively state-to-state interactions, although they may include government officials as direct targets” (POTTER, 2002, p. 6). Public diplomacy is increasingly done through non-governmental organizations that are

“insulated from the drives of party politics or diplomatic priorities” (CULL, 2008, p. 499). This has happened because, in the New Public Diplomacy, the dynamic has shifted, and people are connecting through a more horizontal approach with the participation of non-governmental organizations, international organizations, corporations, and nonstate actors as public diplomacy practitioners (CULL, 2008). Cull goes further to say:

Public Diplomacy Is Everyone’s Business - This same principle extends to the individual citizen. The behavior of one American – whether a tourist, businessman, or service person overseas or a waitress, motorist, or passer-by encountering a foreigner at home – plays a part in U.S. public diplomacy. The small kindnesses that are the currency of American life can make a big difference, whereas the thoughtlessness and arrogance that lurk at the edge of America’s interactions with the world can destroy much. Experience of life within the United States is no guarantee that the participant will be won over to the American way. Notable failures in this regard include Japanese foreign minister Matsuoka Yosuke, whose seven years of schooling in Oregon did not dissuade him from bringing his country into alliance with Hitler’s Germany [...] (CULL, 2008, p. 503).

However, Cull also explains that public diplomacy differentiates itself from international communication or intercultural relations, which are not public diplomacy until they become the interest actors in international policy.

An outward-bound business traveler is not always an agent of his state’s public diplomacy (though he could easily be an agent of his corporation’s public diplomacy if that corporation is a player in the international environment) [...]. This said, a government’s policy to issue the traveler with a leaflet on how to behave overseas, or its input into the making or distribution of the movie, does move these things into the realm of public diplomacy, and such cases will be seen in this history (CULL, 2008, p. xvi).

Would that then be the case for U.S. universities with offices abroad considered in this study? Are these initiatives part of an international actor's policy, be it that of the U.S. government or U.S. universities, if the latter were considered actors in the international arena as well? We will see later in this chapter and chapter three that the internationalization of higher education is the subject of the U.S.'s policy as an international actor, but not necessarily the establishment of a physical presence abroad.

Citing Hachten and Scotton, Gilboa (2008) brings a substantial differential that not all actors have equal access to public diplomacy since states on the periphery "are mostly on the

receiving end of PD because most lack the communication capability to compete effectively on a global basis" (GILBOA, 2008, p. 69). To quantify public diplomacy efforts, Potter (2002) lists the investments of some countries comparing them with Canada: "Whereas the Canadian investment on its public diplomacy instruments can be counted in the tens of millions of dollars annually, the United States, France, Germany, and Japan each spend over one billion dollars [...]" (POTTER, 2002, p. 12) and the distribution of their programs across the world reflects the growing influence of emerging powers such as India, Brazil, and Mexico (2002). An example of current U.S. public diplomacy is shown in the U.S. Department of State and USAID Joint Strategic Plan for the fiscal years of 2018-2022. "The Department will employ a wide range of public diplomacy tools to underscore U.S. leadership on the global stage..." (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE; U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 2018, 47). Because these departments know that decision-making includes nonstate actors, they offer programs to cultivate relationships, mutual understanding, and trust. It is a general assumption that for public diplomacy to exist, there needs to be a government component to it. However, this is not as easy to separate in an ever more globalized world with ever-increasing global governance topics, actors, and actions. Vieira (2014) notes that "[t]he public is not necessarily equal to the state. Nor does the private always correspond to the market" (VIEIRA, 2014, p. 35).

Therefore, public and private are not in opposition. Rather, they are complementary. Both meta-fields manifest themselves through various institutional arrangements that are domestically based. Thus, private does not necessarily correspond to the mercantile sphere or nonstate institutions insofar as both can enact what in the literature is commonly defined as public goods. Such is true of nonstate owned research institutions, such as Ivy League universities in the US, and banks with diverse shareholders, which provide credit to foster economic growth. Nor does public means state owned or controlled, since there are plenty of examples of companies whose major shareholder is a given government but whose benefits are very private, restricted to members of a specific class, as happens in many oil-producing nations, such as Libya (at least until the Arab Spring) and Venezuela (even under a self-defined socialist government) (VIEIRA, 2014, p. 22)

Paul Webster Hare (2016), a British diplomat for thirty years and currently a lecturer at Boston University, emphasizes that traditional diplomacy itself is insufficient. He calls the engagement of nonstate diplomats "hybrid diplomacy" and explains that "hybrid diplomacy" works well especially with states and leaders with fewer resources (2016). However, for him, the boundary between state and nonstate is an illusion because the substance of diplomacy is never confined to its effects on

states that are merely representatives of larger groups of people, cultures, and resources and were created as a convenient instrument for organization and security (2016).

Those not working directly for the state still have a stake in it. Throughout history, the nonstate business, campaigning, cultural, and religious actor has exerted a strong influence on the way states have developed their diplomacy [...] nonstate actors have partnered with states in running the world or in making their voices heard (HARE, 2016, p. 4-10).

Hare (2016) delves into Nye's three-dimensional power-related issues of modern times saying:

First, military power remains, as it has long been, a reflection of those who direct strong militaries. Second, economic power now belongs to a range of countries, many of which, like Brazil and India, are not global military powers. Moreover, in the third dimension on global issues, power is widely fragmented among many actors, both state and nonstate (HARE, 2016, p. 13-14).

Education is one area where states and nonstate actors share an interest because it touches many global causes. It is a driver of economic development, and constitutes an international business. With the help of nonstate actors, states free up resources, “[...] education is an example in the modern world of the success of the nonstate sector in achieving results without the intervention of states” (HARE, 2016, p. 18-19). Moreover, this is one of the reasons why studying international education and universities as international actors is important in education and international relations.

2.2. Cultural diplomacy

Contemporary diplomacy has introduced a variety of theme-based approaches to international engagement. Cultural diplomacy is one of them and “includes a broad range of activities related to arts and culture, education, sport, architecture and language” (KNIGHT, 2018, p. 5). Saliu (2017), a Professor of Political Science at the University of Ilorin in Nigeria, explains the three dimensions of public diplomacy “managing news and daily dissemination of information to foreign audiences through media; strategic communication events, provided through the media; [and] cultural diplomacy or establishing and promoting long-term relations” (SALIU, 2017, p. 87). The last one, cultural diplomacy, would require fewer media and more closer contacts (2017) and is arguably

the foundation on which American public diplomacy stands and the deep substance of soft power (ARNDT, 2010). Cultural diplomacy is about exchanges and exhibits “in the arts, music, theatre, literature, film, media, architecture and sports as well as other cultural expressions. [...] to enhance cross-cultural awareness, trust and relations between and among countries” (KNIGHT, 2019, p. 10). Higher education involves cultural diplomacy through student and scholar mobility, language programs, sports, cultural events, and other related activities. In the context of the United States, “the astonishing reach of American popular culture around the world throughout the twentieth century made [cultural diplomacy] seem unnecessary on first glance” (CULL, 2008, p. 489). The State Department’s efforts in cultural diplomacy were subcontracted to the USIA, which would deploy a network of cultural affairs officers (CAOs) overseas (2008). These officers would try to distance themselves and their initiatives from policy, as they already knew too much connection with foreign policy would render their work biased toward the countries in which they were based (2008). The Eisenhower administration funded cultural diplomacy through initiatives such as the “Family of Man, the jazz tours by Dizzy Gillespie and Duke Ellington, and big budget exhibitions of American art and culture. This level of investment and enthusiasm was never repeated in the USIA’s history” (CULL, 2008, p. 498). Kennedy created the Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs at the Department of State, and only in 1978 did the USIA come to assume responsibility for all cultural work:

Yet culture never sat well within the advocacy-driven USIA, and elements in the cultural outlook, such as its readiness to look only to long-range impact rather than a short-term fix, were at odds with the drive for results on Capitol Hill. As the debate around the time of the Stanton Commission made clear, some insiders looked enviously across the Atlantic to the scope available to the British Council as an independent agency and hoped that the United States might someday establish an equivalent to allow cultural diplomacy to reach its full potential (CULL, 2008, p. 490).

Cull (2008) details what he called exchange diplomacy “[w]hen asked to name the most effective tool of public diplomacy at their disposal, veterans of embassy level public diplomacy are near-unanimous in identifying exchange diplomacy [...]” (2008, p. 490). Because exchanges of students and faculty are also listed as part of cultural diplomacy, according to the literature, this dissertation includes it here in this subchapter on cultural diplomacy. In the United States, exchange diplomacy started with charitable foundations in the twentieth century. The USIA’s exchange diplomacy was

as troubled as cultural diplomacy. It relied on connections with the private sector, such as contractors, universities as partners, and the international visitor councils. The government only played the coordinator or facilitator role, as most activities involved people-to-people engagement. The two-way approach was dominant in the State Department's Cultural Department as founded in 1938 and helped restrain the tendency of cultural diplomacy to be used as self-promotion only. During World War II, though, exchanges were no longer treated as a way to share knowledge as the "Executive Branch added new agencies to address public opinion [...] with no thought to learning in the process but with the sole objective that American ideas might prevail [...] to convince a foreigner of the superiority of the American way" (CULL, 2008, p. 490-491). Currently, the cultural diplomacy initiatives of the United States are within the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which aims to create connections "between the United States and other countries by providing Americans with access to international artists, while sharing America's rich culture of performing and visual arts with international audiences" (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, [s. d.]).

Arndt (2010) mentions that although cultural diplomacy is of great importance, it has not been considered so by many. As mentioned above, regarding what Cull (2008) called exchange diplomacy, much of the cultural outreach has to come from non-governmental institutions and the private sector. In the United States,

[f]oundations await evidence that someone cares; and the universities, finding 'no one to talk to in Washington' [...] have lost heart and turned their attention to other matters [after all] where the private world and the universities dealt in 1938 with only a few dozen countries worldwide, now there are nearly 200, requiring daily attention (ARNDT, 2010, p. 18-23).

Cultural diplomacy of non-state actors have a vital impact and it can often be more effective than that of state actors because it does not arise suspicion from official messages (SALIU, 2017). Cultural relations are distinct from public diplomacy because they represent the non-governmental voice in engagements with an international audience. However, this has been more and more difficult to differentiate for a variety of reasons. For example, cultural relations are closer to the new public diplomacy than propaganda and nation-branding because the focus is on engaging with foreign audiences rather than selling messages and on establishing long-term relationships instead of short-term needs. Public diplomacy itself can no longer be described as state-centric only. This way, "the overlap between public diplomacy and postmodern cultural relations is bound to grow,

unless cultural relations' practitioners return to a more limited conception of their work" (MELISSEN, 2005, p. 21). International cultural relations is done by "cultural attaches within embassies and aim at making the field of culture more professional, whereas public diplomacy often exchanges not only individuals of cultural elites but folk culture as well and aims at a wider audience" (SALIU, 2017, p. 91).

One discussion that is very common in public diplomacy and soft power is how cultural programs could or should be considered part of the foreign policy goals and metrics of a country because these programs are hybrid. As Nowotny (2011) notes "[o]ne master pursues a foreign policy goal and the other one a cultural goal. The two masters might not always agree among themselves" (NOWOTNY, 2011, p. 178). Other theme-based approaches, such as health, science, technology, and environmental diplomacy, are also becoming important (KNIGHT, 2018, p. 5). Ferreira and Oliveira (2020) explain that different countries see different types of diplomacy differently: In France, culture and science diplomacy use the same tools and can be combined, whereas in the United States, cultural and science diplomacy are autonomous (FERREIRA; OLIVEIRA, 2020, p. 96). This subchapter will end with some best practices on cultural diplomacy from The Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School of the University of Southern California's 2014 annual conference. The conference's report presents five best practices to enhance the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy: (i) Defined Identity: a government or organization must understand the nation it is representing, and because the internet already brings so much information to the table, the strategy must be unique; (ii) Bottom-Up Formulation: the audience has to be identified and listened to; if not, the initiative might be construed as imperialism; (iii) Tactility: it has to be a tangible experience—even physical—through international exchanges or active participation in traditions like what the Confucius Institutes in China offer; (iv) Relationship-Building: best if the effort involves many different institutions and if it promotes interpersonal communications as well; (v) Diaspora Engagement: nationals living abroad are a soft power resource because they share their home nation's culture with their current community, which is a low-cost, high impact, and credible resource. (USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, 2014)

Considering the information gathered on the representative offices of U.S. universities through the analysis of their strategic documents and semi-structured interviews with their in-country leadership in Brazil, we can give examples of their activities and goals within the best practices above: (i) U.S. universities usually research the country they open their offices in and some U.S.

universities have over ten offices spread into different countries of the world with different goals and approaches; (ii) The audience of these offices are pre-established stakeholders by the U.S. university; (iii) U.S. universities understand how a physical and closer presence facilitates connection in certain countries, allowing for more tactility; (iv) One of the office's tasks is to build relationships in the country; (v) One of the office's tasks involves engaging alumni in the country. Therefore, these offices could be construed as a tool in cultural diplomacy.

2.3. Education diplomacy

Education diplomacy is normally linked to basic education and advocacy in this field. “The Association for Childhood Education International has adopted this term and believes that education diplomacy uses the skills of diplomacy grounded in human rights principles to advance education as a driver for human development” (KNIGHT, 2019, p. 11), especially during regular meetings within required by international treaties (DALLARI, 2020, p. 82). Because of its connection to basic education, education diplomacy would not be used for efforts related to higher education and its internationalization. Knowledge diplomacy is the term generally mentioned in realms related to higher education instead. Knight (2019) differentiates these two different types below:

In contrast to education diplomacy, knowledge diplomacy includes research and the use of research and new knowledge for innovation, two areas not usually associated with basic education. Furthermore, the drivers and outcomes differ. Education diplomacy is oriented toward human development, while knowledge diplomacy focuses on addressing and solving common societal issues which face countries in all regions of the world (KNIGHT, 2019, p. 11).

Researchers in Brazil think differently, and this differentiation makes sense. In the United States, the Department of Education says very little about the internationalization of higher education, which can be seen on its website and newsletters. It was created in 1867 to collect information on schools and teaching that would help the States establish effective school systems, and only with the passage of the Second Morrill Act in 1890 came the responsibility for administering support for the system of land-grant colleges and universities (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 2021). Much of the internationalization of higher education comes from the U.S. Department of State. On the other hand, the Ministry of Education (MEC) in Brazil works more closely with

higher education. As a historical example with the United States, we can cite the many collaborations between MEC and USAID, known as MEC-USAID agreements, started in the 1960s that led to the reform of the higher education system in Brazil. Also, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brazil has a Division for Educational Themes (DCE in Portuguese) as part of its public and cultural diplomacy. This division clarifies that Brazilian foreign policy achieves at least three goals through educational cooperation. First, by training human resources and creating technology for economic development and market competition, it targets an economic goal. The second is a political goal because educational cooperation represents part of the foreign policy agenda promoting solidarity and collaboration among countries. The third and last goal is cultural, which is accomplished through the exchanging of languages and experiences, thus enhancing tolerance (BRASIL. MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES. DIVISÃO DE ASSUNTOS EDUCACIONAIS, [s. d.]). Once again, at least in the United States, an interesting fact about education diplomacy is that it does not look overtly political. Programs within these efforts have very clearly defined the participation of diplomats, who “might have a role in initiating them and [...] might have some supportive function in their running. But the substance of such programs will be handled by cultural, scientific, educational experts” (NOWOTNY, 2011, p. 180). Therefore, due to its stronger connection with basic education, for this study, education diplomacy will not be considered a potential goal of U.S. universities with offices in Brazil.

2.4. Science diplomacy

Drawing from the literature, Ferreira and Oliveira (2020) define science diplomacy as the interaction between the actions of researchers and diplomats with the explicit intent of building positive relationships with foreign governments and societies (FERREIRA; OLIVEIRA, 2020). They highlight the importance of differentiating the internationalization of research, which is composed of individual practices of research actors and science diplomats which refers to the use of science as a tool that connects with elements of state diplomacy (2020). The authors discuss how Brazil used science diplomacy to improve its international relations and to build a positive image by using scientists and students as vectors of diplomatic information (2020). In their study of scholarship programs for undergraduate students from Latin America and Africa in Brazil, they mention the importance of cultural diplomacy, which encompasses science and educational

diplomacy (2020). Led by the Brazilian government, it is currently being administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its Department of Educational Themes mentioned earlier (2020). Unlike Jane Knight (2018), Ferreira and Oliveira (2020) understand that education diplomacy is connected to higher education. That might be so because Ferreira and Oliveira's study was about Brazil's Ministry of Education's programs, and such Ministry also runs programs for graduate education (2020). However, from a quick look at the U.S. Ministry of Education newsletters, its website, and its releases, it is possible to notice they do have a very different focus from that of Brazil, as they focus on basic education.

Nowotny (2011) highlights the fact that this type of diplomacy (as much as all the ones being discussed in this dissertation) rarely returns immediate foreign policy advantages because all of them require the building of long-term relationships that are undergirded by the belief that these efforts indeed have cultural, education, scientific and knowledge-related goals being policy and image. "In view of the technical and not overtly political nature of [science-exchange] programs, they are frequently used as door openers especially in instances where relations between states are anemic or even hostile" (NOWOTNY, 2011, p. 179). Again, Knight (2019) helps differentiate this particular type of diplomacy from knowledge diplomacy, which she believes would better fit the efforts for the internationalization of higher education.

The increasing importance of science diplomacy as evidenced in both national government science policies and international summits begs the question of whether science and knowledge diplomacy are not one and the same. This is a question worthy of consideration, and the answer depends on how broadly the term 'science' is being defined and used. If science is broadly interpreted to mean 'knowledge', then there is a close relationship. Traditionally, science diplomacy has been seen in terms of hard sciences, but more recently it has been placed within the broader framework of science, technology and innovation. There is no doubt this reflects the centrality of science and technology in today's knowledge economy. However, the focus on science and technology excludes, to a large extent, other sectors, issues and disciplines related to the social sciences and humanities. For instance, it is highly unlikely that science diplomacy initiatives or negotiations would include issues such as refugee or human rights initiatives (KNIGHT, 2019, p. 10).

Indeed, much of the practice in international education demonstrates the fact that science diplomacy focuses on hard sciences. The Joint Strategic Plan for the fiscal years 2018-2022 by the U.S. Department of State and USAID explains that their work with U.S. and foreign educational, nonprofit, and private sectors promotes U.S. educational exports, science fellows and science

programs enhance the country's science and technology outreach (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE; U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 2018, p. 36). This serves as an example of the type of agency or department that focuses on science diplomacy in the U.S., reinforcing that the Ministry of Education does not enter this realm. Another government connecting science with diplomacy is the United Kingdom. A reply to the House of Lords Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence discussed themes such as the integration of science within their foreign policy strategies, diplomatic assistance to scientists working in regions with weak governance, the need for embassies to more actively communicate scientific initiatives, training on science policy for diplomatic staff, and public diplomacy initiatives such as the Chevening program (SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS, 2014).

Because the work of U.S. universities' offices abroad might involve science and international connections and collaborations in this field, this effort could be construed as science diplomacy. Differently from cultural diplomacy though, science diplomacy efforts are more specific and not all offices would focus on them.

2.5. Knowledge diplomacy

Finally, the last type of diplomacy considered closely related to the internationalization of higher education in this dissertation is knowledge diplomacy, which, like most of the types of diplomacy being analyzed here, started in the 1990,

[t]o meet the economic, political, and social needs created by fundamental change in the world political economy. The cold war is over and North-South relationship is no longer basically conflictual. The weight of world economic activity is shifting toward intellectual property-based products and knowledge-oriented services (RYAN, 1998, p. 191).

Jane Knight (2019) defines knowledge diplomacy as the role of international higher education, research, and innovation in building and strengthening relations between and among countries. Knight observes that knowledge diplomacy has been confused with soft power, cultural, education and science diplomacy, and individual student and scholar mobility. Indeed, like cultural diplomacy, knowledge diplomacy also involves student and scholars' exchanges, language

programs, sports, and cultural events. However, it includes research and innovation initiatives not encompassed by cultural diplomacy. Likewise, science diplomacy focuses on hard sciences and technology, whereas knowledge diplomacy also encompasses social sciences and humanities. Education diplomacy is also more limited than knowledge diplomacy since it is linked to basic education and advocacy.

Finally, knowledge diplomacy counterbalances soft power because it is not based on the notions of power, competitiveness, and dominance (KNIGHT, 2019). In that sense, knowledge diplomacy takes a more inclusive approach by being multi-dimensional. Knight (2018) also explains the three major dimensions of knowledge diplomacy: (i) Higher education and training, including formal, informal, and lifelong learning; (ii) Research for the generation, use, and sharing of knowledge; (iii) Innovation, which includes applying new knowledge and ideas for added value.

Knowledge diplomacy is not about ‘the production of knowledge’, nor is knowledge diplomacy ‘an end unto itself’. Instead, it is a ‘means to an end’, with one outcome being the ability to help address the pressing global issues facing our planet that cannot be addressed by using the higher education, knowledge, and innovation resources of one nation alone. International collaboration is necessary, and knowledge diplomacy by diverse higher education and research actors is one means to this end (KNIGHT, 2018, p. 8)

Therefore, knowledge diplomacy seems to encompass all the other types of diplomacy involved in higher education and would more completely be part of what U.S. universities’ offices do abroad if they are indeed focused on public diplomacy efforts. Below is a table summarizing the types of public diplomacy being discussed here:

Table 4: Types of public diplomacy closely related to higher education

Types of Public Diplomacy Closely Related to Higher Education				
Types	Common Activities	Goals	Involvement of Higher Education	U.S. Structure
Cultural	International exchanges, exhibitions, events in the arts, music, theater, literature, film, media, and sports.	Establishing long-term relations, enhance cross-cultural awareness.	Student and scholar mobility, language programs, sports and cultural events.	U.S. Department of State - Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
Education	Basic education policy and advocacy.	Education for human development.	Support of the land-grant colleges and university system.	U.S. Department of Education
Science	Interactions between researchers and diplomats.	Building positive relationships with foreign government and societies.	Focus on hard sciences and technology.	U.S. Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development
Knowledge	Cultural, Education, and Science diplomacy activities added to research and innovation.	Addressing and solving common societal issues.	Cultural, Education, and Science diplomacy involvement added to research and innovation efforts.	U.S. Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development

Source: Elaborated by the author

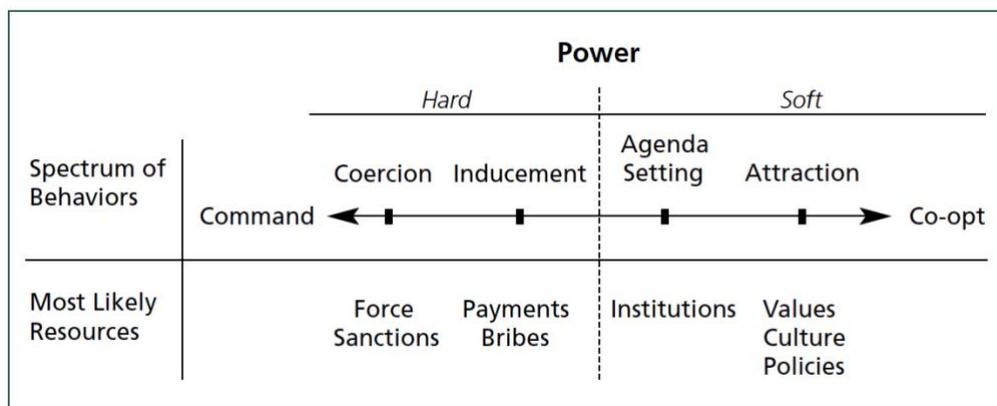
2.6. *Soft power*

Theories of power in international relations describe power as the ability to cause B to do something it would not do otherwise. Recent discussions on power question which resources would be able to make B do something. Instead of only threatening and coercion resources, such as those used during war, questions on softer convincing forms come into play. In this way, military power and a strong economy are not the only important resources, but how institutions and politics involve civil society can also influence the international agenda, adding more room for smaller countries to engage in international relations (HURRELL, 2006). Knowing how this new type of power, known as soft power, connects to public diplomacy is needed here.

