

TRANSFORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

^aIRYNA GAVRYSH, ^bALLA YAROSHENKO, ^cOLEKSANDRA KHLTOBINA, ^dNATALIIA KUZEMKO, ^eANZHELIKA SEMENENKO, ^fZORIANA GONTAR

^{a,c}*H.S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National Pedagogical University, 29, Alchevsky Str., 61002, Kharkiv, Ukraine*

^b*National Pedagogical Dragomanov University, 9, Pyrogova Str., 02000, Kyiv, Ukraine*

^d*Ternopil Ivan Puluj National University, 56, Rusjka Str., 46001, Ternopil, Ukraine*

^e*National Academy of Fine Arts and Architecture, 20, Voznesensky Uzviz, 04053, Kyiv, Ukraine*

^f*Lviv State University of Life Safety, 35, Kleparivska Str., 79000, Lviv, Ukraine*

email: ^a*Iryna.gavrysh@gmail.com*, ^c*xoltobina@ukr.net*, ^d*kuna@ukr.net*

Abstract: In the article, globalization landscape of today higher education development is considered, and the place of Ukraine in it. It is shown that globalization transforms higher education in multifold ways, at the same time, however, evoking a vector towards glocalization. The large part of research is devoted to national security aspects of higher education within the soft power paradigm.

Keywords: higher education; globalization; soft power; glocalization; strategy; transformation.

1 Introduction

The range of understanding of the essence of globalization is quite wide. The development of the globalization process is not only associated with economics and politics, but also with culture, especially with the intensification of intercultural communications, covering the whole world and turning it into a single communicative space. In a broad sociocultural context, globalization appears in the form of the formulation of cultural demands as a process that connects countries and peoples with relations of such an order in which people, regardless of their national origin or place of residence, have equal access to the wealth of world culture and equal opportunities in their spiritual development. In this context, intercultural communication represents a process of mutual exchange of values, value attitudes that occur in the course of intercultural interaction between various subjects, which are individuals, social groups, cultures, civilizations. Today, “the process of globalization, which is systemic in nature, is transforming almost all spheres of human activity, pushing for the search for new ways to solve the most complex and contradictory problems of preserving the socio-cultural, political and ethno-confessional self-identification of territorial communities, on the one hand, and choosing acceptable forms of integration with neighboring states, extracting benefits from this rapprochement, on the other. This fully applies to the field of higher education. The modern context for the development of higher education is precisely the continuously globalizing world.

One may say that colleges were the forerunners of globalization. They began the process of establishing interconnections and links by utilizing their ability to draw students from all over the world, as well as their exchange programs, sabbaticals, and meetings (conferences, symposia, etc.) to facilitate the free interchange of knowledge and ideas. One may say that the entire networking and connectivity trend began with the acts of colleges in our global society [2; 8; 9].

In modern international relations, education plays an important role in solving global and regional problems. In the information society, education acts as a mediator for the cross-border exchange of people and knowledge. The integration and international process of education makes it possible to overcome boundaries not only for students and teachers, but also for programs, projects, and events within the framework of university policy. Today, the dynamic growth of the international market of educational services with the

participation of world universities indicates that interstate contacts are intensifying every day.

As a result, globalization alters higher education in novel and unexpected ways. In recent decades, there has been a surge in students' worldwide mobility, the establishment of English as the main language for teaching and research, the expansion of branch campuses, and the blooming of international research collaboration. Internationalization is currently playing a critical role in defining and changing every area of higher education. Ukraine is actively involved in these processes.

Higher education as a sociocultural phenomenon on a global scale in the context of globalization is at a turning point in its development. There is a paradigm shift in education, in accordance with changes in values, processes, and structures in society, the increasingly obvious transition to Society 2.0 and the increasingly obvious digitalization and uberization of the economy.

Globalization of education is “a general change in the order of distribution of knowledge through educational institutions, in which a learning society gradually takes shape” [24]. As experts in the field of education rightly believe, “the globalization of education is a process of increasing adaptation of the education system to the demands of the global economy” [13]. This point of view can be supplemented by the following opinion: “Economic, technological, political, social, and cultural factors of globalization have the systemic property of synchronizing and multiplying their effects in space and time, and depending on the combination of forces, a synergistic creative or destructive effect can be achieved” [21]. Thus, education in the context of globalization is under the influence of globalization factors (economic-technological, political, cultural), undergoing “revolutionary” changes. Its systemic transformation is taking place, that is, the process of such (targeted and spontaneous) changes due to the influence of globalizing factors on it, which force it to acquire unique features.

