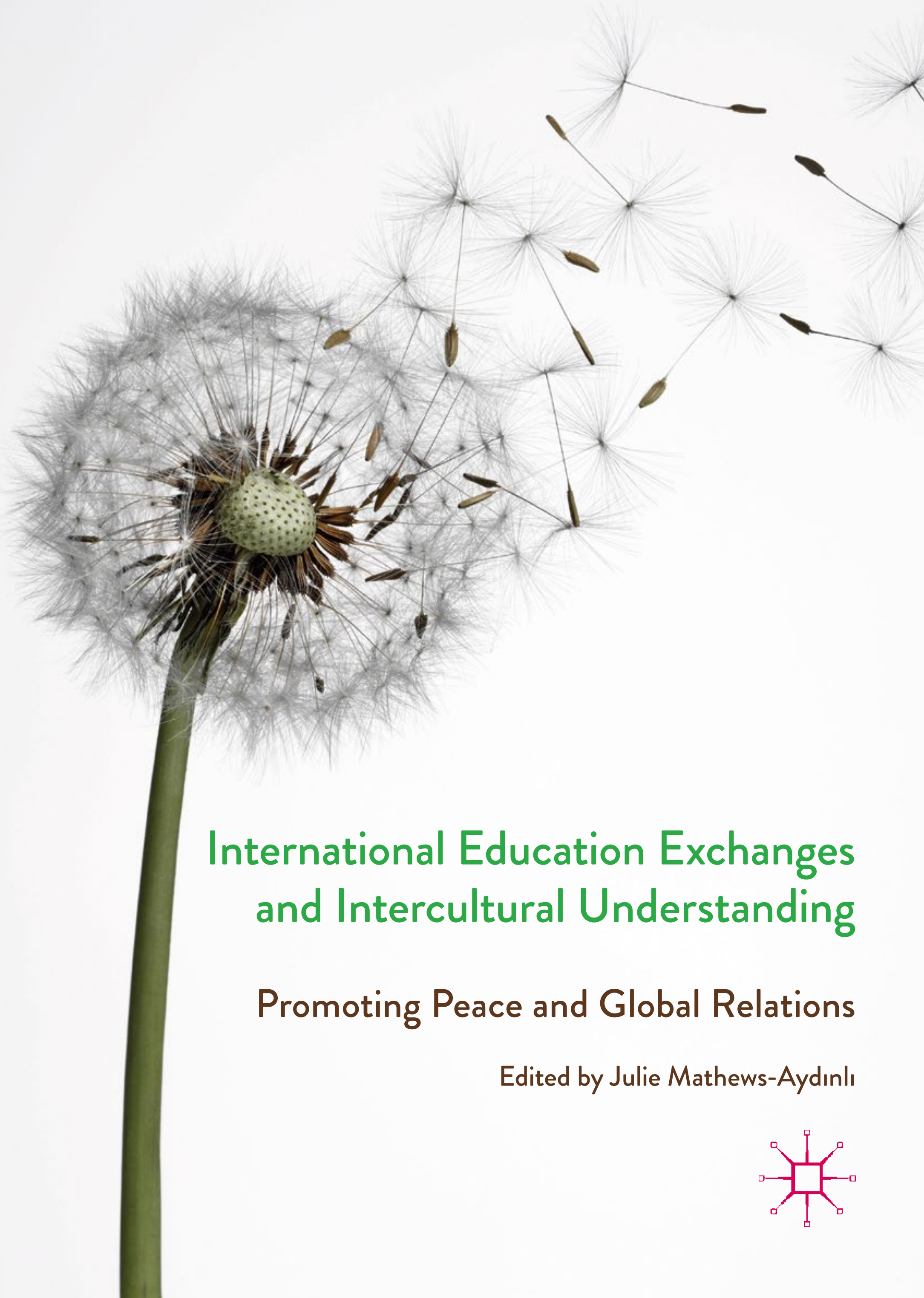

International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding

Promoting Peace and Global Relations

Edited by Julie Mathews-Aydınlı

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Julie Mathews-Aydinli
Editor

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palgrave
macmillan

Editor
Julie Mathews-Aydinli
Bilkent University
Ankara, Turkey

ISBN 978-3-319-43828-3 ISBN 978-3-319-43829-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016959050

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Notes on Contributors

Will Baker is the Deputy Director of the Centre for Global Englishes, Modern Languages, University of Southampton. He is the convener of the 'MA in Global Englishes' and 'MA ELT: online', and also supervises doctoral students in these subjects. He is the co-editor of the book series Developments in English as a Lingua Franca (De Gruyter Mouton). His current research involves English as a Lingua Franca, Intercultural Communication, English medium instruction and English language teaching. He has published and presented internationally in all these areas, including the recent monograph, *Culture and Identity through English as a Lingua Franca* (De Gruyter Mouton).

***Yasemin Bayyurt*, Ph.D.** is a full professor of applied linguistics at Boğaziçi University, Turkey. Her research focuses on EIL/ELF-aware ESOL teacher education, intercultural communication, mobile language learning. Her publications include articles in international refereed/indexed journals, book chapters, and edited books, including *Research Perspectives on Teaching and Learning English in Turkey: Policies and Practices,* published in 2012 by Peter Lang.

***Hamilton Bean*, Ph.D., MBA, APR** is Director of the International Studies Program and Associate Professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Colorado Denver, where he specializes in the study of communication and security. Since 2005, he has been affiliated with the National Consortium for the Study or Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) a US Department of Homeland Security Center of Excellence based at the University of Maryland. His research has been published in numerous international journals and edited volumes.

Darla K. Deardorff is Executive Director of the Association of International Education Administrators, which is based at Duke University, where she is a

Research Scholar in Education. She is the founder of ICC Global, a global network on intercultural competence. Frequently invited to speak around the world, she has published widely on topics related to international education, intercultural competence development and assessment, and global leadership. Among her six books include *The Sage Handbook of Intercultural Competence* (Sage, 2009) and *Building Cultural Competence* (Stylus, 2012), as well as a forthcoming book from Routledge.

Craig Hayden is Senior Professorial Lecturer at the American University School of International Service, and scholar of media technology, diplomacy, and international communication. Craig's research focuses on public diplomacy and strategic communication, soft power, and media technology in foreign policy. Craig was a Research Fellow at the University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy (2012–2014) and the co-founder of the International Studies Association Working Group on Public Diplomacy. His current project, 'Diplomatic Convergence: Technology, Public Diplomacy, and the Mediation of Influence' (under contract with Oxford University Press) explores the transformative potential of digital media on public diplomacy. He is the author of *The Rhetoric of Soft Power: Public Diplomacy in Global Contexts* (Lexington Books, 2011).

Yasemin Kırkgöz is a professor at the English Language Teaching Department of Çukurova University in Adana, Turkey. Her main research interests focus on foreign language education policy and its implementation, curriculum renewal and innovation management, teaching English to young learners, English-medium instruction in higher education, pre-service and in-service teacher education. She has published in a number of international journals including Teaching and Teacher Education, Educational Policy, Teaching in Higher Education and Current Issues in Language Planning. She received the 2013 IATEFL award for her work on *Initiating and Managing the Process of Curriculum Innovation* from the IATEFL's Leadership and Management Special Interest Group.

Faruk Kural is a lecturer at the English Language Teaching Department of Yeditepe University in Istanbul, Turkey. He has a BA degree from Deakin University, an MA in Applied Linguistics from Monash University, and a PhD in English Language Education from Yeditepe University. He is interested in English as a Lingua Franca, English for Specific Purposes, syllabus design, multicultural education, functional grammar, and language planning and policy.

Julie Mathews-Aydinli is a faculty member in the Graduate School of Education at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey and also a researcher with the Center for Foreign Policy and Peace Research. She is a former Fulbright student grantee in Turkey, and a former visiting researcher at the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College. Her works have been published in various journals, including *International Studies Perspectives*, *Higher Education*, *Review of*

International Studies, and *English for Specific Purposes*. Her research interests include International higher education, second language acquisition, academic literacy development, and genre analysis of academic disciplinary discourse.

Emily Metzgar is a former US diplomat, policy analyst, and newspaper columnist. Emily Metzgar is an associate professor in The Media School at Indiana University. Her research focuses on public diplomacy, international communication, and the role of media in society. She has written extensively about public diplomacy and is completing a manuscript about the Japan Exchange & Teaching (JET) Program as a Japanese government-sponsored public diplomacy effort. She is herself a JET Program alumnus.

Iain Wilson teaches research methods in Political Science for the University of Toronto. This paper was developed while Chrystal Macmillan Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. He has been interested in the political consequences of student mobility for several years, and his work on the subject includes *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?*, published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2014.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: International Educational Exchanges and the Promotion of Peace and Intercultural Understanding

Julie Mathews-Aydinli

International Educational Exchange

International Educational Exchange is a booming business. Once an option for just a tiny, elite few, it now embraces widely different populations ranging in age, focus and countries of origin and destination. Educational exchanges now involve the movement of massive numbers of individuals around the world for varying lengths of time; some self-funded others as beneficiaries of a wide variety of private and public scholarships and grants. Exchanges are increasingly becoming a popular part of the expected university experience for undergraduate students, stereotypically characterized by the example of a single semester or academic year spent by North American students in Western Europe.[1] They are also a serious option for longer-term undergraduate or graduate study for literally millions of others.[2] While many may associate such international movement primarily with students coming to or from North America or Western Europe, exchanges of people for educational purposes in fact take place

J. Mathews-Aydinli (✉)
Graduate School of Education, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_1

between countries in all regions of the world,[3] with some of the most rapidly growing numbers being to and from countries in Asia (see e.g. Bhandarf and Lefebure 2015).

International Educational Exchange is not restricted to students at the tertiary level; it also describes the experiences of growing numbers of secondary school or gap-year students who participate in exchanges to gain short-term international experience. Moreover, students are not the only ones taking part. Educational exchanges may also constitute a valuable research or professional development opportunity for scholars—both those seeking employment in foreign academic institutions and those conducting long- or short-term research abroad—and professionals from various fields in the public and private sectors. Stretching the concept even further, the underlying term of 'International Education' encompasses such practices as the 'franchising' of branches of universities in other countries, and efforts to 'internationalize' local universities through curricular changes, recruiting greater numbers of foreign students and faculty or opening up online courses that are accessible to students worldwide.

Why the Interest in International Education Exchange?

The rise in International Educational Exchange is not surprising since it naturally seems like a positive practice to engage in. Aside from the obvious economic interests that are met by such exchanges, more noble goals appear achievable as well. Intuitively, it seems logical that educational exchanges will increase participants' knowledge and understanding of others' practices and beliefs, and this will in turn contribute to better, friendlier relations between the participants and the others. This broad intuition is based on the concept of intercultural understanding and two follow-up assumptions: first, that such understanding can be improved through the kind of contact encouraged by educational exchanges and second, that the more we know about those who are different from us, the better we will get along with them. It follows that in an era when ease of travel and communication, not to mention more ominous cross-border flows such as disease, terrorism or environmental hazards, have made contact between different peoples both common and necessary, any efforts that may help build knowledge and improve understanding are essential. International Educational Exchange—in all its forms—seems logically a way of accomplishing this.

While there may certainly be personal benefits to increased intercultural understanding, such as making someone a more effective manager in an international company or contributing to his or her enjoyment of foreign travel or literature, it again seems logical that there may also be potential benefits at the broader, societal level. If enough people in two populations are fortunate enough to gain greater intercultural understanding of the other group, or if individuals in critical political, bureaucratic or social positions from each group increase their intercultural awareness, it may reduce the likelihood of clashes between those two groups. It is this larger, societal potential that brings International Educational Exchange to the interest of those in governments, and leads to the inserting of educational exchanges onto the menu of public diplomacy tools.

International Educational Exchange and Public Diplomacy

When government officials speak of 'winning hearts and minds', they are, in essence, talking about public diplomacy. Unlike traditional diplomacy, which is conducted between high-level officials, often out of public view, and which aims to mend or build state-level relations between countries, public diplomacy takes place at a more transnational level. It seeks to build up relations between societies, and is therefore conducted with the help of everyday people or civil society groups. As one effort to conceptualize the practice of public diplomacy has concluded, its goal is to transmit information, sell positive images of a country and build long-term relationships that will help ease future government policies (Leonard et al. 2002). To this end, most American public diplomacy efforts throughout the Cold War era were devoted to international broadcasting and media to spread anti-Communist propaganda. Having been largely abandoned after the end of the Cold War, interest in public diplomacy resurged in the 2000s, as the US government scrambled for tools to bridge the apparent cultural divide that had spawned the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and in subsequent years continued to supply the ranks of groups affiliated with al Qaeda or the Islamic State.

While both traditional and public diplomacy involve efforts to change others' behaviors or obtain from them particular desired outcomes, public diplomacy is associated with doing so through applying 'soft power', in other words, by looking beyond matters of military force or economic prosperity, and adding in concerns for legitimacy and moral authority (Nye 2004). It is easy to imagine how International Educational Exchanges might therefore play a central role in public diplomacy efforts. The primary participants in such exchanges are generally ‘regular’ citizens, either students or members of the scholarly community. They thus naturally present an image of legitimacy as they are removed from any immediate sense of mistrust or dislike that may be associated with a government. Their aim during an exchange program is one of education—again, a pure and positive goal that is easily distanced from the possible negative or propagandistic actions of a government. The way that exchanges are practiced and their presumed positive impact depend on a long-term, two-way process of people accumulating information about each other, understanding and digesting that information and presumably reflecting back on that understanding in future interactions with the other group. Compare this thoughtful, long-term process of building change with the doublespeak and secretive negotiating that is associated with traditional diplomatic efforts. As the early twentieth-century American journalist Isaac Goldberg is attributed with saying, ‘Diplomacy is to do and say, the nastiest thing in the nicest way’. Clearly, the potential effectiveness of the ‘citizen diplomats’ involved in international education exchanges, who can remain distanced from this image, is tremendous.

While the match between educational exchange and public diplomacy seems a logical and practical one, it is not problem-free. The main dilemma that arises is one that is inherent to virtually all public diplomacy efforts: the clash between their ‘public face’ of aiming to build deeper intercultural understanding and awareness, and their underlying strategic goal of using that outcome to create an environment that will enable government policies.[4] Because of this dilemma, the relationship between International Educational Exchange and public diplomacy is a sensitive one. Yet it remains one that has received relatively little scholarly attention. Even today, in an era of both increased numbers of participants in international educational exchanges and growing appreciation of the potential for such exchanges to contribute to intercultural understanding, and, thus, public diplomacy, research on the topic is limited.

Overview of the Book

When considering the role of International Educational Exchange in promoting peace and intercultural understanding, what emerges is a very complex picture. A variety of factors contribute to this complexity. The chapters in this book first explore these factors and the concerns that must be considered when administering or initiating International Educational Exchange programs. For example, they look at the role that language and discourse play in exacerbating or alleviating the abovementioned dilemma in public diplomacy. They also preview new means of internationalizing education and their impact on public diplomacy, and explore ways of evaluating the impact—not only the challenges that assessment presents, but reasons behind the overall push for it. The book then goes on to provide additional insights by presenting several case studies of diverse educational exchange programs and one study on a program preparing students for such exchanges.

Leading off the volume is Darla Deardorff's chapter, which directly delves into the connection between International Educational Exchange and its impact on developing intercultural understanding. After revealing certain myths about the idea of exchanges and intercultural understanding, she presents the reader with a description of what Intercultural Competence ideally means, and, therefore, what educational exchanges (and, ultimately, political diplomacy) should aim to do. She identifies mutuality as a key element, thereby suggesting that if educational 'exchanges' are in practice or image one-directional, or too obviously working to the benefit of one side over the other, they will not likely be successful in the long run.

The next four chapters discuss issues that seem to pose potential risks to mutuality, and thus to having successful international educational exchanges. Iain Wilson directly explores the ways that international educational exchanges, or more generally, student mobility, are meant to help promote peace—public diplomacy's most idealistic goal—and questions to what extent they actually achieve this. He examines in detail the existing empirical research measuring the impact of educational exchange in terms of five distinct mechanisms: signaling, attitude change, intercultural competence, network formation and transfer of governmental institutions. Equally important to the conclusions he draws from this body of research are the insights he makes into the methodological and epistemological challenges surrounding such inquiries.

Will Baker goes on to look specifically at the role of language in educational exchanges. With English frequently the common language or 'lingua franca' used in international education, it has the potential to serve as a positive means for communication among people of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It also runs the risk, however, of creating the linguistic and cultural imperialism that is reflected in the chapter's title—'lingua frankensteinia'.[5] Baker argues that for educational exchanges to achieve their ultimate goals, efforts must be made to ensure that the ideological issues surrounding the use of English are not ignored, and that alternative approaches to language education be applied.

Craig Hayden's chapter looks more deeply at the issue of technology, and the potential of Massive Open Online Courses, or MOOCs, to promote the positive side of public diplomacy efforts. He suggests that by providing genuine open access to the benefits of international education, MOOCs may have the potential to counteract some of public diplomacy's more negative, instrumental attributes. He admits that it is still early to draw firm conclusions as much more research is needed. He also cautions of the risk that technological innovations like MOOCs may merely shift the dilemma in public diplomacy in a new direction. Instead of a dilemma between a 'public face' of promoting real understanding and a negative undercurrent of political propaganda, we may see an emerging dilemma between public diplomacy's ideal and a new, more commercial negative side, in which the efforts constitute primarily advertising campaigns for higher education in the USA.

A somewhat similar concern is raised in Hamilton Bean's look at the discourse used in educational exchanges. Bean's chapter shows that even when the discourse itself changes, it does not necessarily mean that public diplomacy's dilemma has been overcome. He warns of the potential that what he dubs the 'marketization' discourse used by the US State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs when discussing initiatives like the Fulbright Program may not only reflect but even reinforce assumptions about International Educational Exchange that hinder the possibility for the 'positive' side of public diplomacy to take place.

The second half of the book highlights four empirical studies—three on existing educational exchange programs and one on a training program for students about to engage in an exchange. Carol Atkinson's study leads off this section. Among works exploring the relationship between educational exchanges and the promotion of peace, an almost completely ignored yet pivotal area to look at is the exchange involving members of the military. Atkinson's work is among the first to explore the goals and structure of educational exchanges arranged through the US military's war and staff colleges. Arguing that they have been successful in promoting increased understanding, interoperability and cooperation, she then draws lessons from this experience for the designing and administering of international educational exchanges on a broader scale.