First, a quick overview of the concept of soft power is needed. Nye, an American political scientist, coined the term in his 1990 book and explained that it consists of attracting values, culture, and policies that make others emulate by example; in a way, the country that deploys soft power can shape the preferences of others by attraction. A country's soft power can come from three resources: (i) its culture, in other countries where it seems attractive; (ii) its political values, at home and abroad; and (iii) its foreign policies, if considered legitimate and with moral authority. (NYE, 2006). The concept is contrary to hard power, which involves using the military and economic powers (also called "carrots and sticks" by Nye) to force others to do what you want. In sum, Nye says that power is the ability to affect someone's behavior to get what you want in three

ways: (i) coercion (which he calls sticks), (ii) payments (which he calls carrots), and (iii) attraction (soft power) (2006). "Because the ability to control others is often associated with the possession of certain resources, politicians and diplomats commonly define power as the possession of population, territory, natural resources, economic size, military forces, and political stability" (NYE, 1990, p. 154). When Nye wrote that, he wanted to differentiate two crucial sides of the coin of power, the one people were used to talking about with the tangible aspects of a country, as mentioned above, and "[t]he changing nature of international politics [that] has also made intangible forms of power more important. National cohesion, universalistic culture, and international institutions are taking on additional significance" (NYE, 1990, p. 164).

Figure 3: Types of behavior related to hard and soft power



Source: Reprinted from Nye, 2005, p. 12.

Hard power commands others to do what you want through coercion and inducement using force, such as sanctions, and payments, such as bribes. Soft power co-opts others to do what you want through agenda setting and attraction using institutions, values, cultures, and policies. Nye then explains further that:

[s]oft co-optive power is just as important as hard command power. If a state can make its power seem legitimate in the eyes of others, it will encounter less resistance to its wishes. If its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow. If it can establish international norms consistent with its society, it is less likely to have to change. If it can support institutions that make other states wish to channel or limit their activities in ways the dominant state prefers, it may be spared the costly exercise of coercive or hard power (NYE, 1990, p. 167).

Although Nye affirmed, “I thought of soft power as an analytic concept to fill a deficiency in the way analysts thought about power, but it gradually took on political resonance” (NYE, 2017, p. 2). Public diplomacy is a tool of statecraft tied to foreign policy strategies. In contrast, soft power is how states may turn to their resources (culture, values, and foreign policy legitimacy) to influence other international actors without coercive means. Therefore, public diplomacy would be the method by which states can develop the resources required to wield soft power. Although soft power is not the same as public diplomacy, in principle it serves as a convenient justification for investment in public diplomacy (HAYDEN, 2018). However, the core of soft power is not new. "The Soviet Union profited greatly from such soft resources as a communist ideology [...]" as Nye explains (1990, p. 167). The need for soft power arose with globalization and the existence of new actors in the international arena. Today

[g]overnments compete for credibility not only with other governments but with a broad range of alternatives including news media, corporations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations, and networks of scientific communities (NYE, 2008, p. 100).

All the new writings and studies on soft power do not mean it has had a soft path, especially in the United States, where the government has taken a step back into the country’s global influence (NYE, 2011). Since 1990, the term has been stretched and twisted, sometimes beyond recognition to the point Nye wrote on an article in 2017:

With time, I have come to realize that concepts such as soft power are like children. As an academic or a public intellectual, you can love and discipline them when they are young, but as they grow they wander off and make new company, both good and bad. There is not much you can do about it, even if you were present at the creation (NYE, 2017, p. 3)

Gilboa (2008) highlights that soft power has been criticized for being a confusing concept with theoretical deficiencies and that it should not be considered a type of power because any resource, even military force, can be soft if applied to human aid, for example. People "perceive power as hard power and do not necessarily see a contradiction between the two" (GILBOA, 2008, p. 62). Villanova (2017) calls attention to the fact that if the cultural contents of a country and its values and politics are not attractive to others, the public diplomacy efforts will not produce soft power

and indeed can even weaken the ability of that international actor to get what it wants (VILLANOVA, 2017). Hayden (2012) highlights that soft power is not a readily available concept for evaluation. However, there are few analytically demonstrated examples of how something like soft power is generated through international education programs or across the broader range of public diplomacy activities. Therefore, the concept of soft power does not offer obvious measures for foreign policy decision-makers to assess its outcomes (HAYDEN, 2012). Nye defends its creation by saying:

Soft power is not merely influence, though it is one source of influence. Influence can also rest on the hard power of threats or payments. And soft power is more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, though that is an important part of it. It is also the ability to entice and attract. In behavioral terms, soft power is attractive power. In terms of resources, soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction. Whether a particular asset is an attractive soft power resource can be measured through polls or focus groups. Whether that attraction in turn produces desired policy outcomes has to be judged in each particular case. But the gap between power measured as resources and power judged by the outcomes of behavior is not unique to soft power. It occurs with all forms of power (NYE, 2008, p. 95).

In that sense, this paper wants to verify if U.S. universities having a presence abroad are part of a broader power-through-attraction initiative or, in other words, a soft power initiative. Likewise, this paper is interested in learning if U.S. universities pay attention and consider the power-through-attraction element of a host country.

For Nye, public diplomacy remains a necessary instrument for those actors seeking to leverage their soft power assets [...]. Rather, purposive instruments of soft power like public diplomacy present a “means to persuasion” that leverage influential “resources” to achieve desired behavior (HAYDEN, 2012, p. 6-8).

A report from the Thunderbird School of Global Management (2018) at the University of Arizona cited the psychologist Dr. Dacher Keltne in saying, “[c]oercive power forces people to do things. Soft power inspires them” (ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY THUNDERBIRD SCHOOL OF GLOBAL MANAGEMENT, 2018). The report also cites a research paper, A Study on the Impact of Soft Power on International Investment, by Chinese business academics saying that “[t]he country's soft power is difficult to be perceived and measured, but it means a lot to the success of the investment” (2018). To make things even more complicated, a new concept was presented by

Nye, the smart-power concept, which combines hard and soft power. Indeed, Secretary of State Clinton offered a real-life explanation of this during her confirmation hearing:

I believe that American leadership has been wanting, but is still wanted. We must use what has been called 'smart power,' the full range of tools at our disposal – diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural – picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation. With smart power, diplomacy will be the vanguard of foreign policy (BROWN, 2009, p. 151).

Based on the literature, Potter says “‘word politics’ is becoming more important in world politics” (POTTER, 2002, p. 3). As mentioned in previous paragraphs, leaders and scholars have noticed how long-term relationships with citizens in other countries are as meaningful as talking to their governments and that this could be done through “international broadcasting, cultivation of foreign journalists and academics, cultural activities, educational exchanges and scholarships, programmed, visits and conferences, and publications” (POTTER, 2002, p. 3). That would be applied in various fields and different goals, “[w]hether a country needs to build international coalitions against terrorism, co-operate to protect the environment, attract foreign investment, or bring in foreign students [...]” (POTTER, 2002, p. 4) especially if there is no substantial military or economic weight—that is, no hard power to be used.

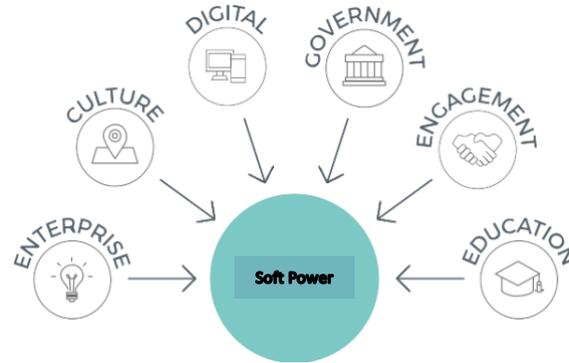
[t]he best hope for American soft power is for non-federal government actors to take a bigger role in engaging the rest of the world. Mayors and governors need to get serious about taking on active diplomatic roles, and circumventing the federal level structures [...] American business, universities, and "civil society" could step up and take leadership roles in maintaining strength in soft power [...] In doing so, they can stem some of the self-inflicted bleeding to Brand America (ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY THUNDERBIRD SCHOOL OF GLOBAL MANAGEMENT, 2018)

The Soft Power 30 is an annual index published by Portland Communications and the University of South California Center on Public Diplomacy. The report, primarily based on Nye's three pillars of soft power, created metrics to help measure soft power. In these extraordinary efforts, they list the 30 countries with the most significant soft power.

Based on a comprehensive review of academic literature on the subject, The Soft Power 30 framework builds on Nye's three pillars, capturing a broad range of factors that contribute to a nation's soft power. The objective data is drawn from various sources and structured into six categories, each functioning as a sub-index

with an individual score. The six sub-indices are Government, Culture, Global Engagement, Education, Digital, and Enterprise. The framework of categories was built on a survey of existing academic literature on soft power (USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY; PORTLAND, 2017, p. 29-30).

Figure 4 - The sub-indices for soft-power measurement of the Soft Power 30 Report



Source: The Soft Power 30 Report, 2017, p. 30.

It is important to mention the work of the Soft Power 30 Report here and the categories they used to measure a country's soft power. In chapter five, it will be necessary to go back to the sub-indices of the Soft Power 30 Report because they will help find measurable data for a quantitative exercise on the soft power of Brazil that might have been considered by U.S. universities when deciding to establish physical offices in Brazil. Another interesting report on soft power is the Elcano Global Presence Report. In the 2018 edition of this report, the first ten countries were still Western powers (except for China). Japan, Russia, Canada, the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain follow France in the ranking. Positions 10 to 20 included emerging and, particularly, Asian countries such as South Korea, India, and Singapore. The only Latin American country among the 20 countries is Brazil (OLIVIÉ; SANTOS, 2018). According to Elcano's authors, global presence is "the effective positioning, in absolute terms, of the different countries (in terms of products sold, tourists welcomed, victories in international sports competitions...)" (2018, p. 10). Elcano's authors emphasize they do not measure power, because "[a] country may have a strong international projection and a weak regional or global influence (or vice-versa)" (2018, p. 23). The relationship between presence and power depends on the foreign policy of each country or on the limiting factors of the exercise of influence depending, for instance, on the presence of another regional leader; therefore, the index is calculated to determine the effective external projection of the different countries, regardless of their reputation or image (2018). When compared to the Soft

Power 30 index, the Elcano index goes “beyond the sphere of trade, including foreign projection in other economic fields (mostly investment) as well as in the military (troops, military equipment) and the soft (culture, migration, sports, education, development cooperation...) dimensions” (2018, p. 22-23). The report highlights that

North America’s global presence has almost stagnated since 2005, whereas foreign projection of the US in Europe and Latin America has been steadily decreasing for some years. In the case of Europe, it started declining in 2011 whereas for Latin America it started one year later, in 2012 (OLIVIÉ; SANTOS, 2018, p. 23).

Despite Nye’s focus being the soft power of the United States, the term has spread, having been adopted and adapted by many other countries, “[t]he idea of soft power dates back to ancient Chinese and Indian philosophers [...] Kung Fu and Yoga came to America long before McDonald’s went to Tiananmen Square and discotheques came to Delhi” (RAWNSLEY, 2012, p. 122). In an article on the de-Americanizing of soft power, Daya Thussu, a Professor of International Communication at the Hong Kong Baptist University, discusses “Chindian” power. As emerging powers, China and India are considered possible alternatives or a supplement to the media domination of the United States. Thussu recommends an important engagement with “the rest” (non-Western countries), especially those with “emerging media flows from large countries with old histories and new global aspirations,” and underscores the importance of deepening the soft power discourse beyond the United States (THUSSU, 2014, p. 21). However, surveys in Asia have revealed that “there is no correlation between expenditure on soft power and positive changes in opinion or attitude towards China. In fact, we have seen a reversal in perceptions despite the huge soft power push engineered in Beijing” (RAWNSLEY, 2012, p. 127).

In a recent article, Nye said “Chinese officials contacted me for private conversations about how to increase China’s soft power. My advice was always the same. I say that China should realize that most of a country’s soft power comes from its civil society rather than from its government” (Nye, 2007, p. 2), which is something difficult to perform in when the party government has strong control over society.

2.7. The role of higher education in soft power and public diplomacy

Although this chapter has briefly touched on themes of higher education internationalization—and the next chapter will focus in particular on this—the topic needs its subchapter here to highlight what has been done in practice and in literature. Higher Education has been considered by many scholars, as seen above, as a way to spread and make use of soft power, primarily through activities such as student and faculty exchanges and governmental scholarships for future leaders. "International higher education has been drawn to this new concept of soft power like bees to honey" (KNIGHT, 2014). In a historical overview, Knight affirms that

[...] international education was seen as a beneficial tool for foreign policy, especially concerning national security and peace among nations [as] cultural, scientific and educational exchanges between countries are often justified as a way to keep communication and diplomatic relations active (OECD, 1999, p. 17-19).

When writing about soft power, Nye mentioned universities many times, including in a recent 2017 article, saying "With its universalistic values, open culture and vast popular cultural resources ranging from Hollywood to foundations and universities, the United States seemed uniquely placed to affect how others viewed the world and us" (NYE, 2017, p. 2). For soft power, building long-term relationships with key partners is essential. Getting other countries used to values and how institutions act can make it easier to convince them when they share the same ideas or consider them the ideal way to act and be. Researchers argue that cultural agreements, for example, can be governmental strategies of power that seek to increase the influence of one country over another through key individuals involved in activities within these agreements, who are usually scientists and the higher education community, who may be considered elites and opinion and/or decision-makers (FERREIRA; OLIVEIRA, 2020). Ferreira and Oliveira (2020) affirm that education, science, and technology are connected to higher education, which trains professors, researchers, and decision-makers who will occupy strategic positions in schools, universities, companies, institutions, and governments and, ultimately, will be key to the dissemination of ideas to groups of people in their countries, being considered vectors of soft power. Even Nye cites examples of U.S. sources of power within institutions that spread principles underlying U.S. society, such as universities, by saying, "[y]oung Japanese who have never been to the United States wear sports jackets with the names of American colleges" (NYE, 1990, 168). When discussing higher

education, Knight (2014) has been against using the term “power” to describe initiatives and activities in international higher education because the competition and dominance inherent to any definition of power would not match the collaborations and exchange of knowledge ideals that come with higher education and its mission. She says other terms within international relations would better suit higher education, such as knowledge diplomacy (2014). She created a table differentiating public diplomacy and soft power to say that higher education internationalization and activities under it do not match power-related theories but rather match diplomacy approaches due to its collaborative core.

Table 5: Diplomacy framework versus a power paradigm

Characteristic	Diplomacy Framework	Power Paradigm
Nature of Relationships	Horizontal	Vertical
Approach Functions	Negotiation Communication Representation Conciliation Collaboration Mediation	<i>Hard power</i> Coercion Co-optation Compulsion Control <i>Soft power</i> Attraction Persuasion
Values	Reciprocity Mutuality Compromise Understanding	Domination Authoritarianism Competition Supremacy
Outcomes	Win-win Mutual-sum game	Win-lose Zero-sum game

Source: Reprinted from Knight, 2018, p. 6.

For Knight, diplomacy facilitates horizontal relationships, whereas power promotes vertical relationships. People negotiate, communicate, represent, conciliate, collaborate, and mediate with diplomacy, whereas, with power, people coerce, co-opt, compel, control, attract, or persuade. In diplomacy, important values include reciprocity, mutuality, compromise, and understanding, whereas, in power, there is domination, authoritarianism, competition, and supremacy. In diplomacy, the outcomes include a win-win situation and a mutual-sum game; in power, there is a

win-lose situation and a zero-sum game. Indeed, during the interviews conducted in this study, many interviewees in university leadership mentioned that their work brings a win-win situation among partners. In debate and scholarly literature, the activities most commonly referred to as soft power in higher education include the Fulbright Program and the British Council. These respected programs make enormous contributions to their countries. According to Knight (2018), these should not be called instruments of 'soft power' when they promote exchanges, culture, science, knowledge, and expertise. Even when there are self-interests at play, there is a mutuality of interests and benefits involved for all partners. Knight proposed knowledge diplomacy as an alternative to soft power.

Within the multitude of new actors that are involved in public diplomacy, higher education is one of these key actors and instruments of contemporary diplomacy and has a significant role and contribution to make. Higher education's long tradition of scholarly collaboration and academic mobility complemented by today's innovations of research and policy networks, international education hubs, joint programmes/institutions, global and bi-national universities, have a lot to contribute to building and strengthening international relations among countries and regions (KNIGHT, 2018, p. 6).

Knight goes on to suggest that if a "power paradigm" is to be used, the term "mutual power" would make more sense with what higher education does because it "builds on the respective strengths of countries' higher education and research institutions and yields solutions and benefits for all players" (2018, p. 8). Indeed, universities have always had an underlying international mission and focus and, as such, are essentially international organizations (MARINGE; FOSKETT, 2012) because the games of world politics encompass different players at different tables (NYE, 1990); however, there is a lack of literature analyzing "universities as transnational actors in world politics" (BERTELSEN, 2012, p. 3), which is one reason that this present dissertation is necessary. Some

[...] types of public diplomacy, particularly cultural and international education programmes, are not necessarily linked to specific near-term policy objectives; they help develop a three-dimensional image of a country that will lead to a more complete and balanced perception of the country's economic, political, and social development (POTTER, 2002, p. 6).

Atkinson (2010) argues that US educational exchange programs are a type of mechanism where “citizens of nondemocratic states might experience life firsthand in a democratic country [...] Some participants may enter into government service and the ideas that had been learned abroad may be used to reform existing practices or political Institutions” (2010, p. 1-2). Soft power through higher education institutions has provided strategies for the United States to engage its adversaries, and “[n]otably, the National Security Strategy of the United States recommends educational programs as one strategy [...] it recommends ‘expanding educational opportunities [...] for foreign students and scholars to study in the United States’” (2010:3-4). That would happen through spreading its ideology, accruing reputational gains, and having international graduates become influential personnel in their countries, the so-called “Trojan horse” (AMIRBEK; YDYRYS, 2014). There are similar examples from other countries as well. In Canada, for example, in the late 1990s, \$7 million in grants from Commonwealth Program and the Canada Awards program supported “promising students who, it was hoped, would become leaders, contacts, business partners, and scholars of Canada when they returned to their countries of origin” (POTTER, 2002, p. 11). The Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) in a submission on universities, scholarships, and soft power to the House of Lords Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK’s Influence was more specific in delineating the connection between the internationalization of higher education and soft power. There is evidence “that academic and scientific collaboration represents one of the most effective forms of diplomacy” (THE ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES, 2016, p. 1). As they explain on the submission, ACU is a nonstate actor and, therefore, promoting the UK is not their “prime function,” however, one of their functions is to administer three major international scholarship programs of the UK government, in which they mention that the Chevening and Marshall Scholarships “have public diplomacy benefits as their main objective” (2016). The ACU-specific submission intended to show the government that “development and public diplomacy/soft power objective can be complementary” (2016, p. 2). The ACU report then mentions the conditions for government scholarships to generate soft power

First, the recipients themselves must have influence; second, they must retain their links with their home countries, where the UK is seeking to enhance its reputation. [...] A survey of Commonwealth Scholarships alumni, for example, found that 45% of respondents had influenced government thinking in specific policy areas, and 25% had held public office. 18% of Marshall alumni who responded to a recent (2012) survey had also held ‘a political or public related post’, and 37%

had served as a board member or trustee of a charitable or public body (2016, p. 2).

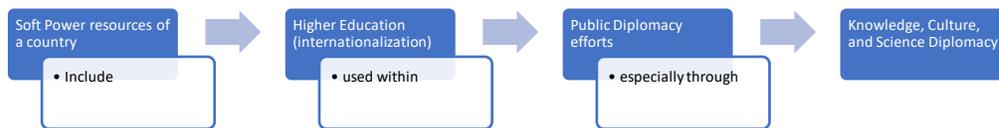
However, ACU admits that "[...] many of the findings above can be seen as a proxy for public diplomacy and soft power benefit, rather than firm evidence. However, the evidence does suggest that scholarship alumni have significant potential to influence the reputation of the UK [...]" (2016, p. 3). Another report by the House of Lords committee on "Soft Power and the UK" recommended more lenient migration processes for students, citing evidence that foreign students educated in Britain develop an awareness and respect for UK culture, governance, institutions, and history and that international alumni of British universities are positively orientated towards the country (HOUSE OF LORDS, 2014) and (MATTHEWS, 2014).

The nonprofit foundation Valdai Club was established in 2004 by the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (CFDP), the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (MGIMO University), and the National Research University Higher School of Economics. It releases papers on topics of international relations called Valdai Papers. In 2014, one of the papers referred to universities as actors and instruments in diplomacy. After mentioning scholarship programs such as TEMPUS and ERASMUS from the European Union, the paper mentioned that the "best diplomacy is made by aid" (DEODATO; BORKOWKA, 2014, p. 5). Bertelsen (2012), a Danish political scientist, asked if nonstate actors' soft power contributes to national soft power and if a state could pursue national soft power through nonstate actors in a paper that discussed the role of two universities in the Middle East. Universities are overlooked in the literature of international relations as transnational actors, "even though they often historically have been and continue to be heavily involved in Nye's and Keohane's global interactions of moving information, money, and people across state boundaries" (BERTELSEN, 2012, p. 4). Because the study is about a U.S. university and a French private university in the Middle East, Bertelsen explains that the U.S. and France understand the contribution of universities to their national soft power. However, sometimes these countries' policies toward the Middle East are detrimental to these universities. In this case, these countries are not exercising soft power through the universities (2012). He defines university soft power as behavior universities seek from outsiders, such as embracing the universities' mission and moral, political, and financial support from other actors. University soft power then can be different from national soft power and at the disposal of the state (2012, p. 7).

Bertelsen held that universities in the Middle East hold reverse soft power to that of the U.S. and France, and, therefore, have attracted financial and academic support (2012) Beltensen says university soft power has contributed to the national soft power of these countries and not the other way around, by contributing to the educational attractiveness of the U.S. and France, by guaranteeing that the elite in the Middle East would use English among one another, for example (2012, p. 25-31).

On a similar note, the question in this dissertation is if the relatively new strategy of U.S. universities establishing offices abroad would also be one of the efforts of the U.S. government or even of U.S. universities themselves, working as international actors, in using universities as a resource of soft power for public diplomacy initiatives. Below, the figure shows how this dissertation connects the ideas described here and the theoretical framework through which it will explore these and other possibilities throughout the next chapters. The figure tries to illustrate the author’s process rationale for the concepts used here and is not intended to show a chain of command.

Figure 5: A summary of the author’s process rationale for this dissertation



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Soft power will be considered as the resources a country has. Higher education is considered here one of those soft power resources; public diplomacy is how countries and, sometimes, nonstate actors will strategically deploy higher education efforts as soft power resources; and, finally, knowledge, cultural, and science diplomacy are the different types of public diplomacy performed by state and nonstate actors. The next chapter will add examples of knowledge, cultural, and science diplomacy activities.

3. The internationalization of higher education – history, developments, and types

The internationalization of higher education is a growing phenomenon. Universities and national governments may initiate the internationalization of education for many reasons. Through academic and industry partnerships, scholarships, exchanges, and, most recently, off-shore campuses and representative offices abroad, universities and their nations of origin have furthered their strategies to develop long-term relationships with key countries. This chapter reviews the internationalization of higher education, its definition, history, types, and generations. The chapter emphasizes the rationales found in the literature for universities and governments to internationalize higher education. This information will serve as an important background for the discussion proposed in chapter four, where this study will attempt to understand the rationales behind U.S. universities placing representative offices in Brazil. When studying rationales for the internationalization of higher education, this dissertation proposes a slight change in the current framework from the literature to facilitate discussions.

The definition of the internationalization of higher education has changed very little in the past couple decades. In the 1990s, Jane Knight, Adjunct Professor in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto, Canada, defined it as “the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution.” (KNIGHT, 1999, p.16). In 2003, the same author defined it as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of tertiary education” (KNIGHT, 2003, p. 2).

Many would argue that the internationalization process should be described as promoting cooperation, and solidarity among nations, improving the quality of higher education or contributing to the advancement of research. While these are noble intentions and internationalization can contribute to these goals, a definition needs to be objective enough that it can be used to describe a phenomenon that is, in fact, universal but which has different purposes and outcomes, depending on the actor, stakeholder, culture and country (KNIGHT, 2006, p. 13).

Indeed, there are different approaches depending on the actor and stakeholder, as well as the country's culture surrounding education. For example, in the United States, it is common to consider education as a service to raise revenue. In Brazil, at least in rhetoric, it is common to consider education a right that should not be commercialized. It is important to mention that there

were significant exchanges between university faculty and students in medieval Europe; however, internationalization as a strategic process has dramatically evolved since 1980 (TREMBLAY; LALANCETTE; ROSEVEARE, 2012).