Higher education today is used both as an instrument of geo-economics and geopolitics, and very actively as an instrument of soft power. For Ukraine, at a crossroads between the Global West and the East since independence in the early 1990s and now at war due to Russian aggression, the transformation of higher education in the context of globalization is an issue of critical national importance.

2 Materials and Methods

The theoretical and methodological basis of the study included the fundamental concepts of the theory of globalization, post-industrial development, information economics and the theory of the knowledge economy, the theory of organization and the theory of social development and social responsibility, the methodological foundations of foresight technology, as well as the intellectualization of socio-economic processes and phenomena. The methodological basis of the article research also was grounded on interdisciplinary approaches proposed by modern philosophy of science.

3 Results and Discussion

Globalization affects universities all over the world, and the task of entering the global and, above all, European educational space as a full participant and partner has become one of the most important for many Ukrainian universities. In the context of global transformations of modern society, policy in the field of higher education seeks to take into account the growing demands of various groups ensuring the development of higher education: government, employers and consumers of educational services. To achieve these goals, new guidelines are being formed in the field of educational standards, which are becoming increasingly international in nature. These processes can not only develop in

certain institutional and economic conditions, but also give rise to a wide range of social consequences, the assessment of which requires in-depth sociological research.

The concept of globalization allows not only to evaluate the transformation processes of higher education from the point of view of the social, political, and economic feasibility of the national university model, but also to expand the interpretative framework of the sociological analysis of modern social reality, to comprehend the key trends in the production and transmission of knowledge, as well as the polyvariant social consequences caused by globalization of the educational space. The global field of higher education is understood as an integral sociocultural system [12].

In the higher education system, with the transition to a transnational society, a comprehensive transformation of the institution of vocational education is taking place, the life trajectories of its subjects, the content, forms, and methods of education are changing at the same time, the essence, product and goals of activity are being rethought. The revision of the mission of university education takes on a special meaning in the Eastern-European (including Ukraine) space: on the one hand, the classical traditions of the university as a free and autonomous community need to be restored, on the other hand, transformations here must take into account the global context of social, political, and cultural transformations.

At the same time, the components of European educational reforms lead to profound transformations of the educational space, including the restructuring of the hierarchy of educational institutions and programs, the complication of geographical structures of inequality, the convergence and interpenetration of national education systems, increasing the priority of issues of ensuring the quality of educational programs and courses provided by various educational institutions, the creation of a unified pan-European models for awarding qualifications. Globalization and localization of the higher education space are parallel processes, on the one hand expressing and on the other forming a new social polarization [23].

Technological changes associated with the fourth industrial revolution and the unfolding trends of the knowledge economy require the question of choosing a concept for the development of universities. The evolution of universities today is formed from the "University 3.0", which is recognized as an entrepreneurial university in accordance with the "Triple Helix" theory, and is developing towards the "University 4.0", which, by expanding its functional roles, acts as a socially responsible entrepreneurial digital university.

The economic and technological factor is recognized today as one of the leading ones. There is a transformation of economies from a closed type to open forms, a single economic space is created, allowing capital and labor to freely cross borders. The balance in the economy is maintained by transnational financial, economic, and trade structures such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, etc. The context of international education is being formed. As a result of this process, education is largely standardized, acquiring cross-border and transcultural characteristics. "Transnational" can literally be explained as being beyond the national. New varieties of the international context of higher education have emerged - "cross-border", "transnational", "offshore", "borderless", etc. These terms have similarities, but differences can also be noted.

"Education without borders" points to the erosion and disappearance of not only geographical boundaries, but also boundaries in time, disciplines, and concepts. The terms "transnational" and "offshore" emphasize the location of the student (which is fundamentally different from the location of the educational institution (university, institution providing education), without focusing on the education system of a particular state or the national nature of education). The concept of "cross-border" emphasizes national (state) of the boundaries

of the education system which are important when it comes to regulatory functions such as quality assurance, financing and accreditation [10].