The following chapter, by Emily Metzgar, looks at another important type of exchange program—that of sending people abroad (or inviting them from abroad) to teach their native language. Understanding the background and conduct of such programs is of great importance, not only due to the issues about language raised in this volume by Will Baker but also because of the rising interest in recent years in efforts to use language teaching programs in public diplomacy efforts.[6] One of the largest such language teaching programs worldwide is the Japan Exchange and Teaching, or JET Program. Metzgar reports on a large-scale survey study she conducted with American JET alumni, attempting to measure the program's impact on participants' attitudes toward the host culture—ultimately, their levels of intercultural understanding. Based on her results, she then discusses the implications of her study's results on measuring the impact of the JET Program as a public diplomacy tool.

Yasemin Kirkgoz explores another well-known language teaching exchange program, the Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA) Program. Taking a very different methodological approach from Metzgar, Kirkgoz also explores the attitudes of program returnees, this time Turkish FLTA participants. She conducts a series of interviews with eight Turks in the years following their time as FLTAs teaching Turkish in American universities. She explores their recalled experiences, focusing most importantly on any change in their perspectives, specifically in the areas of attitudes toward education, democracy and intercultural issues. Her conclusions regarding the experiences of these teachers support earlier similar studies conducted with students, that at least at the personal level, educational exchanges can contribute to changed attitudes and perspectives toward not only the host culture but the participants' own cultures as well.

The final chapter in the volume, by Faruk Kural and Yasemin Bayyurt, winds up the discussion on International Educational Exchange and the promotion of peace and intercultural understanding by taking a step back—to the *pre*-exchange preparation that students receive. Drawing on data collected from Turkish university students prior, during and following a study-abroad experience, Kural and Bayyurt design a preparatory English language training curriculum. With their data reflecting some of the concerns raised in both Baker's and Deardorff's chapters in this volume, the authors argue the need for predeparture language training that incorporates a broader, more inclusive perspective on English. The resulting curriculum not only provides more realistic and therefore effective English language instruction but also contributes to building the students' intercultural competence, thus supporting a more successful exchange experience at both the individual and broader societal levels.

Notes

1. Two examples evidencing this growth in exchanges can be seen in the cases of the USA and Europe. The most recent Opendoors Report shows 289,000 American students studying abroad in 2012–2013, a 2 % increase over the previous year. In total, 9 % of American undergraduate students will study abroad at some time during their undergraduate studies. The Erasmus Program, which supports student and staff exchanges throughout the European Union, also has noted growing numbers of participants, with nearly 270,000 students and 52,000 staff members taking part in exchanges in the 2012–2013 academic year—up from around 3000 students when the program was launched in 1987.
2. Overall, based on 2011 data from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, the total number of internationally mobile students more than doubled between 2000 and 2011, to nearly 4.5 million, with a projection of that number reaching 5 million in 2014. Of this number, the USA is the world's leading destination. The Opendoors Report from 2014 showed that just under 900,000 international students were studying in the USA in 2012–2013.
3. Just one example from a country that might not ordinarily be considered in such a discussion is the initiative launched in 2012 by the Turkish government. The Turkiye Scholarships Program provides scholarships to approximately 4000 foreign students each year to study at Turkish universities. Applications to the program have risen from nearly 46,000 in 2012 to over 82,000 in 2014, from 176 different countries. Overall, the number of exchange students coming to Turkey each year is rising rapidly, reaching nearly 50,000 in 2014.
4. This dilemma is discussed originally by Giles Scott-Smith, in his 2008 article, 'Mapping the undefinable: Some thoughts on the relevance of exchange programs within International Relations Theory'. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616: 173–195.

5. A term coined by Robert Phillipson. (2008). Lingua franca or lingua frankensteinia? English in European integration and globalisation. *World Englishes, 27*(2), 250–267.
6. Examples of such programs from other countries include the Chinese government's establishing in 1987 of the National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, *Hanban*, with its Confucius Institutes (CI) and Classrooms (CC) targeting higher education and K-12, respectively. As of the end of 2014, there were 475 CIs and 851 CCs worldwide. From the perspective of US public diplomacy, the Fulbright English Teaching Assistant (ETA) Program is another example of an initiative gaining interest in recent years.

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CHAPTER 2

The BIG Picture: Reflections on the Role of International Educational Exchange in Peace and Understanding

Darla K. Deardorff

As humans, we've always lived in relation to each other—whether in small local groups of hunters/gatherers or in virtual social networks that connect us with strangers around the world. Mobility and exchange have always been part of human history, although much of it relegated to history books and long since forgotten—such as Cahokia, now a historic site in the US state of Illinois but at one time the largest and most sophisticated prehistoric city north of Mexico, whose people maintained vast trade networks throughout the eastern half of the North American continent. In many ways, the realities of geopolitical developments in current times are simply a variation on past human history, albeit with graver issues confronting humankind.

The horrific devastation and realities of the twentieth-century world wars resulted in the creation of numerous organizations and programs

An earlier version of this chapter was published in *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace*, July 2015.

D.K. Deardorff (✉)
Program in Education, Duke University, Durham, NC, USA

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_2

with specific missions to further peace and international understanding, in the hope of preventing such horrors in the future. Examples include the American Field Service secondary exchanges, started by ambulance drivers in World War I, the International Baccalaureate Organization, the Institute of International Education, the US Peace Corps, as well as other programs like Fulbright exchanges and later the Chevening Scholarships. In these examples, the underlying assumption was that peace and understanding was not just the purview of nation-states (as addressed through the establishment of the League of Nations and later the United Nations) but could also be addressed through "soft power" at the individual level, with the ultimate goal being a more peaceful world. As Wilson notes in his chapter in this volume, there is a dearth of research about whether educational exchange leads to a more peaceful world, particularly given that there are limits to individual-level peacemaking within the broader nation-state system. Nonetheless, there are numerous examples of individuals who have indeed made a difference in the world, including giants such as Martin Luther King Jr, Mother Theresa or Nelson Mandela, as well as many unsung heroes, and some of the programs mentioned here operate on the premise of the power of the individual to affect change in the world. Since World War II, there has been an increase in educational exchange, particularly at the post-secondary level. Several chapters in this volume explore various aspects of this phenomenon, such as Atkinson's chapter looking at lessons learned from international educational exchanges with US military institutions, Bean's chapter highlighting the Fulbright program and looking at the strategic messaging and communication of such programs and Wilson's chapter addressing this question even more directly in looking at how exchanges can contribute to peacemaking. This commentary outlines some prevailing myths around educational exchange, sets forth three value propositions to inform future international educational exchange and concludes with the bigger picture of the role of educational exchange in promoting peace and international understanding.

Some Myths

Let's start with some myths about international educational exchange:

Bring diverse people together and "magic" will happen.
Study abroad and come back interculturally competent.

Exposure to another culture is sufficient for intercultural understanding.
No special training is needed when going into another culture.
Results of international educational exchange can be measured by one evaluation tool.

Though the above statements are all indeed myths, they nonetheless are stated with frightening frequency. In debunking these myths, several theoretical frames can be utilized, including Putnam's (2007) and Allport's (1954) works, which conclude that simply being in the vicinity of difference does not result in meaningful, intercultural learning. In fact, Putnam found that such contact can result in greater mistrust between groups of people, and Allport found that certain criteria need to be in place for more meaningful interactions to occur, including common goals and similar status (and Atkinson's chapter provides a good example of this). Further, according to my dissertation study resulting in the first research-based definition and framework of intercultural competence (Deardorff 2006), intercultural competence is a lifelong process (beyond one experience) and must be *intentionally* addressed (beyond one training or class) as such competence does not generally occur naturally (Deardorff 2009). Additionally, much has been written about the importance of how international educational exchange is conducted so that such exchange does not reinforce ethnocentrism but will rather lead to transformative learning and attitudinal change. In terms of evaluating the results of educational exchange, much research has actually been undertaken over the last couple of decades in this regard, with common themes emerging as to the importance of multiple measures of assessment and evaluation (Bean's chapter, e.g., discusses just one evaluation while, in fact, there would need to be multiple measures, beyond self-report, to ascertain concrete results), as well as longitudinally over time (one study, the Study Abroad for Global Engagement, or SAGE, project, actually looked 50 years back in terms of study abroad students' changes over time including in their life choices, Paige et al. 2009).

Implications and Three Value Propositions

The predominant implication of these myths and underlying theoretical frameworks for organizations involved in international educational exchange is this: *Intentionality is key* in preparing, sending and debriefing from such experiences. It's not enough to put students on planes and send them abroad. Rather, intentional intercultural training is crucial before students leave, while they are abroad and especially after they come back, as they process what they experienced and learned (Terrell & Lindsay 2009). Further, given that intercultural competence development is a life-long process, it's important to recognize that a one-size-fits-all approach will not work, since students are at different places in their journeys, even before they venture abroad. The experience itself is instrumental in terms of how it is set up and the various parameters in which students engage in the local culture and community. Beyond these implications, though, there are deeper questions about the extent to which such exchanges indeed lead to peace and understanding.

For example, one burning question is this: What is necessary for humans to get along together? This is the question that I've spent the last decade researching and exploring through the concept of intercultural competence. Upon further reflection on the literature around this concept, and by way of synthesizing some of the points in the chapters in this volume, I'd like to put forth three value propositions that could inform international educational exchange at its very core, providing a foundation for peace and understanding:

(1) **Extend Respect**. Respect, which means truly valuing the other as a fellow human, needs to be at the heart of human interactions. Some languages use the term "honor"—honoring others, which is about valuing humans and ensuring others' rights as humans. Regardless of whether we agree with each other, we need to humanize the other, even and especially when it is difficult. One of the surest routes to violence is when we dehumanize others and consider them as less than human. In looking back at history, we can see countless examples of what happens when humans are categorized as less than human—rather through slavery, through war, genocide or through gross violations of the human spirit. Respect, then, must be at the core of any international educational exchange, as well as any human interaction. Respect resists categorization of others. A key element in respect is *mutuality*—how much are we able to learn from each other in the international experience? There is much that each of us has to learn from the other; one measurement of a successful exchange may be the degree of mutuality and co-learning from "the other."

(2) **Enact Ubuntu**. *Ubuntu*, initially a humanistic value originating from South Africa, sees humanity as bound together. Literally, this value means that a human is human through others. As Desmond Tutu further explained the term:

> Ubuntu speaks particularly about the fact that you can't exist as a human being in isolation. It speaks about our interconnectedness. You can't be human all by yourself, and when you have this quality—Ubuntu—you are known for your generosity. We think of ourselves far too frequently as just individuals, separated from one another, whereas you are connected and what you do affects the whole World. When you do well, it spreads out; it is for the whole of humanity. (n.d.)

Other cultures have similar concepts such as *kizuna* (Japanese), *siratulrahim* (Malay) and *alli kawsay* and *nandereko* (Andean). This concept also highlights the importance of seeing from other cultural perspectives, so there is not a reliance solely on concepts within one culture to define values in human interactions. At the post-secondary level, many universities espouse the concept of "global citizenship," which is in a similar vein and yet, this value of Ubuntu goes even a step further, to a deeper identity of an interconnected human being, living in a community, with community being defined both locally and globally. This understanding implies a paradigm shift for many from the traditional "us" versus "them" to an expanded identity of "we're in this together." International educational exchanges, in promoting peace, need to ensure this value of Ubuntu permeates intercultural experiences so that participants gain this deeper sense of interconnectedness, beyond individual identity, and beyond "us versus other."

(3) **Encourage Neighborliness**. Neighborliness is a term not often found in current Western literature and yet this value dates back to the earliest days of humanity. Ancient literature discusses the importance of loving one's neighbor—of not only being in relation with each other but in the *resulting actions* that occur through neighborliness—and in the end, literally loving one's neighbor. Both Confucius and Jesus commanded, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Religions note the importance—and even centrality—of loving one's neighbor. This is not just the purview of religion though. In the seventeenth century, famous Enlightenment philosopher John Locke stated, "To love our neighbors as ourselves is such a truth for regulating human society, that by that alone one might determine all cases in social morality" (1977, p. 96). How do we *behave* toward our neighbors, locally as well as neighbors through international exchange? What does it mean to be a "good neighbor?" Even more than that, how might the world be different if humans practiced actually loving their neighbors (which includes enemies) and putting others' needs as equal to one's own?

Martin Luther King Jr's mentor, Howard Thurman, observed that "The first step toward love is to a common sharing of a sense of mutual value and worth. This cannot be discovered in a vacuum or in a series of artificial or hypothetical relationships. It has to be in a real situation, natural, free" (1976, p. 98). Thus, international educational exchange provides the real-life situations and contexts in which neighborliness can be practiced so that such experience goes beyond an academic exercise—or even a pleasurable touristic pursuit—to one that has the potential for building lasting relationships, expanding one's capacity to love and in the end, for making a lasting investment toward building a more peaceful world.

These three value propositions—of extending respect, enacting Ubuntu and encouraging neighborliness as core—are interconnected and can be the basis of educational exchange moving forward, in not only ensuring that such exchanges go beyond academic study only but also fulfilling the broader role of moving toward a more peaceful world. Implementation will not necessarily be easy though, since each of these three values imply hard work, especially when confronted with the harsh realities of existing tensions and conflicts. Rather than give up or shy away, though, those involved in promoting or organizing international educational exchanges must understand that these exchanges can play an even more vital role in peacemaking when embracing these core values. This, then, means that international educational exchange needs to go beyond "safe realities" of the traditional exchange locations.

If we are to promote peace and understanding, though, we must also go beyond educational exchange. It's a start but it's not enough to simply move students around the world through these exchanges. Educators need to focus on ALL students, not just those privileged enough to study abroad. What does this mean? This means intentionally working with teachers so that they are adequately prepared to guide students in their intercultural learning—meaning that teacher education becomes an absolutely essential focal point for promoting peace. This means academics at higher education institutions need to be better prepared as well, through faculty development opportunities to enhance their own intercultural competence. This means infusing the curriculum with intercultural and international dimensions—beyond adding a reading or lecture—but in addressing the proposed value propositions throughout the curriculum, regardless of discipline.

In looking more broadly and reflecting on what we've learned and what may be needed in the future, some common themes emerge:

Focus on building community. It's about community, about learning from each other and not just learning from the holders of knowledge—it's about truly valuing each other—beyond the confines of our program or institution. How will we work together within our local communities? Within the global community? What are our obligations to each other? And what is necessary for us to get along together, whether locally or globally?

As we build community, let's *engage in authentic mutual dialogue* with the goal being not to necessarily reach agreement—or to further a one-sided message—but to mutually enrich our understanding of each other, and the world, and by doing so, being willing to be changed through the dialogue.

As we engage in dialogue, let's *approach each other with cultural humility*—as we strive to truly respect and value each other and understand that our way of seeing the world is just one way, that our knowledge is not the truth and acknowledge that there are multiple truths.

Looking to the Future: The Bigger Picture

Twenty-five years ago, in 1993, political scientist Samuel Huntington wrote this of the future:

> It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future. (p. 22)

Huntington's subsequent book, *Clash of Civilizations*, led to a flurry of criticisms and responses, two of which I want to share briefly with you as a way of thinking about the future and framing some possible rethinking about the role of international educational exchange in promoting peace and understanding.

A Ghanaian-British-American philosopher named Kwame Anthony Appiah rejected the notion of a clashing world, and while recognizing the serious differences that exist, he admonishes us to stop thinking of the world as "divided between the West and the Rest, between locals and moderns, between Us and Them" (2006, p. xxi). But, rather, we need to remember the powerful ties that connect people across religions, culture and nations. The way forward, according to Appiah, is through mutual respect and understanding among the world's people and as idealistic as that may sound, he suggests that this can occur through the recognition that every person matters, that each person has a right to a life of dignity. This underscores the value proposition of respect, which I discussed previously. Seeking understanding does not mean seeking agreement, he goes on to say, and this understanding occurs through mutually enriching dialogue in which we *remain open to being changed by the other*, not trying to get others to agree with us. In so doing, we recognize our obligation to each other. Several questions emerge: How do we engage others in a mutually enriching dialogue? How can such a dialogue become more integral to international educational exchange? And more importantly, how can we all remain open to being changed by others when we encounter difference—and similarity?

A second response to this clash of civilizations comes from French political scientist and founder of the French Institute of International Affairs, Dominique Moisi (2009), who explored the far-reaching emotional impact of globalization through what he calls the clash of emotions. He observed three common responses to globalization—hope, humiliation and fear—and suggested that in order to understand our changing world, we need to confront emotion—in ourselves and in society. In fact, he goes so far as to say that emotional frontiers will become as important as geographic frontiers, and calls for the mapping of the geopolitics of emotions. The way forward for Moisi is threefold: (1) teach history and culture so as to better understand the context of emotion; (2) gain greater self-knowledge; and (3) transcend beyond fear and humiliation to embrace a hopeful future. This, then, provides an agenda for future international educational exchange and Moisi's perspective raises a second practical question: How do we engage emotion as a tool for understanding the complexities of the twenty-first century?

Seventy years ago, World War II ended, bringing about a renewed commitment to peace and international understanding. And while this modern period has been deemed the most peaceful time in human history (Pinker 2011), there are still countless clashes occurring, fueled by greed, misunderstandings and a lack of Ubuntu. The challenges confronting us as humans are many—as are the opportunities, and I'd like to sum up both with one word: balance. Restoring or achieving balance is at the core of many of the world's issues such as geopolitics, the environment, injustices, poverty … and therein also lies opportunity. To that end, what is the role of international educational exchange in addressing the imbalances that face us as humans, imbalances that exist between nations and continents, imbalances that exist in local communities and imbalances that exist in the environment? What are the opportunities presented through these imbalances and how might international education exchange integrate such opportunities?

Inspirational leaders such as Mandela, King and Gandhi—as well as scholars of today such as Appiah and Moisi—have provided insights into how to proceed: to give dignity to each human being and to go beyond a focus on ourselves as individuals to embrace our broader humanity—so as not to reinforce the status quo, or to perpetuate the divide between the haves and the have-nots. As Mandela noted, education is truly the most powerful weapon we have to change the world. International educational exchange can play a continued role in changing the world through embracing a vision of truly caring for each other as humans sharing this planet, through building deeper relationships, through living in authentic communities with each other—communities that uphold human dignity for all. As we look to the future, let's (re)think about what it means to be true global citizens of the world, living out underlying values of respect, Ubuntu and neighborliness as we keep this bigger picture in mind—of ultimately bringing balance to this world in which we live, and of what it means to instill students and all those connected to us, with not just the knowledge to succeed but all that is necessary to succeed *together* in the future that tomorrow holds.