Cross-border higher education (CBHE) and transnational higher education (TNE) are common terms to indicate efforts to internationalize higher education. CBHE is used in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and by the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD). UNESCO is the specialized agency of the United Nations (U.N.), whose Constitution entered into force in 1946 and called for the promotion of international collaboration in education, science, and culture. OECD is a global policy forum consisting of about 38 countries that aim to promote policies to improve the economic and social situation of its member countries and others. TNE focuses on academic programs and providers moving between countries. "International education" is another term that, by usage, seems to focus on students' mobility (KNIGHT, 2016). Another term commonly used by practitioners in higher education is "comprehensive internationalization." The American Council on Education (ACE), a nonprofit established in 1918 to represent approximately 1,700 accredited, degree-granting colleges and universities and higher education-related associations, organizations, and corporations in the United States, popularized the term. ACE defines it as

pervading the institution and affecting a broad spectrum of people, policies and programs, [to lead] to deeper and potentially more challenging change [and is] a broad, deep and integrative international practice that enables campuses to become fully internationalized (HUDZIK, 2011, p. 5).

There are many examples of internationalization efforts performed by government offices and universities, the most common being student and faculty exchanges for research and academic events; academic and industry partnerships to develop joint research, joint and dual degrees, immersion and executive education programs; study abroad programs with various levels of academic and cultural involvement; and the creation of scholarships, fellowships, and other types of funding to facilitate exchanges. Universities have been pursuing off-shore arrangements, such as setting up campuses and offices abroad, since 1990. Although the United Kingdom and Australia led this new strategy, the United States soon after became a significant player (TREMBLAY; LALANCETTE; ROSEVEARE, 2012). More examples of activities that are part of an institution's internationalization efforts are listed below in a table taken from Knight's work for the OCDE in

1999 that divided activities into four categories. The Academic Programmes category includes student exchanges, study abroad, double degrees, and faculty and staff mobility. The Research and Scholarly Collaborations category includes area centers, international research partnerships, and conferences. The External Relations and Services category includes off-shore, distance education, and alumni development programs. The Extra-Curricular Activities category includes student clubs and international events. Knight (1999) highlights that many activities that were once oriented toward cooperation have developed into a trade-like style, where the aim is purely raising revenue:

Table 6 – Internationalization program strategies

Academic programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Student exchange programmes – Foreign language study – Internationalised curricula – Area of thematic studies – Work/study abroad – International students – Teaching/learning process – Joint and double degree programmes – Cross-cultural training – Faculty/staff mobility programmes – Visiting lecturers and scholars – Link between academic programmes and research, training and development assistance
Research and scholarly collaboration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Area and theme centres – Joint research projects – International conferences and seminars – Published articles and papers – International research agreements – Researcher and graduate student exchange programmes – International research partners in academic and other sectors – Link between research, curriculum and teaching
External relations and services (domestic and abroad)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Community-based partnerships and projects with non-government groups or private sector companies – International development assistance projects – Customised/contract training programmes off-shore – Link between development projects and training activities with teaching and research – Community service and intercultural project work – Off-shore teaching sites and distance education – Participation in international networks – Alumni development programmes abroad
Extra-curricular activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Student clubs and associations – International and intercultural campus events – Liaison with community based cultural groups – Peer groups and programmes – Social, cultural and academic support systems

Source: Reprinted from Knight (1999, p. 25).

Knight's list above does not explicitly mention representative offices; however, they would fit well into the External Relations and Services category, where other off-shore engagements were mentioned (customized/contract training programs and teaching sites and distance education).

There is also a difference between undergraduate and graduate education goals with regards to internationalization. Graduate education and research institutions seem to focus on languages and area studies, as well as cross-border research and applications, global partnerships, joint degrees, and branch campuses (HUDZIK, 2011). A current issue for the internationalization of higher education is measuring how internationalized universities are and the success of their initiatives. Having quantitative information and data can be helpful. However, too much of a focus on numbers can lead to negative outcomes, as narrative and qualitative indicators can help to ensure that transformative processes of internationalization are not ignored. (KNIGHT, 2015).

A critical feature of the internationalization of higher education is that the relationship between countries finds a type of "safe haven" in academia. Even when countries interrupt their political or diplomatic relationships, scholars, researchers, and students from their universities can continue to exchange ideas and develop partnerships (DEODATO; BORKOWKA, 2014). The Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), in a submission titled Universities, Scholarships and Soft Power to the House of Lords Select Committee on Soft Power and the U.K.'s Influence adds to that notion saying "[...] academics tend to speak the same language as their disciplinary peers in a way that is likely to survive short-term political circumstances" (THE ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES, 2016, p. 4). This view is linked to the traditional rationale for the internationalization of higher education of promoting peace and mutual understanding that grew out of the American peace movement after 1900 (DE WIT, J. W. M., 2001). De Wit (2001) cites Halpern when he says this strong belief is "naïve optimism" and "utopian," but explains that this sentiment towards internationalization continued after World War II, as the title of a 1994 essay by the former director of the Education Abroad Program of the University of California, William H. Allaway, shows: "Peace: The Real Power of Educational Exchange." Present times have shown that the optimistic view mentioned above is facing challenges, such as the escalation of tensions between the U.S. and China, especially in light of the Trump administration's stricter rules for Chinese students and researchers. Christopher Wray, the FBI director, has said universities are susceptible to Chinese spying and suggested that higher education is not doing enough about it (FISCHER, 2019). Such a situation brought fierce scrutiny to research partnerships between the U.S. and Chinese universities.

Roberta Basset's contribution in Maringe and Foskett (2012) explains the impact of international organizations on the internationalization of higher education. UNESCO is the first

international organization that comes to mind regarding education. UNESCO “[...] focuses on [...] broad social and cultural issues” (BASSET, 2012, p. 280). The organization emerged in 1942 when its goal was the reconstruction of education sectors across Europe after World War II through transnational educational initiatives. Education was, for the first time, something of international concern, although the initial focus was on primary and basic education (280). Currently, one of the main topics regarding transnational higher education within UNESCO is recognizing earned degrees across international borders (BASSET, 2012).

UNESCO continues to serve as a forum for examining issues within international higher education, presenting itself as an important leader in recognizing the importance of higher education in the development of individual nations, in the emerging realm of globalized higher education, and in promoting transnational education as a mechanism for economic development and improved international relations. 'UNESCO is the only U.N. body with a mandate [emphasis added] to support national capacity-building in higher education' (BASSET, 2012, p. 281).

The OECD is another international body that discusses topics related to international education. During the early years of the Cold War, the OECD focused on education to develop scientific personnel. In the 1970s, the OECD moved its educational focus towards more general employment issues. More so than international organizations, the role of governments in higher education and the internationalization of higher education can vary considerably from country to country. However, typical issues of interest to governments are student visas, fellowships for the creation of alumni networks, research intellectual property, information security, and employment and career opportunities for international graduates. Most countries have adopted a market reliance approach (competition), a centralized intervention approach (government regulated), or a combination of the two (HÉNARD; DIAMOND; ROSEVEARE, 2012). Mismatches can happen between national and institutional strategies, and, again, one recent example would be policies implemented during the Trump administration. While U.S. universities were eager to recruit international students for tuition dollars and diversity, the Trump administration implemented policies that would make international students' entrance into the country harder and make U.S. higher education less attractive by creating hurdles for work opportunities post-graduation. Indeed, during one of the interviews with university leadership, the interviewee mentioned that, except for the Trump administration, government and universities seemed to be aligned on the importance of higher education in public diplomacy.

Governments can leverage the latent strengths dispersed across their systems and local economies by facilitating international partnerships. U.S. institutions, for example, can rely on the support of the EducationUSA network, consulates, the State Department, and the U.S. Commercial Service. International students contribute financially, as often expected by governments, but are also likely to enrich the education provided by institutions. All partners in a national internationalization strategy will likely benefit from articulating clear and measurable outcomes (LANE; OWENS, 2012). In some cases, governments can have directives and requirements. An example comes from International Branch Campuses (IBCs), which will be explained in further depth later on in this chapter due to their importance. In Qatar's Education City, the government restricts the academic programs offered in these IBCs; for example, Texas A&M offers a petroleum engineering program, which supports the nation's petroleum industry (LANE; OWENS, 2012).

Governments might also be interested in the fact that many different policies they deal with are influenced or impacted by the international dimension of education, such as “foreign relations, development assistance, trade, immigration, employment, science and technology, culture and heritage, education, social development, industry and commerce, and others” (KNIGHT, 2006, p. 24). Another topic that is relevant for governments to consider is the potential economic return. There are not many studies about the importance of higher education to international economics. Lane and Owens (2012) point to two main reasons for this. First, universities' role in the international marketplace is seen as something new. Second, issues relating to quantifying impact appear here once again as determining the economic contributions of higher education at the international level—with data scattered throughout national and international surveys—is incredibly difficult. Higher education regularly ranks among the top ten service exports in the United States. Lane and Owens (2012) mention private institutions with international engagements in foreign countries that report that their work abroad has an economic impact and economic drivers in foreign nations.

3.1. Generations or models of universities' internationalization efforts

Knight (2015) divides types of internationalization efforts into three generations. The first generation, also called the classic model, consists of international partnerships, international students and staff, and collaborative activities at home and abroad. The second generation, called

the satellite model, is the one most relevant to this dissertation, in which universities establish satellite offices, branch campuses, research centers, and management (also called contact, representative, or liaison) offices abroad. The third generation furthers the second-generation model by cofounding a different university in another country with one or more international partners.

The first generation or classic model is the most common among universities because it is what some of them have been doing for ages. It refers to having international universities, research centers, and non-governmental and governmental agencies as partners (KNIGHT, 2015). A variety of activities are possible under these partnerships, the most common being: student and faculty short-term mobility for periods of study or research as visiting scholars or visiting faculty; education abroad and competition programs; joint and dual degrees; joint in-person and online program development; staff capacity building; student exchange; joint research and publications; joint grant application; short-term missions and delegation visits for benchmarking and joint academic events such as seminars, forums, conferences, symposiums, and workshops.

The second generation or satellite model is a new development where universities establish a presence in other countries “through satellite research centers, branch campuses, and contact offices for alumni support, recruitment of students and professors, development and monitoring of projects, fund/friend-raising, and other related activities” (KNIGHT, 2015, p. 110-111). This dissertation will go into more detail about this model since representative or international offices are its primary focus. It is important to mention that universities strategically plan their activities in targeted countries worldwide in this generation or model. This study focuses on understanding why these universities go abroad since it represents a reasonable cost to the universities.

The third generation or the cofounded model means founding new independent universities from the efforts of one or more foreign partner institutions. The main difference compared to the second generation or satellite model of branch campuses and offices is that these cofounded universities are independent institutions licensed by the host country (KNIGHT, 2015). This model faces many issues such as “governance models, intercultural partnerships, accreditation, awarding of qualifications, staffing, language, host country regulations, and sustainability” (KNIGHT, 2015, p. 117). As globalization has fostered a worldwide market for goods and services, higher education is no longer a resource confined exclusively to the domestic domain. Both political and economic

borders have become porous, allowing individuals and institutions to move more freely among nations and economies (LANE; OWENS, 2012).

Knight has also put together a framework for the most common TNE programs, as the table below shows (KNIGHT, 2016). Twinning programs are programs from one university being offered by a foreign university. Joint, double, and multiple degree programs are widespread in academia and happen when universities offer a curriculum together. Cofounded universities were mentioned above as the third generation of internationalization of higher education. These are all collaborative TNEs; however, institutions can have their own efforts. Branch campuses will be further discussed in this chapter due to their importance.

Table 7 – Common TNE framework and definitions:

TNE mode	Definition	Descriptive notes
Collaborative TNE provision		
Twinning program	<i>A foreign sending HEI offers academic program(s) through a host country HEI. Foreign sending HEI provides curriculum and awards qualification.</i>	Joint/double degrees from host country HEI and from foreign sending HEI are increasingly being offered for twinning programs . QA dependent on national regulations of host and sending countries. Twinning is often labeled franchise in some countries.
Joint/double/multiple degree programs	<i>The program curriculum is jointly designed, delivered, and monitored by all local and foreign partners. Different combinations of qualification provided depending on host country regulations.</i>	A joint degree program offers one qualification with badges of both sending and host HEIs on certificate. A double degree program offers two qualifications—one certificate/qualification from each partner. A multiple degree program offers three or more certificates/qualifications depending on the number of partners. QA is normally the responsibility of each partner HEI.
Cofounded/developed universities	<i>A HEI is established in host country in collaboration with foreign sending HEIs. The academic programs are offered through twinning or joint/double/multiple degree arrangements. Local host HEIs also develop academic programs independent of foreign partners.</i>	Different kinds of qualifications are awarded and can include (a) host country HEI qualification, (b) joint qualification with foreign sending HEI, (c) double or multiple qualifications depending on the number of foreign sending HEIs. QA dependent on host and foreign country regulations.
Locally supported distance education programs	<i>A foreign distance education HEI/provider offers programs with academic support for students available from local entity. Qualification and curriculum offered by foreign distance education provider.</i>	QA normally by sending HEI and country.
Independent (foreign) TNE provision		
Branch campus	<i>A foreign sending HEI offers academic programs through their own satellite campus located in host country. Qualification and curriculum offered by foreign sending HEI.</i>	QA dependent on national regulations of both host and sending countries.
Franchise university	<i>A private independent HEI/provider offers a series of franchised academic programs from different foreign sending HEI/providers. Qualification and curriculum offered by foreign sending HEIs.</i>	QA dependent on national regulations of host and sending countries. Joint/double degrees between foreign sending HEIs and local private franchise university are increasingly being offered.
Distance education	<i>Foreign sending distance education provider offers academic programs directly to host country students. No local academic support available. Qualification, curriculum, and QA offered by foreign sending HEI.</i>	QAA from foreign sending country.

Source. Knight (2015).

Note. TNE = transnational education; QA = quality assurance; HEI = higher education institution.

Source: Reprinted from Knight, 2015, p. 44.

Again, in Knight's framework on TNEs above, representative offices abroad were not listed. Indeed, these offices do not necessarily offer courses, which might be why they are not considered "education." However, she later details in the same work that:

Contact/representative offices are often embedded in a local partner institution or co-located in the offices of an international education office from the home/sending country. In other cases, the contact offices can be situated in a national embassy affiliated building along with other university representative offices [...] European universities are very active in establishing the management-oriented contact offices and seem to be less likely to develop a branch campus (KNIGHT, 2015, p. 111).

Therefore, Knight does consider them as a TNE-type of effort. Although representative offices do not necessarily offer courses, they can serve as facilitators to the activities listed in Knight's framework, either the collaborative ones, where they can support their institutions to find partners abroad or the independent ones, where they can help set up the programs abroad. Lane and Owens (2012) include representative offices in their foreign direct investment (FDI) explanation. After all, some universities evolved into multinational enterprises operating physical outposts abroad such as "outreach offices, teaching locations, and research sites to recruit foreign students, keep in contact with foreign-based alumni, and facilitate the development of international relationships such as joint research initiatives and double degree programs" (LANE; OWENS, 2012, p. 223). Lane and Owens finally mention that "[t]hese outposts have even been used to help attract international investment back to the economy where the home campus resides [representing] a form of FDI (foreign direct investment)" (LANE; OWENS, 2012, p. 224).

Common challenges faced by most universities with a physical presence abroad are "funding, improving quality, responding to the needs of community and labor market, student and staff recruitment, research funding" (KNIGHT, 2015, p. 117). These issues can be seen in off-shore IBC initiatives. Comparing representative offices and IBCs is important because there is much more literature and discussion around IBCs than representative offices. The comparison can help build knowledge and frameworks for the latter using data and information in the former. Branch campuses are independent campuses located in a host country (KNIGHT, 2015). A report on International Branch Campuses Trends and Developments (GARRETT *et al.*, 2016) affirmed that the number of international branch campuses worldwide reached 249 in 2015. Sixty-six IBCs were

founded from 2011-2015, and 67 were founded between 2006 and 2010. The United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, France, and Australia are countries where most originating universities are located. China, the United Arab Emirates, Singapore, Malaysia, and Qatar are the top host countries and host 98 IBCs. Table 8 below shows the total number and distribution of IBCs. The majority of them are in the Middle East. Latin America is only the fourth region of interest. Table 9 shows the major sending countries, the first being the United States.

Table 8 – Distribution of IBCs by region

Location of IBCs by region	2009	2011	Planned
Middle East	55	55	1
Asia	44	69	31
Europe	32	48	3
Latin America	18	10	0
North America	8	10	1
Africa	5	18	1
Total	162	200	37

Source: Knight, 2005, p. 111.

Table 9 – Top five source countries of brach campuses

Source countries	2009	2011
United States	78	78
Australia	14	12
United Kingdom	13	25
France	11	27
India	11	17
Total	127 = 77% of total IBCs	159 = 75% of total IBCs

Source: Knight, 2005, p. 111.

Unlike other countries where public universities are tuition-free, the cost of tuition in the United States is normally very high, especially for international students. This is perhaps one of the reasons why many investments and partnerships occur in the regions such as the Middle East, where more people seem to be able to afford them. “IBC’s may not be the most common form of cross-border higher education, but they are among the most ambitious and embody the greatest potential for institutional transformation” (GARRETT *et al.*, 2016, p. 4).

For representative offices, the trend regarding countries of origin and host countries does tend to repeat. Not all representative offices are reported. The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education (OBHE), in its 2012 report, indicated that in 2004 there were 24; by 2009, there were 162, and in 2011, there were 200 (KNIGHT, 2015). Another similarity that IBCs and representative offices might have is that the reasons universities point to for establishing IBCs are usually to reach an “untapped market of students; contribute to economic and social developments in the host country; expand the influence of the home country through soft power; or take advantage of the favorable regulatory environment” (MEROLA, 2019, p. 2). Although representative offices are a much less expensive enterprise because there is no need to hire faculty and establish a brick-and-mortar campus, some of the same reasons are raised, which will be evidenced in the following subchapter.

3.2. Higher education in the United States and efforts abroad

A university with three or more satellite operations overseas is considered an international networked university. For example, New York University has campuses in Shanghai, Abu Dhabi, and New York and 11 research centers worldwide (KNIGHT, 2015). RMIT University has campuses in Australia, a center in Spain, and two campuses in Vietnam that serve as a hub to offer programs through partners in Singapore, Hong Kong, mainland China, and Indonesia (BOTHWELL, 2018a). Lancaster University started conversations on establishing outposts since the U.K. voted for Brexit (HAVERGAL, 2018). Coventry University and King’s College of London announced plans to open a branch campus in Poland and Germany for recruitment and research, respectively (BOTHWELL, 2018b)

Jason Lane, director of the Cross-Border Education Research Team at the State University of New York Albany, said that “[u]niversities with extensive transnational presences [are] moving toward greater alignment and coordination among their various presences” and “highly autonomous branches do not fit well with this model [...] Having a physical presence in a country [...] is a bit like having an embassy where you can wave the institutional flag and replicate your institutional ethos in the foreign environment, but you can’t ignore what it means to operate in that local context” (BOTHWELL, 2018a).

Other U.K. universities are considering physical presences that are not necessarily branch campuses, such as centers and laboratories with local partners, due to many factors such as a recent decrease in student interest. For instance, the latest International Student Survey conducted by Q.S. Enrolment Solutions found that 62.5 percent of respondents from the E.U. would be interested in studying at a branch campus in a European country that was not their home nation, which represents a drop from 2017, when 76 percent reported having the same interest (HAVERGAL, 2018). University College of London has been successively closing its branch campuses, beginning with Kazakhstan in 2015, Australia in 2017, and finally Qatar in 2020; likewise, the University of Central Lancashire, University of Liverpool and Reading University have reported losses of millions in their branch campuses as well (BOTHWELL, 2019).

However, higher education in the United States differs significantly from European countries. It is characterized by its great diversity and an unusual degree of institutional autonomy, which is understandable given the federal government's limited role in post-secondary education. Citing *The Economist*, “[t]he strength of the American higher education system is that it has no system” (DUDERSTADT, 2007, p. 6). Indeed, there is no national system of higher education in the U.S. and no Ministry of Education to focus on higher education, because the U.S. Constitution grants responsibility for primary through tertiary education to the states. There is a balance among funding sources: 25% comes from the federal government, 20% from the states, and 55% from private sources such as tuition and philanthropy (DUDERSTADT, 2007). Therefore, the federal government influences higher education policies but does not exercise control. Influence comes from grants that fund research, as has been the case with Title VI grants of the National Defense Education Act from 1958, which fund language study and global area and regional studies. “The word 'defense' in the Act reflects a long-standing predilection on the part of legislators and policy makers to justify funding for internationalisation on national defense and security grounds” (2007, p. 10). In 2013, the Department of State spent about USD 375 million on the internationalization of higher education, and the Department of Education spent USD 75 million (HUDZIK, 2015, p. 268-271). Other federal agencies—including the Departments of Defense and Commerce—independently administer programs for internationalization activities with little coordination.

In the U.S., the creation of schools was linked to the founding of states in 1785. “Beginning with the admission of Ohio as a state, Congress required that all subsequent states guarantee public education in their state constitutions as a condition of statehood” (MCGUINN, 2015, p. 140). With

the Morrill Act of 1862, the federal government became more directly involved in education because the Act authorized the creation of land-grant colleges with federal government financial support through the sale of federal lands (MCGUINN, 2015). However, universities are free to plan their internationalization process, and, according to a 2015 survey, 80% of research universities listed internationalization as their institution's top five priorities (HUDZIK, 2015). Another interesting feature of U.S. universities is the board of trustees' role in leading the universities and being the last word on important university-wide decisions. After all, from a legal standpoint, many higher education institutions are like corporations who own endowments and other property and needs a board of governors as fiduciaries for the corporation. These groups are normally formed of individuals nominated by governors (especially in the case of public universities) alumni of the university, large donors, business people, and so on. This type of governance, more similar to corporations affect the speed and expenses of each decision-making process and reflect the importance of certain topics to the members of the board.

There are about 4,600 degree-granting accredited higher education institutions in the U.S., of which: (i) 42% grant two-year or associate degrees, (ii) 17% grant baccalaureate degrees, (iii) 16% grant masters and baccalaureate degrees, (iv) 7% are doctoral and research institutions, and (v) 20% are special or narrow focus institutions. A little over one-third of post-secondary institutions are private nonprofits, and a little more than one quarter are private for-profits (HUDZIK, 2015). Of the 131 U.S. universities found in the database of R1 – Very High Research Universities (Carnegie Classification) for this dissertation, eight had offices in Brazil in 2019, of which three were public universities. Through the U.S. Department of Education (USDE) and other departments, the federal government encourages certain kinds of curricula and pedagogical practices through 'white papers.' However, there is very little support for increased federal control, regulation, or standards, either within the higher education community, the general public, or politically. Most of these groups agree that U.S. higher education's strength emanates from its decentralization and diversity and, therefore, “[i]nternationalisation priorities are shaped by the higher education community, its disciplines, and professions, the expectations of students, the public, the business community, and the carrot of federal funding” (HUDZKI, 2015, p. 268-269).

[It] mean[s] that internationalization truly is an institution-driven endeavor, in terms of funding as well as strategy, priority setting, and program administration. While calls have been made for a unified national policy for internationalization,

the size and diversity of the U.S. higher education system mean that internationalization must—and does—play out very differently on different campuses [...] (DE WIT; RUMBLEY, 2018, p. 4).

In that sense, the American Council on Education has called for at least better coordination among federal agencies and more explicit policy and funding support for internationalization-related programs (DE WIT; RUMBLEY, 2018). Nevertheless, why would universities and governments internationalize higher education? The nonprofit foundation Valdai Club in Russia releases papers on topics of international relations called Valdai Papers. In 2014, one of the papers asked, "why does higher education internationalize?" After affirming that there are many rationales, the paper adds that:

[i]n national strategies, the desire to be recognized as a nation with world class universities is one of the most important ones [...] 'World class' means WORLD class and not 'top' or 'highest' and is only measurable by the international scope of an institution (attracting considerable numbers of students and scholars from abroad), and by international standards applied to the quality assurance and research. Last but not least, it depends on visibility and active network and project participation (DEODATO; BORKOWKA, 2014, p. 3).

More on the rationale behind the need or desire to internationalize will be explored later on, but the majority of interviewees for this study as well as the strategic plans gathered did mention the desire to become a "world university" many times.