Most often in the literature, one can find the concepts "cross-border" and "transnational" as characteristics of a globalizing education. According to the first concept, importance is attached to the national public policy in the field of education and its legal basis. Also, the term "cross-border education" has been officially adopted by UNESCO since 2005 and is reflected in the guidelines for quality assurance in cross-border education and UNESCO regional conventions on the recognition of qualifications, such as the Lisbon Convention. The term "transnational education" reflects trends in higher education associated with the movement of educational programs and their providers, thereby distinguishing it from international education, which involves the movement of learners. Thus, transnational education means "all types of higher education programs, sets of educational courses, or educational services (including distance education services) in which students are located in a country other than the one in which the educational institutions are based" [23]. Researchers have counted about 20 concepts of types of activities that can characterize transnational education -- "joint", "double", "multiple", "complex", "parallel", "general", and other training programs. But the most frequently used concepts are "joint programs or double degree programs" and "distance programs". "A distinctive feature of transnational education is that such educational programs and services may not belong to a national educational system different from the educational system of the country in which such programs and services are offered, and even be completely independent of any national educational system" [6]. Thus, at the level of implementation of joint programs, there is an interpenetration of educational systems in the emerging context of cross-border and transnational education through franchising, validation or accreditation of foreign universities, joint degree programs, corporate universities, international institutions, as well as foreign branches of educational institutions and distance learning.

It should be noted that international exchange in the format of academic mobility has been perceived for several years not only as a factor in personal development, but also as an important social tool. In today's globalized world, student mobility from one nation to another is rapidly increasing. According to UNESCO [21], more than 6.1 million students sought to further their studies overseas prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. If the current growth rate continues, the Institute of International Education predicts that the total will reach 8 million by 2025 [7]. Developed countries are the most popular locations for overseas students (See Figure 1).

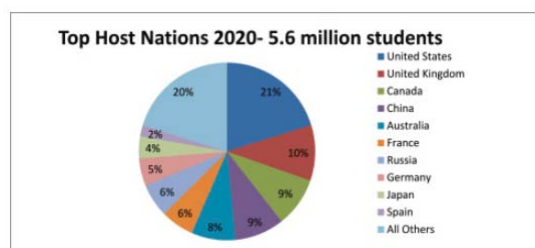


Figure 1. Top host destination countries for students in 2020 [7]

Researchers directly point out, analyzing the European experience, that "the policy of encouraging academic mobility of students in Europe is part of the general intention to create a European state of a special kind and a "European identity" [3].

Theories concerning the interplay of specified players, such as the state, the market, and the academic oligarchy, have long been used to conceptualize higher education governance [13; 20]. Although not expressly stated, this interaction was often understood and placed within a national perspective. Various scholars now contend that this basic interaction of individuals

and forces is increasingly influenced by internationalization and globalization, raising new theoretical concerns [23]. How does the state's participation in cross-border or even supranational collaboration influence its coordination of national higher education systems? What are the consequences of the new international or global definitions of competition and the market? Does the fact that the "academic oligarchy" consists of both individual academics (disciplinary networks) and their institutions (university consortia) who participate in transnational or global networks have an influence on governance? Many of these concerns have yet to be comprehensively addressed.

A particularly important phenomenon is that education today has become an actively used tool of soft power. From the point of view of soft power, long-term influence carried out during the educational process is much more effective than short-term propaganda campaigns [1]. The soft power of education is implemented in two ways: 1) training elites or future leaders of other countries (for example, the American Fulbright program introduced after World War II); 2) training of people who do not belong to the elite, who, after completing the educational process, evaluate the country in which they studied favorably. Foreign students often adopt the methods, approaches, philosophy, and academic culture characteristic of the scientific and educational system of the country to which the corresponding university belongs. Gauttam et al. [7] propose a conceptual scheme of essential conditions of harnessing education as a soft power resource (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. Essential conditions of harnessing education as a soft power resource [7]

The United States has been using the mechanism of education to spread its influence in the world for decades. And, it seems, this factor, along with the factor of military leadership, is the reason for the current leadership of the United States on the world stage. According to a number of experts, the educational policy of the United States in the world today can be considered one of the most successful: "thanks to its planetary scope, the educational policy of the United States has turned into an effective method of "soft power", allowing the formation of a global political, economic, intellectual and military elite, loyal dogmas of liberal democracy and market economy" [16].