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CHAPTER 3

Exchanges and Peacemaking: Counterfactuals and Unexplored Possibilities

Iain Wilson

International exchange programs have been treated as means to political ends for hundreds of years (Arndt 2005). Nonetheless, there are many gaps in our understanding of how exchanges influence international relations and how they might contribute to that most elusive of political goals: peace. In this chapter, I sketch some of the most popular mechanisms by which exchanges are expected to influence international politics, and suggest that we need more evidence on whether they allow exchange programs to fulfill the—sometimes quite dramatic—expectations policymakers often have for exchanges (Wilson 2014, 2015). Many of the authors in this volume are private advocates for greater international mobility, and making a case for public support of such mobility requires us to identify public benefits. Linking exchanges with peace establishes a clear public benefit, but advocacy is necessarily stronger when it is backed by stronger

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An earlier version of this chapter was published in *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace*, July 2015.

I. Wilson (✉)
Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_3

evidence. Tying cause to effect when it comes to exchanges and international relations is surprisingly challenging.

Benefits to Individuals Versus Public Goods

Probably the most important qualification to make here is that this chapter deals only with the link between exchanges and peace. This should not be taken to imply that the impact of mobility on international relations is more important than the other consequences. The evidence that mobility brings other benefits is much more clear-cut. There can be enormous educational, social, cultural and career benefits from studying abroad to individual exchangees, which are well-documented (for an introduction, see e.g. Murphy-Lejeune 2002; Wilson 2014). Spending time abroad at critical points of personal and intellectual development clearly has a huge impact on many *individual* students' lives, with effects which go beyond just the impact of studying (which would also have occurred had they stayed in their home countries).

We might, of course, choose to believe that these kinds of benefits to individuals will almost by definition filter through to positive outcomes for society as a whole, and that this is sufficient reason to devote resources to exchange programs. This is, after all, a popular rationale for public support of higher education generally, and might well be sufficient to endorse the relatively modest costs of promoting student mobility. Nonetheless, the question of how we can show a link between exchanges and peace—or if one even exists—is a distinct and much more intellectually challenging one. This challenge has the added bonus of being extremely interesting—and how analysts have attempted to answer it reveals a great deal about the technologies of governance.

Five Potential Links to Peace

The existing literature suggests four major effects of student mobility which might contribute to peace: signaling, attitude change, intercultural competence and network formation. These mechanisms are implicit in a lot of the rhetoric surrounding exchange programs, and also feed into the criteria by which governments that allocate funding to exchanges evaluate their impact (Wilson 2014). However, the popularity of a claim does not make it true. The existing empirical evidence that exchange programs signal goodwill, change attitudes, train informal mediators and produce long-term networks, *and that these then contribute to peace*, is far from watertight. We have a great opportunity to strengthen it.

I also want to propose a fifth and distinct mechanism by which exchanges might affect the prospects for peace, the transfer of governmental institutions between countries. This has been foreshadowed by administrators of several exchange programs, especially the injection of significant funds into Eastern Europe to promote exchanges following the collapse of the Iron Curtain. However, that section of the chapter offers a development of the theory behind those policy intuitions.

Signaling

Perhaps the most obvious political impact of exchange programs is not directly related to exchangees at all. Inviting foreign nationals into a country under benign circumstances can have a healthy symbolism. By committing to host foreign visitors for years to come, and by sending impressionable young elites to live in a foreign country, government officials are signaling to their counterparts in a foreign country that they expect their two countries to enjoy peaceful, benevolent relations in the future. Creating exchange programs can also communicate this expectation to wider civil society in both countries, as launches of exchange programs are typically well-publicized. Senior decision-makers are often pictured smiling for the cameras with foreign visitors, they sign the press releases when a program is launched and so on. This signaling function falls within the familiar paradigm of 'high diplomacy' (see Mayers 1996: Chaps. 3–4) in which the interaction between states' elite decision-makers is all-important. From this perspective, exchanges matter because they help those elites to guess what their opposite numbers are thinking and help to smooth their social interactions. The people who actually travel abroad, and the more humble administrators who really facilitate their travel and make smaller policy decisions, seem almost incidental.

I have no reason to doubt that exchanges can have a symbolic impact, and that creating them may help politicians and diplomats communicate pacific intentions in ways that mere rhetoric cannot. But it is important to realize that this kind of impact is quite seriously self-limiting. Because this image of diplomacy is dominated by *current* elites (ambassadors, government ministers and so on), the students themselves are simply objects of exchange who do not play much of an active role in the relationship between the two countries. The main link to peace is that *creating* exchange programs is part of a ritual through which elite policymakers in one country convince others that they really want to improve a relationship. From this perspective, those officials' very visible public associations with the launch are vital to an exchange program's diplomatic function. Unfortunately, top decision-makers are busy people with only finite amounts of time to devote to any given relationship. They may be nominally responsible for many different exchanges, in addition to all of their other duties. And, of course, turnover among elites means that the minister who launches any program will probably be gone within a few years, while an exchange may persist for much longer. Consequently, it is not realistic to expect top decision-makers to be personally involved in overseeing exchange programs. They soon become routinized, administered by junior functionaries who have little influence on high-level foreign policy, and decoupled from the very top decision-makers. Hence, the signaling effect will be important at the creation of an exchange program but much less potent when it has been running for a long time—although there might be costs to terminating an existing exchange.

Furthermore, my research has shown that in practice, governments can launch student mobility programs for even more short-term reasons. In 'Ends Changed, Means Retained' (2015), I explored the history of three major scholarship programs disbursing public funding to successful foreign students aiming to study in the UK: the Marshall, Commonwealth and Chevening Scholarships. Each of these now has declared diplomatic ambitions, typically linked to the future careers of their alumni. But digging into their records revealed that they were actually set up to smooth relationships with foreign governments Britain had managed to offend in some way, avoiding diplomatic embarrassment in the short term. The Marshall Scholarships were offered to the USA as symbolic thanks for post-war Marshall Aid, but only after the Foreign Office had discovered that the gift the Americans really seemed to want—an original manuscript of the Magna Carta—could not be released. Commonwealth Scholarships were proposed by the Canadian delegation to a major international conference as part of a large package of ideas which the British government perceived as risky and expensive, and spending a relatively small amount of money supporting the scholarships was seen as a way of softening the rejection. The Chevening Program—which has now grown into a comprehensive scholarship program, roughly a British equivalent of Fulbright—has developed from a fund designed to offset a steep increase in tuition fees for Commonwealth students attending British universities. Commonwealth governments, whose students had become accustomed to cheap tuition in the UK, were upset when Britain removed a subsidy in the early 1980s. The scholarships were intended to distract them from this irritation. In each case, the Foreign Office facilitated student mobility not so much as a self-conscious signal to foreigners as to distract attention from an embarrassing situation in which there was a risk of offending dignitaries. Any impact created by the students themselves was incidental.

Perhaps the most famous example of a cultural exchange being used to transmit signals at elite level is the 'ping-pong diplomacy' between China and the USA which led up to Nixon's visit to China. This was an excellent example of a cultural exchange being used as a signal of intent. Although American officials had been in surreptitious contact with the Chinese for some time, the public invitation of an American ping-pong team to China did open new diplomatic channels, and opened the relationship to view by the general public in both countries. But, as Griffin (2014) makes clear, the diplomatic importance of the ping-pong tour lay in the personal engagement of Chinese leaders, especially Zhou En-Lai who met personally with the visitors. Although the meetings between athletes were staged to seem like spontaneous people-to-people contact, they were actually carefully orchestrated by the Chinese government. The Chinese ping-pong players had very little agency, but were controlled by politicians—this was what made the signals so potent. Chinese elites were using private citizens who crossed international borders to signal their intentions to their American counterparts.

Creating exchanges may play a role in high diplomacy, with the people who actually travel abroad being symbolic pawns in elite interactions. This is a familiar paradigm for international diplomacy. Nonetheless, over the years considerations of how exchanges can contribute to peace have tended to expand out from this putative signaling function. Where exchange programs are underwritten by foreign ministries, they are often evaluated in terms of attitude change.

Attitude Change

In 2008, the British Foreign Secretary removed Foreign Office funding from the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan. The Foreign Office contribution had helped mainly postgraduate students from wealthier Commonwealth countries to study in the UK. His reasoning for this was intriguing.

> We propose a smaller, better organized program, focused on the leaders of tomorrow, from a wide range of backgrounds… We will select more carefully to ensure our scholars really are potential future leaders, with our heads of mission having personal responsibility for ensuring their posts are getting this right. (Hansard 2008)

Aside from the open question of how ambassadors were to be held responsible for selecting future leaders who will not reach their potential until those ambassadors had retired, this raises the question of why 'leadership' is so important, and what it actually means.

Some exchange programs involve very large numbers of participants. Typically, these are genuine exchange programs, in which participants from one country literally swap places with participants from another. This design has a very long history for exchanges of school-age children, and it can be relatively cheap. If an American family is educating a teenager already, the costs of swapping him for a Turkish teenager for a few weeks are limited. However, most exchanges do not work that way, and for good reason. Strict exchanges suffer from most of the drawbacks of a barter economy. A straight swap is limited to situations where there is equal demand to go abroad in the two countries, and where there is adequate support already in place. If many Americans wish to visit Turkey but few Turks are willing to go to America, some of those Americans are going to be disappointed. There is always a risk of missing a future leader. Hence, many of the more familiar mobility programs are actually what I am terming 'pseudo-exchanges' in which new spaces are created, and funded, especially for a foreign visitor. The various iterations of the Fulbright Program offer good examples. Fulbright visitors to the USA are not displacing Americans, but the funding behind them allows universities, colleges, schools, offices and studios to open extra places designated for Fulbrighters.

Over the years, this method of facilitating mobility has allowed an international competition to develop, with countries seeking to attract the most promising students and young professionals. It has become possible for talented individuals to spend several years abroad, funded by foreign governments in the expectation that they will be useful allies in the future. Supporting them can become quite expensive for the host, so these programs rarely involve huge numbers of individuals. Given that international peace is a function of states rather than individuals, the impact on this relatively small number of individuals needs to be amplified by some kind of 'multiplier effect' (Smith 1956) to affect the behavior of their state. There are basically two ways in which the impact of changed attitudes could be multiplied. Either alumni go on to become disproportionately powerful themselves, for example, being elected to high office or holding top civil service positions (what I call the 'elite multiplier'), or they have disproportionate influence on public opinion (e.g. they become journalists, socialites or even teachers). As Giles Scott-Smith (2008) explains, from quite a critical perspective, this can be traced to an 'opinion-leader model', which has come to implicitly underpin the arguments for spending public money on most exchange programs. In the opinion-leader model, returning students go on to shape mass public opinion about their former hosts, shaping the behavior of their country as a whole.

Both of these multipliers seem to rely on prior attitude change. The opinion-leader model implies that exchanges change exchangees' attitudes to foreign countries. Through multiplication, these changed attitudes among individuals go on to affect how the country as a whole relates to others, leading—theoretically—to improved international relations and prospects for peace.

State of the Evidence

In my past work, I have questioned whether living abroad actually has the kind of consistent impact on exchangees' attitudes that we might expect from simple intuition. I have no doubt that *some* exchangees do return home with positive attitudes to the host country, but this information is not particularly helpful when we come to think about the broader impact of exchanges on peace. While international peace clearly has something to do with individual agency, it is far from sufficient to assume that attitude change at an individual level leads to peace. For one thing, even if some individuals do become more positive they may be counterbalanced by others who become disillusioned. And it is surprisingly difficult to establish a cause-and-effect relationship behind positive attitudes. People rarely recall their attitudes from even a few months ago with much accuracy, and usually struggle to explain what caused any changes in their attitudes, so the fact that they are positive now may reflect earlier socialization.

As I have explained in detail elsewhere (2011, 2014: Chap. 3), until a few years ago there were some quite serious methodological problems in academic studies purporting to test the opinion-leader model. There was a real need for before-and-after tracking of participants, to get an accurate impression of whether their attitudes had really changed. We had no studies which both measured the attitudes of large groups before-and-after and compared exchangees with control groups of non-exchange students. Only before-and-after studies could show that net change was taking place at an aggregate level, and control groups would be needed to show that fluctuating attitudes did not simply reflect shifts in public opinion which had nothing to do with individuals' mobility.

Having identified this gap in the evidence, Emmanuel Sigalas (2010) and I (2011, 2014: Chaps. 5–7) independently conducted such studies and found surprisingly little evidence that attitudes systematically become more positive. Some exchangees returned with more positive attitudes than when they left home, but the changes were usually modest and balanced out by others moving in the opposite direction. This might suggest that we will be disappointed if we conceptualize the impact of exchanges solely in terms of attitude change.

Before we jump to that conclusion, it is worth pointing out a few caveats. First, this empirical evidence suffers from a Eurocentric bias. For good practical reasons, investigators have focused on mobility within 'the West', particularly on the European Erasmus Program. But we can easily imagine that mobility across greater cultural distances and from more restrictive political systems, which actively conceal information about the outside world from their citizens, could have a much greater impact on attitudes. In fact, the practical difficulties of recruiting students mean that respondents tend to come overwhelmingly from particular countries even within Europe. Kristine Mitchell (2015) presents evidence which questions both my findings (2011, 2014) and Emmanuel Sigalas' (2010). Both of our studies involved large numbers of Erasmus students moving between the UK and mainland Europe, and she suggests that there may be something about Britain which fails to promote Europhilia. We cannot simply dismiss this possibility since we know that the impact of mobility is generally contingent on circumstances (Amir 1969). In fact, Mitchell's findings underline our shared view that the question of whether and how exchanges affect political attitudes is a complex one which probably does not have one simple answer. We need to know much more about the social contexts within which exchanges take place before we can predict what kinds of attitude change any given sojourn may produce. We cannot assume that simple exposure to other cultures will consistently lead to desirable attitudes.

If assumptions about short-term impact are uncertain, then it becomes even more troublesome to find out whether positive attitudes provoked by exchanges will endure over the years. We still have limited evidence about the long-term impact of exchanges on attitudes, partly because we rarely have baseline measures of their political attitudes before they travel and partly because it is so hard to keep track of large groups of alumni over time. We do know that attitudes to a former host country are fixed rather than fluid, and even long after the exchangee returns home those experiences are reinterpreted in light of subsequent events. Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) and Murphy-Lejeune (2002) demonstrate that there are patterns in how exchangees' attitudes to their hosts fluctuate, but these are complicated and attitudes definitely do not remain constant over time, either while abroad or after returning home. Typically, those visitors tend to have very positive attitudes when they arrive, these degenerate over time in the face of everyday frustrations and they then become more positive as they approach the end of their stay. On their return home, Gullahorn and Gullahorn suggest that exchangees experience a second emotional U-curve, in which short-lived euphoria at returning to a familiar culture is replaced by 'reverse culture shock' followed by a gradual reacclimatization to the home country. We do not know for sure how these predictable attitudes to the home country might be reflected in attitudes to the former host, but it seems logical to expect some effect. On the other hand, the length (in time) of these curves may be idiosyncratic. This poses yet another challenge for attempts to measure attitude change, as we cannot know where in the re-entry curve respondents may be and how this could be distorting their opinion of the host country. However, it does seem that we cannot be confident that long-term attitudes to the host will be reflected in attitudes a few weeks after returning home—but for obvious practical reasons existing before-and-after surveys measure attitudes soon after returning home.

Despite all of these uncertainties about the long-term impact of exchanges on attitudes, to my knowledge no existing studies track systematic samples of alumni over decades. Instead, our evidence about the long-term impact of mobility usually comes from interviews with alumni who are keen to communicate with researchers or scheme administrators. It should not come as a surprise that these alumni tend to report positive attitudes, since they are largely self-selecting (Wilson 2014: Chap. 3).

Differential Multiplication

Traditionally, measurements of attitude change in populations such as exchange students have followed this simple quantitative logic. If more alumni developed positive attitudes than negative attitudes, weighted for the intensity of attitude change, then that would be considered a positive outcome; if more alumni developed negative than positive attitudes, then that would be considered a negative outcome. But this seems to miss some of the complexity of social interactions: not all attitude changes necessarily have equal practical impact. There is one other possibility to which none of us seems to be doing justice at the moment: multiplication may differ depending on the direction of attitude change. This is something I see as at least a theoretical possibility, but one which is completely untested.

Even if quasi-experimental designs reveal that the numbers of exchangees who develop positive attitudes are balanced by others who become more negative, it is possible that the positive alumni systematically go on to become more influential than the negative alumni. In this case, the multiplication of positive changes would be much more dramatic than the multiplication of negative changes. Perhaps positive alumni are inspired by their experiences and at a statistical level they have a tendency to go on to influential, internationally oriented careers—while the others deliberately avoid international relations and therefore have little influence over them. Without long-term, systematic tracing of a large number of alumni—not skewed toward those enthusiastic alumni who take pains to stay in touch—we simply do not know if different kinds of attitudes are multiplied to the same degree.

International Communication

Even if their attitudes to the host country did not change significantly, exchangees could develop enduring links with the country they visited. There are two possibilities: exchanges may increase cultural competence and form social networks.

Competence

Cultural competence refers to individuals' feeling of comfort dealing with nationals of their former host country. The experience of being immersed in another culture might also increase exchangees' comfort in dealing with foreigners more generally or endow them with intercultural competence which is not specific to the host country they actually visited. Either of these might lubricate relationships between countries into the distant future and facilitate communication across borders. Again, however, there are open research agendas around the impact of exchange mobility on (inter)cultural competence, and on the kinds of contextual factors which might promote such competence among mobile individuals. Several of the contributors to this volume have a much deeper background on these issues than I can offer, and their analyses offer insights into both the role of exchanges in intercultural competence and the long-term consequences.

However, it is useful to reflect here on how (inter)cultural competence might fit into the political impact of exchanges within international relations. If international conflict is sometimes caused by a failure of states to appreciate different views of an issue, then accurate communication in critical situations may reduce tensions and this could be very important for the prospects of peace. As Baker, Deardorff and Kırkgöz emphasize in their contributions, communication relies on much more than just vocabulary and grammar, but requires some level of overlapping cultural competence. Again, the direct impact will be on relatively small numbers of exchangees. In order for changes in a small number of people to affect international relations, they would need to either communicate those changes to many others or else go on to become disproportionately influential themselves (e.g. as professional diplomats at the formal interface between societies). Theoretically, increasing competence among either the whole population, such that the general public push for more appropriate action toward foreign countries, or elites in a position to directly influence government policy could be important if exchangees return with greater communicative competence and the changes in those individuals are multiplied up to affect international politics. Yet another possibility is that a combination of mobility and cultural competence helps people to form and sustain relationships with specific individuals in foreign countries, which in turn influences international politics.

Networks

Exchanges might contribute to peace by creating helpful social networks across national borders. The difference between this mechanism and cultural competence is that the intermediate step is a specific set of social bonds with individuals in a foreign country, rather than a more generic ability to interrelate with foreigners in general. Most obviously, exchangees might form influential networks while they are living abroad. The intuition here is that visitors from abroad meet many people they would never have encountered had they stayed at home, and that they will form ongoing relationships with some of them. These relationships will enable them to exchange favors or information or simply socialize into the future, keeping lines of informal communication between the two countries open.

