

ISSN 2827-8151 (Online)

SRAWUNG: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities

<https://journal.ifpublisher.com/index.php/jssh>

Vol. 4, Issue 1, (2025)

doi.org/10.56943/jssh.v4i1.687

Forging Diplomatic Bridges: Exploring the Role of Türkiye Scholarships in Strengthening the Relationship Between Indonesian Graduates and Türkiye

Raesita Rakhmawati Rosadi^{1*}, Idil Sayimer², Gunawan Wiradharma³

¹resitarosadi@ecampus.ut.ac.id, ²isayimer@kocaeli.edu.tr,

³gunawan.wiradharma@ecampus.ut.ac.id

^{1,3}Department of Communication, Faculty of Law, Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Terbuka Indonesia, ²Public Relations Department, Communication Faculty, Kocaeli Üniversitesi, Türkiye

*Corresponding Author: Raesita Rakhmawati Rosadi

Email: resitarosadi@ecampus.ut.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This research addresses the growing importance of soft power in international relations, particularly through educational initiatives like the Türkiye Scholarships. The problem statement highlights the need for effective public diplomacy tools that can foster enduring connections between nations, specifically between Turkey and Indonesia. The Turkish Scholarship program is positioned as a strategic effort to enhance Turkey's influence and strengthen bilateral relations through cultural and educational exchanges. The purpose of this research is to explore the role of Indonesian graduates from the Türkiye Scholarships in promoting Turkey's soft power and public diplomacy within Indonesia. By focusing on these alumni, it aims to understand how their experiences in Turkey have influenced their professional lives and their contributions to fostering positive perceptions of Turkey in their home country. This research employs a qualitative methodology, utilizing a case study approach. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with six Indonesian graduates working in various sectors of the Indonesian government, including banks, ministries, and universities. The interviews were conducted between September and October 2022, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of the graduates' experiences and their impact on Turkey's diplomatic efforts. The findings reveal that Indonesian graduates of the Türkiye Scholarships have successfully integrated Turkish values into their careers and daily lives, serving as informal ambassadors for Turkey. Their positions in key governmental roles signify a significant soft power investment for Turkey, as they actively contribute to projects and collaborations that enhance bilateral relations.

Keywords: Government, Public Diplomacy, Scholarships, Soft Power, Türkiye

INTRODUCTION

Public diplomacy encompasses the strategic management of communication between nations and non-state actors, with the profound purpose of conveying targeted information and inspiration to foreign audiences through diverse channels. Its overarching objective is to advance national interests by effectively engaging with the global public in an era dominated by interconnectedness and international integration. In the contemporary world, where effective communication and relationship-building are paramount among nations, public diplomacy has emerged as an indispensable and forceful instrument for elucidating foreign policies and shaping international public opinion. As globalization continues to shape our global landscape, public diplomacy has acquired unparalleled significance, enabling countries to actively promote their interests, amplify their impact, and exert influence in the realm of international relations. This dynamic approach entails proactive interaction with foreign audiences to project a country's image, showcase its rich culture, uphold its values, and articulate its policies. Notably, public diplomacy has recently experienced a momentous surge, as countries strive to augment their soft power and cultivate constructive alliances with other nations, thereby fortifying their global standing (Snow, 2020).

Public diplomacy serves as a potent expression of a nation's soft power, focusing on the persuasion of foreign audiences rather than resorting to coercion, pressure, or threats. In the contemporary context, public diplomacy places paramount importance on fostering mutual understanding and facilitating reciprocal exchanges of information, all anchored in a nation's influential soft power resources (Ang et al., 2015). Cultural diplomacy emerges as a pivotal instrument within the realm of public diplomacy, forging enduring connections through vibrant cultural interactions (Muhammad, 2023). Furthermore, non-state diplomatic actors assume a pivotal role in public diplomacy, and the astute utilization of soft power becomes indispensable in attracting foreign publics (Nubowo, 2023).