The political and economic reasons to internationalize higher education tend to be more relevant to states, which can share their strategy with national institutions of higher learning and reap the results of these institutions' efforts, such as a networking of well-connected alumni within a key country. States can also develop their own policies, such as establishing scholarships and other funding opportunities. The example of the United Kingdom's Chevening program funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) has the former president of Colombia, Alvaro Uribe Velez, as an alumnus (THE ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES, 2016). On this note, this dissertation argues that from a political standpoint, there might be another interest—that of exercising the country's soft power through cultural diplomacy. Referred to by Knight as "strategic alliances" (whether for academic, economic, political or social/cultural purposes) collaborative research and education initiatives, as well as the international mobility of academics, are seen as ways to develop geopolitical ties and economic relationships (KNIGHT,

2006). A study of these rationales is needed to answer why universities and governments internationalize higher education.

3.3. Current rationales for the internationalization of higher education and proposed framework

Rationales reflect an institution's objectives, policies, and programs and dictate the expected benefits, pitfalls, and outcomes. "Given the changes and challenges facing the international dimension of higher education in a more globalized world, the importance of having clearly articulated rationales for internationalization cannot be overstated" (DE WIT; RUMBLEY, 2018, p. 3). Without this precise set of rationales, internationalization is usually a fragmented reaction to the increasing number of new international opportunities. Lead literature on the internationalization of higher education raises four rationales for initiatives in this realm: (i) political, (ii) economic, (iii) academic, and (iv) cultural/social.

Common sense and, often, the speeches of universities' leadership make us think academic reasons are the most prominent. For example, a university wants to internationalize because it will increase research opportunities for its students and faculty on more global themes and, consequently, increase the possibility of improving university rankings. Universities also frequently mention cultural and social rationales due to the interest in developing global citizenry among their students, faculty, and staff. Political and economic reasons are not mentioned by universities as often. "The reasons to internationalize from a political point of view are perhaps more relevant to a national perspective than an institutional perspective [...] However, there is a growing trend to see education in terms of an export product" (KNIGHT, 1999, p. 17). Knight summarizes that those four categories are not exclusive, can be more complex, and might change over time because "[a]n individual's, an institution's, or a country's rationale for internationalization is a complex and multi-leveled set of reasons which evolve over time and in response to changing needs and trend (KNIGHT, 1999, p. 22).

Knigh points out that each stakeholder group weights the four rationales mentioned above differently. The first stakeholder, the government sector, ranges from supra-national bodies to local government offices, usually through its education departments, but also "foreign affairs, culture, economic development and trade, science and technology [departments] which all have an interest in the international dimension of higher education" (KNIGHT, 1999, p. 22). Second, the education

sector includes the system, the institutions, and the individuals. Finally, the private sector, which includes private education providers, can go beyond that (KNIGHT, p. 21-22). These stakeholders can be understood through the triple helix model, a framework advanced by Henry Etzkowitz and Loet Leydesdorff in 1991. Each helix represents universities, industries, and governments in constant interactions between research, product development, and regulation towards a more innovative and globalized development process (ETZKOWITZ; LEYDESDORFF, 1995). Below is a table from Knight (2004) on the rationales for internationalization.

Table 10 – Rationales driving internationalization

Rationales	Existing—National and Institutional Levels Combined
Social/cultural	National cultural identity Intercultural understanding Citizenship development Social and community development
Political	Foreign policy National security Technical assistance Peace and mutual understanding National identity Regional identity
Economic	Economic growth and competitiveness Labour market Financial incentives
Academic	International dimension to research and teaching Extension of academic horizon Institution building Profile and status Enhancement of quality International academic standards
Level	Of Emerging Importance— National and Institutional Levels Separated
National	Human resources development Strategic alliances Commercial trade Nation building Social/cultural development
Institutional	International branding and profile Income generation Student and staff development Strategic alliances Knowledge production

Source: Reprinted from Knight, 2004, p. 23.

Knight updated the list of rationales for the internationalization of higher education with more details in 2004 (KNIGHT, 2004) dividing them into national level and institutional level rationales:

- (i) National Level Rationales

- Human Resources Development – Nations are recruiting brain power through international education initiatives. Universities are looking for the brightest students and scholars from other countries to increase scientific, technological, and economic competitiveness.
- Strategic Alliances – A nation can develop closer geopolitical ties and economic relationships when there is the mobility of students and academics. This explains why there has been a shift from alliances for cultural purposes to alliances based on economic interests.
- Commercial Trade – The generation of income through internationalization initiatives. Education is one of the 12 service sectors for importing and exporting in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).
- Nation Building – Especially for countries interested in importing internationalization strategies such as education programs from other nations and institutions looking to educate and train their workforce and researchers.
- Social and Cultural Development – The social/cultural rationales, especially those related to intercultural understanding and national cultural identity, are still significant. However, their importance may not carry the same weight as the economic and political rationales.

(ii) Institutional Level Rationales

- International Profile and Reputation – A "brand" name as a high-quality international institution, especially on international rankings and media.
- Student and Staff Development – To enhance students and staff' international and intercultural understanding and skills.
- Income Generation – Internationalization through activities that can generate revenue for the university.
- Strategic Alliances – Through bilateral or multilateral agreements with other academic institutions or non-academic organizations for various activities such as mobility, joint curriculum or program development, seminars and conferences, and joint research initiatives.
- Knowledge Production – The real “service” provided by universities.

The four rationales are still helpful, but many questions remain. "These are still relevant, but there seems to be more blurring of the categories and, thus, perhaps less clarity on what constitutes a political or economic rationale, for example" (KNIGHT, 2004, p. 22). One final issue Knight raises is the drive to create an international branding that these universities have and that it could be considered within each of the four rationales. This study does not aspire to solve these questions raised by the literature on this topic. However, a new framework will be proposed following Knight's lesson that these rationales are subject to change and to facilitate the discussion on this chapter and broad research. The four rationales presented by Knight will be summarized into three rationales that this author believes encompass the literature and practice in the field. That is because the cultural/social goals of internationalizing higher education seem to be encompassed by both the academic and political rationales. The argument is based on the fact that the goals or elements within the cultural/social rationale are encompassed by similar goals or elements within the political and academic rationales.

The first goal the cultural/social rationale aims to achieve is "national cultural identity" which the author considers enveloped by the "national identity" within the political rationale. The second goal, "intercultural understanding," connects to the "peace and mutual understanding" element within the political rationale. The third element, "citizenship development," is very broad and could include activities such as "extension of the academic horizon," which is a goal within the academic rationale. Finally, "social and community development" would fit within activities such as the "international dimension to research and teaching" goal within the academic rationale. This means that when cultural/social rationales are raised for explaining internationalization goals, the university also fulfills much of its academic and political goals. This understanding will help the discussion that this dissertation aims to raise in analyzing the rationales behind a specific internationalization effort, that being the physical presence of universities abroad through representative offices, in order to adopt a more concise focus. Below is a table to clarify the proposition in this chapter:

Table 11 – Rationales for the internationalization of higher education proposed by the author

Rationale	Goals or elements within each rationale
Political	Foreign policy
	National security
	Technical assistance
	Peace and mutual understanding
	National identity
	Regional identity
	National cultural identity
	Intercultural understanding
Economic	Economic growth and competitiveness
	Labour market
	Financial incentives
Academic	International dimension to research and teaching
	Extension of academic horizon
	Institution building
	Profile and status
	Enhancement of quality
	International academic standards
	Citizenship development
	Social and community development

Source: Elaborated by the author

This dissertation aims to find out which of these rationales better explains the specific internationalization effort of universities establishing a physical presence in host countries through representative offices. However, special attention will be given to public diplomacy, which is not as commonly present in the literature as the other goals and respective rationales and raises more questions regarding its existence. Of course, a relationship exists between national and institutional rationales, but not always. Much depends on certain factors, such as the direction of the internationalization process as a bottom-up or top-down process. In general, national attention is more focused on the competitive end. In comparison, at the institutional level, references are more academic.

PART II. THE PHYSICAL PRESENCE OF UNIVERSITIES ABROAD – IS IT ALSO PUBLIC DIPLOMACY?

4. Why do U.S. universities go abroad? Universities as practitioners of public diplomacy

This chapter builds upon the previous chapter's discussion on rationales for internationalizing higher education. The goal is to understand which of those three main rationales (academic, economic, and political) could better apply to the specific internationalization effort of U.S. universities establishing representative offices abroad. The methodology proposed will be a qualitative study of U.S. universities with offices in Brazil. Some descriptive statistics will also be used to present data about the phenomenon. The novelty is to explicitly check the three rationales for the internationalization of higher education as paradigms to explain why U.S. universities go abroad through a representative office. The study will focus on universities in the United States because it is where universities have used the strategy of a physical presence abroad the most. U.S. universities have high visibility through international rankings such as Times Higher Education (THE) and its movies and media. As a host country for this initiative, Brazil was chosen not only for feasibility reasons but also due to interest in Latin America's relationship with the United States, especially in terms of public diplomacy and soft power. Brazil is the biggest economy in the region; it is an important player in the international arena and regional schemes, and its universities are usually at the top of the region's rankings. It is important to mention that Brazil has been the only country in Latin America to be featured in the Soft Power 30 report, an annual index published by Portland Communications and the University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy that measures countries by six sub-indexes: digital, enterprise, culture, education, engagement, and government. Regarding the choice of studying U.S. universities in Brazil, it is important to mention the author's relationship and involvement in higher education in both countries. The author is a representative of one U.S. university in Brazil³ through an office in Sao Paulo, which facilitates access to information, documentation, and interviewees and explains the feasibility of such study.

The relationship between Brazil and the United States in the fields of education and culture has been ongoing for many years. In 1920, through the Rockefeller Foundation and later, the U.S.

³ The Ohio State University

government collaborated with Brazilian institutions through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and other agencies, mainly in the agricultural field (CUNHA; ALVES, 2018, p. 120). One example is the agreement for establishing the Committee for Educational Exchange and Funding for Exchange Programs, which was signed in 1966. A new agreement was signed in 2008, the Agreement for Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs, which went into effect in Brazil through the Decree n.º 7.176 of May 12, 2010. Both governments agreed to recognize the already existing commission to facilitate the program's administration, which is funded by both. Activities include studies and research at the higher education level, visits and exchanges between students, faculty members, researchers, and professionals, and other educational and cultural activities such as evaluation, education orientation, cooperation, conferences, and courses (BRASIL. PRESIDENCIA DA REPUBLICA, 2010). The committee would maintain close ties with the Fulbright Commission, mentioned in chapter two and studied further here, by recommending students, professors, and researchers to the Fulbright's fellowships and scholarships. The board to lead and manage the commission is made up of six individuals from each country: the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and the U.S. Ambassador in Brazil as honorary co-presidents and nominated board members; one member from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and a second member from the Brazilian Ministry of Education; another two members from the U.S. Foreign Service; and the remaining two members from academia or industry in both countries (CUNHA; ALVES, 2018).

Under the MEC-USAID connections, two agreements were signed during the military dictatorship in Brazil under the governments of Castelo Branco and Costa e Silva: the Agreement for the Modernization of University Administration (1966) and the Planning of Higher Education (1968). Both intended to modernize the higher education system in Brazil based on the United States system. The learnings and cooperation from these agreements led to university reforms in Brazil instituted by Law n.º 5.540/68. Through this collaboration, the committee made a diagnosis, after which U.S. members then explained their experience and proposed changes and projects. In addition to these technical consultancies, the collaborations included seminars and short-term courses in the U.S. on evaluation and implementation. The project's goal was to reach around 18 Brazilian institutions from 1966 to 1970. USAID was responsible for financially maintaining about 20 U.S. consultants in Brazil from 1966 to 1968 (CUNHA; ALVES, 2018). As part of the agreement between MEC and USAID, there was a specific provision required Brazil to promote

the collaborations through news outlets, radio, and other means (2018). It was also mandated that Brazil highlight that the efforts were part of the Alliance to Progress, a political project initiated by U.S. President John F. Kennedy that aimed to integrate the countries of the American continent along a series of political, economic, social, and cultural aspects in response to the advances of the Soviet Union (2018).

There was some pressure from sectors in Brazil connected to academia, who were unsatisfied with U.S. interference in higher education, and students who were against the U.S. "imperialist invasion in education" (CUNHA; ALVES, 2018, p. 116). These detractors wanted reform, but not in the U.S. model, which they described as technicist and "privatist". Unlike other times that the U.S. and Brazil collaborated in the education field, the MEC-USAID agreements had a more direct connection within both governments instead of a more project or foundation-mediated initiative. After some time, the Brazilian government requested that the agreements be re-examined. This is how a new agreement was signed in 1967. The Brazilian government committed to nominating Brazilian educators to join the planning committee and to fund scholarships for Brazilians to attend U.S. universities. Overall, the agreement was very similar to the previous one and tried to use more general language such as "other countries' experience" instead of "North-American experience" (CUNHA; ALVES, 2018, p. 116-118). According to the literature in Brazil, the U.S. tried to avoid extremism related to ideology at that time, as evidenced by the government's suggestion that Brazil call back professors who had left the country for being leftists because these professionals would be fundamental to the technical-scientific development of the nation (CUNHA; ALVES, 2018).

The website of the U.S. Embassy lists many other programs unrelated to the agreement above. For example, the "100,000 Strong in the Americas" was a White House initiative launched in 2011 through a collaboration between the U.S. Department of State, Partners of the Americas, and NAFSA (Association of International Educators). The program scales funds through private sector and government partnerships by awarding grants to higher education institutions that partner to foster cooperation to provide students with training and exchange opportunities (100,000 STRONG IN THE AMERICAS, [s. d.]). Many calls for this funding involve Brazilian institutions.

4.1. Methodology

Because institutions are the locus of U.S. internationalization efforts, they are also a critical source of related data for structural comparison. This chapter pulls from the literature on higher education, four strategic plans from selected universities with offices in Brazil, eight interviews with university leadership (the same as those from the strategic documents), and public diplomacy staff within EducationUSA⁴ and the U.S. Consulate in Brazil. Individual interviews and names are not mentioned as promised to interviewees. It is important to remember information mentioned in chapter one that: (i) The database of U.S. universities was drawn from the Carnegie Classification of U.S. Universities; (ii) For reasons of feasibility, the study focused on 131 R1 universities, which are doctoral universities with very high research activities according to the Carnegie Classification; (iii) Out of 131 universities, eight had offices in Brazil in 2019 according to information on the universities' website and from EducationUSA staff in Brazil; (iv) Due to several reasons mentioned in chapter one, including avoidance of conflict of interests with the author's work, only four of those eight universities were analyzed; (v) The observations gathered came from universities' websites, strategic documents, and interviews mentioned above; (vi) Information from the websites was collected manually in 2019; (vii) The interviews were performed and recorded with Google Meet, then transcribed with different transcription software and analyzed with NVivo qualitative data software, and (viii) Strategic documents from each of the four universities were also analyzed with NVivo qualitative data software.

The author reinforces that there are some weaknesses on the items described above, such as the fact that choosing R1 universities limit the reach of this research's findings to institutions with similar profiles, that the strategic documents are public resources and, therefore, do not always show background decision-making, and that four strategic documents and eight interviews, totaling 177 pages, might be considered a small number of documents for analysis. However, the author understands the database and documents collected for the exploratory exercises to follow are immensely effective and easily replicable.

This chapter turns to Blatter and Blume's (2018) literature on case studies. They understand that there are three approaches to case studies: co-variational (COV), causal process tracing (CPT),

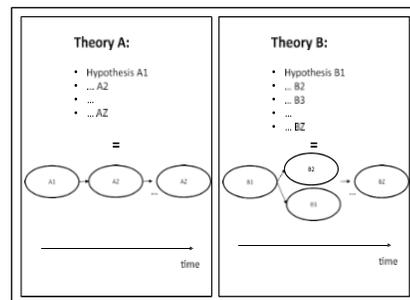
⁴ A U.S. Department of State network of over 430 international student advising centers in more than 175 countries and territories that support U.S. universities interested in recruitment abroad and those interested in studying in the U.S. There are over 40 EducationUSA offices in Brazil.

and congruence analysis (CON). Blatter and Blume frame these approaches as the "'middle ground' between naive positivists and radical constructivists [acknowledging] the concept- or theory-dependency of empirical observations [...]" (BLATTER; BLUME, 2008, p. 315). They differentiate each of the three approaches mentioned above:

We argue that COV is aiming to draw generalizing conclusions from cases to a wider population, whereas CPT strives to get deeper and denser insights, and CON is used in order to address a broader theoretical discourse. Furthermore, we propose that case studies are characterized by their thickness, defined as multiple and diverse observations per case plus intensive reflection on the congruence/resemblance between concrete empirical observations and abstract theoretical concepts (BLATTER; BLUME, 2008, p. 317-318).

Because this dissertation is looking for which of the rationales for the internationalization of higher education may better explain the specific internationalization effort of universities establishing a physical presence abroad through a representative office, the guiding methodology will be congruence analysis. Congruence analysis is an analytical strategy developed in the social sciences for causal inference based on engaging the case analysis “without unpacking each part of the causal mechanism as a continuous process linking X and Y together. Instead, theories in congruence [have] key parts described but without a full-fledged theorized causal process (i.e., mechanism)” (WAUTERS; BEACH, 2018, p. 296), shown in figure 6 below:

Figure 6 – Visualization of two theories in congruence analysis



Source: Reprinted from Wauters and Beach, 2018, p. 297.

Wauters and Beach (2018) explain that in congruence analysis none of the existing theories that explain a phenomenon can be ruled out but must have its strength compared to other possible theories unless theories have mutually exclusive predictions.

In congruence analysis, what counts is the relative strength of the evidence supporting each theory; hence, even without statistics, it is still possible to say which (set of) hypotheses is more congruent with whatever data is at hand (WAUTERS; BEACH, 2018, p. 300).

“What is important is that tests are formulated for the key hypotheses of each theory, which are then evaluated to see whether there is supporting or disconfirming evidence for them” (WAUTERS; BEACH, 2018, p. 300). In reading the literature on the rationales behind the internationalization of higher education, this dissertation tried to get critical elements of each rationale and then test them against the data gathered through document and interview analyses. One possible downfall of using such a technique, which must be highlighted, is that “the assessment of the relative strength of different theories can be quite arbitrary because it is based on the interpretation of the researcher” (WAUTERS; BEACH, 2018, p. 304). To better understand how this methodology works, Møller (2017) gives an example that can more easily connect to this dissertation when studying the origin of representative institutions in the monarchies of The Crown of Aragon. He thought of reasons for key actors, mainly monarchs, to summon assemblies that created these representative institutions and then converted the theoretical consideration into observable implications about the decisions made by key actors and, finally, their aims. Then, he organized these observable implications into tallies:

Let us see this in practice. To make matters simple, suppose that the entire body of work on the origins of representative institutions can be summarized in two competing theoretical perspectives. The first proposition is that representative institutions arose and consolidated themselves as permanent [...] forced rulers to bargain with societal groups such as the nobility [...] Representative institutions provided the forum for doing this and the use of representation provided a way of securing credible commitment. The second proposition is that monarchs called representative institutions to secure public order [...] in anarchic realms plagued by “private wars” between nobles [...] Both causal claims are based on a similar scope condition, namely the existence of weak monarchs facing strong societal groups [...] How can we investigate whether the development of representative institutions in the Crown of Aragon and England corroborates none, one or both of these perspectives? This can be done by operationalizing each claim with respect to observable implications that can be registered on a within-case level. I have gathered a dataset on the development of representative institutions in the Crown of Aragon, 1100-1327, which systematically registers these implications. The dataset is coded using a PhD dissertation by a historian [...] This coding converts the narratives of historians into binary numbers which can be used to analyze within-case implications of causal claims [...] We therefore need to go

“under the hood” of the numbers to adjudicate between the two theories [...] In sum, then, both the “type switch” from pre-parliaments to genuine representative institutions and the later consolidation of these assemblies into permanent public institutions seem to owe to geopolitical factors, not attempts to establish public order (MØLLER, 2017, p. 20-25).

Therefore, the main steps in congruence analysis consist of (MØLLER, 2017; WAUTERS; BEACH, 2018): (i) Selecting the broad theories of interest, followed by selecting relevant cases; (ii) Elaborating hypotheses for each broad theoretical explanation; (iii) Considering relations between hypotheses (contradictions, overlap, complementarity, uniqueness); (iv) Drawing a distinction between the level of theoretical hypotheses and their observable implications for which data can be gathered; and (iv) Determining the relative strength of evidence for the various theories relating to the cases. With this in mind, this chapter has the following sequence:

- (i) A more detailed discussion of each rationale discussed in chapter three, the three broad theories to be considered in the analysis (political, academic, and economic rationales);
- (ii) From the analysis of the literature, draw a hypothesis for each of the rationales/theories above;
- (iii) Evidence is presented from an overview of each university with an office in Brazil using information available on their websites (mainly their office of international affairs’ pages), from the analysis of their strategic plans (mainly those related to their international affairs), and from semi-structured interviews with the international leadership of representative offices and U.S. government officers in Brazil;
- (iv) A comparison between rationales and observations to see which rationale is stronger when explaining the phenomenon that is the internationalization of U.S. universities through a physical presence in Brazil.

Related to the rationales behind internationalization, Foskett (2012) analyzed the international strategic plans of universities and came up with four different types of universities:

- (i) Domestic universities
Institutions focused on their own context with missions that include supporting regional and national communities. They invest little in international recruitment and although they may have an international dimension to their strategy, it is not the priority.
- (ii) Imperialist universities

Universities with solid international recruitment activities, but with little internal changes such as facilities, services, international staff, or curriculum that would reflect the desire to internationalize. This type of university sees internationalization as a financial strategy.

(iii) Internationally aware universities

Universities that are changing their organization and culture to have an international profile. They recognize the global nature of the economy, society, and higher education but have not yet engaged with partners, institutions, recruitment, or researchers overseas.

(iv) Internationally engaged universities

These universities are operating in international arenas through institutional partnerships and student recruitment. They are also changing internally by offering internationalization 'at home', that is, reviewing curriculum for a more global perspective and providing international experiences, services, and cultural facilities on campus to support international and ethnic diversity; recruiting international staff; and encouraging research with partnerships overseas.

(v) Internationally focused universities

These are universities among the “internationally engaged universities” of the category above, but they present a higher level of progress and achievement in internationalization in many dimensions, and cultural change within the institution is transformational. Therefore, they are strong in both internationalization at home and internationalization abroad.

This very interesting categorization in Foskett's work "reflects, of course, an external perspective on the reality of strategy rather than an account of internationalization strategy as the institutions themselves see it" (2012, p. 45), which is important to notice. In this dissertation, the analyses of internationalization strategic plans were also necessary to better gauge the rationales behind the internationalization efforts of U.S. universities with offices in Brazil. Surely the eight U.S. universities with offices in Brazil in 2019 might fit some of the five categories created by Foskett above, possibly as "internationally engaged universities" or "internationally focused universities". Although showing the connection between the four universities studied here and the categories above is not the goal of this chapter, these categories helped inform the framework this chapter presents when analyzing the four U.S. universities with offices in Brazil.

4.2. Rationales for the internationalization of higher education as proposed by this study

Before starting the discussion on the three rationales from literature in higher education, it is necessary to quickly mention how they came up in chapter three. The literature identified four rationales for universities (and sometimes governments) to internationalize higher education: political, economic, academic, and social/cultural. Each rationale brings its goals/elements that these scholars discuss in their research. Scholars affirm that these rationales vary according to the stakeholder considering internationalization efforts, the universities, the government, or industries. When considering the goals/elements within each of the four rationales, this dissertation proposed in chapter three that one of the rationales be encompassed by others due to the similarities of goals/elements. Therefore, it would be possible to summarize four rationales in only three, which would be helpful to facilitate the discussion being conducted in this chapter and the following chapter. In that way, the rationales could be: political, economic, and academic. The goals/elements of the social/cultural rationales could be subsumed under the political and academic rationales as better detailed in the previous chapter. Below, tables 10 and 11 are reprinted side by side to facilitate the visualization of the proposed rationales:

Table 10 –
Rationales Driving Internationalization

Rationales	Existing—National and Institutional Levels Combined
Social/cultural	National cultural identity Intercultural understanding Citizenship development Social and community development
Political	Foreign policy National security Technical assistance Peace and mutual understanding National identity Regional identity
Economic	Economic growth and competitiveness Labour market Financial incentives
Academic	International dimension to research and teaching Extension of academic horizon Institution building Profile and status Enhancement of quality International academic standards

Source: Reprinted from Knight, 2004, p. 23

Table 11 –
Rationales for the internationalization of higher education proposed by the author

Rationale	Goals or elements within each rationale
Political	Foreign policy
	National security
	Technical assistance
	Peace and mutual understanding
	National identity
	Regional identity
National cultural identity	
	Intercultural understanding
Economic	Economic growth and competitiveness
	Labour market
	Financial incentives
Academic	International dimension to research and teaching
	Extension of academic horizon
	Institution building
	Profile and status
	Enhancement of quality
	International academic standards
	Citizenship development
	Social and community development

Source: Elaborated by the author

The elements/goals within each rationale were used when coding strategic plans and semi-structured interviews for this study. Each rationale was considered a theme for coding purposes. A codebook is provided further on this chapter.