As with intercultural competence, exchanges could contribute to the formation of networks with the host country but might also tie exchangees to third countries. This is reassuring since many exchangees seem to have quite limited contact with host nationals. University scholarships in particular can enable visitors to live in multicultural bubbles inside the host country, meeting largely other visitors from similar backgrounds (Wilson 2014: Chaps. 6–8). But this does not mean their networks could not have significant effects on peace by binding countries together. Peace is not always simply a function of relations between State A and State B: a situation where B is allied with C, but A and C have strained relations, can be troublesome for all of them.

Unsurprisingly, we do have reasonably strong evidence that exchangees form different kinds of relationships than they otherwise would while they are abroad (see e.g. Van Mol and Michielsen 2014). This is a necessary condition for exchange-facilitated networks to contribute to peace, but far from a sufficient one. Again, exchangees are rarely in a position to have much influence on international relations while they are abroad—the issue is whether the networks they establish in the present will be important in the future. Unfortunately, the evidence is less clear on the long-term impact of networks, on the *scale* of networking attributable to exchanges and particularly on how they compare with the counterfactual. Do exchangees establish more powerful networks than they would have built up anyway had they remained in their home countries?

We can know that short-term networks are built up while exchangees are abroad. We might also point to anecdotes of such relationships *sometimes* being significant in international relations years later. Again, systematic tracing of alumni would strengthen our evidence. But such long-term tracing would not, in this case, be sufficient to address the counterfactual. If we understand networks as consisting of ongoing social contact with fellow alumni, it is possible to ask alumni whether they have ongoing contact; my experience of interviewing longstanding alumni suggests that some of them lose contact surprisingly quickly and it is difficult to locate influential linkages decades later (Wilson 2014: Chap. 8). But this seems a rather narrow view of how social networks operate, because it ignores latent networks. Put simply, latent networks are acquaintances, or acquaintances of acquaintances, of which we are not immediately conscious but who can prove very useful given the right circumstances. In fact, alumni themselves may not be able to estimate the impact of their networks: we can probably all come up with anecdotes about unexpectedly meeting former colleagues and classmates after losing touch for several years. These kinds of relationships might be very helpful in moments of tension, but by their very nature they are not easily quantifiable.

In other words, the difficulties of assessing how important networks formed by exchange programs are do not simply reflect a lack of research. More fundamentally, there are epistemological problems we need to confront if we are to compare exchange programs with a counterfactual in which students are not encouraged to go abroad. Again, anecdotes may suggest that networks traceable to exchanges can play a significant role in peacemaking, but we have less systematic evidence.

Institution Transfer and Selection

We know that exchanges *could* contribute significantly to peace through signaling (after they have been running for some time), attitude change, increased intercultural competence and network formation. Our information about how far each of these *actually* contributes is far from complete. But there is evidence that exchanges bring another benefit—one which could hypothetically be very significant for international politics. Mobility helps individuals to develop clear ideas about how public policies compare in different countries, which can contribute to changes in governance. Exchangees visiting another country see particular policy ideas in action, and come to think that some of these ideas might be implemented in their own country (and indeed vice versa). Visitors do not necessarily develop greater approval, and they seem just as likely to come away with a firm conviction that their country should avoid some possibilities they observe abroad. But their exposure does give them firm ideas about which alternatives they like and dislike (Wilson 2014: Chaps. 7–8).

Perhaps more surprisingly, this knowledge seems to have an enduring effect on policy preferences in later life. In my interviews with longstanding alumni of elite scholarship programs, those who went abroad many years earlier and returned to positions of prominence in their home countries, I was struck by their willingness to ascribe their support for specific policy ideas many years later, when they were established in their careers, to having seen similar policies in action while they were living abroad. The examples were often everyday, even banal—details of surgical services, town planning, bus timetables and so on—but they were aspects of public policy the visitors would never have learned about had they not spent an extended period living relatively normal lives in the host country. In later life, they pushed for elements of these policies to be implemented in their home countries. This advocacy was reflective and sensitive to local circumstances, but they were clear that their thinking had been heavily shaped by experience abroad—at least to the extent that they formed clear preferences where they had previously had none (2014: Chap. 8).

Again, this finding comes with caveats. By their nature, these interviews give little sense of how common these kinds of policy changes are. They show only that policy change *may* result from youthful participation. And their stories might underplay contextual factors which might have led former exchangees to converge on particular policies for other reasons. Again, we are discussing an implicit counterfactual. But it does seem intuitively plausible that being educated about practices overseas will affect someone's policy preferences, and there is a substantial body of evidence on international policy learning (see e.g. Rose 2005).

Such policy changes may not seem hugely important on the global stage, and they usually affect aspects of public policy we rarely associate with war and peace. However, I suggest that they will have implications for state behavior, even though the consequences for international relations are very hard to predict.

My recent theoretical work has been applying Darwinian cultural selection theories (see Blute 2010; Richerson and Boyd 2005; Wilson 2013) to international politics. Cultural selection theories help to illustrate why seemingly trivial changes in domestic policies could potentially affect the prospects of international peace.

Darwinian theories are characterized by an emphasis on systematic selection among diverse, and often unpredictable, competing traits spread within a population. Social evolutionary theories extend this logic to social systems, in which ideas are the units of selection. In any large population of individuals there will be variation in the ideas they hold, and individuals holding different combinations of ideas will tend to behave differently under similar circumstances. Selection means that ideas which fit the environment in some way will be more likely to be copied into other minds and spread throughout the population, displacing competitors. But the individuals themselves are also subject to selection, some becoming influential (and able to spread or act on their views) and some relegated to obscurity.

While biological selection is relatively straightforward (individuals either reproduce or do not, often as a result of being killed), the selective environment offered by society is rather different. Ideas and patterns of behavior constitute social institutions (Barnes 1988) and these institutions themselves are selective environments.

When we are considering international peace, the important question is not just how individuals behave but how large collectives (most obviously, states) behave toward each other. Many individuals have an influence on this, but some have more influence than others. Who ends up with most influence is largely a result of institutional selection.

For example, the institution of electoral politics results from a particular idea being widespread in society. It exists because enough people behave as if it does. We print individuals' names on pieces of paper, each mark one, count the pieces and then defer to the individual who received most marks. In order for elections to be meaningful, the idea of electoral politics has to get into enough minds. But once it has, elections become a means of selecting leaders, and will favor potential leaders with particular traits. They become part of the selective environment.

The formal process of selecting political leaders is an obvious example, but many other institutions go into sorting (or selecting) individuals into different positions in any society. For example, techniques for teaching languages may travel across borders, and they seem relatively innocuous. Yet in most societies, political elites are drawn disproportionately from narrow and selective educational backgrounds. Having such a background may be treated as an implicit signal of electability if previous incumbents have been similarly qualified. Performing poorly on an examination which emphasized particular kinds of language skills could tip the balance.

Thinking about domestic politics in this way underlines that policy transfers, by altering the selective environment, will affect international relations.

This theory may be phrased rather unconventionally, but the essence of it should be quite familiar. Political analysts regularly refer, at least implicitly, to the selective effects of institutions. One example which has received a great deal of attention in the international relations literature is (Liberal) Democratic Peace Theory, which basically asserts that democracies are dramatically less likely to go to war with each other than autocracies (Kant 1795; Bueno de Mesquita et al. 1999). This particular argument has been challenged, probably with good reason (see Brown et al. 1996: Part III) but it is an example of an explanation of foreign policy based on institutional selection. Democracies, proponents argue, punish particular behaviors associated with fighting wars and select out leaders who show them. Autocracies, by contrast, do not select so strongly against bellicosity because leaders do not need to appeal to a plurality of the population, merely an influential minority (such as military officers). A similar argument, intriguingly, can be found in the early work of Kenneth Waltz (1967) suggesting that he saw international politics as a set of selective systems nested within each other: the international system selects states which behave appropriately for prominence, but their internal institutions select the individuals who set their behavior (Wilson 2013). Such reasoning may even be implicit in US foreign policy and its emphasis on spreading democracy—democratization is not just considered a good thing in itself but may also be seen as a means to the end of promoting peace and ultimately the US national interest.

If this argument is acceptable when it comes to contrasting democracies with autocracies—and while the empirics may be debated, the underlying mechanics of the argument have not been debunked—it seems reasonable that it should apply to other institutions as well. Many different institutions select personnel for different positions in society. Different selection and promotion strategies put different soldiers in command of armed forces, different education systems put different kinds of students in elite universities, while different systems of healthcare funding allocate resources to different patients—and may or may not prioritize the potentially career-ending illnesses of future leaders. All of these will affect what kinds of people born into a diverse society will be in a position to influence international relations.

In other words, from a deductive standpoint it seems quite plausible that the right mix of institutions would promote pacificist behavior in a state. Transfers of policy ideas from one country to another should have some impact on state behavior and, ultimately, on the prospects for peace. Furthermore, the prospect of exchange programs helping policymakers to come to more informed decisions does seem intuitively appealing.

Unfortunately, this particular mechanism may not be very helpful for promoters of exchange programs. It seems as if any career must result from the complex concatenation of many selective institutions, and this enormous complexity makes drawing inferences from selection a difficult proposition. The interactions among them mean that we cannot simply isolate one institution and pin the prospects for international peace on it, but we need to think about all of them interacting with each other. This implies an awesome amount of information. Unfortunately, we cannot access a counterfactual by conducting controlled experiments, changing specific institutions to find out whether it improves or harms the odds of peaceful collaboration. This idea does suggest a mechanism by which exchanges could contribute to peace—through the intermediate step of promoting policy transfer—but it seems rather an unpredictable mechanism. Designing research which could link the two in particular cases would pose a formidable challenge.

Exchanges do educate individuals about how foreign countries are run. Sometimes, this does affect governance in their home country (although I cannot show how common this is). Logically, this will lead to different (kinds of) people being selected to make important decisions than otherwise would have been, and this should affect international relations. Unfortunately, institutional interactions are so complex that it would be excruciatingly difficult to predict which kinds of institutions should promote peacemaking. This means the relationship between policy learning and peace seems likely to remain a wildcard among the possible links between exchanges and peace, albeit an intriguing one.

Conclusion

There is still a surprising amount we do not know about the impact of exchange programs on international relations. There are both gaps in our empirical evidence, particularly when it comes to the long-term impact of mobility, and epistemological challenges. While we may find the idea that exchanges contribute to peace intuitively plausible—and probably most of us who spend a lot of our time thinking about this question do—knowing more about the impact of exchanges would be reassuring.

This is an intriguing intellectual challenge, but addressing some of these gaps would have political significance as well. Exchanges are somewhat marginalized in foreign policy strategy, and certainly far fewer resources are devoted to exchange programs than to armaments. Clearer evidence linking mobility with the prospects for peace—if the link is actually a strong one—should help. Perhaps more importantly, the different possible mechanisms by which exchanges might contribute to peace imply that different designs of exchange programs would be most effective. If signaling is the only effective link, then governments seeking peace should select exchangees so as to gain maximum attention among foreign leaders and maximum publicity. If the opinion-leader model holds, they should aim for exchangees who will go on to be influential opinion-formers. If networking is most important, then it makes sense to pick visitors who seem likely to be making influential decisions themselves in the future. And relatively obscure civil servants might play important roles as policy entrepreneurs if they are exposed to new ideas in their youth.

We now think about the impact of exchange programs quite differently than we did when the Fulbright Program was conceived. Nonetheless, when it comes to linking exchanges and peace there are still important gaps. Filling these would be both conceptually and practically useful. This classic sociological question remains both challenging and intriguing.

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CHAPTER 4

English as a Global Lingua Franca: Lingua Frankensteinia or Intercultural Opportunity?

Will Baker

Introduction

> Educational exchange can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations.—J. William Fulbright, 1983

As the quote from William Fulbright demonstrates, there is a general consensus on the value of educational exchanges in international and intercultural relations. However, as other authors in this volume note, the value and results of such educational exchanges are far from certain. This chapter will focus on the role of language in educational exchanges and in particular the English language, due to its current position as the predominant lingua franca, with an estimated two billion or more speakers (Crystal 2008). The use of a shared lingua franca on such a huge scale can be viewed as providing an unprecedented opportunity for intercultural exchange and hence aiding educational exchanges. However, there have been concerns that the dominance of English may result in linguistic

W. Baker (✉)
Centre for Global Englishes, Modern Languages, University of Southampton, Southampton, UK

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_4

and cultural 'imperialism' by the Anglophone settings from which the language originates; the 'lingua frankensteinia' (Phillipson 2008) of the title. This chapter will provide a brief overview of the empirical evidence which demonstrates a de-centering of English and a shift in ownership of the language away from its Anglophone origins toward the majority of additional or second language (L2) users. Studies in Global Englishes, World Englishes and English as a lingua franca (ELF) in particular, demonstrate adaptable and fluid uses of English, enabling it to function as a powerful medium for intercultural interaction. The diverse and dynamic uses of English or Englishes lead to a reconsideration of what successful communication entails and this will be addressed through a discussion of the notions of intercultural communicative competence and awareness. The varied and variable use of Englishes and the importance of intercultural communicative competence and awareness have major implications for language education and preparation for educational exchanges, which will be discussed in the final section of this chapter. However, at the same time there are ideological issues related to use of English and its links to the Anglophone world, especially in education, that cannot be dismissed. Nonetheless, it will be argued that in order for educational exchanges to fulfill their role in the development of intercultural connections and understanding, alternative approaches to language education in general and particularly in relation to English need to be adopted.

Educational Exchanges and Language Education

For many, a significant part of educational exchanges will be the language that is used in these exchanges, particularly if it is not the participant's mother tongue or first language (L1). Indeed, in language education there is a long history of educational exchanges as a medium for learning both the language and the culture of other peoples. Yet, studies within language education have provided very mixed results as to the benefits of educational exchanges that involve a sojourn in another country (see e.g. the collection of studies in Byram and Feng 2006). Such exchanges may lead to greater understanding of another people and culture, and positive attitudes toward them with long-term benefits in terms of international connections and networks. Conversely, they may just as easily result in increased anxiety and stress for participants, leading to a reinforcement of stereotypes of others and unwillingness to engage in further exchanges or intercultural interactions.

A key aspect in avoiding this later scenario and enabling the former is adequate preparation before exchanges. This preparation goes beyond just proficiency in the language but must also include an understanding of the setting in which the exchange will take place, and the ability to engage with and reflect on new cultural experiences brought about through use of another language. Indeed, the links between language learning and learning about culture and the intercultural are now well established (e.g. Byram 1997, 2008; Risager 2007; Roberts et al. 2001). This may on the surface appear relatively straightforward; sojourners are given information about the language, people, culture and country of the setting in which the exchange will take place. Yet, a short reflection will reveal a great deal more complexity than this. Many of these exchanges take place at universities which are increasingly international in their orientations. In Anglophone settings, universities have positioned themselves in the vanguard of internationalization, with significant numbers of nondomestic students, particularly at postgraduate level. Data from the three countries at the forefront of this shows that in 2013, 966,333 international students chose the USA (SEVP 2014), 435,230 selected the UK for their higher education (ukcisa.org) and 253,046 student visas were granted for Australia (www.immi.gov.au/media/statistics/study). Therefore, it may well be that participants on exchanges in Anglophone countries will be interacting with people from many different countries and cultures, not only local students. In such a case, sojourners could never be prepared with knowledge of all the different cultural backgrounds they are likely to encounter. This would suggest that what is needed is not just knowledge of a particular culture and people but also knowledge of the processes of intercultural communication; that is, how to cope with cultural diversity. In other words, some kind of intercultural competence is needed for successful intercultural and educational exchanges. How this intercultural competence might be conceived will be one strand of the discussion in this chapter.

The second strand of the discussion here will focus on the language of education exchanges as the medium through which these intercultural interactions take place. While sojourners are likely to encounter an increasing diversity of cultural backgrounds in educational exchanges, the same degree of diversity does not, at least initially, appear to be true as regards language. The increasing spread of English as a global lingua franca has resulted in extensive use of the language in settings which are not traditionally associated with English. This has been particularly true of education, where English has become the medium of many academic practices including instruction in non-Anglophone settings (Mauranen 2012; Jenkins 2014). The widespread use of a single language has led to the concerns suggested in the title of this chapter that English is becoming, as Phillipson describes it, 'a lingua frankensteinia' (2008, p. 250). In this scenario, English is viewed as replacing and destroying other languages and the associated cultures, resulting in a loss of linguistic and cultural diversity and the promotion of Americanization and Europeanization, what Phillipson terms as 'linguistic imperialism' (1992). Yet, an alternative scenario is that the existence of a shared language of communication for so much of the world could potentially offer an unprecedented opportunity for intercultural exchange, leading to a greater understanding of cultural diversity rather than a destruction of it. It may also be that the widespread use of English by many different peoples will result in an increasing diversity in the way English is used, leading to many Englishes rather than a single monolithic English. In this chapter, it will be argued that this second scenario is the one that is supported by current research into the use of English as a global language, but that there are still concerns associated with the first scenario which need addressing.

Global Englishes: World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca

In order to better contextualize the discussion in this chapter, a brief outline of the role of English globally is needed. For better or worse, English is currently the predominant global lingua franca, with an estimated 2 billion L2 users of the language (Crystal 2008) alongside the over 300 million L1 or mother tongue users (www.ethnologue.com). However, this is not to suggest that English is the only global language. There are considerably more L1 speakers of Chinese than English, over 1213 million, roughly the same number of L1 speakers of Spanish as English and, furthermore, both Chinese and Spanish have considerable numbers of L2 speakers (www.ethnologue.com). Other languages such as Arabic and Hindi also have large numbers of both L1 and L2 speakers in a range of geographical locations. Significantly, mass communication and particularly the Internet have eroded the relevance of physical geographical space in language use, and while English is the most used language on the Internet at 28.6 %, Chinese is not far behind with 23.2 % of Internet use (http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm). These statistics offer a rather different picture of global language use to the worst predictions of Phillipson's 'lingua frankensteinia' (2008). While English is predominant, it is not completely dominant. Other languages also have global roles, especially Chinese, which indicates a multilingual global linguistic landscape.[1] Most importantly, Crystal's (2008) estimates for L2 users of English greatly outnumber the L1 users and this has far-reaching implications for how we understand English. As Brumfit notes, 'statistically, native speakers are in a minority for [English] language use, and thus for language change, for language maintenance, and for the ideologies and beliefs associated with the language' (2001, p. 116). In other words, the 'ownership' of English is shifting from its traditional base in the Anglophone world to the non-native, L2 speakers of the language (Widdowson 2003). This has resulted in a number of alternative approaches to understanding the global role and uses of English.