Turkey has demonstrated a commendable implementation of public diplomacy, leveraging institutions like the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) to spearhead impactful public diplomacy endeavors benefiting Turks and associated communities residing overseas. A noteworthy initiative in this regard is the Turkish Scholarship Program, meticulously designed to nurture positive relations between Turkey and other nations through its unwavering support for the education of international students (Aras & Mohammed, 2019). Scholarship programs, in essence, assume a pivotal role within public diplomacy, as they offer invaluable opportunities to shape the perceptions of future leaders and wield influence over their perceptions of the host country (L. Tam & Ayhan, 2021).

Achieving true success in public diplomacy through scholarship programs demands a steadfast, far-sighted approach, as the transformative effects on

scholarship recipients may span well over a decade before they assume influential positions in their respective careers (Barker, 2024). Remarkably, the perceptions held by these scholarship recipients toward the country bestowing the award play a pivotal role in shaping the course of their future relations with that nation (Lin & Chan, 2024). Alas, despite the significance of this aspect, there exists a noticeable dearth of research encompassing the extent of triumph achieved by scholarship programs and the profound perceptions of graduate students toward the awarding country (Campbell, 2020).

This study delves into Turkish public diplomacy practices, examining the impact of the Turkish Scholarship Program and thoroughly assessing the role of its accomplished alumni within Indonesia's esteemed government sector. Emphatically wielding public diplomacy as a potent tool, Turkey has strategically employed this scholarship program to bolster its ties with Indonesia, nurturing relationships through the medium of cultural interactions and the unwavering tenets of soft power diplomacy. By pioneering this research endeavor, the study bridges the crucial research gap surrounding the successful outcomes of scholarship programs in the realm of public diplomacy, while simultaneously bestowing invaluable insights into the profound perceptions valued by esteemed scholarship recipients toward the awarding country. Such astute efforts to support the education of international students are a foundation for forging lasting connections that cross borders and cultivate a legacy of enduring diplomatic ties between Turkey and other nations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Leonard et al. (2002) claims that public diplomacy involves establishing connections by understanding the needs of diverse cultures, nations, and individuals. It encompasses conveying our ideas, rectifying misunderstandings, and identifying common objectives. Leonard et al. (2002) proposed a hierarchy of effects that public diplomacy can achieve, which include:

1. Increasing people's familiarity with a country: This involves encouraging them to think about the country, updating their perceptions, and changing any unfavorable opinions they may hold.
2. Enhancing people's admiration for a country: This aims to create positive viewpoints and encourage others to see global issues from the same perspective.
3. Engaging people with a country: This entails strengthening connections through various means such as educational reforms, scientific collaborations, promoting the country as an attractive destination for tourism and study, influencing purchasing decisions, and encouraging understanding and endorsement of the country's values.

4. Influencing people: This involves persuading companies to invest, the public to support the country's positions, or politicians to view the country as a preferred partner.

Each aspect operates on different timescales, with immediate news responses occurring within hours or days, proactive communication and perception-shifting activities planned over weeks and months and relationship-building taking years to yield benefits. These aspects also require different abilities and organizational cultures. News management requires adaptability, responsiveness, and involvement with government machinery. Proactive communication demands excellent communication skills, strategic planning, budgets, resources, and the ability to organize events that captivate people's imagination. Building relationships necessitates establishing high levels of trust, creating a non-partisan and secure environment and often occurs outside of government channels. Relationship-building is considered the most extensive aspect of public diplomacy, emphasizing reciprocity and exchange between peers and equal partners.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research utilized qualitative methods, specifically a case study approach, to gather data. The process involved developing questions and procedures, collecting data in the participants' environment, analyzing the data through inductive reasoning, and identifying general themes. The study focused on six individuals who were Indonesian Turkish Scholarship (YTB) graduates and were working in various sectors of the Indonesian government, such as banks, ministries, and universities. The interviews were conducted between September and October 2022, and an official from YTB was also interviewed on September 29th, 2022. The research collected data from various sources, including in-depth interviews, observation, literature review, and government reports and data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Turkey's Public Diplomacy

Turkey's public diplomacy aims to promote its voice and vision to a wider audience across the world, overcome negative perceptions and stereotypes about the country, build a positive self-image, and reconnect with past Arab and Muslim societies across various regions, particularly the Middle East. Furthermore, Turkey seeks to establish itself as a model country and a significant regional and global actor. Today, where "image shaping reality," Turkey must dispel prejudices and correct misperceptions about itself. The fashion industry's emphasis on image serves as an analogy for countries and their public diplomacy, as Turkey must change its negative image and misconceptions (Zaelani & Sahide, 2021). The significance of public diplomacy has become increasingly recognized globally, as

traditional diplomacy is no longer sufficient, and soft power has become more important. As a result, every government requires public diplomacy activities to succeed (Kim, 2017).