4.2.1. Academic rationale – excellence in a globalized world

Most literature on the academic rationale is found in education, and much was mentioned in chapter three. "The focus on the internationalization of universities during the last two decades has undeniably led to universities wanting to be known as international institutions" (KNIGHT, 2015, p. 108). That could mean various things, and each university has its own definition. It can mean having many international students, scholars, and faculty; having partnerships abroad, which can lead to publications with a broader reach; being at the top of international rankings, and having a good reputation or presence abroad. Traditionally, achieving international academic standards (however they may be defined) was the goal mentioned by universities, but more recently there is a "drive to achieve a strong worldwide reputation as an international high-quality institution" (KNIGHT, 2006, p. 18).

There is much controversy on the topic of academic excellence, especially when it comes to rankings that supposedly measure it and are normally considered by governments when developing higher education policies and by universities when creating their strategies. Part of the literature notes that global hegemony is manifested in the agenda of higher education from a neo-colonial perspective due to a Western dominance "[...] where universities in the developing world are at a disadvantage in the international network of knowledge production and distribution, even though they play an essential role in their own countries" (LO, 2011, p. 210). Another significant issue is quality assurance. After all, no one knows for sure who should assert the excellence of academic-related activities or what the metrics and goals to reach academic excellence should be. This topic is highly debated in higher education literature and generally correlated to higher education associations, their reports, peer reviews, and rankings that affect funding, branding, recruitment, and many other aspects of university management and goals in internationalization. "This can lead to both positive and negative consequences unless care is taken on the development and use of appropriate indicators [...] but when only outcome indicators are used the transformative process of internationalization can be ignored" (KNIGHT, 2015, p. 108).

Most international partnerships are motivated by the academic benefits reaped by the institutions involved; after all, “[t]he business of universities is ideas: [...] through research and [...] education and application. Increasingly, the business of universities is as much across as it is within borders [...]” (HUDZIK, 2011, p. 7). However, there are universities driven by status or commercial rationales. When it comes to the specific internalization strategy of a physical presence abroad, an academic benefit of “[...] local teaching staff from the host country, international expatriate staff, and fly-in faculty from partner institutions. This culturally rich mix [...] offers many opportunities for cross-cultural exchange of knowledge, insights, and values” (KNIGHT, 2015, p. 118).

In addition to what is discussed in the literature, it is possible to find a variety of instances when government offices related to education and even foreign affairs mention the importance of academic excellence. Here, the focus, as mentioned before, will be on the United States. There are instances where the government has considered universities part of their policies and international goals. For example, in 2005, the U.S. Congress reached out to universities for support in identifying science and technology that would enable the country to compete at a global level (NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, 2012). A report titled *Rising Above the Gathering Storm: Energizing and Employing America for a Brighter Economic Future* came out that same year. In 2009, Congress asked the National Research Council (NRC) for recommendations of actions that Congress, state governments, research universities, and others could take to maintain excellence in research and doctoral education to compete and prosper (NRC, 2012). The NRC then convened a committee that included academia, industry, government, and laboratory leaders. The report brought up the great interest in international students and scholars by mentioning:

[...] U.S. universities face growing competition from their counterparts abroad
[...] Our research universities have brought to this country the most outstanding students and scholars from around the world, and these individuals have contributed substantially to our research and innovative capacity. Other nations recognize the importance of world-class research universities and are rapidly strengthening their institutions to compete for the best international students and faculty, resources, and reputation. These countries have developed national strategies for education and research and are also offering attractive opportunities to repatriate their citizens who are graduates of U.S. universities [...] it is in the interest of the United States to attract and keep individuals who will create new knowledge and convert it to new products, industries, and jobs in the United States (NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, 2012, p. 4 and 20).

It is clear that these reports focus on U.S. universities' competition against other countries' universities, which according to the framework drawn from the literature, would better connect with the economic rationale for the internationalization of higher education. The NRC (2012) committee recommended that the federal government make it simpler for students who graduated to get U.S. visas to have better chances of gaining permanent residency. Another recommendation is that more actions be taken in the recruitment of talents abroad (2012). The report suggested that one response to the increasing competition U.S. universities face would be that "[i]nstitutions should continue to explore the establishment of overseas campuses and research centers either as stand-alone entities or in partnership with local institutions" (NRC, 2012, p. 68). Another instance of the connection between policies from the U.S. government and the internationalization of higher education is in the International Strategy documents from the U.S. Department of Education titled *Succeeding Globally Through International Education and Engagement 2012–16*. The report mentions that "[t]he strategy reflects the value and necessity of a world-class education for all students; global competencies for all students; international benchmarking and applying lessons learned from other countries; and, education diplomacy and engagement with other countries" (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 2012, p. 1). This document, although it mentioned education diplomacy, which might better fit into the political rationale due to its policy-oriented goals, focuses a bit more on the academic rationale when mentioning the search for world-class education – which would match the ‘quality standard’ element of the academic rationale; and global competencies for all students – which would match the ‘citizenship development’ element.

The United States has institutions that work in higher education and are known worldwide. The American Council on Education (ACE), founded in 1918, has more than 1,700 colleges and universities as members that they mobilize in public policy and innovative practice projects. The National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NAFSA), a nonprofit founded in 1948 by the conjunction of academic institutions, government agencies, and private organizations, aims to promote the professional development of U.S. college and university officials. Today, NAFSA has 10,000 members in over 150 countries. In Brazil, a similar organization was established in 1988, the Brazilian Association for International Education (FAUBAI). The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education (OBHE), originally a collaborative initiative between the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) and universities in the U.K., is a think tank with members across thirty countries. Every year it releases important reports on internationalization activities.

One of these reports informs on the number of international branch campuses (IBC) established by universities abroad. The 2017 IBC report noted that for many successful IBCs, profit was not the main goal and that “[...] some campuses were operated at a loss or subsidized by the home institution during certain periods. However, it is recognized that IBCs need to become financially sustainable over time” (MEROLA, 2019, p. 2). This report shows that this specific type of university abroad—IBCs—do not always generate revenue, which would hint at the political rationale or the academic rationale more than the economic rationale.

Therefore, the elements that should be sought after when looking for an academic rationale behind the U.S. universities' specific internationalization effort of hosting a representative office in Brazil can be:

- A. Mention of the elements/goals of the "academic rationale" found in the literature in their strategic documents and leadership interviews, including:
 - a. international dimension of their research and teaching,
 - b. extension of academic horizons,
 - c. institutional building,
 - d. profile and status,
 - e. enhancement of quality,
 - f. international academic standards,
 - g. citizenship development,
 - h. social and community development.

- B. Existence of on-campus programming related to Brazil to suggest engagement with the country and its institutions:
 - a. have partnerships with Brazilian institutions,
 - b. offer study abroad programs in Brazil,
 - c. have Brazilian students on campus.

4.2.2. Economic rationale – commercialization of services

The internationalization of higher education has evolved to respond to globalization and its trends. Because economies are interconnected and require international acumen from those wanting to join and operate them, universities have had to incorporate these skills into their education and training (TREMBLAY; LALANCETTE; ROSEVEARE, 2012). Much less common is the literature on the economic rationale for the internationalization of higher education. The document that sparks most of the discussions on this theme is the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

In the last decade, some countries are placing more emphasis on economic and income generating opportunities attached to cross-border delivery of education. New franchise arrangement, foreign or satellite campuses, on-line delivery, an increased recruitment of fee-paying students are examples of a more commercial approach to internationalization. The fact that education is now one of the 12 service sectors in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is positive proof that importing and exporting of education programs and services is a potentially lucrative trade area [...] Therefore, countries are showing increase interest in the potential for exporting education [...] (KNIGHT, 2006, p. 16).

GATS is a multilateral and legally enforceable agreement regulating international trade in services, established during the Uruguay Round of the World Trade Organization (WTO). It binds WTO members as it leads them to further market liberalization, but “countries can leave entire sectors out of their GATS commitments, or they may choose to grant market access in specific sectors, subject to the limitations they wish to maintain” (OECD-CERI, 2002, p. 3). Educational services within GATS have been mainly categorized into four sub-sectors: primary, secondary, higher, and adult education. This study focuses on higher education. Commitment within GATS has then been categorized as four modes of supply possible: Cross border supply (mode 1), consumption abroad (mode 2), commercial presence (mode 3), and presence of natural persons (mode 4). Below is a table explaining each mode taken from the background document prepared for the OECD/US Forum on Trade in Educational Services in 2020.

Table 12 – Modes of supply of education

Mode of supply	Explanation	Examples
Cross Border supply (mode 1)	The provision of a service where the service crosses the border (does not require the physical movement of the consumer)	-Distance education -Virtual education institutions -Education software -Corporate training through ICT delivery
Consumption Abroad (mode 2)	Provision of the service involving the movement of the consumer to the country of the supplier	-Students who go to another country to study
Commercial Presence (mode 3)	The service provider establishes or has presence of commercial facilities in another country in order to render service	-Local university or satellite campuses -Language training companies -Private training companies e.g. Microsoft, CISCO, etc.
Presence of Natural Persons (mode 4)	Persons travelling to another country on a temporary basis to provide service	- professors, teachers, researchers working abroad

Source: Reprinted from OECD-CERI 2002, p. 7

The internationalization of higher education can include all the activities mentioned in the GATS mode of educational services. The specific internationalization effort discussed in this dissertation, physical presence abroad through a representative office, is not listed. Although these offices support and facilitate all the activities exemplified in all four modes, a significant majority of them do not perform these services directly. Citing numbers from the Association of International Educators (AIE), on the importance of universities as global players, Maringe and Foskett say:

Universities have now become key players in the global economy, contributing significantly to the knowledge stock of the world and to the financial economy of their countries. It is estimated that foreign students and their dependents contributed approximately US\$15.54 billion to the U.S. economy during the 2007-08 academic year [...] (MARINGE; FOSKETT, 2012, p. 5)

For comparison, the United Kingdom also heavily invests in and promotes its universities and "10 per cent of all U.K. receipts from U.K. visitors and that expenditure by international students generates about L2.4 billion across the economy and creates about 22,000 jobs [...]" (MARINGE; FOSKETT, 2012, p. 25). Demographic issues have also influenced the economies and, therefore, triggered some internationalization initiatives. Some OECD countries face "decreasing domestic enrolments after unprecedented expansion in tertiary education provision in the 1980s,

internationalization is increasingly seen as a way to compensate losses and ensure the viability of some HEIs [higher education institutions]" (TREMBLAY; LALANCETTE; ROSEVEARE, 2012, p. 23). The three largest exporters of higher education include Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The literature says there is no evidence that such expansions are part of an official government effort since it seems the decision to establish a presence outside the country remains with the institution. None of the countries forbid such expansions, though, but they do generally disallow the use of government funding to support such initiatives (LANE; KINSER, 2011).

The expectation that universities should optimize their economic relevance is endorsed by a broad coalition of legislators, entrepreneurs, economic growth pundits, and academic leaders. Although American universities have long engaged in some of these activities, and have greatly enlarged this role since about 1980, the twenty-first century has witnessed an intensification of external inducements and internal willingness to emphasize these tasks. (GEIGER; SÁ, 2008, p. 1).

The United States has advantages for these efforts because of its universities with advanced science and technology, but they live the antagonism between the commitment to learning and the new requirement to have economic relevance, which can be considered a difficult ideological coexistence for the same institutions to bear (GEIGER; SÁ, 2008). However, universities worldwide have experimented with keeping their traditional structure of colleges at the same time as establishing entrepreneurial centers and institutes and creating senior administrative positions focused on fostering innovation (2008). For about three decades, "colleges and universities have produced economic impact reports to demonstrate their local economic contributions; and, mostly for public institutions, demonstrate the return on investment of state appropriations to higher education" (LANE; OWENS, 2012, 208). Institutional leaders prioritize, measure, and evaluate international economic activities, at least in terms of how they choose to communicate these ideas to external constituencies. Some literature in the field sees the higher education system participating and legitimizing inequality. Like the world systems theory, the rich countries would be in the first layer, developing countries in the second layer, and semi-periphery countries would be in the middle.

In HE, we have elite universities which belong to cartels such as the Ivy League in the USA and the Russel Group in the U.K. Rarely do these universities enter into partnership agreements with universities that do not belong to the same league

[...] Human migration patterns are generally from poor to rich countries and so too are recruitment patterns in universities [...] In between the core and the periphery is a group of countries which are neither very rich nor very poor. These are termed the semi-periphery and are often used as a buffer in times of conflict to deflect responsibility. [...] The system is self-selecting, self-fulfilling and self-preserving and is engineered to serve the best advantage of those in the core. (MARINGE; FOSKETT, 2012, p. 21).

The neoliberal theory of globalization is also brought up in the literature, especially when mentioning the WTO, the OECD, the World Bank, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s interference in education. There is always someone in control of the major decisions, which are normally vested in these large Western organizations (MARINGE; FOSKETT, 2012). The same literature defends that similar organizations monitor higher education, which has had the effect of turning universities from places where knowledge is generated “for its own sake or society [into] corporate organizations in their own right, maintaining a watchful eye on the bottom line and, in some cases, seeking to generate a profit using minimum resources” (2012, p. 23). This topic generates more controversy than academic excellence or political rationales. During a panel discussion in London titled “Is internationalisation Dead in a 'Post-Truth' Age?” Nico Jooste, senior director of international education at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University of South Africa, said, “[w]e sugar-coat our commercial drives with the word ‘internationalisation’ and in the process, we might just kill internationalization” (BOTHWELL, 2017). The same news article suggests that the countries that import millions of tuition-paying students from developing countries should take 30% of the financial gain to build meaningful relationships with those countries, including better scientific mobility (2017). A report from the International Association of Universities (IAU) titled *Internationalization of Higher Education: New Directions, New Challenges* and organized by Knight (2006) offered up recommendations to governments in this sense:

First, trade frameworks are not designed to deal with the academic, research, or broader social and cultural purposes of cross-border higher education. Second, trade policy and national education policy may conflict with each other and jeopardize higher education’s capacity to carry out its social and cultural mission. Third, applying trade rules to complex national higher education systems designed to serve the public interest may have unintended consequences that can be harmful to this mission (KNIGHT, 2006, p. 167-168).

Government-related discussions also happen in this rationale. The already mentioned international strategy documents from the U.S. Department of Education titled *Succeeding Globally Through International Education and Engagement 2012–16*, different from the NRC report, do not focus on competing university strategies. They say that "[t]hinking of the future as a contest among nations vying for larger pieces of a finite economic pie is a recipe for protectionism and global strife. Expanding educational attainment everywhere is the best way to grow the pie for all" (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 2012, p. 1).

Like with the academic rationale, the elements that should be sought after when looking for an economic rationale behind the U.S. universities' specific internationalization effort of hosting a representative office in Brazil can be:

- A. Mention of the elements/goals of the economic rationale found in literature in their strategic documents and leadership interviews:
 - a. Economic growth and competitiveness,
 - b. Labor market,
 - c. Financial incentives.

- B. Lack of on-campus programming related to Brazil that would suggest engagement with the country and its institutions:
 - a. Does not have partnerships with Brazilian institutions,
 - b. Does not offer study abroad programs in Brazil,
 - c. Has many Brazilian students on campus.

4.2.3. Political rationale – public diplomacy and soft power

"Education, and more specifically higher education (HE), is seldom an area of interest to political scientists. While the theme has long raised interest among sociologists and economists, political science has been conspicuously absent in the debates of education in general and HE in particular" (BALBACHEVSKY; SAMPAIO; DE ANDRADE, 2019, p. 7). Indeed, although the discussion on the political rationale of the internationalization of higher education has grown since the creation of the term soft power, the literature in the field of education does not focus on this rationale, nor

do political scientists dive into higher education. These factors make it more difficult to study the connection between both, making the research even more relevant. The literature on the political rationale of higher education internationalization affirms that the argument has changed over the years.

In colonial times, education was seen as a tool for both political and economic domination [...] However, in times when major world powers are seeking greater influence across the globe, knowledge and understanding of other people's cultures, language and socio-political systems has become increasingly important. Universities are seen as well suited to nurture this [...] and the more they can do in this regard, the more international their profile becomes (MARINGE; FOSKETT, 2012, 27).

In an article titled *Soft Power and Higher Education*, Nye (2005) suggests how higher education leaders produce significant soft power for the United States. "Secretary of State Colin Powell, for example, said in 2001: 'I can think of no more valuable asset to our country than the friendship of future world leaders who have been educated here'" (NYE, 2005, p. 14). Nye critiqued the increasingly restrictive visa policy of the United States, saying that talented students will go elsewhere, thus causing the U.S. to lose the opportunity to influence and learn from these people who could help enrich the country (2005, p. 14). During the initial efforts of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) in public diplomacy, mentioned in chapter two, "[e]ngagement abroad was not a two-way exchange. The United States would teach but was less interested in learning" (HUDZIK, 2011, p. 14), which should no longer be the case. When discussing the recent decline of the soft power of the United States in its ranking (from the 3rd position in 2017 to 5th in 2019), the *Soft Power 30 Report* featured a recommendation for non-federal government actors to take up a bigger role in engaging the world including local governments, or even businesses, universities, and civil society that could have a diplomatic reach (USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY; PORTLAND; FACEBOOK, 2019). Nye (2006) offered insight on the differences between government and non-government influences on soft power, saying that while governments could control and change foreign policies, they can only promote, not control, popular culture. Therefore, one important resource that exerts soft power is not under governmental control (NYE, Joseph, 2006).

Briefly mentioned in chapters two and three, the Fulbright Program is another significant mark in U.S. public diplomacy and is directly related to the internationalization of higher education.

In 1946, the Fulbright Program, a flagship international educational exchange program sponsored by the U.S. government, was created by a bill introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright. The idea was to fund the promotion of international goodwill through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture, and science. The program is within the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State, under the Public Affairs Officer or Cultural Affairs within U.S. embassies abroad. The primary source of funding comes from the U.S. Congress, in addition to some support from participating countries, host institutions, corporations, and foundations (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, [s. d.]). However, at its inception, the program called for the use of proceeds from the sales of surplus war materials to Europe, when Fulbright had to justify the program as part of the war against communism to access funding. There were commonwealth scholarship schemes at the time already, such as the Rhodes Scholarship from 1903, that also embraced the idea of promoting what today is called soft power. Fulbright once said the U.S. needed such a program more than anyone else because "we are large, powerful and potentially dangerous, so we need to be civilized and humanized more than everybody else" (BBC WORLD SERVICE, 2018). The program is the most extensive U.S. exchange program, and it offers a variety of opportunities such as graduate study, research, university teaching, and primary and secondary school teaching. Currently, about 2,000 grants are awarded in more than 140 countries. The program proudly announces that its alumni include ambassadors, Congress members, judges, heads of corporations, and university presidents. The economist Joseph Stiglitz is one of their 390,000 grantees (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, [s. d.]).

Governments that neglect working on their reputation through university alumni networks forget that academics have a commonality across nations that diplomats do not (THE ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES, 2016). Indeed, from researching U.S. universities' websites and strategic plans, it is noticeable that most have a very organized alumni association and incentivize, sometimes even financially, the establishment of international alumni clubs. The U.S. government had its own initiatives regarding educational physical presences in other countries. The New York Times informed that the State Department financed more than 20 centers for American culture in China to counter anti-American propaganda by offering English courses and cultural presentations (PERLEZ; DING, 2018). The news explained that, in early 1990, it seemed as if the government saw cultural diplomacy as unnecessary since democracy had won countries and minds (2018). However, China was different, and over 70 U.S.

universities had Confucius Institutes at the time, subsidized by the Chinese government to spread Chinese culture (2018). A relevant piece of information to this dissertation is that by 2012, the State Department made grants available to U.S. universities to open centers in Chinese partner universities (2018). The vice-provost for international affairs at a U.S. university met the American ambassador, Jon M. Huntsman Jr., in Beijing in 2011 when the ambassador told him about the State Department's plan: "They're like the Confucius Institutes – this is America's answer [...] You should open a center – try to pick a place that is not Beijing or Shanghai" (PERLEZ; DING, 2018). The news stated that the program's start coincided with a rise in nationalist sentiment in China and worsened when U.S. ambassadors to China started being prohibited from visiting the centers and academics started being interrogated, causing the program to end and centers to close. The State Department had invested around 5.1 million dollars in the initiative (2018).

From this example with China, it is noticeable that the centers funded by the U.S. government but undertaken by U.S. universities were part of the U.S.'s efforts in public diplomacy and soft power. The conversations captured in the interviews conducted by the New York Times above show the close relationship between government offices and university leaders. It also shows informal recommendations related to internationalization strategies. Would the difficulty with the American centers have led universities to start their physical presence with more distant support from the U.S. government or even no support? This is something this study hopes to discuss through interviews with the leadership of universities. IAU's 2005 global report on internationalization, led by Jane Knight, mentioned that non-traditional government bodies and non-governmental organizations are becoming more involved in the internationalization of higher education because of its contributing role to the knowledge society and competitiveness of a country (KNIGHT, 2006). In its background survey, the global report asked universities to rank the level of importance of agencies. Government departments of science and technology came out as more important to internationalization than the ministries of education or foreign affairs, primarily due to their role in funding national and international researchers (KNIGHT, 2006).

As seen before in this chapter, when discussing the academic excellence rationale, the international strategic document from the U.S. Department of Education titled *Succeeding Globally Through International Education and Engagement 2012–16* brought up diplomacy in the education field when saying that their strategy reflects the need for a world-class education system for students as well as "international benchmarking and applying lessons learned from other countries;

and, education diplomacy and engagement with other countries" (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 2012, p. 1). The same report further discusses education diplomacy and the strategy of focusing on "high-priority countries."

By building and fostering relationships with government officials, policymakers, researchers, educators, students, and other professionals around the world, providing leadership on education issues, and learning about and from other countries, the Department is helping to further global stability and progress and, in turn, facilitate a world-class education at home and abroad. This soft diplomacy contributes to our national security, our credibility as a leader among nations, and, ultimately, our national prosperity. The Department addresses this objective by focusing on high-priority countries or regions of the world based on U.S. government needs and priorities, engaging bilaterally with other countries, participating in multilateral organizations, and hosting visitors who come to the United States to learn about U.S. education and share information about their countries (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 2012, p. 11).

With this in mind, the elements below would hint at a political rationale, especially connected with public diplomacy and soft power, of universities that decided to establish an office in Brazil:

- A. Mention of the elements/goals of the political rationale found in literature in their strategic documents and leadership interviews:
 - a. Foreign policy,
 - b. national security,
 - c. technical assistance,
 - d. peace and mutual understanding,
 - e. national identity,
 - f. regional identity,
 - g. national cultural identity,
 - h. intercultural understanding.

- B. Existence of on-campus programming related to Brazil to indicate engagement with the country and its institutions:
 - a. Have partnerships with Brazilian institutions,
 - b. Offer study abroad programs in Brazil,
 - c. Has Brazilian students on campus.

The academic and political rationale overlap in the fact that for both, universities would have partnerships and study abroad programs in Brazil and Brazilian students on campus. For the economic rationale, universities would not have partnerships and study abroad programs in Brazil, but rather would demonstrate more of an interest in recruiting Brazilian students to campus, and therefore collecting tuition. The author prepared a codebook to facilitate the analysis of the interviews and strategic plans. The codebook was used during the qualitative analysis through NVivo. It is an important document that frames the three rationales for the internationalization of higher education as themes and each element within these rationales as codes. There is a description of each code to indicate what type of information the author looked for in the documents and that helped link the information to a specific code. A sample excerpt of a text from the strategies or interviews shows an example of what type of information went into each code. Finally, the author mentions whether the excerpt was taken from a strategy document or from an interview. This step serves to make the research clear and replicable for future studies. For example:

- (i) The excerpt on an interview saying: "It is diplomacy work. So it is not very tangible, or it is not tangible all the time" was considered an example of a "foreign policy" related topic because the interviewee affirms their work for the university is diplomacy. Therefore, the excerpt was added to the "political rationale."
- (ii) The excerpt from another interview saying: "But obviously, as you do that, the priorities are always supporting recruitment" was considered an example of "economic growth and competitiveness" because it relates to recruiting students who can pay university tuition. It was added within the "economic rationale."
- (iii) The excerpt on a strategic plan saying: "Given the university's comparative advantage in the global space, the key questions before us concern how we leverage the enormous amount of activity currently underway to maintain our pre-eminence," was considered an example of a "profile and status" issue, because the university is worried about its international status, so it was added to the "academic rationale".