One of the best established approaches to understanding the spread of English globally has been the World Englishes paradigm and in particular the characterization presented by Braj Kachru (1990). Kachru delineates three circles of English: the inner circle, which is the traditional Anglophone world such as the USA, UK and Australia, where English functions as the L1 for the majority of the population; the outer circle which contains indigenized officially codified and recognized varieties of English such as Indian English, Singaporean English and Nigerian English, where English functions as both L1 and L2 alongside other languages; and the expanding circle, containing countries which use English as a 'foreign language' to communicate with the rest of the world but where English does not have an internal function and where there is no officially recognized indigenous variety of English, for example, many European countries such as Spain and Germany, much of South America, Russia and East Asia.

This model of the global spread of English has been very influential; however, there are some substantial limitations. Although it is not the purpose of this discussion to address all these in detail, a number of the limitations are relevant to the current discussion. First, according to Kachru's characterization of expanding circle settings, they are 'norm dependent', meaning that the English used follows the norms established by the inner-circle countries. Ignoring the considerable variety of norms within inner-circle countries, it is questionable to what extent English use in the expanding circle follows these norms, as the research into ELF, described below, will show. Second, the model is geographically based and still centered on the role of the nation state in language. Yet, with the contemporary spread of English, the situation is considerably more complex. Putting aside the use of English online and on the Internet, which obviously transcends many of the geographical restrictions languages were previously bound by, English is used in a myriad of ways both within and across such geographical spaces. Within the expanding circle, English may well have an internal role, for example, in multinational corporations such as Uniqulo, which, although is based in Japan, uses English as its working language. Most relevant to the concerns of this chapter, the growing number of branches of Anglophone universities in other countries, such as Nottingham Ningbo in China, and the rapid increase in English-medium instruction (EMI[2]) programs in non-Anglophone settings, means that English is taking on an increasing role in the internal educational practices of expanding circle higher education institutes. Moreover, within Anglophone settings, the internationalization of universities has resulted in large numbers of international students, described above, meaning that in many cases English will not be the L1 for the majority of students (see Jenkins 2014). Furthermore, as many of these institutes, in all three of Kachru's circles, become more international in their outlook, restricting characterizations to the national scale alone is missing much of how such institutions currently function in relation to networks of international connections.

An alternative characterization of English that is perhaps better able to account for the contemporary diversity and complexity of English use is ELF. ELF has been defined most simply as 'English as it is used as a contact language among speakers from different first languages' (Jenkins 2014, p. 44). Similarly, a functional definition is provided by Seidlhofer as, 'any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice (and often only option)' (2011, p. 7). While the focus of these definitions, and much of the associated research, is on non-native or L2 users of English, both definitions include native English speakers (L1) but they are the minority and are 'less likely to constitute the linguistic reference norm' (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 7). Unlike World Englishes, where the focus has been on describing new varieties of English, ELF is not a variety of English. Again to quote from Seidlhofer, 'it is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it: English that functions as a lingua franca' (2011, p. 77). Thus, continuous variation in linguistic form and other communicative norms is a key feature of ELF. Importantly, communication through ELF is not geographically bounded but rather can take place in any setting where English functions as a contact language. While this often involves expanding circle settings, researchers are increasingly turning their attention to multilingual settings in the inner circle, such as higher education institutions where L1 speakers of the language do not necessarily 'constitute the linguistic reference norm' (see e.g. Jenkins 2014).

Two examples will be briefly discussed to illustrate the type of variation typically documented in ELF research. The first example highlights the degree of linguistic diversity and also creativity which can be found in ELF communication. Pitzl (2009) presents an instance drawn from the one-million-word Vienna–Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) corpus of EFL communication (https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/). In her example the participants, none of whom are native speakers of English, seem to invent an ad hoc metaphor to describe the situation they find themselves in. One of the participants uses the phrase 'we should not wake up any dogs' (Pitzl 2009, p. 308) which is roughly analogous to the British English idiom 'let sleeping dogs lie' to refer to leaving a situation as it is rather than causing further problems. From a traditional perspective, this could be interpreted as an 'error' or failure on the part of the speaker to produce the 'correct' idiom. However, as Pitzl argues, it did not appear to be the speaker's intention to reproduce the English idiom, and it was understood by the other participants in the interaction, seemingly successful therefore in conveying the intended meaning. This leads Pitzl to conclude that such variation in English use should be interpreted as a sign of creative adaptation of the language in situ and, furthermore, that such adaptation is essential for successful communication given the diverse settings and participants in ELF communication.

The second example demonstrates the extent of cultural variation in ELF communication. Baker (2009) presents data from an ethnographic study of L2 users of English in Thailand, illustrating the negotiation between two participants of the cultural practices referred to by the term 'petanque'. While one participant views it as a game traditionally associated with old men in the south of France, the other participant sees it as referring to a game played by young university students in Thailand. Most obviously, English is being used in a setting removed from the traditional Anglophone world by participants who are using it as an L2 and to refer to cultural practices unrelated to the Anglophone world. But perhaps more interestingly, neither participant's interpretation is authoritative with both participants appearing to accept that the same term can refer to a game which has a variety of possibly contradictory cultural references and meanings. Baker (2009) concludes that such instances illustrate the manner in which ELF can be used to represent and create cultural references and practices that cut across local, national and global scales. Both the above examples underscore the degree of variation of linguistic and cultural practices we can expect in ELF communication. Moreover, like the earlier World Englishes paradigm, ELF research provides further evidence of the de-centering of English from the original inner circle or Anglophone world and its adaptation and adoption in wide variety of settings, by a huge range of different L1 speakers, for a diverse range of purposes.

English as a Lingua Franca and Intercultural Competence/Awareness

Multifarious uses of English globally and, of particular relevance to this discussion, in higher education have significant implications for how we understand intercultural exchanges and communication through English. Given the diversity of linguistic and cultural practices which English encompasses, how is such variety managed by participants in communication or rather intercultural communication? Successful intercultural communication through ELF, as the examples previously presented show, clearly involves more than knowledge of a fixed and predefined code (i.e. a set of grammatical, lexical and phonological features). This offers a different perspective on language learning and teaching to the traditional conception and suggests a wider range of knowledge, skills and attitudes is needed. Instead, L2 language learning and use involves knowledge of pragmatics, multilingual communication strategies, linguistic and intercultural awareness (ICA), together with the appropriate attitudes and behavior to be able to make use of this knowledge. This entails a rethinking of communication competence, which has been at the core of language education (Hymes 1972; Canale and Swain 1980), and a move toward an expanded version of intercultural communicative competence and awareness to better account for the intercultural dimensions of communication.

To briefly recap an argument that has been presented in detail in many places (e.g. Brumfit 2001; Widdowson 2003), Hymes' (1972) notion of communicative competence represented an important step away from the linguistic and grammatical competence envisaged in Chomsky's (1965) conception and brought the role of language as a social tool to the fore.

Canale and Swain (1980) then adapted this to L2 use, adding features such as strategic competence and communication strategies. Communicative competence has subsequently served as the predominant model of successful communication, and hence learning goal, in L2 teaching and learning. However, both Hymes' and Canale and Swain's models assumed a group of L1 or native speakers of the language in a well-established social community, with a coherent set of communicative practices that the L1 or L2 learner has to become familiar with. The increasing questioning of the relevance, attainability and desirability of native speakers of a language as models for L2 speakers of that language led to alternative conceptions of communicative competence. These were no longer based on native speaker models and *intra*cultural communication as the goal but rather took *inter*cultural communication as the aim, and the intercultural speaker with intercultural communicative competence as the model and goal.

The most influential model of intercultural communicative competence, at least in language education in Europe, has been Byram's model (1997, 2008) which has been integrated into the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). There is no space here to describe Byram's model in detail but, in brief, it contains five 'savoirs' that outline the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for intercultural communication through an L2. In particular, the model focuses on an understanding of the relative nature of cultural norms in communicative practices, which leads to the ability to compare and mediate between different cultural norms present in intercultural communication. At the center of the model is critical cultural awareness, which Byram defines as 'an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries' (1997, p. 101). Another prominent conception which attempts to synthesize the findings and insights from a number of earlier models is Deardorff's (2009) Process Model of Intercultural Competence. Like Byram's model, it involves knowledge, skills and attitudes, but Deardorff (2010) also adds the notions of internal and external outcomes. Internal outcomes consist of 'flexibility, adaptability, an ethnorelative perspective and empathy' (2010, p. 1) and external outcomes are 'the behavior and communication of the individual, which become the visible outcomes of intercultural competence experienced by others' (2010, p. 1). Intercultural competence here is understood as '*effective* and *appropriate* behavior and communication in intercultural situations' (2010, p. 1). This is not the place to discuss the similarities and differences between these two influential models but for the present purposes they can both be viewed as offering an important expansion of communicative competence that is more relevant to the types of intercultural communication experienced in educational exchanges.

While conceptions of intercultural competence such as Byram's and Deardorff's have been very important in moving forward our understanding of what successful intercultural communication entails, there are still some significant limitations as regards their approach to the complex linguistic and cultural diversity often found in Global Englishes and ELF communication. In the case of Byram's model, the focus is very much on the national level, with countries and cultures equated in the above definition of cultural awareness. Although Deardorff's model is not so explicitly centered on the national level of culture, it is still a US-centric perspective (Deardorff 2010). Furthermore, neither of these models contains references to the use of English as a global lingua franca,[3] nor considers the implications that this may have for our understanding of the relationships between language, culture and communication. As such, this can be viewed as an important 'blind spot' in current thinking about intercultural competence. If we only view English language use as tied to Anglophone settings and the associated communicative and cultural practices, then we risk associating intercultural competence through English with a narrow set of communicative norms. This would represent the linguistic and cultural homogenization that Phillipson (2008) argued against when describing English as a lingua frankensteinia. However, as research into ELF has demonstrated, this has not been the case in many of the uses of ELF for intercultural communication. Therefore, it is essential that our models of intercultural competence reflect this.

Baker (2011) offers a model of ICA that while building on Byram's intercultural communicative competence[4] extends it to better account for the complexity and diversity of ELF communication. ICA is specifically focused on intercultural communication through ELF where there is no clear language, culture and nation correlation. This is crucial since it entails a move away from a priori assumptions about cultural difference, especially based at the national level, for example, 'Chinese people do this … but American people do this …' Instead, it emphasizes the need to employ intercultural competence and awareness in a flexible and situational-specific manner in which national cultural groupings are just one of many possible cultural orientations. It is thus defined as:

> ICA is a conscious understanding of the role culturally based forms, practices and frames of reference can have in intercultural communication, and an ability to put these conceptions into practice in a flexible and context specific manner in communication.

The adaptability of ICA is crucial since it is not possible to specify in advance exactly what knowledge, skills or strategies are needed by participants in intercultural communication. Without this adaptability and flexibility, interlocutors could easily become 'stuck' in fixed communicative practices which, through not being responsive to the situation and other participants, are more likely to hinder successful intercultural communication than aid it.

A brief example may again help to illustrate this point. Xu and Dinh (2013) in a study of an understanding of word meanings in English show how a range of English speakers from different settings have considerable variation in their interpretations of the same lexical items. Most importantly, those with experience of intercultural communication through ELF, or World Englishes as Xu and Dinh term it, were able to articulate multiple interpretations of the same item simultaneously as the extract below from an L1 Cantonese, Hong Kong resident shows:

> A tower to me means a 'light tower', for guiding ships. In Western countries, church towers usually have bells. I can also think of the Eiffel tower in Paris. In Hong Kong, there are also towers. The most well-known one is the one at Tsim Sha Tsui. (Xu and Dinh 2013, p. 375)

As can be seen in this example, local references as well as more global references are included simultaneously and the participant is aware of the multiple meanings and interpretations.

Furthermore, and significantly, many participants demonstrated an awareness of both multiple interpretations of words and multiple cultural schemas associated with those words, such as the differing cultural practices associated with a wedding. This leads Xu and Dinh to propose that 'It can be understood that WE [World Englishes] speakers are by nature English-knowing bilinguals or multilinguals, so they have multiple cultural perspectives in ELF communication' (2013, p. 375). It is this ability to simultaneously negotiate 'multiple cultural perspectives' that is key to ICA.

In sum, the use of a language for intercultural communication, as is the case of English, as well as other languages, in educational exchanges underscores the importance of intercultural competence in language learning and use. However, while current conceptions of intercultural competence represent an important expansion of the original notion of communicative competence, they do not go far enough in recognizing the fluid and complex nature of the relationships between language, culture and communication in global lingua francas such as English. ICA has been put forward as an expansion of, rather than replacement for, previous models, which recognizes the need to move beyond a focus on national cultures and emphasizes the importance of flexibility and adaptability of knowledge, skills and attitudes in instances of intercultural communication.

Implications for Language Education and Educational Exchanges

It may be argued that the dynamic conceptions of intercultural competence, such as ICA presented in the previous section, are less relevant to education exchanges where students are typically moving between countries and so have a defined culture and community in which they will be residing. However, as the statistics on international universities in the Anglophone world, including the USA, indicated, this is a simplistic view of higher education institutes. Internationally orientated higher education institutes are made up of very diverse populations, and English will frequently be functioning as a lingua franca with both staff and students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Jenkins 2014). Furthermore, the aim of such educational exchanges is often to establish networks of individuals who will be able to function internationally in whatever career they peruse. This international emphasis again would suggest that the most likely use of English will be in lingua franca scenarios. Equally importantly, this does not just apply to L2 speakers of English. Native speakers of English on exchanges will find themselves using English, hopefully alongside rather than instead of the local L1, in international environments, often in EMI programs, and need to be able to use English appropriately in such settings. The communicative and cultural practices they are familiar with from their L1 settings are unlikely to be relevant in their exchange contexts. Thus, intercultural competence and ICA are equally relevant for English native speakers when using English for intercultural communication.

Furthermore, from a social justice perspective, if the ownership of English is moving away from the Anglophone world, all users of English should be expected to adapt and adjust their communicative practices to ensure successful intercultural communication. The burden should not be on L2 users to make themselves understood to native English speakers due to the supposed superiority of native English. If the goal of intercultural competence becomes the cultural competence of native English speakers, then Phillipson's (2008) fears of linguistic and cultural imperialism will be realized. Rather, as repeatedly stressed throughout this discussion, the goal of intercultural competence and awareness should be mutual accommodation and adaptation. If English is to provide a medium for intercultural communication for all, then the burden of successful communication must fall equally on all. Moreover, if international universities are truly to be international in their outlook then it seems illogical and discriminatory to insist on local communicative and linguistic practices and to marginalize other 'international' communicative practices (Jenkins 2014).

Such a conclusion clearly has major implications for pedagogy, and indeed, much intercultural communicative competence research has been closely tied to language education (e.g. Byram 1997, 2008; Risager 2006). Given the importance of viewing L2 communication as intercultural communication, this would indicate a more central role for the knowledge, skills and attitudes of successful intercultural communication as viewed through intercultural communicative competence and ICA. This also entails a shift in language education from the current predominant focus on linguistic forms to one that includes areas such as pragmatics, communication strategies, linguistic and ICA. It also suggests the importance of bringing intercultural encounters in various forms into the curriculum through exchanges either in person or increasingly through virtual exchanges as envisaged in teletandem/telecollaboration (O'Dowd 2011). Baker (2012) outlines a variety of approaches through which the intercultural can be brought into the classroom including exploring local cultures; exploring language learning materials; exploring the media and arts both online and through more 'traditional' mediums; making use of cultural informants; and engaging in intercultural communication both face to face and electronically. Alongside a more prominent role for an intercultural approach to language teaching, there is a need for recognition of the variety of Englishes used, as documented in World Englishes and ELF research, in terms of both linguistic forms and communicative practices. Indeed, many ELF researchers have advocated a more intercultural perspective to English language teaching, including many of the features documented above. In particular, a more prominent role for communication strategies and pragmatics in the classroom has been advocated as an approach to manage diversity in intercultural communication (see e.g. the collection of studies in Bayyurt and Akcan 2015). Equally important is introducing learners to the many different forms and the inherent variation of Englishes. This can be done through providing examples of World Englishes and ELF use as an alternative to the current predominance of native speaker like English in English language teaching (ELT).

Yet, we should not expect such changes to come easily or quickly. De-centering of Englishes and recognition of the shared 'ownership' represent a major challenge to the current status quo. English is the most highly commodified language at present and the English language teaching and testing industry is a multibillion-dollar global enterprise. This industry has to a large extent been based around the centrality of Anglophone, mainly UK and US, versions of 'standard' English. Corresponding with this is an idealized model of the native speaker as an embodiment of this standard which is viewed as the benchmark for all language learners. Furthermore, given that much of the industry, including publishing houses and testing organizations, is based in the Anglophone world, we should expect resistance to changes that lessen their status. However, there is no reason why the status quo has to remain as it is, and publishing houses may have to adapt their approaches to presenting English, or Englishes, as more L2 users and teachers of the language become aware of its global reach and the legitimacy of their own voices. Testing may be harder to change given the normative tendencies of the testing process, but tests that recognize the importance of variation in linguistic and communicative practices are possible, if challenging (McNamara 2012).

Additional resistance to accepting the inherent variation in ELF communication and the subsequent implications of language teaching come from the standard language ideology that is frequently part of how first languages are understood (Milroy and Milroy 2012). If we have been brought up to believe that there is a 'correct' way to use our L1, as is often the case in formal education, then it should not come as a surprise that the same ideology is applied to an L2. Furthermore, notions of intercultural competence and awareness that question the value and uniqueness of our cultural values in favor of cultural relativism, or at least partial relativism, may be unsettling and disturbing for both learners and teachers. Such questioning of accepted values is often coupled with critiques of the correlation between the nation state and languages, cultures and identities. As such, it may be seen as threatening and disruptive by nationally organized teaching institutions such as ministries of education. Nonetheless, difficult as it may be, it is the role of education to provide alternatives to accepted ideologies and to offer learners new perspectives and horizons which also coincides with the stated aims of many educational exchanges.

Conclusion

Intercultural communication research often creates the impression that if we just knew how to overcome our linguistic and cultural differences, we would get on just fine with each other and the world would be transformed into a paradise on earth. (Piller 2011, p. 155)

This quotation above brings together a number of the issues discussed in this chapter in relation to educational exchanges. First, it questions the assumption that simply by organizing intercultural educational exchanges we will overcome differences. The research on the outcomes of educational exchanges is far from conclusive. We cannot just put diverse people together and expect the 'magic' to happen (Deardorff, this volume). Second, it questions whether a shared language and an awareness of cultural difference is enough to bring about change. In particular, the focus of this chapter has been on the role of English as the shared lingua franca of educational exchanges and the implications this has for our understanding of intercultural communication. The links between language learning/use and the development of intercultural communicative competence and ICA were placed as central in developing successful communicative practices for the intercultural communication that occurs in educational exchanges. Connected to this was a recognition of the global role of English generally, and especially in higher education, both in international universities in Anglophone settings and in non-Anglophone settings through EMI programs.