The credibility and efficacy of a country's policies determine the effectiveness of its public diplomacy, as soft power plays a significant role in shaping a country's international reputation. Soft power is rooted in the idea of "value-based" power and refers to how attractive a country is and how much it deserves to be looked up to by others. The legitimacy of a country's soft power is characterized by others' recognition of its policies. Soft power encompasses a variety of sources, including culture, education, the arts, media, tourism, economic cooperation, and diplomacy, and is a product of their combination, providing insight into a country's cultural diversity and social capital (Yigit, 2024).

Turkey has emerged as a prominent player in global forums like the G-20, NATO, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, among others. Recent developments in Turkey's domestic and foreign affairs have led to a fascinating narrative that showcases the country's diverse and multi-faceted character. As Turkey continues to grow as a regional power and global actor, it is crucial to effectively communicate its dynamism and development to national and foreign audiences. This is especially important since public opinion plays a significant role in shaping global politics and decision-making processes. Therefore, countries, multinational organizations, NGOs, and other institutions must understand and effectively use public diplomacy to achieve their goals. The strategic communication and public diplomacy efforts of Turkey play a pivotal role in safeguarding its long-term national interests, enhancing regional effectiveness, and fulfilling international obligations. Therefore, prioritizing Turkey's public diplomacy becomes an imperative strategic endeavor.

Turkish Scholarship Program (Türkiye Bursları Programı)

Türkiye Scholarships stands out as a distinctive scholarship program that not only offers financial aid but also ensures students' admission into their desired academic programs. This sets it apart from other scholarship programs worldwide. The program's mission goes beyond providing a university education; it also aims to enrich students' experience in Turkey through social, cultural, and academic extracurricular activities. Over the years, there has been a remarkable surge in the number of applicants, escalating from approximately 40,000 in 2012 to around 150,000 in 2019. The application process, available in eight languages through an online platform, evaluates candidates based on their academic achievements, extracurricular involvements, and other professional qualifications. Türkiye Scholarships covers a wide range of long-term programs, encompassing undergraduate and postgraduate studies, and includes benefits such as university admission, dormitory accommodation, tuition fees, monthly stipends, and Turkish

language courses. Short-term scholarships may offer a subset of these benefits, depending on the specific program.

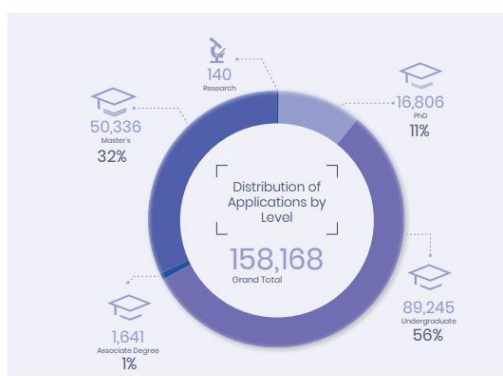


Figure 1. Distribution of Applications by Level (Istatistik.yok.gov.tr., 2021).

In the year 2020, the Türkiye Scholarship program granted long-term scholarships to 1,757 students pursuing undergraduate degrees, 832 students pursuing master's degrees, and 492 students pursuing Ph.D. degrees. In terms of other scholarship categories, the Research Scholarship received 27 applications out of 187, while the Success Scholarship received 194 applications out of 1,030. Moreover, 25 students were awarded short-term scholarships for language courses, 253 for undergraduate studies, 37 for Ph.D. programs, and 27 for various other study programs.