As the author of the concept of "soft power" J. Nye himself notes, countries such as the United States are well aware that education is one of the most important tools for achieving future dominance in the world political arena. In addition, according to Nye, colleges and universities can help raise the level of discussion and promotion of American foreign policy [17]. As a result, in his works, J. Nye argues that the main US assets in strengthening and expanding "soft power" are two tools directly related to education: international exchange programs and the attractiveness factor of American higher education.

A serious instrument of US soft power, of course, is the educational programs that this state implements around the world. As former US Secretary of State J. Shultz noted, educational policy can be compared to "gardening", because during its implementation, "seeds of ideas and ideals", "aesthetic and political guidelines" are thrown into the "soil," that is, into the "consciousness, of a foreign audience" [17].

The bulk of American educational exchange programs are implemented on the basis of the Fulbright-Hays Act (Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961). According to P. McGill Peterson, the Fulbright Program, sponsored by the US State Department, is an excellent example of public diplomacy promoted through higher education. Its main goal is to promote mutual understanding between people and nations, and the program has always been "a blend of government and people, born of soft power. The program today claims to be the largest movement of students and scholars around the world that any country has ever sponsored. Government officials often call it one of the United States' greatest diplomatic assets" [15].

The Fulbright Program in Ukraine offers the following opportunities for citizens of Ukraine:

- The Fulbright Scholar Program provides opportunities to conduct scientific research at American universities for a period of 3 to 9 months.
- The Fulbright Graduate Student Program provides scholarships to students for 1- or 2-year academic programs for obtaining a Master of Science or Arts degree at American universities
- The Fulbright Faculty Development Program provides opportunities for scientists and specialists to conduct scientific research, participate in the process and development of educational plans.
- U.S. Fulbright Scholar Program. Ukrainian educational institutions can invite American specialists in various fields of knowledge to give lectures to students for one or two semesters.
- Fulbright Specialist Program. Ukrainian research and educational institutions can involve American specialists in the development of educational programs and training courses, planning training programs. The program provides funding for an invited specialist for two to six weeks.

In Ukraine, the double diploma program is a great chance for a student to become the holder of a US diploma as part of a bachelor's or master's degree. In the presence of a Ukrainian diploma (bachelor, specialist, master), graduates have the opportunity to receive a standard American diploma in the same or a related specialty of the corresponding level in a short period of time (6 months), in which the main part of the educational credits is covered by the national diploma. So, for example, credits of the American standard are studied for 6 months in the distance learning model at the International Classical University named after Philip Orlyk.

Academic support for the double degree program in Ukraine is provided by the University of Latvia, which has been working according to US standards for 20 years. Training is carried out in Ukrainian and ends with the defense of a thesis in Ukrainian and English.

York University has developed online educational programs in which students study in a virtual classroom and complete all assignments at their own pace, without set deadlines. At the same time, training, passing exams, and defending a thesis are carried out without leaving Ukraine. Recognition of a diploma from York University is carried out by the Ministry of Education, in accordance with the legislation of Ukraine.

At first glance, such academic exchange and cooperation are very valuable and provide ample opportunities for professional growth for students, teachers, and graduate students. However, there is also a certain phenomenon of "erosion" of national identity, "McDonaldization".

It is especially significant given the development of markets and the speed of globalization over the last two decades, which have revolutionized the world of higher education virtually beyond recognition. Market pressures, motivated by the danger of competition or the attraction of profit, have resulted in the rise of higher education as business. The technology revolution has dramatically altered remote education as a way of delivery. This is evident not just in the national environment, but also in the international one, since cross-border transactions in higher education continue to grow rapidly. It is apparent that markets and globalization are altering higher education. The approaches and techniques of offering higher education are evolving. But the process doesn't end there. Markets and globalization are affecting the content of higher education and influencing the structure of institutions that provide it.

Educational services become subject to WTO regulation, which demonstrates their high level of internalization. According to WTO regulations, foreign suppliers of education services are permitted to enter each member nation's education market, and each member nation's education service institutions are permitted to compete in the worldwide education market. Student mobility across borders is the primary mode of international commerce for education services. Although education is one of the areas with the fewest GATS obligations from WTO members, higher education has the most of them. Mode 3 contains the most restrictions, including constraints on the total number of providers, bans on foreign capital participation, and unequal treatment in terms of subsidies [22].