Table 13 – Codebook used for NVivo analysis with rationales as themes, elements of each rationale as codes, description of codes, sample excerpts from texts analyzed, and origin of excerpts.

Rationales/ Themes coded	Subthemes	Description	Sample excerpt coded	Document
Political		Political rationales for the internationalization of higher education	<i>You know, the government, it shows the people that you are really serious, you were really interested in the country and to know more about the country and to invest in the country.</i>	Interview with university representative
	Foreign policy	Interest in engaging other country's government and policies	<i>It is diplomacy work. So it is not very tangible or it is not tangible all the time.</i>	Interview with university representative
	National identity	Interest in showcasing a national identity in another country	<i>So basically, the public diplomacy structure or the programs we develop are to overcome misconceptions, overcome preconceived notions about the US.</i>	Interview with government representative
	National cultural identity	Interest in showcasing a national cultural identity in another country	<i>We are community orientated. We are family oriented. We like to bring the team in. Right. And so Brazilian students have all those traits and, so they want us, they want our students.</i>	Interview with government representative
	Regional identity	Interest in showcasing a regional identity in another country	<i>So to share values, the common interests and desmistify that the US is something they already have in mind.</i>	Interview with government representative
	National security	Interest in protecting the national security facing another country	n/a	n/a
	Peace and mutual understanding	Interest in facilitating peace and mutual understanding between countries	<i>One of the top priorities of the US mission in Brazil is education and in terms of higher education, to foster mutual understanding and linkage between Brazilian organizations, Brazilian higher education institutions and US higher education institutions.</i>	Interview with government representative
	Intercultural understanding	Interest in development intercultural understanding with another country	<i>Creating a community of diverse viewpoints - economic, cultural, intellectual - in order to build a generation of innovators, leaders, visionaries, and creators, remains one of the highest priorities.</i>	University strategy
	Technical assistance	Interest in deploying technical assistance to develop the other country	<i>So there is many different ways in which we interact with government agencies to either provide training or access funding, or generate learning and consulting opportunities for our students.</i>	Interview with university representative
Economic		Economic rationales for the internationalization of higher education	<i>The CGCs do not attempt to be satellite campuses, which often fall victim to a host of problems. Instead, they function as hubs. For expanding [the university]'s mission, and do so in a financially sustainable manner based on targeted donor relations.</i>	Global strategy document
	Economic growth and competitiveness	Interest in activities that will raise revenue within another country	<i>But obviously, as you do that, the priorities are always supporting recruitment.</i>	Interview with university representative
	Financial incentives	Interest in financial support from another country	<i>The second thing is there has to be "grana" very crass about this and in general, too about this. Somebody has to help the university find the resources.</i>	Interview with university representative
	Labour market	Interest in developing stakeholders ability to compete in the labour market	<i>We send about 3500 students abroad, also every year, to gain some kind of experience, whether it is a semester lon on no exchange, or some other kind of experiential learning, though internships or service, consulting projects, there is a lot.</i>	Interview with university representative
Academic		Academic rationales for the internationalization of higher education	<i>Dozens of [university] research centers cross disciplinary boundaries in the search for broad Knowledge that is firmly grounded in local contexts.</i>	Global strategy document
	Enhancement of quality	Interest in having better quality services	<i>Academic excellence in part is to be global, to have a global presence, a global relationship.</i>	Interview with university representative
	International academic standards	Interest in having better quality services according to international peers	<i>They want to internationalize the university and it is important to have a visibility to the country.</i>	Interview with university representative
	Institution building	Interest in developing a new system and structure	<i>Because the centers do not have the structural rigidity of the branch campus, they allow the University to increase its global scope and enrich diversity of academic experience, while maintaining strong connections with the home campus.</i>	Global strategy document
	Extension of academic horizon	Interest in adding diverse academic knowledge	<i>This intensifies the need to reach out energetically to partners in the academy, government, and industry. One way to do so it by leveraging the presence we have with [university] offices and facilities in or near cities with international profiles.</i>	University strategy
	International dimension to research and teaching	Interest in offering more international-related research and teaching opportunities	<i>The Global Centers are no effort to push [university] faculty and students out into the world where they can work on substantive projects in collaboration with local institutions and peer faculty and students.</i>	Global strategy document
	Profile and status	Interest in increasing awareness about its brand	<i>Given [university]'s comparative advantage in the global space, they key question before us concern how we leverage the enormous amount of activity currently underway to maintain its pre-eminence.</i>	Global strategy document
	Social and community development	Interest in developing an international and diverse campus community	<i>Provides its community with a unique set of opportunities ranging from international travel grants to world leaders as guest speakers to access to global think tanks, expanding and deepening perspective and engagement.</i>	Global strategy document
	Citizenship development	Interest in developing global citizens	<i>At present, the University offers students many opportunities to study abroad that are closely integrated with support structures and the goals of individual schools.</i>	University strategy

Source: Elaborated by the author.

One important note about how this dissertation's author worked with the codebook above is that excerpts that seemed to fit on more than one theme or subtheme were added to more than one of them.

4.3. U.S. universities with offices in Brazil

As of the beginning of this study in 2019, there were eight U.S. universities with representative offices in Brazil. The initial information came from the author's already mentioned practice in the field of higher education both in the United States and Brazil, then from searching the websites of 131 R1 doctoral universities with high research activities from the Carnegie Classification. The last step was to confirm the information with an EducationUSA office, a U.S. Department of State network of over 430 international student advising centers in 178 countries that promote U.S. higher education. For the research, the author focused on four of the eight universities for reasons mentioned in chapter one, which include avoiding a conflict of interest with the author's work as a representative of one U.S. university with an office in Brazil. Below is a discussion of each office's establishment in more detail, including venue, leadership, activity, and goal in Brazil. The information was gathered from the universities' strategic plan, from what the universities and the office's website provide, and from semi-structured elite interviews with each office's leadership and U.S. government officers, such as EducationUSA coordinators and cultural affairs specialists at the U.S. Consulate in Brazil. Interviews were essential to close gaps that documents and website information left due to their public, general, and broad nature, to facilitate access to new sources of information, and to support the triangulation of methodologies. As promised to the interviewees, the author used numbers to describe the universities instead of their names.

University 1 has nine satellite offices worldwide, reaching virtually every continent. Two offices are in Latin America, and one is in Brazil. They are called Global Centers. The general webpage for the Global Centers informs that the university president founded the centers "with the objective of connecting the local with the global, to create opportunities for shared learning and to deepen the nature of global dialogue." The office offers education, research, and public engagement programs with local partners such as universities, companies, governmental bodies, and NGOs to hold policy-level conferences, roundtables, and seminars. Their global themes are arts and humanities, business and entrepreneurship, health and medicine, international and public affairs and science, engineering, and environment. The office in Brazil was established in 2013 in Rio de Janeiro and is located at Casa do Empresario, described as a "building in the heart of the commercial center of Rio." Its in-country director is a U.S. citizen and has a background in economics, having worked on Wall Street doing economic research on Latin America. Among its areas of interest mentioned above, the center in Brazil seeks to support public leaders to improve

and expand service delivery. The recommendation on Global Initiatives from the senate of the university, dated 2013, highlighted that these offices are "innovative and cost-effective," and for Brazil, it has a funding note clarifying that the "space was rent-free for 1.5 years through the Office of the Mayor of Rio", and it explains that their "[p]ublic arts programs [were] designed to build a constituency and draw local support of the global centers."

During the interview with the director, he mentioned how happy they were with the launch of a 150-page digital book on the history of their university with Brazil, how land grant universities usually have lots of involvement with governments and lists interactions over the years that involved other U.S. universities such as the foundation of the Vargas Foundation with the support of Michigan State, the foundation of the Technological Institute of Aeronautics (ITA) with support of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), the connections between the establishment of Brazilian Agricultural Research Company (EMBRAPA) and Purdue University and The Ohio State University and the establishment of the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) with University of California. The director reminded the fact that what the U.S. government did in 1960 depended heavily on the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), especially because the U.S. was anxious to keep Brazil away from Cuba through intellectual exchange and the impact that would have over time. Their office in Brazil focuses on research and leverages connections with wealthy Brazilians, such Jorge Paulo Lemman, to fund their initiatives. In addition to the director there are five other staff members.

University 2 has twenty-two offices abroad, either managed by its area study centers or by a specific college or school, which can sometimes make it appear as it has two different offices in the same country, which is the case for Brazil. Their Center for Latin American Studies in Brazil was established long before any other university in 2006, and it aims to "expand research, teaching and learning opportunities for faculty and students." The office's leadership has the title of director, and the current director is a Brazilian citizen with social work background and experience in nonprofits and international organizations. The office also has an advisory faculty committee and board. It is partially supported by an endowment established by Jorge Paulo Lemann, a Brazilian billionaire investment banker and business alumnus of the university. The office is in Sao Paulo on Paulista Avenue, the city's economic and business center. Among their programs and initiatives are Brazil studies seminars, early childhood development, mentoring and language acquisition in Brazil, and collaborative public health courses. Most of these initiatives happen in partnership with

only two Brazilian universities, the University of Sao Paulo and Insper. The second office represents only the university business school. In Sao Paulo, both offices share the same space, but each office has its own website. The business school's first office in Latin America was in Buenos Aires, Argentina, established in 2000 "to satisfy strong interest" on the part of its faculty. As a result of the establishment of the office, "the volume of in-depth research and course materials that focus on business management issues specific to Latin American companies" increased, strengthening "relationships with important companies and organizations, fostering increased student engagement in the region." The other two offices in Latin America followed, and the one in Brazil was established in 2015. Its activities include student immersion programs, an entrepreneurship series of interviews with businesspersons who "have an impact on Brazilian society," and MBA recruitment tours. The head of the office is a senior researcher. In an overview of the office of international affairs activity, the university's president is quoted as saying: "Our robust commitment to internationalism is not an incidental or dispensable accessory. It is integral to all we do, in the laboratory, in the classroom, in the conference hall, in the world."

During the interview, the director of the Brazilian office of the university highlights the importance of faculty connections to get things moving forward. In addition to faculty research interests being the driver of the existence of the office in Brazil, donations such as David Rockefeller's and Jorge Paulo Lemman's and wealthy alumni is what funds their initiatives. The director says the mission of the office is to cut the elitist stigma of the university and show that excellence is accessible. The office is not a gatekeeper and a lot happens between students and faculty of the university and Brazilian institutions that does not go through the office. In addition to the director, there are other six staff members at the office.

University 3 also has an office of international affairs website that hosts its global network. The offices are Global Gateways or Global Centers when the geographical area is more defined. Both are "[...] more than launching pads for our faculty and students. They allow for rich collaborations with local universities, research centers, governments, churches, and grassroots organizations." Five Gateways (Beijing, Dublin, Jerusalem, London, and Rome) and six Centers (Santiago, São Paulo, Mexico City, Hong Kong, Mumbai, and Ireland) exist. The Sao Paulo office was established in 2016 on Faria Lima Avenue, described on the website as "the city's principal area of business. This financial center is ranked the eighth largest GDP in the world and is host to many large companies, nonprofit organizations, startups, and government agencies, many of whom

host summer interns." Sao Paulo is described as "the most populous city in the western hemisphere with more than 21 million people in the metropolitan area [...]" a place for the university "to expand its collaborations with universities, corporations, foundations, and government organizations, and raise its profile in South America." Their website highlights a story from 2018 when Judge Sérgio Moro was recognized as a "force for good" during a ceremony of the university. The office's director is a Brazilian citizen, holds a part-time position, and her background is in international education with experience in U.S. government offices.

During the interview, the director of the office mentioned that the goal of the university is to be in all the main regions of the world with its offices and that the university chooses countries and cities that are important, especially where the university has alumni. The alumni club in Brazil was decisive when choosing the country and the fact that one of the board of trustees of the university is of Brazilian descent also helped. The director is supported by only another staff member at the office.

University 4 has an office of global services under which all international programs are housed. The universities describe them as "[l]ocated in the creative capital of the world, known for innovation and international trade [...] among a small number of institutions on which the world depends for a steady stream of new knowledge." The university has nine international offices to "promote and facilitate the university's global engagement by supporting recruitment, cultivating local relationships, and facilitating academic activities." The majority of offices are located in Asia. Brazil is the only office in South America. The office is in Sao Paulo and was established in 2013. While the leader's title is listed as consultant on the webpage, they are described as a director on business cards. The office does not have its own website but, like most offices, has a presence on social media, where there are many posts on recruitment fairs and events and scholarships for business students. The strategic plan launched in 1994 says that "[...] because of the characteristics of [...] our students and alumni, our ties are much closer to the countries of the Pacific Rim and of Central and South America, and we should focus on those areas." That would happen through "connections with universities, communities, alumni, and corporations abroad to increase research collaborations; attract students, postdoctoral fellows, and visiting faculty of high quality; and develop opportunities in other countries for [...] faculty and students. The strategic plan adds that the university would be favored to participate in the development of the regions cited above "[i]f

these regions play their anticipated roles in the economic and political development of the world in the next decade [...]”.

During the interview, the director explained how donations also support the office although the office is not directly involved in advancement duties. Lemman foundation is one important supporter. They university has a lot of visibility on the news and was recently featured in Fantastico, the Brazilian Sunday news broadcast. The director is the only staff member of the office in Brazil.

Table 13 – U.S. universities in Brazil – profile according to strategic documents, website information, and leadership interview.

Universities	Public or private	Number of offices abroad	Number of offices in Brazil	Location	Description of location	Year of establishment	Title of office lead	Background of office lead	Focus activities	Funding
1	Private	8	1	Rio de Janeiro	Business center	2013	Director	Business	Global dialogue, research, public policy	Endowment (Lemman Foundation) and individual donations from wealthy Brazilians and/or alumni.
2	Private	22	2	São Paulo	Cultural and business center	2006	Director	Education	Research, teaching, and learning	Endowment (Rockefeller and Lemman Foundations) and individual donations from wealthy Brazilians and/or alumni.
3	Private	11	1	São Paulo	Business and financial center	2016	Director	Education	Research collaboration	University support and individual donations from alumni.
4	Private	9	1	São Paulo	Business center	2013	Consultant	Education	Recruitment	Endowment (Lemman Foundation) and individual donations from alumni.

Source: Elaborated by the author

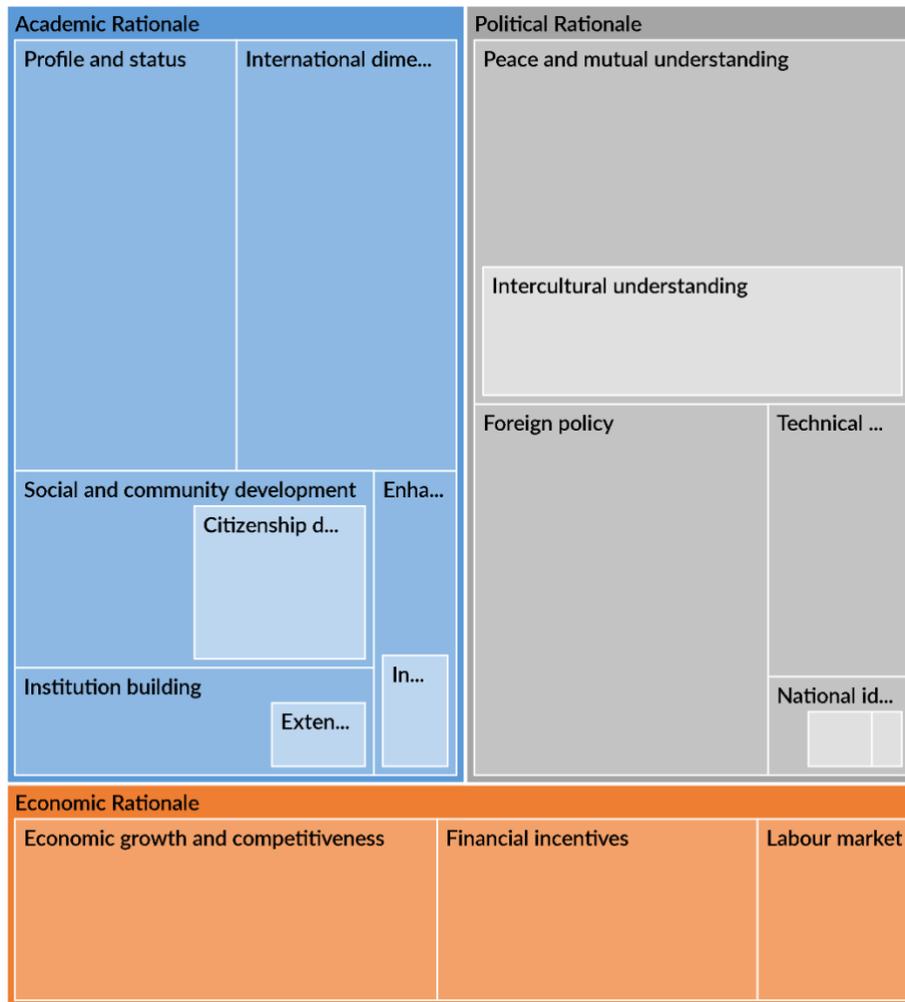
4.4. Findings from the analysis of documents and interviews

- A first way to visualize the content of the interviews and strategic plans gathered is through word clouds, available through NVivo, that show the words most frequently mentioned in the text. Using that tool for the content analysis of four strategic plans and eight semi-structured interviews, totaling twelve documents and 177 pages, we learned the following:

- When considering the interviews with university representatives, the political rationales almost had the same weight as academic rationales. Within the political rationales, “foreign policy” related codes were the majority, whereas in the academic rationale, the search for an “international profile and status” was mentioned more frequently. The economic rationales were mentioned much less frequently, and within this theme, activities that involved “economic growth and competitiveness,” such as recruitment of new students, were predominant.
- When considering only interviews with government officials, the results changed utterly. There was an increase in the mentions of “political rationales,” within which “peace and mutual understanding” became the predominant subtheme instead of “foreign policy”. Interestingly, the economic rationale is the second mentioned, and academic rationale is last.
- When both sets of interviews (university leadership and government officials) were analyzed together, the political rationale was only slightly more predominant than the academic rationale, “foreign policy” and “peace and mutual understanding” are almost the same in terms of mentions. The academic rationale references “profile and status” as the most important topic mentioned. The economic rationale again focuses on “economic growth and competitiveness” as the most mentioned topic.
- When only university strategies are considered, the academic rationale is for the first time more robust than the political rationale. The two most mentioned topics in the academic rationale are “social and community development” and “international dimension to research and teaching.” “Peace and mutual understanding” was the most mentioned topic within the political rationale. Within the economic rationale, “economic growth and competitiveness” was again the strongest.
- When all the documents are gathered in the analysis, the academic and political rationales have almost the same weight again. The academic and political rationale were both mentioned in the twelve documents, the former with 92 mentions against 91 of the latter. Within the academic rationale, “profile and status” and “international dimension to research and teaching” are the most mentioned. “Peace and mutual understanding” is more robust within the political rationale. The economic rationale, mentioned in 11 documents, had 53

references throughout the texts, and “economic growth and competitiveness” was the most coded topic.

Figure 7 – Hierarchy chart of most coded themes and codes within universities' strategic plans and interviews



Source: Elaborated by the author using NVivo.

To add to the qualitative analysis above, the descriptive statistics of U.S. universities with offices in Brazil is below. The information was manually searched on the universities' websites, mainly the pages of their international office or office of global and international affairs. It shows that all four U.S. universities with offices in Brazil have Brazilian students on their campuses and offer study abroad programs in Brazil for their students. In terms of executed or formalized partnerships

with Brazilian institutions, only one university did not have any in 2019. The author's practice in the field, though, suggests that the fact that the university did not mention any partnership with Brazilian universities on its website does not mean that there are no collaborations between these universities and Brazilian institutions. It might only mean that there is not any partnership executed or formalized under a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), for example. However, this information about the universities does not rule out any theories or rationales. A university might have had an economic rationale and still show all these data points. However, a university that did not have any study abroad programs or partnerships and only had students from Brazil might hint at the economic rationale and a significant interest in only recruiting students instead of a deeper academic and political engagement with the country. Nonetheless, we do not have any such cases among the four universities studied here.

Table 15 – Internationalization metrics related to Brazil from universities’ websites.

UNIVERSITY	OFFICE IN BRAZIL	PARTNERS	STUDY ABROAD	STUDENTS
1	1	0	3	204
2	2	8	3	126
3	1	2	3	40
4	1	4	13	83

Source: Elaborated by the author.

With the data and observations gathered above, the congruence analysis per university can be applied. It is essential to remember that in congruence analysis, no theory should be ruled out. The idea is to check which theory might be more relevant when explaining the phenomenon. There are two subtypes of congruence analysis: a) a competing theories approach, when one theory explains the research question better than the others, and b) a complementary theories approach, when one theory provides relevant insights that the other did not. “It seems important to stress that both subtypes remain firmly in the ‘epistemological middle ground’ between more fundamentalist accounts of Positivism, Constructivism, and Realism” (BLATTER, 2012, p. 11).

Table 16 – Congruence analysis of three theories/rationales in the internationalization of higher education and the observations from U.S. universities with offices in Brazil

Universities	Academic rationale	Economic Rationale	Political rationale	Most mentioned academic element	Most mentioned economic element	Most mentioned political element
1	29	20	22	Profile and status	Financial incentives	Peace and mutual understanding
2	20	9	12	International dimension to research and teaching	Financial incentives	Peace and mutual understanding
3	22	3	10	Profile and status	Financial incentives	Peace and mutual understanding
4	21	17	28	Profile and status	Economic growth and competitiveness	Peace and mutual understanding
TOTAL	92	49	72			

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The results of the analysis show:

- Three out of four universities have stronger academic rationale for the specific internationalization effort of having an office in Brazil. The most mentioned reason within the academic rationale was their “profile and status” as an international or global university. Three universities out of the four had this result against one university whose mention of “international dimension of research and teaching” was more frequent.
- The political rationale is also surprisingly significant. When this research started, the idea was that the political rationale, which included foreign policy and diplomacy, might be one of the three main rationales. However, it being ahead of the economic rationale is a surprise. Within the political rationale, “peace and mutual understanding” were unanimously mentioned by all four universities.
- When considering the economic rationale, the most mentioned element was “financial incentives”, which included information on existing donors and endowments in Brazil (such as Lemman or Rockefeller Foundations and individual wealthy alumni) or existing funding support from research foundations and agencies in Brazil (such as the Sao Paulo Research Foundations (FAPESP) and the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES)). This fact is more relevant than the recruitment of paying students, listed as “economic growth and competitiveness”, in all but one university.

One important historical fact that was slightly mentioned during some interviews is that most of the offices of U.S. universities established in Brazil were established during the existence of the Science Without Borders (SwB) program. SwB was launched in July 2011, during Dilma Rousseff's government (BUSTAMANTE, 2020). It used funds mainly from CAPES to offer scholarships for Brazilian undergraduate and graduate student exchanges at foreign universities and the goal was offer 101 thousand scholarships to help internationalize science, technology and innovation in Brazil (BRASIL. MINISTERIO DA CIENCIA, TECNOLOGIA E INOVACAO, 2022). The last call for the program was in 2014 and the program was officially canceled in 2017, when billions had been spent in the program and the U.S. was shown as the number one country to host Brazilian students (BUSTAMANTE, 2020). There are many studies in Brazil to understand SwB's impacts in education and in the country in general. But the fact the U.S. universities suddenly welcomed so many fully funded Brazilian students on their campuses might have sent a message that Brazil was the country to invest on at that time. Around that time, Brazil was growing and the government of Lula had been positively viewed abroad. None of the eight U.S. universities with offices in Brazil closed right after the end of the SwB program, because they were still in existence in 2019, when this author collected the information, but two of them closed quickly after. One of them closed still in 2019 due to financial cuts and the other did not show the office in this website in early 2020, which can be seen on their website links listed on Appendix 1.