At the same time, in order to avoid the concerns of linguistic and cultural homogeneity implied by the title of this chapter, and as argued by Phillipson (1992, 2008), the diverse uses, users and roles of Englishes need to be recognized. Without this, English is likely to represent an imposition and restriction on intercultural communication rather than an intercultural opportunity. This is because users will feel forced to conform to a narrow set of communicative and cultural practices, often Anglophone, rather than being able to construct and represent their own communicative and cultural practices. World Englishes and ELF research has demonstrated a great deal of adaptation and creativity in English uses and this needs to be recognized in preparation for educational exchanges. It is not enough to simply provide language lessons and information about the host country. Given the diversity of international university campuses and the hope that educational exchanges will lead to future international collaboration, participants in exchange programs should be prepared for intercultural exchanges, rather than just national exchanges, with all the cultural and linguistic diversity that implies. Importantly, this includes all participants in educational exchanges, both native users of English and L2 users of English, since mutual adaptation and accommodation are crucial to successful intercultural communication. While such preparation is unlikely to lead to a 'paradise on earth', it will go some way to better equipping participants in educational exchanges for the complex reality of intercultural interactions and to fulfilling the aims of educational exchange programs to promote and enhance intercultural connections and understanding.

Notes

1. However, the loss of linguistic diversity is a genuine concern with language death, languages which cease to have any speakers, resulting in a reduction of linguistic diversity globally. The role English plays in this process is controversial but in many instances it is national, rather than global, languages that are displacing local and minority languages (Edwards 2011).
2. English-medium instruction (EMI) is defined by Costa and Coleman as 'Teaching content through a language other than that normally used by the students' (2013, p. 4) and typically refers to programs in non-Anglophone settings but has recently been applied to Anglophone settings where international universities have many students for whom English is not an L1 (Jenkins 2014).
3. Byram (1997, 2012) does briefly mention the use of ELF but does not draw on current research or discuss it in detail (see Baker 2011).
4. Indeed, given the huge number of models of intercultural competence (see Deardorff 2009), it is important not to simply reinvent the wheel. While this chapter is arguing that changes or additions are needed to the current models, it is not suggesting an outright rejection of them.

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CHAPTER 5

Technology Platforms for Public Diplomacy: Affordances for Education

Craig Hayden

International education is a crucial dimension of public diplomacy and an established method for governments to cultivate understanding across cultural and political divides. This chapter explores issues at stake in educational diplomacy that is based on new forms of digital engagement and the implications for such technology on the practical application of soft power in public diplomacy. The practice of educational exchange as an aspect of public diplomacy is certainly not new, yet social media for educational exchange has prompted new and innovative practices that offer both opportunities and challenges for policy-makers and planners of public diplomacy. In this chapter, the use of technology by United States public diplomacy practitioners is offered as a representative case, to consider how the intersection of technology and diplomacy yields new capacities for engagement and program design, as well as implications for researchers interested in theories of public diplomacy, and for new forms of practice.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the public diplomacy concept and the "soft power" concept, and describes how educational exchange represents a significant and undertheorized component of public diplo-

C. Hayden (✉)
School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC, USA

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_5

macy research. The chapter then elaborates how the idea of "affordance" within media studies of technology and practice can provide insight into the changing institutional norms and practices surrounding educational diplomacy. The chapter introduces examples of US educational exchange programs that utilize new and social media technology, and considers implications public diplomacy policy-makers and practitioners.

Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, and Measurement

Public diplomacy describes how governments communicate with foreign publics in order to support their foreign policy objectives. The concept covers a number of differing practices and strategies that complement other forms of diplomacy and statecraft. Public diplomacy has been described as educational diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, international broadcasting, as well as strategic communication and nation-branding (Cull 2009; Gregory 2008; Wallin 2012). While it largely describes how governments leverage communication methods to reach foreign publics, public diplomacy is typically focused on two primary (sometimes competing) objectives, the promotion of information through the amplification of messages or stories, and the cultivation of relationships and experiences to generate trust, credibility, and understanding (see Mallone 1988; Scott-Smith 2008). The impacts of public diplomacy and their contribution to foreign policy are most visible in attitude, behavior, and measures of trust. Its practice ranges from short-term targeted strategic communication or information initiatives to longer-term investments in cultural and educational exchange (Zaharna 2007).

Public diplomacy is primarily a tool of statecraft used by diplomatic institutions to meet or sustain the objectives of foreign policy (Hayden 2013a). Public diplomacy is often conflated with the term soft power, because the practice does not rely on coercive or material resources of power (Snow 2009). Soft power, as an operative concept or strategy, is often exemplified in how states rely on soft power resources (culture, values, and foreign policy legitimacy), to achieve objectives and cultivate interest in the service of foreign policy (Nye Jr. 2011). Public diplomacy represents a method by which states amplify the impact of their perceived soft power resources, necessary to achieve strategic objectives. Soft power is not the same thing as public diplomacy, but the soft power concept serves as a convenient justification for investment in public diplomacy (Snow 2009).

The soft power concept does not readily lend itself measurement or evaluation—as there are no obvious measures for foreign policy planners to assess how public diplomacy connects its practices to outcomes (Goldsmith and Horiuch 2012). Soft power's evaluative ambiguity reflects a consistent theme among critics of public diplomacy in the United States (Brown 2002). Public diplomacy practice, whether in international education or media-based persuasion, is often at cross-purposes and difficult to isolate as a causal factor in policy outcomes. This problem then carries over into the context of the practice—when governments seek to influence behavior or mindsets through relation-building or advocacy, they also risk politicizing programs and damaging credibility among foreign publics. Attempts to question public diplomacy participants directly invite perceptions about the strategic intentions of a program, which could diminish the impact of public diplomacy, or perhaps alienate its participants. This risk carries particular challenges for educational diplomacy, where the purpose is outwardly focused on fostering understanding, rather than indoctrination.

These kinds of challenges for measurement and evaluation persist because the context for public diplomacy is inevitably strategic and policy focused—intentions of policy-makers necessitate empirical research designs that observe how strategic imperatives are achieved in communication practices that produce effects on publics and forward policy objectives in the short, medium, and long term. This challenge makes analytical narratives that isolate the contribution of public diplomacy to foreign policy impacts difficult at best (Banks 2011). The analytical ambiguity of soft power, the risk of alienating targeted populations, and the problem of parsing discrete public diplomacy effects have complicated the strategic utilization of public diplomacy and its role among other instruments of statecraft.

Despite these issues, the United States continues to rely on public diplomacy programs derived from historical experiences in educational and cultural diplomacy, assuming that these informational forms of engagement have worked in the past. This suggests that unpacking the underlying structures of reasoning behind public diplomacy is an important initial move toward devising and improving practices—how practitioners translate strategic expectations into programs and practices can provide important organizational and strategic insight. Of course, the United States is not the only country that has employed public diplomacy and in particular, educational diplomacy, to support or sustain its foreign policy. More research is needed to capture the diversity of practices and strategies, as much of public diplomacy scholarship has focused on the US historical experience (See Melissen 2005). Similarly, the categorical and normative writing about public diplomacy suggests there is a need for more in-depth study of the different types of public diplomacy, from international broadcasting to international education. Each of these corresponds to disciplines such as communication, education, and international studies scholarship, which could further advance understanding of this interdisciplinary phenomenon.

More recent studies have taken a comparative approach to public diplomacy analysis, and explore how the public diplomacy concept has developed around the world through institutional, cultural, and strategic contexts (Hayden 2011; Pamment 2012b; Sun 2012). R.S. Zaharna's "soft power differential" framework, for example, focuses on how cultural resources are deployed in public diplomacy, and are filtered through the cultural lens of the "sender" country's conception of communication and influence (Zaharna 2007).

Zaharna's perspective may be useful for scholarly attempts to ascertain how influence is factored into program design of public diplomacy activities. At the same time, it prompts consideration of the different communication strategies that underscore the design of public diplomacy, and how they can produce different outcomes. For Zaharna, soft power is more than simply a strategic template; it also reflects the combination of cultural attitudes toward the requirements of persuasion and understanding evident in the design of public diplomacy programs. Comparative research like Zaharna's can illustrate the consequences of international actors relying on a particular notion of soft power, as seen in the tools, biases, and contexts for public diplomacy. The comparative perspective offers a vantage point for analysis of what remains constant across state contexts for public diplomacy, and provides the basis for refining research that aims to link practice to impact. Comparative research on aspects of public diplomacy from the programmatic perspective (rather than just a focus on impacts) can inform understanding of how public diplomacy is strategized to contribute to goals, objectives, and outcomes. This, in turn, can yield greater understanding of the path-dependency behind the development of public diplomacy practices.

Ultimately, considering the efficacy of soft power as an outcome of public diplomacy requires understanding the process of influence—and how public diplomacy involves many differing contexts, instruments, and programs through which it is conducted. Public diplomacy represents a variety of practices and mediated vehicles for engagement, which in turn yields different forms of impact to be measured, such as understanding, awareness, or opinion-change. International broadcasting could conceivably be explained through measures of media effects or selective exposure, yet such studies would be different from those focusing on the consequences of cultural exposure or collaborative engagement found in cultural diplomacy or education programs. Public diplomacy, in other words, is a big tent of activities that are typically so diverse that it is difficult to reconcile them under one explanatory framework like "soft power," or within a singular academic discipline.

Not surprisingly, public diplomacy research has been eclectic, atheoretical, and speculative (Hayden 2013b). Much of the research in public diplomacy does not rely on empirical evidence or employ an established theoretical framework, though it often invokes the soft power concept. While normative and prescriptive public diplomacy scholarship serves a purpose in raising awareness and guiding practice, public diplomacy can also provide insight for research questions across a number of disciplinary perspectives, especially those that deal with the ramifications of cross- and inter-cultural relations, international education, and of course, media effects and opinion research.

Despite the rise of interest in international communication, such as in US efforts to combat extremist organizations online, public concern for public diplomacy (at least in the United States) is often reactive and episodic. Noted public diplomacy scholar Bruce Gregory observes that the shifting strategic importance for public diplomacy contributes to the ambivalent relationship between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy in the US, despite the rising importance of foreign public engagement in policy strategy introduced by Secretary of State Hilary Clinton in 2010 (Clinton 2010; Gregory 2011). The growth of Russian propaganda online and the rise of religious extremist organizations using technological platforms have created new interest in US public diplomacy, and in particular, its reliance in digital engagement platforms (Bayles 2014). Potential geo-strategic rivals and adversaries turning to technology-driven platforms for public diplomacy has created the impetus for the United States to be "present" in important conversations online in ways that advance US interests (McHall 2013).

The drift toward digital engagement in public diplomacy strategy carries implications for practice, especially when much of US public diplomacy, like most exchange programs and cultural diplomacy efforts, remains largely offline. As the United States looks to adapt its educational exchange programs to take advantage of digital platforms, this also represents an opportunity for new research-driven questions and perspectives about public diplomacy as a whole. Educational exchange is arguably underexplored in public diplomacy research outside of historical treatments, with some prominent exceptions (see Atkinson 2010; Fisher 2013; Scott-Smith 2011). Intercultural and international communication research has long focused on the *context* of exchange, though much of this research has focused on cultural and psychological experience, on the impact on pedagogy, and on how the experience of exchange manifests in attitudes toward culture, difference, and future actions. Such research could expand understanding of public diplomacy, but it exists outside the scholarly discussion on public diplomacy as a strategic concept, and its relationship to foreign policy objectives. The strategic dimension of public diplomacy to educational exchange is rarely the focus of such intercultural communication and educational research, yet growing interest among policy-makers in technology may bring these fields more closely into alignment—because it prompts new forms of questions about why public diplomacy "works," and what vehicles are necessary to facilitate understanding and influence.

Educational exchange offers a number of opportunities to develop research that remains largely untreated in public diplomacy scholarship, and to explore methodological and theoretical frameworks that can advance the practice of measurement and evaluation both within academia and among practitioners. Renewed attention to educational diplomacy could also address the prevailing tendency among practitioners and public diplomacy advocates to downplay the viability of measurement and evaluation, because cultural and educational diplomacy are perceived as a long-term activities that are difficult to measure (Pamment 2012a).

While it is plausible that long-term effects of opinion and contact may be difficult to discern over extended periods of time, educational exchange may also offer avenues to explore the mechanisms and factors that cultivate *social capital*, which is arguably the key strategic outcome of educational exchange in the service of public diplomacy. Existing ambiguities over impact have led some practitioners and policy-makers to note that public diplomacy functions as an act of faith, with an accepted intuition that public diplomacy programs "work," despite the lack of systematic data collection from longitudinal or panel studies over time (Glassman 2012).

Educational exchange is a context for new forms of rigorous empirical work that test the impact of public diplomacy, such as in network connections forged during contacts in host countries and in social media efforts that sustain encounters after an educational program. At this early stage in the adoption of technology, however, a more sociological understanding of how technology shapes educational exchange and international education can lend insight on how the norms and institutions of educational diplomacy may be changing at the level of design and strategy.

Understanding Technology Affordance in Public Diplomacy

Educational exchange and language instruction in public diplomacy require different kinds of research than studies that have exemplified the study of public diplomacy in International Relations. Specifically, the study of educational exchange can contribute to the field's understanding of how public diplomacy cultivates social capital—the forms of trust, legitimacy, and identification fostered through experiences provided by such programs. Even so, potential studies of social capital and measures of trust are complicated by the fact that public diplomacy is usually tied to strategic objectives that in themselves may be unpopular or at cross-purposes with the intent of the public diplomacy program. This creates distinct challenges to the cultivation of credibility and understanding (Cull 2009; Scott-Smith 2011).

Educational exchanges and language instruction are also not short-term programs that have readily identifiable policy outcomes. Nevertheless, public diplomacy organizations and institutions are being increasingly called upon to demonstrate that their programs are contributing to foreign policy objectives, and that they demonstrate measurable impact. In the face of more intense fiscal pressures and scrutiny, ways to demonstrate the returns of public diplomacy may be shaping program design and strategy through qualitatively new forms of collaborative or facilitative engagement activities (Pamment 2012a).

This exigency creates opportunities for new forms of public diplomacy practice that rely on technology and the expectations associated with technological innovation. In particular, the use of digital engagement platforms like social media for educational exchange, international education, and language instruction suggests possibilities for rethinking what public diplomacy can achieve. An important initial stage in understanding any "technological turn" in public diplomacy and by extension, soft power, is to understand the way technology factors into the logics of program design, creates new opportunities for engaging publics, and otherwise mitigates or diminishes the perception among participants that these programs ultimately serve policy objectives. The logics of engagement become visible in how technology becomes crucial to the implementation of an educational diplomacy program.

It is certainly plausible to claim that the centrality of digital technologies to new forms of public diplomacy suggests a more dramatic transformation in both practice and thinking—where social media and new streaming opportunities have opened up new strategies of engagement—but is important not to overstate this claim. Some programs, such as the public-private partnership between the US State Department and the *Soliya* organization's virtual classroom experience with Middle East countries, embody a so-called exchange 2.0 moment. Programs like this may help to overcome logistical and physical barriers to access and participation, but the advent of such technological interventions merits further analysis of institutional strategy (Roberts et al. 2013).

Yet technologies of communication are almost always implicated at some level in the broader context of international education programs, either in establishing the cultural context of beliefs through media representations or in enabling means of connection both with home and with new connections abroad. Potential participants to public diplomacy programs are already steeped in the cultural impacts of digital technologies, which likely have helped shape the context for soft power and influence even before a program would begin. The question posed here, however, focuses on how the *idea of exchange itself* may be changing due to perceptions of technology evident in program design, and how the technological context serves a role framing the context of public diplomacy as a strategic intention.

The rise of technology-enabled educational exchange programs does not hinge on a deterministic explanation, where digital platforms play a distinct causal role in the development of new forms of exchange programs and language instruction. Drawing on cultural and sociological approaches to technology studies offers a different kind of insight that new programs in educational diplomacy reflect institutional logics influenced by the *availability* of such technology, as much as how organizational strategies are a reflection of the *expectations* of technology. Such a perspective would provide grounded, organizational context for the public discourse surrounding how the State Department has been criticized for its usage of new and social media technologies, articulated in ways that highlight what technology skeptic Evgeny Morozov has termed "solutionism" (Morozov 2013). From plans to distribute Amazon Kindle ebook readers and the use of hashtags, to controversial *Youtube* campaigns against extremists and purchasing "likes" on Facebook to promote embassy posts, the US Department of State has been the frequent target of critiques about the use of technology to forward public diplomacy objectives (Hudson 2013). These criticisms elide the more provocative question of how digital engagement platforms may be changing strategic thinking about the practice and purpose of engaging foreign publics.

Practice-oriented media studies and science and technology studies (STS) have avoided deterministic accounts of media technology's influence, by focusing on the institutional "meanings" derived from practice—how technologies are used, reasoned about, and integrated into action. For example, media scholar Tarleton Gillespie has explored how the term "media platform" is a product of rhetoric about policy, that reflects the organizational needs and political biases of corporations that have a stake in how they are governed (Gillespie 2010). The meaning of technology in any context is not neutral or simply a reflection of what technology can accomplish. Meaning in this sense is discursively constructed by advocates and practitioners. For example, media scholars point to the emergence of political behaviors that are derived from how media is used, but that are not necessarily a product of the technology itself (Couldry and Hepp 2013).

One method of applying this perspective to understanding changes in educational diplomacy is to examine how practice may be transformed through the concept of *affordance*. This term is used to understand how the meaning of technology is both a product of its functional capacity as much as the ways in which this meaning is socially negotiated through its use (Graves 2007). The concept of *affordance* directs attention to how aspects or qualities of a technology invite particular practices or ideas in relation to that technology. To understand the role that technology may play to address the requirements of international education with the increasing demands for impact measures, the growth of technological platforms for educational exchange provide support to a number of competing organizational needs. How the technologies invite certain users over others reveals more fundamental tensions in how public diplomacy is rationalized and implemented. The implementation of technology does not so much drive the agenda of public diplomacy programs as much as reveal the most salient justifications, strategies, and practices.