The Türkiye Scholarship program prioritizes the development of the students' skills and abilities to contribute to their country's progress. The program focuses on local needs in fields that can help students acquire the skills necessary for the development of their own country. During the country planning preparations, the program carefully considers various factors, such as the candidates' vision as scholarship recipients and their potential impact on their home country. The program also values the contribution that students can make to the relationship between their country and Turkey, making it a crucial consideration in the selection process (Türkiye Scholarships Burslari Annual Report, 2020).

Effects of Turkish Scholarship Program on Turkey's Soft Power

Offering scholarships to international students is a common practice for many countries to enhance their soft power and improve their international reputation. By attracting international students to study in their universities, countries can showcase their academic excellence, cultural diversity, and openness to the world. This can create positive impressions of the country among the international community and help build long-term relationships with foreign countries and their citizens. Turkey's scholarship programs for international students are a good example of public diplomacy practices aimed at enhancing the country's soft power.

During the "Turkey Talks" program, part of the "International Student Academy" initiative by YTB, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, highlighted the significant level of enthusiasm in choosing Turkey as a destination for studying. He expressed that,

"We hope for an increase in the number of students who come to Turkey in the upcoming years (15/5/2019, ytb.gov.tr)."

Moreover, he said that Turkey had demonstrated its soft power to the entire world through YTB, noting that soft power is at work with all of its elements in Turkey's foreign policy.

"Today, foreign policy areas have expanded so much that our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and parliament members cannot reach all. Today our soft powers are at work with all of its elements in our foreign policy. And YTB is the leading one. We are showing the soft power of Turkey to the entire world through YTB (15/5/2019, ytb.gov.tr)."

Foreign Minister M. Çavuşoğlu has expressed that diplomacy has evolved and foreign ministries alone are no longer sufficient for effective diplomacy. Turkey has been making diplomatic efforts through various institutions in different areas, with soft power elements being operated by other institutions, such as the YTB scholarship program which has become the most successful program.

Recent research has underscored the significance of soft power in diplomacy, which involves leveraging cultural and ideological resources to influence the behavior of other nations (Liu & Taqa, 2015). It has been observed that countries with greater soft power are more successful in achieving their diplomatic objectives (Nye, 1990). Additionally, think tanks have gained increasing importance in shaping foreign policy and public diplomacy (Snow & Cull, 2020).

Public diplomacy entails utilizing public relations tactics to cultivate strategic relationships between organizations and international audiences (L. S. Tam, 2015). It involves coordinated efforts by companies, institutions, or governments to establish mutually beneficial connections with public in other countries (Tarasenko et al., 2024). Public diplomacy practices are transforming the traditional concept of diplomacy, as they aim to influence and persuade foreign publics to adopt specific policies. In today's interconnected world, states have a broader platform for engagement than traditional diplomacy, making public diplomacy a key application in foreign policies. Governments, political parties, and multinational corporations all employ public relations strategies to influence foreign publics. The expansion of international media, the internet, social media, global business, and global politics has further emphasized the importance of public diplomacy and international public relations (Khusnu Perdani et al., 2024). These practices are often seen as policies based on soft power, seeking to win the support and goodwill of the foreign public

(Nye, 1990). Tago (2024) suggests that public diplomacy is a subset of political public relations, with the government as the primary organization and the foreign public as the primary audience.

The Turkey Scholarships program offers comprehensive financial support to highly qualified international students pursuing higher education in Turkey, enhancing their career prospects and making them valuable assets to the countries that sponsor their studies (Aras & Mohammed, 2019). Graduates of the program are also likely to become influential opinion leaders or social agents in their home countries, serving as a bridge between Turkey and their respective nations (Snow, 2020). Consequently, Turkey views the recipients of its scholarship program as strategic investments in soft power.

As part of its public diplomacy strategy, Turkey regards its international student graduates as potential ambassadors who can effectively represent Turkey in foreign countries. Abdullah Eren, the President of YTB, considers scholarship recipients as an integral part of Turkey's public diplomacy endeavors (ytb.gov.tr).

"Turkey has a highly valuable standing and a powerful vision that it takes in the international arena. You, our volunteer ambassadors, will talk about this vision of Turkey when you return to your country. It is quite important that this vision is conveyed directly by you (15/5/2019)."