For China, education is also one of the important tools for implementing the "soft power" policy at the present stage. One can distinguish the key elements of the PRC strategy in this direction [25]:

- Development of academic mobility;
- Providing grants to Chinese and foreign students;
- Implementation of joint educational programs;
- Assistance in training personnel of various qualifications;
- Entry of Chinese universities into world educational rankings;
- Creation of international organizations, including educational ones;
- Creation of educational institutions abroad (Confucius Institutes);
- Assistance in the construction of educational institutions abroad;
- Technical equipment of educational organizations abroad;

Of course, all of the above elements are not implemented by China at the same time and in all geopolitical directions. First of all, China is focusing on regions that are strategically important for itself, among which Southeast and Central Asia, Africa, and Latin American countries should be highlighted.

In 2004, China launched its project of Confucius Institutes, which became China's "diplomatic platform" in the global academic community. The Confucius Institute is an educational and scientific center created on the initiative of the Office for the Propagation of the Chinese Language under the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Confucius Institute (CI) organizes the following activities and events:

- Teaching Chinese;
- Training and certification of Chinese language teachers;
- Support for scientific research in the field of Chinese studies;
- Conducting scientific and educational events aimed at promoting the Chinese language and Chinese culture, etc.

Important aspects of the CI's activities are organizing courses in Chinese language and culture, conducting Chinese language testing, organizing internships in China, holding competitions, and promoting sinological research.

The management of the system of Confucian institutions is under the authority of the state organization Hanban - "Chinese State Agency for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language". The development of integrated educational institutions with the countries of East Asia and, above all, Confucius Institutes occurs against the background of the search for new forms and the introduction of new methods for training specialists on China in the world.

In addition, in April 2019, the Strategic Development Research Institute of Confucius Institutes was established at Zhejiang Normal University. This indicates that China is interested in further effective using Confucius Institutes as a soft power tool and is engaging the academic community in discussions on related issues.

In September 2014, Xi Jinping delivered a speech emphasizing the necessity of unified front work in political influence efforts, describing it as one of the CCP's "magic weapons". Under Xi, the Chinese government has increased its overseas influence efforts. China's foreign influence initiatives have the potential to undermine the sovereignty and political integrity of targeted countries.

In June 2017, *The New York Times* and *The Economist* published pieces about China's political influence in Australia. The *New York Times* headline queried "Are Australia's Politics Too Easy to Corrupt?," while *The Economist* cynically referred to China as the "Meddle Country". The two publications responded to an investigation by Fairfax Media and ABC into the scope of China's political meddling in Australia, which followed internal inquiries into the same subject by ASIO and Australia's Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in 2015 and 2016. According to media and official reports, Australia was the target of a foreign interference campaign by China "on a larger scale than that being carried out by any other nation" and that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was working to infiltrate Australian political and foreign affairs circles, as well as gain influence over Australia's Chinese population.

According to Tom Tugendhat, Chairman of the British Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, and Dr. Radomir Tylecote of the Civitas Defence and Security for Democracy Unit, the majority of Britain's top two dozen universities have some sort of research or sponsorship relationship with Chinese military organisations. Students from China's University of Defense Technology are at Oxford University. [11].

M. Brady warns in her article that "Chinese universities and university presses have set up partnerships with their foreign counterparts and we are steadily seeing the creep of Chinese censorship into these domains as a result" [4]. Brady correctly discusses the use of mergers, acquisitions, and partnerships with foreign companies, universities, and research centers to acquire local identities that enhance influence activities, as well as potentially access to military technology, commercial secrets, and other strategic information.

As in many other countries, each university campus in New Zealand today has a Chinese Student and Scholars Association, which is one of the primary channels used by Chinese authorities to advise Chinese students and scholars on short-term study abroad. The New Zealand organization was founded in 2012 and connects all Chinese student groups across New Zealand's tertiary campuses. The New Zealand Chinese Student and Scholars Association is "under the correct guidance" of the PRC's New Zealand delegates.

Taking into account the growth of triple helix introduction, penetration in higher education of a foreign state can provide with the penetration to economy, including critical infrastructure and defense sector, R&Ds which refer to national security.

Although Ukraine is not in the sphere of China's direct geopolitical influence, the same strategy can be applied, in particular, by some states-allies of Russian Federation, in effort

to destabilize landscape of Ukrainian society and gain political influence.