The United States has been recognized as a leader in promoting digital platforms for the purpose of public diplomacy (Hanson 2012). These technologies' earliest adopters were within its Education and Cultural Affairs (ECA) bureau. As early as 2007, ECA was developing new online portals and web forums to engage current students and program alumni. ECA developed the State Department's first social media network, ExchangesConnect, and was also the first to use virtual chat rooms. Other novel public diplomacy programs included the virtual world platform *Second Life*, followed by the rapid growth of embassy Facebook and Twitter accounts supported by the State Department's International Information Programs (IIP) bureau.

A more recent program to take advantage of digital platforms is the State Department's "MOOC Camp" initiative. MOOCs (or Massive Open Online Courses) are a rapidly emerging educational phenomenon, where courses are offered online to large numbers of students, often without offering formal college credits. MOOCs have been offered by US-based public and private universities through a number of supporting educational technology companies, such as Coursera, EdX, and Udacity. MOOCs provide global exposure that may be beneficial to US higher education institutions, and can expand access to students outside of existing methods for recruitment, retention, and revenue.

The State Department MOOC Camp program was launched in August 2013, as a partnership between US universities and organizations that design and maintain MOOC programs. Unlike MOOCs offered through US universities, the MOOC Camp program utilized the unique leverage of US embassies to cultivate and sustain participation in the MOOC classroom activities, by providing opportunities for students to experience the course together offline such as through the embassy, Information Resource Centers, and other facilities operated or funded by the US mission. This hybrid version of the MOOC experience has allowed students from over 60 countries to take courses in English-language instruction, entrepreneurship, business, and other topics.

By September 2014, the MOOC Camp program had offered more than 200 courses and boasted a comparatively high level of course completion and retention. The State Department's approach, providing MOOCs with an in-person facilitator in a physical classroom, has greatly improved completion rates in comparison to traditional MOOCs. State Department technological advisor, Paul Kruchoski, claims that MOOC Camp students have a "40–50 %" completion rate, compared to the average MOOC completion rate, which is well under 10 %, even from prestigious US universities (Tyson 2014). As of 2014, over 4000 students have participated, and ECA boasts that "[c]amps in Kolkata, Kinshasa, Jakarta, and many other locations had more than 80 % of their participants complete their courses" (US State Department).

The MOOC Camp program also addresses the reality of potential students who seek higher education opportunities in areas lacking the significant broadband infrastructure that MOOCs require. MOOC Camp's hybrid approach to teaching offers an accessible path to "test drive" university-level education in the United States, and provides access to courses that might otherwise be unavailable (US Department of State website). The US embassy in Benin, for example, used their Internet connection to download materials from the courses offered and burned these to DVDs to enable broader access to content (Haynie 2014).

MOOC Camp is part of a larger push toward international education programs. Participants in MOOC Camp are connected to the State Department's "Education USA" network of academic advisors in US embassies and consulates. Through its public-private partnerships, the MOOC Camp and Education USA networks represent collaboration with teachers, technology providers, and US State Department personnel to create "learning hubs" around the world. These partnerships work to provide access to education, and to leverage both online and offline communication through weekly meetings with instructors and facilitators.

MOOC Camp also represents a *strategic* development in US public diplomacy that reflects the possibilities invited by the technology as much as the drive to bring students to the United States. The concept of the "test drive" is articulated as being enabled by the State Department's hybrid approach to online and classroom-based learning, and as a kind of pipeline to American higher education. This fits within a larger strategic mandate. Meghann Curtis, former Deputy Assistant Secretary for academic programs, claims that "the State Department and USAID promote a more peaceful, prosperous world, and we all know one of the best ways to get there is to ensure that all people have access to high-quality education" (Kamenetz 2014). Evan Ryan, the Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Public Affairs argues that:

> Around the world, young people share a common desire for educational and economic opportunities … This program allows young people in particular to improve their English language skills and learn the basics of entrepreneurship. Both are vital in today's global economy. We also think that by experiencing U.S. higher education, they may become interested in studying in the United States. (Haynie 2014)

There are other implications to these kinds of interventions, which reflect not only the inherent capacity of the technology to deliver educational content, but also the kinds of relations they cultivate and the policies they support. The MOOC Camp program is clearly framed as a vehicle for individual empowerment and for generating interest in coming to the United States as a student.

Digital learning platforms like MOOC Camp provide new educational opportunities for foreign publics that might not otherwise be able to access them, while generating interest in US academic institutions. Importantly, every MOOC Camp participant is matched with an EducationUSA advisor to provide advice for going on to college in the United States. Anya Kamenetz (2014) observes that this program "isn't all altruistic," but rather serves as a public-private mechanism to drive students toward a US higher education market that increasingly relies on students coming from abroad. International education is an increasingly competitive marketplace, and MOOCs offer a platform for attention *and* capital within global educational flows. New MOOC providers, such as Iversity (Germany) and Veduca (Brazil), represent competition to American MOOC developers and the universities they support (Lewin 2013). MOOCs, at some level, are more than a facilitative exercise in empowerment or other form of development assistance—they are a means to entice foreign students to US universities (Tyson 2014).

International students coming to the United States contribute to the economic welfare of the country, as much as they build a foundation for mutual understanding and the forging of trust. In 2012–2013, international students brought $24 billion to the US economy. While this figure has prompted some observations that the MOOC Camp public-private partnerships reflect a new form of "cultural imperialism" (Kamenetz 2014), it more likely also reflects the ways in which public diplomacy programs serve a diverse set of policy objectives. The economic imperatives that may drive support for programs like MOOC Camps also highlight critical aspects to the use of technology when deployed in the service of public diplomacy.

One critical dimension to the integration of technology into MOOC Camp's public diplomacy is that it may elide or at least reframe the strategic purpose of the effort. While it is evident that successful public diplomacy should rely on media technology that publics actually use, does the reliance on such technology constitute a legitimate means to provide educational access, or a strategic route to achieve a policy end? As public diplomacy scholar Giles Scott-Smith has observed, attempts to deploy international education programs to more directly influence opinions or attitudes tend not to succeed, while those that facilitate an *empowerment* agenda have demonstrated returns for the facilitating country (2011). The ubiquity of MOOCs as an educational phenomenon and the open source connotation of the technology may work to diminish the symbolic footprint of the United States and its foreign policy agenda in the provision of courses. Technologies like new and social media come loaded with cultural connotations among foreign publics, while the flexibility of access afforded by such programs connotes attention to the needs of the potential audience.

Hamilton Bean and Edward Comor argue that the US' turn to digital media platforms for strategic engagement—including virtual exchanges, social media messaging online, and the facilitation of online discussion—still reflects power asymmetries, where the United States intervenes in spaces for communication and meaning-creation important to local publics. The *critical* implication they raise that is relevant in this case is that MOOC technologies and other public diplomacy efforts that leverage popular media technologies (like the *Trace Effects*, an English-language video game program) work to reframe the strategic nature of the intervention for public diplomacy. These kinds of educational diplomacy initiatives may serve the instrumental aims of a broader public diplomacy strategy, but are publically framed in the context of technology as the provision of services, development, and empowerment.

This is not to suggest that public diplomacy is circumspect from an ethical perspective, or that states should *not* engage in a public diplomacy through new digital platforms in order to cultivate some form of influence. Rather, the case of MOOC Camp and similar digital engagement initiatives suggests the need for critical attention on how public diplomacy programs may benefit from the symbolic association with values and ideas linked to the technology platforms themselves. Depending on their success, this could also carry implications for how resources are allocated between online and traditional "offline" exchange programs. These two issues carry potential transformative consequences. First, the integration of technology into the design of future public diplomacy initiatives could reshape the nature of the relationship it creates with students, thereby emphasizing different kinds of "understanding" typically cultivated through public diplomacy. Second, digital engagement platforms offer scalability and readily quantifiable output measures that may shape the strategic direction of future resources toward public diplomacy initiatives.

Following Hamilton and Bean, the central critical concern regarding a program like MOOC Camp is that a technology of engagement, when viewed primarily as a means of gaining access to populations, can elide the instrumental nature of public diplomacy. Given the rise of international education as a global economic phenomenon as much as an aspect of public diplomacy and development, such a concern is valid. International education promotion as "industrial policy" for higher education may be facilitated by the expansion of MOOCs for state-sponsored programs. The increasingly competitive field of international education, and the way in which it can become politicized (as in US public criticism of China's Confucius Institutes), suggests further investigation of the *mediatization* of exchange itself, where the logics (and governing norms and ethics) reflected by the affordances of technology and its capacity to deliver indicators for evaluation are embedded into program thinking and educational norms. In these cases, the competitive logics of practice associated with other forms of media are potentially transposed into public diplomacy.

Despite these concerns, MOOCs and other digital engagement platforms offer legitimate cost-savings, potentially more inclusive forms of outreach to publics, and overall embody an overarching ethic of open access. They may also open up opportunities to reach populations that other kinds of public diplomacy may have not provided. And as public diplomacy is increasingly under tight fiscal constraints, programs like MOOC Camp can address multiple policy priorities, as a facilitator of educational access and as a strategy for competing in a crowded market for attention in international education.

The MOOC Camp case also provides an instructive example of how public diplomacy is changing in the wake of skepticism over the role of technology (Cull 2013). The MOOC Camp program, unlike high-profile social media campaigns, demonstrates changes in the practice-oriented logics of public diplomacy program design. It may also provide clues to more subtle transformations in how the State Department's public diplomacy strategy envisions the role of public engagement and incorporates technologies as resources, and in how information from its embassies abroad informs organizational reasoning about public diplomacy best practices.

The State Department's MOOC Camp initiative is a product of the ECA division's "Collaboratory" group, which is tasked with developing new models of public diplomacy programming and support for posts around the world. The MOOC Camp was originally developed in conjunction with the US Embassy in South Korea and has since become one of the Collaboratory's most prominent initiatives. MOOC Camp represents, as one of its members observed, an "iteration" in an ongoing process of rethinking concepts such as "reach," exchange, and social media in ways to provide a "toolkit" of new approaches to public diplomacy for posts.[1]

Programs like MOOC Camp reflect the Collaboratory's role to inform organizational change and improve public diplomacy practices. The Collaboratory deploys a "human centered design" approach to devising, evaluating, and implementing public diplomacy programming.[2] Instead of beginning with specific policy mandates or prescriptions, programs like MOOC Camp are driven by the needs of stakeholders implicated in the proposed initiative and reflect the distinct preferences of audiences for US content and communication at the level of the user. The design approach, in fact, may be the more enduring implication of a technology-oriented program like MOOC Camp, as it suggests a fundamental inversion of the hierarchical process of devising public diplomacy programs, in ways that recognize the content-providing aspects of platforms, and the distinct relational networks associated with field personnel. These kinds of programs and the process used to devise them draw together technological assets in ways that "spread" rather than "scale."

MOOC Camp embodies aspects of established public diplomacy methods carried over from decades of cultural relations and education efforts, with the capacity of platforms to sustain network relations of significance over time and distance. The implication of the technology for strategy is not its overt connective capacity or reach, but the way in which the participatory ethos of platforms inform program design. This is a departure from other recent interventions, such as ECA's attempts to use SMS text services to deliver English-language instruction in Tunisia, which relied on a more transmission-oriented model for program design. While that approach was based on the crucial context of how publics relied on mobile phones, it nonetheless did not fully account for how this technology was already embedded and indeed paid for by its target publics.

In contrast, the "design thinking" approach utilized in programs like MOOC Camp incorporate a situational awareness of how technology can be deployed judiciously in ways that are responsive to field-driven needs and the standpoint of the end-user publics. While considered a successful program, the MOOC Camp initiative was also launched without funds and relies on volunteers and available MOOC platforms. Digital technologies of engagement, in this case, *extend* the insights of education diplomacy already established offline, while not overturning established best practices. It is not readily apparent, however, whether this kind of program reflects a more fundamental transformation in the way public diplomacy links practice to the strategic mandate of supporting foreign policy objectives.

Conclusion

Despite the critical implications surrounding MOOCS, especially in the study of public diplomacy, the growth of programs like MOOC Camp likely signals the rise of "hybrid" programs that leverage available technology, allow opportunities for educational diplomacy in environments where exchange programs may be too cost prohibitive for participants or program planners, and offer an example where public diplomacy can transcend the traditional divide between mutual understanding and persuasion to service policy objectives in new ways. It may also provide an empirical case to consider and explore the connection between public diplomacy and soft power, through how the cultural currency of a technology lends itself to better engagement and connection with foreign publics.

As the chapter has detailed, the conceptual equipment and theoretical perspectives (like *soft power*) deployed in the study of public diplomacy may not fully account for practices and strategies that inform how organizations conduct public diplomacy—and that further attention is needed to understand ways in which international actors conceptualize their need to engage foreign publics through activities that promote understanding or advocacy, as well as the consequences of particular media of communication used to support public diplomacy. Rather than debate the relevance of soft power to statecraft, public diplomacy may require further study of its implementation and the organizational thinking that such practice reflects. The purpose of this chapter is to ultimately draw attention to how the *affordances* of the technology (1) shape a strategy of engagement through practice and (2) from a critical perspective, draw attention to how technologies of engagement can be exploited. The first point implies that the technology works not only as a vehicle for carrying out public diplomacy, but also as a template for strategic thinking about the *purpose* of engagement in ways that shift organizational understanding. This may be especially important in the context of education diplomacy. As Caitlin Byrne and Rebecca Hall (2014) claim, "[w]hen leveraged successfully, international education is a prime vehicle to contribute to a nation's foreign policy priorities and interests, including its soft power profile." The case of MOOC Camps offers a more nuanced understanding of how the availability of new forms of communication may challenge the strategic utilization of technology, and its conceptualization as a tool of statecraft.

The way in which programs like MOOC Camp reveal shifting organizational reasoning and design practices also could signal a cultural impact *within* the State Department on the role and purpose of public diplomacy as a means to facilitate mutual understanding. It is less clear, however, whether the "public face" of public diplomacy missions to promote understanding is reconciled with its charge to achieve strategic objectives (Scott-Smith 2008). In the case of MOOC Camp, the tension between understanding and persuasion that typifies public diplomacy is complicated by one where such programs balance both an overt intent to facilitate relation-building with commercial implications to promote the United States in a complicated global economy of higher education.

Much of the practice of public diplomacy involves the work of education, despite historical connotations of message management and propaganda. International education as public diplomacy requires more attention, as the rise of digital platforms for engagement may be prompting shifts in strategic justifications linking education to diplomacy. As pressure mounts for public diplomacy programs to demonstrate the value of virtually delivered public diplomacy exchange efforts, more research is clearly necessary. In the case of the US, such trends will likely continue. As the State Department's Krochoski claimed, "We're going to keep running it until we see a reason not to" (Tyson 2014). What programs like this mean for the concept of public diplomacy and the relationship of education to the purpose of US statecraft and the pivotal role of technology in organizational change remains to be seen.

Notes

1. Interview with member of Educational and Cultural Affairs personnel. October 14, 2014.
2. Interview with Interview with member of Educational and Cultural Affairs personnel. November 6, 2014.

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CHAPTER 6

Strategic Communication and the Marketization of Educational Exchange

Hamilton Bean

The Fulbright educational exchange program has been called "one of the most enlightened initiatives undertaken" by the United States (ECA 2014, "An Informal History of the Fulbright Program"). On August 1, 1946, President Harry S. Truman signed into law the Fulbright Act, which was intended to promote international goodwill through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture, and science. Through the development of "mutual understanding," citizens of the United States and other countries would, ideally, cultivate peaceful relations. The Fulbright program's promotion of goodwill, mutual understanding, and peace was also *strategic*. Specifically, the Fulbright Act's proponents claimed that by developing US citizens who possessed in-depth knowledge of politically and economically important countries and regions, educational exchange would increase the security of the United States.

An earlier version of this chapter was published in *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace*, July 2015.

H. Bean (✉)
Department of Communication, University of Colorado Denver, Denver, CO, USA

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_6

The tension between policies created for *mutual* benefit versus mostly for *one's own* strategic gain characterizes public relations (McKie and Munshi 2007). Whether in the context of organizations or states, so-called hemispheric communicators in the fields of public relations, public affairs, and public diplomacy walk a fine line between mutual- and self-advantage, and as a result, they tend to "express messages that speak to only half the landscape. Like the shining moon, they present only the bright side and leave the dark side hidden" (Jensen 1997, p. 68). For Moloney (2006), "Modern PR is competitive communication seeking advantage for its principals and using many promotional techniques, visible and invisible, outside of paid advertising" (p. 165). Moloney identifies public relations as a form of "weak propaganda," that is, the "one-sided presentation of data, belief, an idea, behavior, policy, a good or service in order to gain attention and advantage for the message sender" (p. 167). Such propaganda is "weak," however, in that within pluralistic and democratic societies, it must compete for public attention with other self-advantaging messages.

This chapter argues that the US State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' (ECA) program evaluations are a form of weak propaganda. Specifically, ECA's rhetoric evinces the influence of marketization: "market-oriented principles, values, practices, and vocabularies" (Simpson and Cheney 2007, p. 191). Leitch and Davenport (2005) explained that marketization "involves the introduction of economic factors as the basis for decision-making as well as deployment of the techniques of business such as marketing and public relations" (p. 893). Marketization also refers to the "process of penetration of essentially market-type relationships into arenas not previously deemed part of the market" (Simpson and Cheney 2007, p. 191). Marketization bears a family resemblance to other neoliberal discourses such as "enterprise," "entrepreneurialism," "market evangelism," and "Total Quality Management" (Marcus 2008). Inflected in the vernacular of marketization, ECA's evaluations reflect and reinforce taken-for-granted assumptions about educational exchange that may subtly hinder the development of deeper mutual understanding and peace.

Let me be clear: Educational exchange certainly makes useful contributions to cross-cultural awareness, sensitivity, security, and competitiveness. I am more concerned in this chapter, however, in marketization's role in shaping the meanings and practices of educational exchange in the context of US public diplomacy and strategic communication. Specifically, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 ruptured traditional conceptualizations of educational exchange, shifting the emphasis in the United States from mutual benefit toward strategic self-advantage (Campbell 2005). This shift toward strategic communication involved the intensification of neoliberal policies and the proliferation of marketing-oriented discourses across multiple sectors and institutions, the consequences of which are still not well understood (Gygax and Snow 2013; Marcus 2008). This chapter considers some of the risks that marketization discourse poses for international educational exchange stakeholders.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. First, it provides a discourse-oriented theoretical framework. It then uses that framework to describe how 9/11 served as a catalyst that transformed the meanings and practices of educational exchange in the United States. This transformation coincided with broader policy shifts toward strategic communication, marketization, and engagement within the public diplomacy arena. Third, the chapter explains how marketization discourse influences educational exchange program evaluation at ECA. It concludes with a summary of the risks associated with marketization for the development of mutual understanding, reflexivity, and peace.