Turkey has specifically targeted Indonesia for its scholarship program due to several factors. Firstly, Indonesia is a large country with significant economic potential and a substantial population, making it an attractive candidate. The shared Muslim population between the two nations and Turkey's perception of Indonesia as a prominent player in global politics and economy further enhance its appeal for the scholarship program (Al Ayyubi, 2024). Indonesia's membership in the G20, along with its strong political and economic standing, adds to its desirability as a destination for Turkish students.

According to records from the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) until 2019, more than 500 Indonesian Turkish Scholarship recipients have graduated and secured employment in various fields such as politics, government, academia, and business. This study specifically focuses on alumni working in the Indonesian government sector, including ministries, banks, institutions, and universities. As these alumni now serve in key positions within the Indonesian government, they represent a valuable asset and a significant soft power investment for Turkey. Musa Budak, the YTB Coordinator, echoed this sentiment (YTB).

"Yes, of course, the public or government sector is an important area in developing relationships between Turkey and Indonesia. They will act as a locomotive in the development of this relationship. The bureaucrats are more

important. We want them to have an important part or role in their country (Interview, 29/09/22)."

Indonesian bureaucrats are tasked with serving the state and working towards the government's objectives and programs, as outlined in Indonesia's highest constitution, The 1945 Constitution and Law No. 43/1999. In accordance with this provision, Indonesian civil servants are obligated to uphold Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and demonstrate their commitment to the state and government while carrying out their responsibilities in government and developmental endeavors. They also have the authority to make decisions, policies, and laws related to their respective sectors. Therefore, the presence of Turkish alumni working in the Indonesian government sector provides an opportunity for Turkey to promote their values, interests, and messages through them. This was confirmed by Musa Budak, YTB Coordinator,

"Our students are very valuable and important to us. After they get an education in Turkey, they will go back to their country. We see them as our ambassador, Turkey's ambassador. This ambassador is not only working in one or two-sector, but they will also work in several sectors, such as politics, economy, society, culture, and between public. Our graduates on the connection between these publics (Interview, 29/09/22)."

Turkey regards international students who participate in the Turkish Scholarships Program and engage with YTB as representatives or agents. These exceptional students are more likely to succeed in their future careers than their peers, making them a valuable soft power investment for Turkey. Soft power can have both immediate and long-term effects, and the benefits of the scholarship program are mostly seen over the long term. In an interview, the soft power of Turkey was evident in the responses of the participants, who expressed a strong affinity towards Turkey and a special inclination towards the country in all circumstances. One respondent even mentioned that:

"Yes, of course, I will choose Turkey. Currently, there are several projects in the ministry that are in collaboration with Turkey. One of them is to make a floating power plant on the ship. This is to provide electricity in several secluded areas in Indonesia. We already know Turkish people and how they work."

Soft power refers to a method of building influence over time through mutual communication and interaction, rather than through immediate policy outcomes. This is why the relationship-building aspect of public diplomacy, particularly among non-governmental actors, is the most important and mutually beneficial dimension (Leonard et al., 2002).

Scholarship activities are an example of a people-oriented move, particularly through students, that can contribute to relationship-building and, in turn, increase

a country's soft power. The social interaction between students and the countries that provide scholarship support shapes the long-term outcomes of the activity and reflects the identities and perspectives of those countries on the global stage. These identities and interests are closely intertwined, with identities serving as the basis for interests (King et al., 2023).

Therefore, scholarship activities can be viewed as part of a country's political goals and international interests, with the aim of conveying their values and ideas to the rest of the world through international students and increasing their soft power in the international arena. This is particularly important given the increasing importance of soft power in international relations.

Numerous studies underscore the significance of soft power and public diplomacy in international relations, highlighting their roles in shaping national images and influencing global perceptions. Fayzullaev (2024) emphasizes Turkey's effective use of soft power in Afghanistan, leveraging cultural and historical ties to enhance its diplomatic presence. Matosian (2024) discusses how states utilize public diplomacy to create attractive images, asserting that successful soft power strategies are more sustainable than traditional coercive methods. Baruah (2024) elaborates on the evolution of soft power, illustrating how nations like China and Turkey employ cultural diplomacy and historical narratives to achieve foreign policy goals without military force. Chandra & Sinha (2024) focus on China's strategic soft power initiatives, which have become crucial in the context of its growing global influence. Lastly, Kaleem (2023) explores the transformative impact of social media on public diplomacy, noting both its potential for citizen engagement and the challenges posed by misinformation. Collectively, these studies highlight the multifaceted nature of soft power as a vital tool in contemporary international relations.