The fact that the political rationale came out as a relevant theory to explain the offices of U.S. universities in Brazil might have happened for a variety of reasons, such as universities knowing their role as soft power resources for the United States and wanting to make that clear through their international strategic plans and interviews. No direct connection with the U.S. government was found in the documents or interviews though. However, universities understand their role as an agent of peace and mutual understanding through research collaborations and exchanges and not necessarily as an agent of foreign policy, which according to the literature make sense, public diplomacy might be negatively affected by its close connection to foreign policy. Alternatively, universities may assume they are international actors and responsible for public diplomacy efforts for their country, especially related to peace and mutual understating. Again, a safe distancing from anything related to foreign policy is kept and the idea of "safe heaven" is maintained. It is also possible that the interviewees were biased towards this theme since they knew the school to which the interviewer was connected (Institute of International Relations). It is also

important to consider that the coding of the text is under the subjectivity of the author of the dissertation. That is why triangulation is important. In any case, the study results are valid, easily replicable, and can be an interesting addition to the literature.

As per congruence analysis, none of the theories rule out each other. The academic rationale proved to be the strongest theory to explain why U.S. universities established representative offices in Brazil. Their need to maintain their status as an international and global university requires them to have some presence in key countries or regions. One interviewee said, "if we are a global university but we are not present at one of these emerging powers, what does that say about us as an institution?" The fact that academic rationales were clearly more relevant only when university documents were analyzed show how these documents are prepared and intended to portray the university's interest in its core business of teaching and learning, which might not always be the reality. The fact that the academic rationale was the least relevant when analyzing interviews with U.S. government officials might hint to real interest behind these jobs, that are not indeed necessarily connected to academia.

The economic rationale was the least relevant and that might be because universities know that Brazil is a tough market or because institutions and their leadership do not like to speak directly about finances. However, the fact that the interest in Brazil primarily stems from wealthy donors rather than recruitment shows that connections and networking are important. It might hint at a diplomacy element connected with a country's elites. Although all the universities are private, the only time when the economic rationale was the second most mentioned rationale was when analyzing interviews with government officials. However, there were no relevant observations that would indicate a direct government support for the universities. The U.S. government does support all these universities with grants and funding for research and other activities that involve internationalization, but there is no financial support going directly to the establishment of offices abroad. Through interviews, it was found that the U.S. government does offer information support to these universities through its agencies and networks especially focused on public diplomacy and public and cultural affairs; however, they highlight that there is no special treatment to universities interested in placing an office in Brazil when compared to other universities merely interested in recruiting or making research connections. Any connections with the U.S government would be indirect, as most successful public diplomacy and soft power efforts would be.

The next and final chapter of this dissertation adds to these findings. It will be a qualitative and quantitative exercise in understanding what elements of Brazil's soft power might have drawn the attention of U.S. universities and the significance of these elements compared to academic elements. In other words, which is more significant for U.S. universities, the numbers of Brazilian students on campus, the number of partnerships with Brazilian institutions, the number of study abroad programs in Brazil or Brazil's culture, political values, and foreign policy?

5. How do U.S. universities choose the host country? Universities as “consumers” of public diplomacy⁵

This chapter is intrinsically connected to the previous chapter. It can almost confirm the results of the findings in the previous chapter regarding the rationale behind U.S. universities' decision to establish a physical presence abroad, namely, representative offices in Brazil. The idea here is to determine what main factors related to Brazil influenced U.S. universities' decision to choose Brazil as a receiving country of their representative offices. Did elements of Brazil's economy, culture, and foreign policy weigh in the decision, or did only the academic relationship of these universities with institutions in Brazil play a role? Therefore, it is a question that tries to understand if U.S. universities only look at their internal administrative information or if external information is also considered. The answer to this question would also hint at the strength of Brazil's soft power over other countries and foreign institutions, which could be an interesting addition to current literature on the internationalization of higher education that tends to focus on the efforts of sending countries.

“The success of any country’s public diplomacy efforts ultimately rests on its reserve of soft power” (USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY; PORTLAND, 2017, p. 122). The hypothesis here is that universities indeed paid attention to soft power and diplomacy when establishing a representative office in Brazil. Internal or academic factors, such as existing academic collaborations with the host country, should also play an important role. However, this chapter concludes that the latter might not be as significant as the former. A statistical exercise is confirmed by information collected from semi-structured interviews with university leadership and U.S. consulate officials already used in chapter four. The same coding software, NVivo, was used to analyze the interviews. Comparing the United States and Europe, de Wit (2001) explains that “[i]n the United States, internationalization is more driven by political rationales of national security and foreign policy, while in Europe economic competition and academic quality are the

⁵ A version of this chapter was accepted to be presented during ISA 2019; however, due to the pandemic, it was only presented in 2020 at the virtual ISA. A similar version, with an enhanced quantitative analysis supported by Prof. Daniela Schettini, who joined as co-author, was later published in the *Globalisation, Societies and Education* (A2) U.K journal. Citation: Jane Kelli Aparecido & Daniela Carla Decaro Schettini (2022): Brazil's diplomacy and soft power attracting U.S. universities' efforts in internationalisation through an in-country physical presence, *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, DOI: 10.1080/14767724.2022.2027745. To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2022.2027745>

main rationales [...]” (DE WIT, 2001, p. 73). Since, as part of the diplomacy realm, the construction of long-term relationships with another country could lead to favorable foreign policy outcomes (LEONARD; STEAD; SMEWING, 2002), it makes sense that long-term partnerships with other higher education institutions and other non-academic organizations might play a role in favor of a country. As seen in chapter two, Cull (2018) emphasizes that since the end of the Cold War, the dynamic within diplomacy and public diplomacy has significantly shifted toward a more horizontal structure in which non-governmental organizations, international organizations, corporations, and non-state actors join governments as practitioners of public diplomacy (CULL, 2008). Could universities be on this list of public diplomacy practitioners? As seen in the previous chapter, that might be so, although it is not explicit or, sometimes, not even a goal. One excerpt from an interview with a U.S. university official says that diplomacy “[...] is a positive unintended consequence of our work.”

Brazilian institutions and U.S. universities have long-term relationships and research collaborations. Some of these connections started with support from the U.S. federal government through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) funds for faculty capacity-building programs (VECHIA; FERREIRA, 2020) as seen in chapter four. That connection fits into de Wit's (2001) explanation of the U.S. goals during the period:

[t]he immediate post-war period was strongly influenced by the war and had a strong idealistic connotation of peace and mutual understanding [whereas] The second period [1970-1980] focused more on the developing countries, with North-North co-operation marginalised to a small sector within diplomatic relations (DE WIT, 2001, p. 16).

However, the United States is one of many countries to use education as a resource to exert soft power. Another country that has utilized education as a means of soft power is China. Its Confucius Institutes focus on language and culture and are also physical presences abroad. The promotion of Chinese language and culture coincided with the emergence of concerns in the U.S. related to China's growing global hegemony (PARADISE, 2009). The Chinese government sponsors and Chinese universities pilot these institutes as a form of cultural diplomacy that involved soft power techniques and aims to create global sympathy towards the country (PAN, 2013). One of the differences between China's Confucius Institutes and U.S. universities' representative offices is that

the latter is a private or public university initiative, not directly connected to the U.S. government as we have seen in chapter four. In contrast, the Chinese government directly sponsors the former.

This chapter aims to show that, if not exactly practitioners or actors of public diplomacy, U.S. universities are at least "consumers" of public diplomacy information from other countries as they pay attention to other countries' diplomacy efforts and exercise of soft power and consider them in the decision-making process of internationalization. To avoid depending on the number of international students looking for higher education in the United States, varying the scope and goals of internationalization seems to be the best practice for U.S. universities. In this sense, these offices seem to be critical. Although the variability of leadership within the U.S. government can lead to harsher actions towards immigrants and international politics, most U.S. universities have been increasing the emphasis on internationalization worldwide.

One of the main features of this model of internationalization, that is having a physical presence abroad, which was briefly mentioned in chapter one, is that universities strategically plan and develop their engagement with the targeted country. "Strategically plan" means that universities will report their data on that country, such as existing academic relationships with institutions, number of recruited students, number of faculty and students who travel there, and number of alumni, before bringing the discussion to the board and leadership. Such data will show how many and how important academic connections and grant opportunities are, how much revenue comes in tuition, how much the university's students and faculty members are interested in that country's culture and institutions, and how many potential donors there are. In addition, placing an entire operation within another country would probably require universities' risk management offices to report data on a country's safety, economic, and political situation to avoid liability and financial risks. Given this practical reality, in which the author of this dissertation has some participation as a representative of a U.S. university in Brazil, this dissertation considers this type of informed decision-making as strategic. Literature on international education agrees:

We conceptualize internationalization as a rationalized organizational activity. Scholars have called internationalization an intentional process (de Wit et al., 2015) and noted that it is achieved through "strategic planning efforts" (Schoorinan, 1999, p. 152). [...] internationalization strategy documents, which are discursive artifacts that articulate an institution's official approach to internationalization [...] are typically public-facing documents, produced by key actors in colleges and universities and formally endorsed by the highest levels of leadership (Childress, 2009; Taylor, 2004). They are also strategic documents that guide action by determining priority activities and resource allocation (BUCKNER *et al.*, 2020, p. 23).

For example, the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, and India have established branch campuses for teaching and research purposes (BRITISH COUNCIL; GERMAN ACADEMIC EXCHANGE SERVICE (DAAD), 2014). Such a strategy may also have involved research on and consideration of a country's soft power and diplomacy.

This chapter focuses on universities from the United States because it is the most active country with institutions establishing a physical presence abroad, in whatever form (branches or offices). The focus on Brazil, again, was due to research feasibility and interest in learning more about Latin America as a region of focus. In addition, in the Soft Power 30 reports from 2015 to 2019, Brazil is the only Latin American country to be ranked. Mexico appeared in 2015 and Argentina in 2016 and 2018, but always in lower positions. The Soft Power 30 report will be instrumental in delineating the variables for the regression exercise in the section below. According to the previous chapter, in Brazil, there were eight representative offices from U.S. universities in 2019, when all the data for the dissertation was collected. These are universities with very high research activities, according to the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE), a public database with a list of most U.S. universities, as seen in chapter one, four, and reviewed below. Most of these offices are in the city of Sao Paulo, considered the economic and business center of Brazil.

5.1. What draws U.S. universities to Brazil?

5.1.1. Database

This chapter will test the significance of different elements related to Brazil that U.S. universities may have considered when deciding to establish an office in the country. The chosen elements are certainly not the only ones considered in actual practice, but they give an idea about what universities weigh during decision-making. To avoid rankings lists that may be partial, the list of universities developed by CCIHE (2018) was used. CCIHE, created in the seventies by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, is a framework for classifying colleges and universities in the United States into three comparable groups:

- (i) Doctoral Universities – Very High Research Activity (R1), with 131 universities;

- (ii) Doctoral Universities – High Research Activity (R2), with 132 universities;
- (iii) Doctoral/Professional Universities (R3), with 161 universities listed.

For the statistical exercise performed in this chapter, R1 universities were selected (Appendix 1); therefore, a dataset with 131 U.S. universities was used. A future study could include both R2 and R3 to get a complete view of U.S. universities. It is then important to repeat the disclaimer mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation that the focus on R1 universities might affect the outputs of the research, for this can be considered a homogenous group of somewhat large research universities. Therefore, any results in the attempt to understand the behavior of higher education institutions towards internationalizations will be limited, directed and potentially biased towards institutions with the R1 profile due to the small variance in the exercise below.

5.1.2. Variables

This chapter uses a statistical regression model to test the significance of elements considered by universities to open an office in Brazil. The test was done using information from 131 U.S. universities. The test is then validated by document analysis of the chosen four universities' internationalization strategies and eight semi-structured elite interviews, totaling twelve documents and 177 pages as mentioned in chapter one. Also in chapter one, it is explained that these four universities were chosen for the qualitative analysis because they are among the eight universities with offices in Brazil in 2019, because they are relevant well-known universities, and because there are no conflicts of interest involving the author's work as a representative of a U.S. university in Brazil. Another disclaimer that is important to repeat is that these number of universities, documents, and interviews collected might be considered a small number of documents for analysis. However, the author understands the database and documents collected for the exploratory exercises to follow are immensely effective and easily replicable.

For the quantitative analysis exercise with 131 U.S. universities, the dependent variable, designed as a binary variable, asks if the university has an office in Brazil. If affirmative, it takes the value of "1", and if negative, it assumes "0." This information was manually collected from each of the 131 universities' websites, especially the pages of their international offices in 2019. The independent variables were separated into two groups. The first, called "non-academic factors"

or external factors represent elements of soft power as informed by Nye's literature and the Soft Power 30 Report and are not related to the universities' data. They would be characteristics of the host country that universities would have to research and ponder when deciding to establish an office in that country. The second, called "academic factors," represent internal information from universities' administration and usual metrics for their general internationalization efforts, related to universities' data. Since our observational unit is each of the R1 universities, country-level data could not be used.

5.1.2.1. Variables – non-academic factors

The most challenging aspect was to choose non-academic elements that were examples of soft power to add as variables. As discussed in chapter two, soft power is difficult to measure, so any attempt to do so needs the support of literature, practice in the field of diplomacy, data, and creativity in means of analyzing and interpreting those. To determine what the variables of non-academic soft power-related elements for the quantitative exercise would be, the Soft Power 30 Report was instrumental. The Soft Power 30 Report is an annual index published by Portland Communications and the University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy that measures countries by six sub-indexes: digital, enterprise, culture, education, engagement, and government. Every year, the report lists the 30 countries with the strongest soft power. The creators of the report suggest a framework that builds upon what Nye (2006) called the three pillars of soft power culture, government, and foreign policy. These three pillars capture “a broad range of factors that contribute to a nation's soft power” (USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY; PORTLAND; FACEBOOK, 2018, p. 31). Therefore, when reviewing universities' websites (Appendix 1) and their international offices for information on their internationalization strategy for Brazil, the idea was to look for mentions of “culture,” “government,” and “foreign policy.”

For mentions of culture, it was necessary to look simply for the word "culture" in texts of universities' international office's websites. For example, if the office of international affairs at a university mentions that Brazil is a culturally rich country and that this is a goal of the programs they offer, the author would consider culture as being one non-academic element used by the university for decision-making regarding Brazil. CULTURE is then one of the non-academic variables.

However, finding anything related to the “government” and “foreign policy” pillars of soft power was more challenging. It was necessary to choose words that would exemplify both elements, serve as proxies, and could be easily manually searched in texts. The Soft Power 30 Report uses data from the Economist Intelligence Unit, the World Bank, and the World Economic Forum, including GDP and regulation scores, in its “government” sub-index. Because of this connection with a country's economic elements, looking for the term "economy" served as an effective proxy for “government”, considering no universities would mention the word "government" directly. After all, “[t]hough elements relating to the economy may seem more of a hard than soft power concern [...] the structural economic attributes of a given country can have a significant impact on its soft power” (USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY; PORTLAND; FACEBOOK, 2019, p. 120). Therefore, if the office of international affairs website of a university notes, for example, that Brazil is an important emerging economy in Latin America, this paper would consider its mention of "economy" as being one non-academic element used by the university for decision-making regarding Brazil. ECONOMY is the second non-academic variable.

It was once again helpful to check the Soft Power 30 index when looking for mentions of “foreign policy.” The “engagement” sub-index in the report measures a country’s foreign policy resources, global diplomatic footprint, and overall contribution to the international community. It essentially captures the ability of states to engage with international audiences, drive collaboration, and ultimately shape global outcomes. “The Engagement sub-index includes metrics such as the number of embassies/high commissions a country has abroad, membership of multilateral organizations, and overseas development aid contributions” (USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY; PORTLAND; FACEBOOK, 2019, p. 27-28).

Based on that clarification, a proxy for the university’s possible “foreign policy” was to check if they considered international engagement in their website texts, specifically, the existence of offices in countries that are part of the BRICS could be helpful, considering Brazil is part of it. BRICS is an acronym coined by the Chief Economist at Goldman Sachs, Jim O’Neill, in a 2001 to associate five major emerging economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. These countries started to gather formally and participate actively as a group in international forums. Individually, they display significant influence on their regions, and together they make a strong group globally. The first BRIC (still without South Africa who joined in 2010) summit was held in 2009. Brazil’s participation in this group is connected with its diplomacy and soft power efforts,

represents an international engagement, and is a fact that could be searched manually on universities' websites. Therefore, having an office in BRICS countries served a proxy for the "foreign policy" element of soft power for the quantitative exercise in this chapter. BRICS is then the last non-academic variable.

Two important notes are needed here related to BRICS: a) most of the U.S universities with offices in Brazil were established around 2012-2016, when BRICS activities were high, drawing attention to these countries and this is an interesting fact for this research; b) India and China are the greatest senders of international students abroad, especially to the United States, and this is a limitation to this research, because that fact might affect the results of the exercise in a way that having an office in a country part of BRICS might not exactly direct to an interest in foreign policy or public diplomacy, but happen because at least two of BRICS countries are recruitment spots for U.S. universities with large numbers of students and tuition dollars going into the U.S. economy. The author draws attention to this limitation and its potential effect over the results of the exercise to follow.

Table 17 – Rationale behind the choice of variables-proxies of soft power elements

Nye's soft power elements (1990, 167-168)	Nye's soft power's pillars (2006)	Soft Power 30 Report's sub-index related to each of Nye's three pillars (2008, 169-171)	Soft Power 30 Report's sub-index's metrics considered for this paper (2008, 169-171)	Manually searchable variable based on Soft Power 30's sub-index/metrics and proposed as proxy for soft power elements in this paper
CULTURE	CULTURE	CULTURE	n/a	CULTURE
IDEOLOGY	POLITICAL VALUES	GOVERNMENT	Size of shadow economy as percentage of GDP, World Economic Forum Trust in Government Index score, World Bank Government Effectiveness score	ECONOMY
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	FOREIGN POLICIES	ENGAGEMENT	Membership in multilateral organizations	BRICS

Source: Elaborated by the author.

To summarize, this exercise looks for mentions of Brazil's culture (CULTURE) and economy (ECONOMY), representing Nye's soft power pillars of culture and government, respectively, in universities' internationalization websites and using them as independent binary variables, taking

the value of "1" if these concepts were used. The number of offices those universities have in BRICS countries (BRICS) is the third and last independent variables, representing the soft power pillar of foreign policy. All these variables are part of the non-academic elements that universities may have considered for establishing an office in Brazil. These may not have been the only elements, but they seem fit for the proposed exercise. The data was collected from universities' websites (Appendix 2) during 2019.

5.1.2.2. Variables – academic factors

The second group of independent variables are much simpler to explain and gather. They represent information from universities' performance or internal administration and are metrics for universities' general internationalization efforts, such as the number of students from a given country, number of partnerships with institutions from that country, and number of study abroad programs⁶ the university offers its students in that specific country. Therefore, for the quantitative exercise focused on Brazil, it was necessary to look at universities' internationalization websites for information on: (i) Number of Brazilian students in the university, (ii) Number of partnerships with Brazilian institutions, and (iii) Number of study abroad programs in Brazil.

This chapter considers the proportion of Brazilian students on their campuses out of their total (graduate and undergraduate) enrollment, because the number of students from a given country usually shows universities where tuition dollars are coming from, where to invest in recruitment efforts, and where their alumni body will come from. *STUDENTS* is then the first academic variable for the quantitative exercise. The number of partnerships that universities have with Brazilian institutions, usually with other universities or research foundations is important because these numbers show if faculty from the university are engaged with researchers, institutions, and grant opportunities from a specific country and whether the university is interested in the research being done by the country in general. *PARTNERSHIP* is the second academic variable. Finally, the number of study abroad programs in Brazil that those U.S. universities offer to their students was chosen as a variable. Study abroad programs are short-term mobility programs offered by the university in various fields of education or for general cultural immersion. These

⁶ As mentioned in chapter one, study abroad programs are programs offered by universities to their students to travel abroad for varied short-term activities such as language instruction, cultural immersion, internships, etc.

programs are indicative of faculty connections, students' interests, and universities' office of risk management go-to locations. Therefore, STUDYABROAD is the third and last academic variable. Again, these may not have been the only elements considered by universities, but they seem fit for the exercise proposed here. The data was collected from universities' websites during 2019.

The choice of independent variables will help understand which of these elements (non-academic – related to soft power) or academic (related to internal academic numbers) would be significant in the decision to have an office in Brazil. Having collected all data from 2019 induces a limitation to this chapter's exercise since the academic variables (Students, Study Abroad, and Partners) numbers may have been different before the opening of universities' representative offices, which could impact the analysis. As shown in chapter four, only one U.S. university was established in Brazil in 2006, differing from other universities, where all offices were set up after 2010. Table 18 shows the descriptive statistics of the data.

Table 18 – Descriptive statistics of the data:

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
OFFICEINBR~L	131	.0610687	.2403755	0	1
ECONOMY	131	.1145038	.3196445	0	1
CULTURE	131	.1908397	.3944715	0	1
BRICS	131	.3435115	.9427537	0	7
PARTNERS	131	4.099237	6.952426	0	36
STUDYABROAD	131	4.175573	8.305217	0	69
STUDENTS	131	36.12977	34.56708	3	204

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The table above shows the distribution of the data, which hints at a weak pattern and is recognized in this dissertation. For the internal-elements variables, the number of partnerships with Brazilian institutions ranged from 0 to 36. The number of study abroad programs, from 0 to 69; and Brazilian students on campus, from 3 to 204. Twenty-four out of 131 (18%) universities have offices in BRICS countries, varying from only one office to seven. A third of these 24 universities have an

office in Brazil. Because the dependent variable (holding or not an office in Brazil) is binary, the logistic regression statistical model (logit) is used as in equation 1, where the “Xs” are the independent variables (academic and non-academic factors) and “p” is the probability of the university holding an office in Brazil.

Equation 1: Logit

$$\text{logit}(p_i) = \ln\left(\frac{P_i}{1 - P_i}\right) = \ln e^Z = Z = \beta_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_6 X_i + \varepsilon$$

Table 19 below shows the models' results, where the coefficients reported are the "odds ratio" from the logit methodology.

Table 19 – Regression model

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	OFFICEINBRAZIL	OFFICEINBRAZIL	OFFICEINBRAZIL	OFFICEINBRAZIL	OFFICEINBRAZIL
ECONOMY		1.922*		1.819	1.994
		(1.160)		(1.177)	(1.257)
CULTURE		0.585		0.715	0.957
		(1.151)		(1.179)	(1.303)
BRICS	1.905***	1.732***		1.936***	1.994***
	(0.463)	(0.495)		(0.616)	(0.670)
PARTNERS			-0.00178		-0.0288
			(0.0474)		(0.138)
STUDYABROAD			0.0135		0.0609
			(0.0328)		(0.0500)
STUDENTS			0.0183**	-0.00886	-0.0107
			(0.00735)	(0.0138)	(0.0146)
Constant	-4.648***	-5.334***	-3.673***	-5.194***	-5.539***
	(0.855)	(1.158)	(0.644)	(1.201)	(1.461)
Observations	131	131	131	131	131

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: Elaborated by the author.

More details on each model are included in Appendix 2. The first model included only BRICS as a variable because of its foreign policy component and, therefore, importance to this dissertation's hypothesis. It shows a p-value below 1%, which hints at BRICS being significant. This model would explain only 54% of the phenomenon, as seen in the pseudo R2 value.

- The second model then tests all the non-academic or soft power-related variables together (BRICS, ECONOMY, and CULTURE) and shows that the variable BRICS maintains its significance. ECONOMY is significant at the 10% level. The variable CULTURE is not significant. In general, this model explains the chances of a U.S. university establishing an office in Brazil a bit better, at 60%.
- The third model tests the academic elements together. The variable STUDENTS is the only significant one, and only at 5%. This result shows that these elements of internal administration are not statistically significant, which is a bit surprising since there are standard metrics that guide internationalization efforts.
- The fourth model tests all the external variables (BRICS, ECONOMY, and CULTURE) against the only internal variable that appeared to be significant (STUDENTS). Indeed, STUDENTS lose its significance, and only BRICS maintains significance.
- The fifth and last model includes all the variables. BRICS is again the significant variable. This last model also explains the chances of U.S. universities having offices in Brazil better than all the other models, 61%. However, the low percentage indicates other variables not considered in any of the models here that could be significant. The model does have signs of outliers. It could be that some universities have many offices abroad, such as Harvard University, with seven offices in BRICS countries, that might be affecting the model.

In general, the non-academic foreign policy-related variables, especially BRICS, are statistically significant and correlate positively with the odds of having an office in Brazil. This indicates the relevance of soft power to U.S. universities when deciding where to open their offices. It is important to repeat though that the BRICS variable might be misleading, since India and China are the greatest senders of international students abroad, especially to the United States, and might affect the results of the exercise in a way that having an office in a country part of BRICS might not exactly direct to an interest in foreign policy or public diplomacy, but happen because at least two of BRICS countries are recruitment spots for U.S. universities.