It should be noted that for several decades the European Union has also been implementing a number of global educational initiatives, which are an effective tool of “soft power”. Of course, the most important of them is Erasmus. The soft power of the EU cannot be considered without referring to the analysis of the Bologna process. The Bologna process is essentially an instrument of public diplomacy, a platform that opens up the opportunity and makes it easier for students, researchers, and teachers of participating countries to use increasing international mobility both to develop personal potential and to promote the image of their country and its educational space abroad. The Bologna process is sufficiently reflected in the domestic Ukrainian scientific literature, primarily due to the fact that Ukraine also participates in it. It is obvious that with the help of the Bologna process, Europe in recent years has been trying not only to reform national education systems, rebuilding them in accordance with its ideas, but also trying to promote its values, which is directly stated in the Bologna documents.

In response to these trends, the phenomenon of glocalization of higher education has emerged. “Glocalization” in higher education is a viable alternative to globalization. Glocalization promotes a pleasant learning experience and encourages learners to enrich their “glocal” experience via critical academic and cultural interchange of global and local socioeconomic and political concerns.

In specifically, Patel and Lynch [19] propose glocalization as an alternative paradigm to the deficit model of internationalization in higher education, supporting glocalization as a respectful and suitable response to the requirements of a changing higher education population. According to Welikala [23, pp. 15-16], the internationalization paradigm portrays international students as “deficit, obedient, passive, lacking autonomy, and unable to engage in critical argumentative processes”. Most significantly, Patel and Lynch reject the deficit model of internationalization. They argue that glocalization may mitigate the effect of local and global socioeconomic and political challenges via discourse and action, resulting in an extraordinary and impactful learning experience for local and global learning communities.

Supporters of glocalization argue that glocalizing higher education creates a pleasant learning environment via cultural respect and acceptance of cultural values. Glocalization dialogue aims to advance learners beyond the intercultural communication phases of awareness, tolerance, and accommodation. Glocalization discussion requires students and instructors to take action that demonstrates a thorough grasp and awareness of the benefits, differences, and parallels between other cultures. Glocalization is described as an empowering concept. It is emphasized that it allows learning communities to take action through debate in situations that are deemed socially irresponsible and unfair. Unlike globalization, glocalization promotes empowerment, inspiration, and social responsibility. Pedagogical issues in incorporating glocalization across the curriculum should be articulated within a learning environment that stimulates action for change [5; 26]. Today the trends of glocalization become even stronger.

Thus, the globalization of higher education today is both a threat and opportunity, and in the appropriate transformation of higher education neither laissez faire nor crackdown policy is good. Instead, there is a crucial need for balanced approach, which would enable fast and obstacle-free development of cooperation in higher education and academic science on the one hand and national security concerns on the other hand.

Literature:

1. Aras, B., & Mohammed, Z. (2019). The Turkish government scholarship program as a soft power tool. *Turkish Studies*, 20(3), 421-441.