Effectively managing a scholarship program can wield remarkable and enduring soft power influence. When students study in a country as scholarship recipients, they often develop a sense of gratitude and affinity towards the government that provided the scholarship. Such sentiments were clearly expressed by interviewees from diverse career backgrounds, underscoring the far-reaching and lasting effects of scholarship initiatives on soft power. The overarching objective is to ensure that international students depart with a positive impression, thereby contributing to the program's medium to long-term outcomes. Nonetheless, the intricate and prolonged nature of scholarship programs poses challenges in their evaluation.

Moreover, the Turkish Scholarships program has fostered a shared identity among its international students as proud "Turkish graduates." The program strategically employs various activities to maintain the enduring bond between its graduates and Turkey, generating sustained impacts. High-ranking officials, including the Turkish President and Foreign Minister, have openly acknowledged the program's exceptional capability to project Turkey's soft power to the global

stage, with the President lauding international students as esteemed ambassadors for Turkey.

CONCLUSION

Indonesian bureaucrats hold vital positions across diverse sectors, ranging from ministries and local governments to institutions and universities, enabling them to shape decisions, policies, and laws. Within this context, Turkey possesses a golden opportunity to disseminate its message, values, and interests to Indonesia through its esteemed alumni. These recipients of Turkish scholarships, having wholeheartedly embraced Turkey's values, political principles, image, recognition, and perceptions, are poised to share them passionately with their colleagues and peers in Indonesia. These alumnae are potential torchbearers and advocates of Turkey, driven by a fervent desire to leverage their Turkish education and experiences to strengthen the bond between Turkey and Indonesia.

Embracing public diplomacy through the Turkish Scholarships program has unfailingly bolstered Turkey's soft power, and the impact is poised to reverberate even more powerfully in the long run as Turkey expands its endeavors for current and prospective international students. This unyielding commitment to shaping future leaders and influencers, who ardently embody Turkey's philosophy and resonate with its aspirations, heralds a future of ever-increasing soft power potency for Turkey on the global stage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We sincerely thank Mr. Musa Budak and Mrs. Merve Solak (Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, YTB) for their supports.

REFERENCES

- Al Ayyubi, M. S. (2024). Türkiye Bursları as the Soft Power in the Reflection of Bilateral Relations between Türkiye and Indonesia. *Journal of Social Science*, 5(2), 397–405. <https://doi.org/10.46799/jss.v5i2.865>
- Ang, I., Isar, Y. R., & Mar, P. (2015). Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21(4), 365–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2015.1042474>
- Aras, B., & Mohammed, Z. (2019). The Turkish government scholarship program as a soft power tool. *Turkish Studies*, 20(3), 421–441. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2018.1502042>
- Barker, J. S. (2024). The Endeavour scholarships program in the era of the Asian century: promise unfulfilled. *History of Education Review*, 53(2), 104–117. <https://doi.org/10.1108/HER-12-2023-0033>