5.2. Qualitative analysis of interviews and strategic documents

The qualitative analysis included word searches through the twelve documents gathered (four universities' strategic plans and eight semi-structured interviews with universities' leadership and U.S. government officials). The words "culture" and "economy" remained the same and could be easily searched. However, "BRICS" had to be changed. The word "diplomacy" was the chosen substitute. That is because BRICS was not a searched word in the first statistical exercise and was not mentioned anywhere in any of the documents. Also, because in the first exercise, we arrived at the word BRICS through "membership in multilateral organizations," the word "diplomacy" seems to be a good and related proxy that not only connects to how countries became part of the BRICS through their diplomatic efforts and foreign policy but also is a word found in the collected documents.

For the academic variables, no changes were made. Therefore, the search was for the words "students," "partnerships," and "study abroad." The search was done by running a query in NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software package produced by QSR International, asking the software to search for these words within all the documents' coding references created previously for the chapter four analysis. That means that the search was done in excerpts that the author selected and coded in accordance with the codebook presented in chapter four. The choice to search over codes instead of the entirety of documents guaranteed and verified the context where the words were mentioned, avoiding, for example, words mentioned in the questions asked by the interviewer, and focusing on what interviewees had to say. Outputs from word searches in the twelve documents differed from the statistical analysis above. The results are shown in the table below:

Table 20 – Word search through coded excerpts of documents gathered by the author

	Words	Number of refences throughout the four strategic plans and eight interviews
Soft Power	Culture	66
	Diplomacy	31
	Economy	12
Internationalization Metrics	Partnerships	42
	Students	563
	Study abroad	27

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Although “diplomacy” is only the fourth most repeated word and “economy” is the last among the six words, non-academic elements related to soft power can still be considered significant since “culture” and “diplomacy” together were cited more times than “study abroad” and “partnerships” together, for example. “Students” stands out once again within the academic factors as it is the most cited word; however, its expressive number of references might be connected to the generality of the word. On the other end, “economy” is the least mentioned word of all, which might make sense if we consider universities and their leadership do not usually like to mention their finances, which can also be seen in the exercise done in chapter four, where the economic rationale behind U.S. universities internationalization efforts was the least significant when compared to the academic and political rationales.

5.3. Findings from the analysis

In general, the findings in the quantitative and qualitative exercises were in line with the hypothesis that a country's non-academic and soft power elements are significant for universities to decide on establishing offices there. Some findings, though, were still a bit surprising, such as the fact that academic elements and collaborations with Brazil were statistically insignificant. Even if universities decide on their academic data for specific countries, at least for Brazil, it seems that they have a lower impact on the probabilities of having an office in Brazil. The fact that Brazil, being part of the BRICS, would play an important role was somewhat expected. This hints at the fact that universities research the engagement of target countries with others and their foreign policy. It also shows that elements of the soft power of a target country are being considered by institutions of higher education in the United States, even if the ultimate goals within that country are merely opportunistic or commercially focused, such as increasing numbers of prospective students or programs held abroad, due to the increase in the economic power of the population.

Universities have a variety of reasons to establish representative offices in other countries, whether they are related to academic excellence, the commercialization of services, or the spread of public diplomacy as seen in chapter four. This chapter aimed to test the importance of some factors in this decision for Brazil specifically. External factors to the university, such as those related to the foreign policy of Brazil drew attention to the country in a significant way. These findings hint that universities are following and paying attention to the political and economic

situation of the countries they choose to establish their offices in, especially to elements considered externalizations of soft power. It is understandable that this chapter was an exercise in soft power measurement and that adding other variables to the quantitative exercise would bring a more robust model. In any case, the exercise is easily replicable. It is a step to understand if and how universities are attentive to soft power or engaged in public diplomacy.

6. Conclusion

Public diplomacy is a relatively new concept in the world of international relations. It differs from traditional diplomacy because of its audience, actors, and places. Traditional diplomacy is usually done by professional diplomats targeting the elite of other countries in opportunities such as specific events and governmental meetings. Public diplomacy can be performed by non-governmental actors, such as nonprofits, international organizations, and, this dissertation would add, higher education institutions. The audience of public diplomacy is broad to include the whole population of foreign countries. Places where public diplomacy activities usually happen, such as cultural events, universities, and business meetings can be numerous. Both types of diplomacy aim to create connections with a foreign public to facilitate the creation of policies, investments, decisions, and behaviors that might be beneficial. Traditional and public diplomacy can use soft power resources from the selection a certain country offers. Soft power is a way that traditional and nontraditional diplomats can convince other parties to be more friendly when creating policies, investments, decisions, and behaviors towards a certain country. Because of the spread of its culture, music, cinema, universities, and so on, the United States is consistently among the top countries to use its soft power resources in public diplomacy. Public diplomacy and soft power were coined in the United States as statesmen and academics tried to explain the United States' approach to foreign affairs. When studying the United States, universities and the internationalization of higher education are clearly resources of soft power, but can universities be considered non-traditions actors in public diplomacy? If so, are they practicing public diplomacy when establishing representative offices abroad? This study shows that this might be possible.

The internationalization of higher education is a growing phenomenon. Through internationalization activities, university students, faculty, and staff from areas ranging from literature to agriculture, biology to dance, math to psychology can have international experiences, or be involved with international counterparts exchanging ideas, solutions, and experiences. Although there are examples of such exchanges before modern times, globalization has increased its activities to the point that laying out clear strategies for the internationalization of higher education has become an essential task for the institutions that want to internationalize and also for the governments they are part of. Activities such as faculty and student mobility from one country

to another, learning new things, seeing through different points of view, and exchanging ideas have always been relevant. Partnerships between institutions to perform research together are also essential, and, much like those international agreements between countries, institutions negotiate agreements with each other. More recently, and especially after the COVID-19 pandemic, universities have also found ways to be internationalized within their own campuses by offering virtual programs, classes in other languages, and recruitment of international students, scholars, faculty, and staff. Also recently, universities have decided to go abroad and have a physical presence in targeted countries, to facilitate all the above activities and connections. Some universities have established a whole campus abroad, offering classes and degrees. Others have decided to have a representative office with staff who share on-the-ground information and maintain connections with partners and other academic institutions. A number of universities would go as far as creating a whole new entity abroad with the collaboration of a foreign partner.

The activities described above are examples of the three generations of universities' efforts in the internationalization of higher education. This dissertation focused on the physical presence of universities abroad through representative offices. There is very little literature on this type of initiative. It might be because there are not many—just about 200 among over 4,000 U.S. universities. It might also be because representative offices are not usually run by faculty and do not always offer courses; therefore, they can be considered educational but are also like an administrative or even a business effort. This study aimed to understand the rationale behind the decisions of universities to have these physical offices abroad, by focusing on the case of U.S. universities that have offices in Brazil. The three main rationales that were used as theories for congruence analysis were: (i) academic – the search for being a genuinely global university interested in joining the best researchers worldwide and solving global issues together; (ii) economic – the commercial drive of being like a multinational company with offices abroad that could potentially generate collaboration leads and revenue; and (iii) political – exercising the soft power of the country of origin to facilitate decisions are made favorably to that country, and indirectly, to that university, much like what diplomats are tasked with.

Therefore, to analyze the rationales behind this specific internationalization effort, this study proposed a slight change to the current literature by eliminating one of the rationales and considering it part of the other three main rationales. The literature initially found four rationales: economic, academic, social/cultural, and political. This study holds that the academic and political

rationales can encompass the social/cultural rationales; therefore, there would be only three main rationales for the internationalization of higher education. That change facilitated the qualitative analysis of the twelve documents collected in this study (four universities' strategic plans and eight semi-structured elite interviews with universities' leadership and U.S. government officials in Brazil). The documents were gathered following these steps: (i) Securing a database of U.S. universities with the Carnegie Classification of 131 U.S. universities with very high research activity (R1 universities), (ii) Manually searching for information on these universities' websites, especially their office of international affairs' pages, to check which universities had a representative office in Brazil, (iii) Confirming the information found with EducationUSA, a U.S. Department of State agency that supports U.S. universities' internationalization efforts, (iv) Looking for the strategic plan of each of the U.S. universities with offices in Brazil and undergoing content analysis, (v) Interviewing the leadership of these universities with offices in Brazil and U.S. government staff related to the internationalization of U.S. higher education and , again, performing content analysis of the interviews.

After this long profiling of U.S. universities with offices in Brazil, data and document analysis, the findings that the political rationale came out as the second most relevant theory to explain the offices of U.S. universities in Brazil was relatively surprising. Universities understand their role as a resource of soft power and also act as international actors in public diplomacy however keeping a safe distance from anything related to foreign policy, as a good public diplomacy activity must do, according to the literature. As per congruence analysis, none of the theories rule out each other. The academic rationale proved to be the strongest theory to explain why U.S. universities established representative offices in Brazil. Their need to maintain their status as an international and global university requires them to have some presence in key countries or regions. The economic rationale was the least relevant and that might be because universities know that Brazil is a tough market or because institutions and their leadership do not like to speak directly about finances. However, the fact that the interest in Brazil primarily stems from wealthy donors rather than recruitment shows that connections and networking are important. There were no relevant observations that would suggest a direct government support for the universities. The U.S. government does support all these universities with grants and funding for research and other activities that involve internationalization, but there is no financial support going directly to the establishment of offices abroad. Through interviews, it was found that the U.S.

government does offer information support to these universities through its agencies and networks especially focused on public diplomacy and public and cultural affairs; however, they highlight that there is no special treatment to universities interested in placing an office in Brazil when compared to other universities merely interested in recruiting or making research connections. Any connections with the U.S government would be indirect, as most successful public diplomacy and soft power efforts would be.

The last exercise in this study, present in chapter five, found that a country's non-academic and soft power elements are significant for universities to decide on establishing offices there. At least for Brazil, it seems that U.S. universities academic numbers related to the country (such as the number of partnerships with Brazilian universities, the number of study abroad programs in Brazil, and the number of Brazilian students on campus) have a lower impact on the probabilities of having an office in Brazil than the fact that Brazil is part of the BRICS. This hints at the fact that universities research the engagement of target countries with others and their foreign policy. It also shows that elements of the soft power of a target country are being considered by institutions of higher education in the United States.

Two important methodological disclaimers have been presented throughout this dissertation and are repeated here: a) the choice to focus on R1 universities to form the database used in the analyses of chapter 4 and 5 affected the outputs of the research that can potentially be applied only towards institutions with similar profiles, due to the small variance of the exercise. Similar limitations happen due to the small number of documents and interviews and the fact that all the documents were public documents. Finally, the choice of BRICS as a variable in the exercise in chapter 5 might mislead results related to public diplomacy, since at least two countries that form the BRICS, India and China, are also the biggest senders of international students to the United States. Although these are limitations of this research, all the analyses and exercises performed here are effective, significantly relevant and easily replicable.

In summary, the question raised in this dissertation is if the specific internationalization effort of establishing a physical presence abroad can be connected to public diplomacy activities and be considered a form of soft power exertion. In this regard, would universities be actors in public diplomacy or at least "consumers" of information related to countries' public diplomacy and soft power in a way that could affect universities' decisions to internationalize? The results of this study show that U.S. universities and their internationalization efforts are certainly a soft power

resource for the United States, used by state practitioners of public diplomacy. It also shows that universities might act as non-state practitioners of public diplomacy themselves, since a political rationale is one the relevant rationales behind the initiative of establishing representative offices abroad. Finally, it shows that universities are “consumers” of public diplomacy of other countries, since they considered Brazil’s soft power resources, such as presence in multilateral institutions, when choosing it as a host of their representative offices abroad.

One last thing to consider in future studies is the impact of COVID-19 not only on the internationalization process and strategies of the universities around the world but also on the soft power and public diplomacy of countries. The internationalization of higher education is a process and, therefore, affected by “[...] local, national, regional, and global environments. Current global trends [such as] nationalist-populist movements, the need for climate change and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic are particularly vital” (DE WIT, Hans; ALTBACH, 2021, p. 44). A survey on the impact of COVID-19 on higher education around the world by the International Association of Universities found that:

As far as partnerships are concerned, 64% of HEIs reported that COVID 19 would have a variety of effects. Half of them reported that COVID 19 weakened their partnerships, while only 18% reported that it strengthened them. However, for 31% of respondents, the COVID 19 pandemic created new opportunities with partner institutions (MARINONI; LAND; JENSEN, 2020, p. 11).

Regarding soft power and public diplomacy, there have been a number of political disputes between China and other countries. This had led to the emergence of the fear that China could reciprocate against the many travel bans imposed on Chinese students and, therefore, affect the number of international students abroad (PAN, 2020). This is just an example that the crises Western universities are facing are not only financial, but are deeply neo-liberal issues that were triggered by the pandemic (2020). Countries' soft power was also affected by the pandemic. In a global pandemic, public health outcomes are not the only variables at stake. Also at stake are countries' nation brands and influence, which hinge on how a country responded to the crisis [...] the pandemic public diplomacy that is grounded in a normative framework of substance, information, trust, collaboration, and mutual benefit (LEE; KIM, 2021).

On a positive note, there are examples of increased exchanges among nations, strengthening of international laws, and other effects over society after great crisis such as the one produce by

the pandemic (DALLARI, 2022, p. 248). However, it is undeniable that Brazil's soft power plunged. Bolsonaro's government has been criticized for its handling, or lack thereof, of the effects of the COVID-19 crisis. "A country that was once admired for its responsive health system and its health diplomacy has become a pandemic pariah" (OSBORN, 2020). Will US universities with offices abroad decide on closing them in countries that could not handle the pandemic, for example? Until the writing of this paper, none of the U.S. university offices studied here had been closed due to the pandemic, but this is something to look into in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Database of 131 US Universities from Carnegie Classification R1 - Doctoral Universities – Very High Research Activity and their websites

HIGH RESEARCH ACTIVITY (R1) UNIVERSITIES			
1	Arizona State University-Tempe - https://issc.asu.edu	66	University at Buffalo - http://www.buffalo.edu/internationaleducation/programs/international-partners.html
2	Auburn University - https://www.aum.edu/global-initiatives/	67	University of Alabama at Birmingham - https://educationabroad.uab.edu/index.cfm
3	Binghamton University - https://www.binghamton.edu/offices/iegi/index.html	68	University of Arizona - https://global.arizona.edu
4	Boston College - https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/sites/global-engagement/sites/office-of-global-education.html	69	University of Arkansas - https://globalcampus.uark.edu
5	Boston University - https://www.bu.edu/isso/	70	University of California-Berkeley - http://studyabroad.berkeley.edu/explore/programs?country=226
6	Brandeis University - https://www.brandeis.edu/global-brandeis/index.html	71	University of California-Davis - https://globalaffairs.ucdavis.edu
7	Brown University - https://www.brown.edu/about/administration/global-engagement/	72	University of California-Irvine - https://www.globalengagement.uci.edu
8	California Institute of Technology - https://international.caltech.edu	73	University of California-Los Angeles - https://www.global.ucla.edu/home
9	Carnegie Mellon University - https://www.cmu.edu/oie/	74	University of California-Riverside - https://international.ucr.edu
10	Case Western Reserve University - https://case.edu/international/global-strategy/major-international-partnerships	75	University of California-San Diego - https://ia.ucsd.edu
11	Clemson University - https://terradotta.app.clemson.edu/index.cfm?	76	University of California-Santa Barbara - https://oiss.ucsb.edu
12	Colorado State University-Fort Collins - https://international.colostate.edu/global-engagement/	77	University of California-Santa Cruz - https://global.ucsc.edu
13	Columbia University in the City of New York - https://isso.columbia.edu	78	University of Central Florida - https://global.ucf.edu
14	Cornell University - https://global.cornell.edu/	79	University of Chicago - https://global.uchicago.edu
15	CUNY Graduate School and University Center - https://www.gc.cuny.edu/Prospective-Current-Students/Current-Students/International-Students	80	University of Cincinnati-Main Campus - https://www.uc.edu/campus-life/careereducation/get-experience/international/internship.html
16	Dartmouth College - https://global.dartmouth.edu	81	University of Colorado Boulder - https://www.colorado.edu/global/
17	Drexel University - https://drexel.edu/global/partnerships-exchanges/current/	82	University of Colorado Denver/Anschutz Medical Campus - https://www1.ucdenver.edu/students/study-abroad
18	Duke University - https://global.duke.edu/about/office-global-affairs	83	University of Connecticut - https://global.uconn.edu

19	Emory University - https://global.emory.edu	84	University of Delaware - https://international.udel.edu/DB/PUB_ProgramList.aspx
20	Florida International University - https://iss.fiu.edu	85	University of Florida - https://internationalcenter.ufl.edu
21	Florida State University - https://international.fsu.edu	86	University of Georgia - https://globalengagement.uga.edu
22	George Mason University - https://globalaffairs.gmu.edu	87	University of Hawaii at Manoa - http://manoa.hawaii.edu/international/international_students/
23	George Washington University - https://internationalservices.gwu.edu	88	University of Houston - https://www.uh.edu/oisss/
24	Georgetown University - https://globalservices.georgetown.edu	89	University of Illinois at Chicago - https://www.uh.edu/provost/university/global/#branches
25	Georgia Institute of Technology-Main Campus - https://oie.gatech.edu	90	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign - https://oge.uic.edu
26	Georgia State University - https://international.gsu.edu	91	University of Iowa - https://international.uiowa.edu
27	Harvard University - https://worldwide.harvard.edu/overview	92	University of Kansas - https://international.ku.edu
28	Indiana University-Bloomington - https://global.iu.edu	93	University of Kentucky - https://international.uky.edu
29	Iowa State University - https://web.iastate.edu/academics/global	94	University of Louisville - https://louisville.edu/internationalcenter
30	Johns Hopkins University - https://ois.jhu.edu	95	University of Maryland-College Park - https://globalmaryland.umd.edu
31	Kansas State University - https://www.k-state.edu/oip/	96	University of Massachusetts-Amherst - https://umassherstglobal.org/contact/
32	Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College - https://www.lsu.edu/intlpro/	97	University of Miami - https://goabroad.miami.edu/index.cfm
33	Massachusetts Institute of Technology - https://iso.mit.edu	98	University of Michigan-Ann Arbor - https://global.umich.edu
34	Michigan State University - https://www.isp.msu.edu	99	University of Minnesota-Twin Cities - https://global.umn.edu/#
35	Mississippi State University	100	University of Mississippi - https://global.olemiss.edu
36	Montana State University - https://www.montana.edu/international/	101	University of Missouri-Columbia - https://global.unl.edu
37	New Jersey Institute of Technology - https://www.njit.edu/global/	102	University of Nebraska-Lincoln - https://global.unl.edu
38	New York University - https://www.nyu.edu/about/	103	University of Nevada-Las Vegas - https://www.unlv.edu/internationalprograms/faculty-staff
39	North Carolina State University at Raleigh - https://internationalservices.ncsu.edu	104	University of Nevada-Reno - https://www.unr.edu/global-studies/resources
40	Northeastern University - https://international.northeastern.edu/ogs/	105	University of New Hampshire-Main Campus - https://www.unh.edu/global/
41	Northwestern University - https://www.northwestern.edu/international-relations/international-briefs/brazil.html	106	University of New Mexico-Main Campus - https://geo.unm.edu
42	Ohio State University-Main Campus - https://oia.osu.edu	107	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill - https://global.unc.edu
43	Oklahoma State University-Main Campus - https://global.okstate.edu	108	University of North Texas - https://international.unt.edu/content/unt-around-world
44	Oregon State University - https://global.oregonstate.edu	109	University of Notre Dame - https://www.nd.edu/global/global-network/
45	Pennsylvania State University-Main Campus 0 - https://global.psu.edu/international	110	University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus - https://www.ou.edu/cis/ias
46	Princeton University - https://provost.princeton.edu/what-we-do/international-affairs-operations	111	University of Oregon - https://geo.uoregon.edu/programs?

47	Purdue University-Main Campus - https://www.purdue.edu/IPPU/	112	University of Pennsylvania - https://global.upenn.edu/global-initiatives/map/latin-america-caribbean
48	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute - https://info.rpi.edu/international-programs	113	University of Pittsburgh-Pittsburgh Campus - https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/main/
49	Rice University - https://oiss.rice.edu	114	University of Rochester - http://www.rochester.edu/global/
50	Rutgers University-New Brunswick - https://global.rutgers.edu	115	University of South Carolina-Columbia - https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/global_carolina/our_programs/index.php
51	Stanford University - https://international.stanford.edu	116	University of South Florida-Main Campus - https://globaldiscpro.forest.usf.edu/usf.edu/agreements/#/table/country/BR/
52	Stony Brook University - https://www.stonybrook.edu/iaps/	117	University of Southern California - https://global.usc.edu/global-presence/international-offices/
53	SUNY at Albany - https://system.suny.edu/global/	118	University of Southern Mississippi - https://www.usm.edu/iss/index.php
54	Syracuse University - https://ese.syr.edu/international/	119	University of Utah - https://inventory.global.utah.edu/index.php?
55	Temple University - https://international.temple.edu	120	University of Virginia-Main Campus - https://global.virginia.edu
56	Texas A & M University-College Station 0 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/sponsored/gadschoolorforum/texas-am-university	121	University of Washington-Seattle Campus - https://www.washington.edu/global/
57	Texas Tech University - https://www.depts.ttu.edu/international/	122	University of Wisconsin-Madison - https://international.wisc.edu
58	The University of Alabama - http://international.ua.edu	123	University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee - https://uwm.edu/international/
59	The University of Tennessee-Knoxville - https://cge.utk.edu	124	Vanderbilt University - https://www.vanderbilt.edu/geo/
60	The University of Texas at Arlington - https://www.uta.edu/oie/	125	Virginia Commonwealth University - https://global.vcu.edu
61	The University of Texas at Austin - https://global.utexas.edu	126	Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University - https://www.outreach.vt.edu
62	The University of Texas at Dallas - https://www.utdallas.edu/ic/	127	Washington State University - https://ip.wsu.edu
63	The University of Texas at El Paso - https://minersabroad.utep.edu/index.cfm?	128	Washington University in St Louis - https://global.wustl.edu
64	Tufts University - https://icenter.tufts.edu	129	Wayne State University. https://abroad.wayne.edu/index.cfm?FuseAction=Programs.ViewProgramAngular&id=10014
65	Tulane University of Louisiana - https://global.tulane.edu	130	West Virginia University - https://international.wvu.edu
		131	Yale University - https://world.yale.edu/about/office-international-affairs

Appendix 3 – Script used during semi-structured elite interviews

I. Questions for University Officials (*Senior International Officers & Directors of universities' satellite offices in Brazil*).

1. How did you come to work in the field of international education? (*Intro*)
2. Can you give a quick summary of your institution's internationalization strategy? [suggest: its mission, history, goals and areas of focus? If needed] (*Grand tour*)
3. [As I mentioned in our first contact, my research is particularly interested in the initiative of establishing a physical presence abroad through offices] How was the decision-making process for an internationalization strategy that encompassed the establishment of satellite offices abroad? (*Specific grand tour*)
 - a. What were the reasons for choosing this step?
 - b. Was there any research or consulting with other universities, government offices such as the U.S. Embassy or Consulates and/or Brazil's Itamaraty, etc., regarding this initiative? (*Hypothetical interaction*)
 - c. Was there any specific goal for the office at the time of the decision? (*prompt*).
4. [Your institution has offices in x, y, and z countries], what was the process of selecting Brazil as a host country? (*Specific grand tour*)
 - a. Were other countries in Latin America considered in the selection process? (*follow-up*)
 - b. Why was Brazil chosen in the end? (*prompt*)
 - c. Who were the stakeholders most interested in establishing an office in Brazil? (*prompt*).
5. In your opinion, has the office met its objectives?
 - a. If yes, how? Who or what has been of instrumental support? If not, what would be needed in term of support?

- a. Did any of these universities reach out with their idea looking for information, consultation on the country, etc.?
 - ii. Does your office offer any support for these types of initiatives?
 - b. How could this initiative potentially benefit/support/facilitate any foreign policy of the United States?
5. What do you think these universities can accomplished on campus with the help of its office abroad?
- a. Do you think more people on campus learn or want to learn about Brazil? (*prompt*)
 - b. Do you think these efforts help Brazilian universities or Brazilian education government offices in their own internationalization efforts? (*prompt*)
 - ii. If yes, in what ways?
6. Could you share any documents related to the role of education in foreign policy and/or diplomacy or would you recommend anyone else for me to talk to?