2. Araya, D., & Marber, P. (2013). *Higher education in the global age: Policy, practice and promise in emerging societies*. Routledge.
3. Barrett, B. (2017). *Globalization and change in higher education: The political economy of policy reform in Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan.
4. Brady, M. (2017). Magic Weapons: China's political influence activities under Xi Jinping. *Wilson Center*. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/document/s/article/magic_weapons.pdf
5. Dennis, M. (2022). The impact of geopolitical tensions on international higher education. *Enrollment Management*, 26(4), 3-9.
6. Frank, R. (2023). *The impact of globalization on international higher education at the institutional and national level*. GRIN Verlag.
7. Gauttam, P., Singh, B., Singh, S., Bika, Sh., Tiwari, R. (2024). Education as a soft power resource: A systematic review. *Heliyon*, 10(1), e23736.
8. Gavrysh I., Kholobina O., Melnychuk I., Salnikova N. (2020). Prospects, problems and ways to improve distance learning of students of higher educational institutions. *Revista Romaneasca pentru Educatie Multidimensionala*, 12(2), 348-364. <https://doi.org/10.18662/rrem/12.2/282>
9. Helesh, A., Eremenko, O., & Kryshchanovych, M. (2021). Monitoring the quality of the work of experts when they conduct accreditation examinations of educational programs. *Revista Tempos E Espaços Em Educação*, 14(33), e16535. <https://periodicos.ufs.br/revtee/article/view/16535>
10. Hsieh, Ch.-Ch. (2020). Internationalization of higher education in the crucible: Linking national identity and policy in the age of globalization. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 78, 102245.
11. Kadib, Ch. (2021, April 28). Beware Beijing's 'magic weapons'. *Defence Connect*. <https://www.defenceconnect.com.au/geopolitics-and-policy/7949-beware-beijing-s-magic-weapons>
12. Kryshchanovych, M., Romanova, A., Koval, I., Lesko, N., Lukashchuk, U. (2021). Research of problems and prospects of state development in the pedagogical process. *Revista Tempos E Espaços Em Educação*, 14(33), e16534. <https://doi.org/10.20952/revtee.v14i33.16534>
13. Li, J. (2020). *Global higher education shared communities: Efforts and concerns from key universities in China*. Springer.
14. Lo, J., & Pan, S. (2014). Confucius Institutes and China's soft power: practices and paradoxes. *A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 46(4), 512-532.
15. Mienie, E. (2023). *United States higher education and national security*. University of North Georgia.
16. Moscovitz, H., & Harden-Wolfson, E. (2023). Conceptualising the new geopolitics of higher education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. DOI: 10.1080/14767724.2023.2166465
17. Nye, J. S. (2005). *Soft power and higher education*. Educause: Forum for the future of Higher Education.
18. Olenych, I., Gontar, Z., & Borutska, Y. (2021). The system of managing the pedagogical process of training students-specialists in the tourism sector in the conditions of COVID-19. *Revista Tempos E Espaços Em Educação*, 14(33), e16569. <https://doi.org/10.20952/revtee.v14i33.16569>
19. Patel, F., & Lynch, H. (2013). Glocalization as an alternative to internationalization in higher education: Embedding positive glocal learning perspectives. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 25(2), 223-230.
20. Saunders, G. (2023). *Prefiguring the idea of the University for a post-capitalist society*. Palgrave Macmillan.
21. Silva Júnior, J., & Fargoni, E. (2019). Globalization of higher education: Notes about economy, knowledge production and impacts on civil society. *Open Access Library Journal*, 6, 1-17.
22. Trilokekar, D. (2022). *International education in a world of new geopolitics: A comparative study of US and Canada*. Berkeley.
22. Verger, A. (2010). *WTO/GATS and the global politics of higher education*. Routledge.

23. Welikala, T. (2011). Rethinking international higher education curriculum: Mapping the research landscape. Nottingham, UK: Universitas 21.
24. Wihlborg, M., & Robson, S. (2018). Internationalisation of higher education: Drivers, rationales, priorities, values and impacts. *European Journal of Higher Education*, 8(1), 8-18.
25. Wojciuk, A., Michałek, M., & Stormowska, M. (2015). Education as a source and tool of soft power in international relations. *European Political Science*, 14, 298-317.
26. Yaroshenko, A., Gontar, Z., Grybyk, I., Zinkevych, V., Serheieva, K. (2022). The system for assessing the quality of education in the context of the development of public administration. *IJCSNS. International Journal of Computer Science and Network Security*, 22(9), 497-502, <https://doi.org/10.22937/IJCSNS.2022.22.9.64>
27. Kryshtanovych, S., Bezena, I., Hoi, N., Kaminska, O., & Partyko, N. (2021). Modelling The Assessment of Influence of Institutional Factors on The Learning Process of Future Business Managers. *Management Theory and Studies for Rural Business and Infrastructure Development*, 43(3), 363-372. <https://doi.org/10.15544/mts.2021.33>
28. Svitlana Kryshtanovych, Iryna Chorna-Klymovets, Iryna Semeriak, Iryna Mordous, Iryna Zainchkivska. (2022). Modern Technologies for the Development of Distance Education. *IJCSNS. International Journal of Computer Science and Network Security*. Vol. 22 No. 9 pp. 103-108. <https://doi.org/10.22937/IJCSNS.2022.22.9.16>
29. Gontar, Z., Marchuk, V., Durman, O., Denkovych, N., & Dudkevych, V. (2020). Exploring the Experience of the World's Leading Countries in Inclusive Growth as Part of the Post-Industrial Economy: Challenges and Perspectives. *Postmodern Openings*, 11(2 Supl 1), 222-237. <https://doi.org/10.18662/po/11.2Sup1/189>

Primary Paper Section: A

Secondary Paper Section: AM