- Baruah, A. D. (2024). Influence of Soft Power in shaping Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. *Electronic Journal of Social and Strategic Studies*, 05(02), 363–389. <https://doi.org/10.47362/EJSSS.2024.5214>
- Burslari, T. S. (2020). *Turkiye Scholarships Annual Report*. [https://arsiv.turkiyeburslari.gov.tr/Content/Upload/files/TB Report-2020.pdf](https://arsiv.turkiyeburslari.gov.tr/Content/Upload/files/TB%20Report-2020.pdf)
- Campbell, A. C. (2020). ‘Giving back’ to one’s country following an international higher education scholarship: comparing in-country and expatriate alumni perceptions of engagement in social and economic change in Moldova. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 50(4), 573–591. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2018.1540925>
- Chandra, R., & Sinha, M. (2024). China’s Soft Power Diplomacy in International Politics: Strategies, Means and Implications. *ShodhKosh: Journal of Visual and Performing Arts*, 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.29121/shodhkosh.v5.i1.2024.2045>
- Fayzullaev, A. (2024). IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AFGHANISTAN (THE CASE OF SOFT POWER). *The American Journal of Social Science and Education Innovations*, 6(7), 85–91. <https://doi.org/10.37547/tajssei/Volume06Issue07-08>
- Kaleem, M. (2023). The Impact of the Use of Soft Power in Social Media on Public Diplomacy for International Co-existence. *International Journal of Membrane Science and Technology*, 10(3), 372–388. <https://doi.org/10.15379/ijmst.v10i3.1541>
- Khusnu Perdani, M., Afandi, R., Lusa, S., Indra Sensuse, D., Wibowo Putro, P. A., & Indriasari, S. (2024). Social Media as an Instrument of Public Diplomacy in the Digital Era: A Systematic Literature Review. *Policy & Governance Review*, 8(3), 284. <https://doi.org/10.30589/pgr.v8i3.976>
- Kim, H. (2017). Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy. *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 15(2), 293–326. <https://doi.org/10.14731/kjis.2017.08.15.2.293>
- King, M., Forsey, M., & Pegrum, M. (2023). International Scholarships and Southern Agency: An Ethnography of Alumni, Scholars, and Applicants. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 27(2), 178–197. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10283153211054144>
- Leonard, M., Stead, C., Smewing, C., & Foreign Policy Centre (London, E. (2002). *Public Diplomacy*. Foreign Policy Centre. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=khuIAAAACAAJ>
- Lin, W., & Chan, S.-J. (2024). Students as a Nexus of Cultural Diplomacy: Estimating the Outcomes of the International Higher Education Scholarship

- Program in Taiwan. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 28(3), 420–439. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10283153231178133>
- Liu, C., & Taqa, A. (2015). *Soft Power Diplomacy: The Role of Cultural Influence in Shaping International Relations*. 3, 2853–3006.
- Matosian, A. E. (2024). Public diplomacy and soft power: building a positive image of the state. *Международные Отношения*, 4, 32–42. <https://doi.org/10.7256/2454-0641.2024.4.72110>
- Muhammad, A. (2023). *Culinary Diplomacy: Unveiling the Palate as a Pathway to Stronger International Relations*.
- Nubowo, A. (2023). Promoting Indonesian Moderate Islam on the Global Stage: Non-State Actors' Soft Power Diplomacy in the Post-New Order Era. *Muslim Politics Review*, 2(2), 238–283. <https://doi.org/10.56529/mpr.v2i2.204>
- Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft Power. *Foreign Policy*, 80, 153. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1148580>
- Snow, N. (2020). Public Diplomacy. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.518>
- Snow, N., & Cull, N. J. (2020). *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* (N. Snow & N. J. Cull (eds.)). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429465543>
- Tago, A. (2024). Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. In *The Oxford Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis* (pp. 379–395). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198843061.013.21>
- Tam, L., & Ayhan, K. J. (2021). Evaluations of people, affection, and recommendation for a host country: A study of Global Korea Scholarship (GKS) recipients. *Politics & Policy*, 49(6), 1292–1307. <https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12438>
- Tam, L. S. (2015). *Strategic public diplomacy: Cultivating relationships with foreign publics and measuring relationship outcomes using the Relationship Assessment of Diplomatic Interaction Outcome (RADIO) scale*. https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/open_access_dissertations/566
- Tarasenko, T., Sorokina, N., Kashchenko, N., Branitska, T., & Kukhar, I. (2024). International collaboration in public governance: assessing the role of collective initiatives and organisations. *Multidisciplinary Science Journal*, 6, 2024ss0715. <https://doi.org/10.31893/multiscience.2024ss0715>
- Yigit, S. (2024). *Soft Power* (pp. 163–178). <https://doi.org/10.4018/979-8-3693-2444-8.ch011>
- Zaelani, R. A. F., & Sahide, A. (2021). Promoting a Better Image through Culture:

The Case of Turkey's Cultural Diplomacy towards Indonesia. *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*, 5(2), 236–251.
<https://doi.org/10.18196/jiwp.v5i2.10890>