Discourse

Discourse is a term not easily summarized because different speakers use it in multiple (and at times conflicting) ways. This chapter focuses on the US State Department's "organizational discourse," a term that similarly escapes easy summary but generally refers to talk and text within organizational contexts, rather than smaller interpersonal or group, or larger macro-social contexts. The scholarly focus on discourse can be traced to the "linguistic turn" that shook the foundations of the humanities and social sciences during the latter half of the twentieth century. In response to the idea that language constructs social reality, the practice of "discourse analysis" developed within and across the fields of sociology, social psychology, anthropology, linguistics, philosophy, communication, and literary studies. Discourse analytic methods involve the use of interpretive, critical, or postmodern perspectives (Grant et al. 2004). Organizational discourse analysis has thus grown from diverse theoretical roots and methodological approaches. The definition of organizational discourse used in this chapter is "the structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing … that bring organizationally related objects into being as these texts are produced, disseminated and consumed" (Grant et al. 2004, p. 3).

Discourse scholars tend to conceptualize discourse as *both* reflective and constitutive of social reality (Phillips and Hardy 2002). This conceptualization affirms Foucauldian assumptions regarding the way that language "bears down" on individuals, shapes overall societal conditions, and influences what speakers can say or not say about a given phenomenon (Hardy 2004). To explain how a discourse "works," however, an analyst generally must demonstrate how people in a particular time and place bring forth, maintain, or transform a construction of social reality through the linguistic resources used in speech and writing. A discourse becomes powerful and influential when its underlying assumptions become taken-for-granted or institutionalized. However, even entrenched discourses can serve as a site of struggle among individuals and groups vying to establish preferred meanings and uses of complex symbols. Thus, the perspective used in this chapter is similar to previous studies that have examined how institutional members have strategically appropriated various macro-social discourses to advance their more narrow organizational or bureaucratic interests (Hardy et al. 2000; Simpson and Cheney 2007; Suddaby and Greenwood 2005). For Hardy (2004), this perspective helps scholars to explain how macro-social discourses "appear" within organizational discourses "and, in so doing, legitimate them and enhance their performativity, through both unconscious and strategic processes" (p. 421). This perspective necessarily maintains a constructionist orientation to language (Berger and Luckmann 1967), as well as a focus on texts as the "unit" of discourse analysis (Grant et al. 2004, p. 3). Using this theoretical perspective, the next section explains how 9/11 served as a catalyst for a historical transformation of US educational exchange discourse.

9/11 and the Strategic Value of Educational Exchange

On its website, ECA provides "An Informal History of the Fulbright Program" that summarizes the ways in which the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, the American academic community, and various binational commissions historically have viewed educational exchange in its foreign relations context:

> The basic functions of educational exchange from a foreign policy standpoint are to broaden the base of relationships with other countries, reduce tensions, lessen misunderstandings, and demonstrate the possibilities and values of cooperative action. In short, educational exchanges pave the way for closer and more fruitful political relations. Rather than following political diplomacy, educational diplomacy normally precedes or keeps step with it, opening up and nourishing new possibilities for international cooperation.

Despite its outstanding reputation and track record for promoting goodwill, mutual understanding, and peace, educational exchange is not a panacea for political intolerance and violent extremism. All four of the pilots of the hijacked aircraft on 9/11 had international educational experiences. Three of the pilots, Mohamed Atta (Egypt), Marwan al-Shehhi (United Arab Emirates), and Ziad Jarrah (Lebanon), had attended universities in Germany. The fourth pilot, Hani Hanjour (Saudi Arabia), had briefly attended the University of Arizona and had lived off and on in the United States over several years. Significantly, the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (Kuwait) had attended Chowan College in Murfreesboro, North Carolina, later transferring to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, where he earned a Bachelor of Science in mechanical engineering in 1986. A CIA report later claimed that "Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's limited and negative experiences in the United States—including a short stay in jail—almost certainly helped propel him on his path to become a terrorist" (Temple-Raston 2009, para. 24). Despite the 9/11 Commission's findings concerning the educational backgrounds of the attack's mastermind and pilots, the *Final Report* claimed: "The United States should rebuild the scholarship, exchange, and library programs that reach out to young people and offer them knowledge and hope. Where such assistance is provided, it should be identified as coming from the citizens of the United States" (p. 377).

The theme of educational exchange-as-antidote-to-extremism would soon be codified within official discourse as US lawmakers and officials turned to educational exchange as a resource in the fight against terrorism. Section 7112 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, the law based on the 9/11 Commission's recommendations, stated:

> (1) Exchange, scholarship, and library programs are effective ways for the United States Government to promote internationally the values and ideals of the United States. (2) Exchange, scholarship, and library programs can

> expose young people from other countries to United States values and offer them knowledge and hope. (P.L. 108–458 2004, p. 118 STAT. 3797)

In an influential report on US Strategic Communication, the Defense Science Board (DSB) noted, "From 1993 to 2001, overall funding for the State Department's educational and cultural exchange programs fell more than 33 percent—and exchanges in societies with significant Muslim populations has declined" (2004, p. 58). The DSB was emphatic, "This must change. Increased, expanded and targeted exchange programs must be significantly ramped-up under the new strategic communication function" (p. 58).

Educational exchange gained prominence through numerous post-9/11 reports, laws, and recommendations (Campbell 2005); however, the tension between mutual benefit and self-advantage could not be reconciled. For example, the WMD Commission (2005), formed in the wake of the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, noted in its final report how educational exchange data might directly support US national security interests at the expense of the privacy of international students:

> ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement] collects reams of data on foreigners entering the United States and manages the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System database, which includes information on foreign students studying in the United States. However, whether agencies like ICE are equipped to make this information available to the Intelligence Community in useable form remains unclear. ICE officials explained that they would not give other agencies unfettered access to their databases (despite those agencies' wishes) because of unspecified legal constraints. We find this September 10th approach to information sharing troubling …. (p. 474)

The WMD Commission's recommendation is representative of how 9/11 helped to redraw the acceptable limits of self-advantage within the educational exchange domain—a domain ostensibly developed for mutual understanding and benefit. As Campbell (2005) lamented, "The mobility of students, scholars and researchers has been severely threatened by the strictures of homeland security, while advocates of educational exchange argue its value in the ideological battle" (p. 127). In sum, following 9/11, educational exchange was enrolled as a strategic resource in the War on Terrorism and became a key plank of broader US strategic communication efforts.

However, those efforts have suffered from officials' ill-fated attempts to downplay or deny the self-advantaging and hemispheric tendencies of US strategic communication. Officials have attempted to manage these tensions, in part, through the development of the discourse of "engagement," that is, an approach to public diplomacy that emphasizes listening and dialogue. Notably, a 2009 White House report, undertaken at the direction of congress, entitled *National Framework for Strategic Communication* stated: "It is vital that the United States is not focused solely on one-way communication, which is why we have consciously emphasized the importance of 'engagement'—connecting with, listening to, and building long-term relationships with key stakeholders" (2009, p. 4). In referencing "engagement," the *National Framework for Strategic Communication* evoked a "cocreational" public relations paradigm. The cocreational paradigm emphasizes "dialogic" activities that foreground the relationship between speaker and audience (Kent and Taylor 2002). Cocreational approaches view publics as "cocreators of meaning" and communication "as what makes it possible to agree to shared meanings, interpretations, and goals" (p. 652). Cocreational approaches maintain that publics "are not instrumentalized but instead are partners in the meaning-making process" (p. 652).

The *National Framework for Strategic Communication* (2009) describes engagement as "critical to allow us to convey credible, consistent messages, develop effective plans and to better understand how our actions will be perceived" (p. 1). However, both the strategy and its theoretical underpinnings cannot adequately account for stakeholders who believe that US influence within their societies is fundamentally illegitimate. When attempting to engage with "extreme" audiences in the Arab world, for example, US strategic communication reverts to largely one-way, asymmetric approaches that are based on a direct "media effects" ontology (Corman et al. 2008). The discourse of engagement thus elides the self-advantaging tendencies of actual communication practice. US strategic communication efforts, including those conducted under the friendly moniker of "engagement," attempt to focus audiences' attention on America's values and away from its core strategic interests.

The effort of organizations to dialogically "engage" their stakeholders is not new, nor is its critique. Through the articulation of their "two-way symmetrical" model of public relations in 1984, Grunig and Hunt (1984) argued that "excellent" organizations use research and two-way communication to understand and foster dialogue with their stakeholders.

Ideally, this dialogue leads to mutual understanding and mutually beneficial outcomes. Grunig and Hunt's model has served as the dominant theoretical (and normative) paradigm of public relations over the past two decades. US public diplomacy and strategic communication nevertheless reveals consistent ambiguity as officials oscillate between images of communication as fundamentally "two-way" and mutually beneficial versus "one-way" and conduit-like. This oscillation contributes to US officials' persistent inability to adequately account for the historical and structural inequalities within the regions where they conduct their work. This oscillation also contributes to the contradictions of US "soft power" rhetoric (Hayden 2012).

Given these conditions, in an article for *International Communication Gazette*, Comor and Bean (2012) critiqued what they termed "America's 'Engagement' Delusion." The Obama administration initially embraced engagement as the dominant concept informing US public diplomacy. Yet, despite its emphasis on facilitating dialogue with and among Muslims overseas, Comor and Bean demonstrated that, in practice, engagement aimed to employ social media technologies to persuade skeptical audiences to empathize with US policies. Engagement, Comor and Bean argued, actually perpetuated the communication-as-dominance underpinnings of US strategic communication. Perhaps based on similar critiques, at the end of 2013, the word "engagement" was quietly removed from the US State Department's definition of public diplomacy (John Brown's Notes and Essays 2013, para. 1). However, the marketing-oriented, hemispheric tendencies of engagement live on in other sectors of government, including educational exchange.

The Marketization of Educational Exchange at ECA

The mission of ECA is to foster mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries to promote friendly and peaceful relations. ECA accomplishes this mission through academic, cultural, sports, and professional exchanges that engage youth, students, educators, artists, athletes, and rising leaders in the United States and more than 160 countries. In 2010, about one-quarter of ECA program participants were US citizens; the rest were foreign nationals. ECA is home to the Fulbright Program, "the flagship international educational exchange program sponsored by the U.S. government … designed to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." Along with the Fulbright Program, featured prominently on ECA's website is a section titled "Impact." In this section, readers can learn how ECA "fosters cross-cultural understanding and supports top talent" by viewing visual representations of ECA's impressive growth and expansion. For example, from 2008 to 2010, ECA exchange participants increased 25 %, from 46,415 to 57,801. Of 1 million program alumni, 364 are current or former heads of state, 55 are Nobel Prize winners, and 8 are current or former United Nations ambassadors. Visitors to ECA's website thus confront overwhelming evidence of ECA's success.

That evidence is also prominently featured on the Alliance for International Educational and Cultural Exchange's website. The Alliance is an association of 86 nongovernmental organizations comprising the international educational and cultural exchange community in the United States. The Alliance claims:

> Exchanges are an essential element in our smart power strategy to maintain and strengthen U.S. global leadership. Exchanges enhance U.S. national security and prosperity by building personal connections, mutual understanding, and productive partnerships that help us address critical global issues: managing the world economy, combating terrorism and regional conflicts, and dealing with environmental, public health, and humanitarian challenges. (2014, p. 1)

The Alliance cites several ECA figures to support its claim. Specifically, "98 % of Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program respondents reported that their Fulbright experiences gave them a deeper understanding of the United States, while 93 % believed their experiences heightened their awareness of social and cultural diversity among different nations" (p. 1). Additionally, "97 % of International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) alumni respondents agreed that the program develops friendly and peaceful relations between the United States and other countries" (p. 1). Such eye-popping figures suggest that ECA's programs are beyond reproach. However, the nearly universal belief in ECA programs' effectiveness raises the question of just what, exactly, is being evaluated. ECA's figures give the impression that educational exchange provides the quintessential remedy to ignorance and intolerance. A critical perspective, however, asks whether mutual understanding can be improved by closely examining the experiences of the handful of educational exchange participants who, apparently, do not agree that ECA programs heighten awareness of social and cultural diversity nor help develop friendly and peaceful relations. Because such critical inquiries appear to be off the table, evaluation practices at ECA may miss an opportunity to truly deepen mutual understanding.

Prior to the 1990s, market-oriented principles did not play a prominent role in educational exchange discourse (Campbell 2005). However, educational exchange's post-9/11 enrollment as a strategic communication resource brought it further into the realm of marketization. As a result, the discourse of educational exchange has subtly shifted from one of mutual understanding, goodwill, and peace to one of "impact," "effectiveness," and "accountability." The ways that educational exchange contributes to the economic, political, and social goals of its primary funder—the US federal government—have gained currency.

The marketization of educational exchange has been driven, in part, by the wider push across government for "accountability." In 2009, the US Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that, in return for $10 billion worth of communication initiatives (its estimate of total strategic communications spending since 9/11), "limited data exist on the ultimate effect of U.S. outreach efforts" (2009, p. 2). The GAO explained that agencies cited three challenges in measuring the effectiveness of their strategic communication efforts:

> First, strategic communications may only produce long-term, rather than immediate, effect. Second, it is difficult to isolate the effect of strategic communications from other influences, such as policy. Third, strategic communications often target audiences' perceptions, which are intangible and complex and thus difficult to measure. (Government Accountability Office 2009, p. 16)

Despite these difficulties, the GAO recommended market-oriented means of assessing public diplomacy, for example, "private-sector measurement techniques" that included "the use of surveys and polling to develop baseline data, immediate follow-up research, and additional tracking polls to identify long-term changes over time" (p. 17).

Following Simpson and Cheney (2007), there are several potential outcomes stemming from the influence of GAO's marketization discourse vis-à-vis educational exchange evaluation. First, educational exchange organizations can simply adopt market-oriented vocabulary to refer to earlier practices. For example, officials may announce a new focus on "accountability" for departments while those departments may simply conduct business as usual. The second level of influence is what Simpson and Cheney call "the cafeteria approach," whereby organizations adopt or appropriate marketization practices in ways that affirm regional, local, or organization-specific practices. The third level of influence involves the wholesale transformation of an organization. Here, the pretense of nonmarket concerns is dropped in favor of privatization or market-based regulation. At ECA, developments currently resemble the first and second outcomes.

As within the domains of strategic communication and public diplomacy, at ECA, a risk is that marketization operates as a "universal discourse that permeates everyday discourses but goes largely unquestioned" (Simpson and Cheney 2007, p. 191). Although it is not necessarily antithetical to the development of mutual understanding, peace, and goodwill, marketization tends to naturalize and legitimate a set of business-oriented commitments, practices, and ways of conceptualizing and talking about educational exchange that subordinate intangible outcomes to market-oriented logic.

For example, as the head of ECA, Assistant Secretary, Evan Ryan, recently remarked in several speeches provided on ECA's website, "Our programs need to be more flexible, responsive, agile, impactful, and innovative … America must do better if we want our young people to be able to compete in a globalized world." Secretary Ryan asked, "[H]ow many vulnerable youth learned that there are alternatives to terrorism because they were exposed to critical thinking skills?" For Secretary Ryan, the discourse of mutual understanding, peace, and goodwill has evolved into a commitment to "building relationships that create resilient communities, democratic societies, and a world where countries are primed to work together to solve our most vexing problems." Secretary Ryan also recently noted that President Obama "recognizes that it [educational exchange] can no longer be an afterthought, or something we do because it's nice. It needs to be integrated into our foreign policy strategy at the ground floor." Invoking the strategic dimension of educational exchange, Secretary Ryan stated, "International exchanges are the secret weapon of foreign policy and we must be on the cutting edge." Secretary Ryan's discourse illustrates how ECA's mission and goals have become inflected in marketization's vernacular of bottom lines, innovation, and problem-solving.

Marketization discourse increasingly involves an emphasis on measurement and evaluation. For example, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) recently launched a campaign that urged communication professionals to make the "business case" for public relations. Seemingly ahead of the trend, evaluation comprises its own division at ECA. This division aims to enhance the effectiveness of ECA's educational and cultural programs, and its work consists of two types of initiatives: evaluations and performance measurement. ECA claims that its evaluations are "retrospective and encompass cross-cutting themes" and "incorporate case studies to highlight findings" to "provide data for program planning and goal setting" (2014, para. 3). Performance measurement initiatives, by contrast, "monitor the Bureau's programs to track results," "establish baselines and collect end-of-program and follow-up data from participants," "compare data across the three points to assess effectiveness," and "provide data for program planning and goal setting" (para. 4). In addition to evaluations and performance measurement, ECA also provides visitors to its website "Resources and Tools" to guide evaluation and performance measurement efforts. These resources include performance measurement and evaluation presentations and research papers, external materials, a bibliography of work in the field, and other information.

There are five presentations listed on the Evaluation Division's website. These include: "Defining Outcomes and Goals," "ECA Evaluation: Assessing Public Diplomacy," "Monitoring and Evaluation," "Performance Measurement for Program Officers," and "Planning and Monitoring at Program Level." The presentation, "Defining Outcomes and Goals," authored in 2009 by ECA's Chief of Evaluation, provides a five-part model for evaluation. "Planned work" entails a combination of (1) "inputs" and (2) "activities." These, in turn, lead to "intended results," that is, (3) "outputs," (4) "outcomes," and (5) a "goal" (p. 10). The model helps evaluators avoid confusing outcomes and goals with activities, and it aids officials in determining "whether inputs are being used as intended, outputs are occurring, and outcomes and goals are being achieved" (p. 17). This vocabulary reappears in another presentation, "ECA Evaluation: Assessing Public Diplomacy." In this presentation, authored in 2010, audiences are told that ECA conducts evaluation and performance measurement for four reasons. First, it "ensures programs are effective in achieving State Department, ECA, and program goals" (p. 5). Second, it helps ECA meet "Congressional, OMB, other mandates for evaluation, PM, and results reporting" (p. 5). Third, it "provides data for use by program managers and grantees" (p. 5). And finally, it "contributes to [the] body of knowledge for practitioners and scholars across sectors" (p. 5). ECA evaluations are thus conducted primarily to demonstrate to officials and funders that ECA's programs are effective. However, the stated goal of using evaluations to contribute to the body of knowledge for practitioners and scholars opens a door to more critical and reflexive perspectives.

As of August 2014, 34 completed evaluations are available via ECA's website. Of these 34 evaluations, none contain in-depth discussion of participants' negative experiences. Almost no criticism of the United States, its people, or way of life is to be found in any of the evaluation reports. For example, the evaluation for the Youth Exchange and Study (YES) Program provides a typical passage:

> Upon completing the program and a year after returning home, a large majority of participants had a 'more favorable' view of Americans as a result of their YES experience. The most important thing they felt they learned about Americans is that they are friendly, kind, helpful, open-minded and tolerant. Many commented on how friendly and welcoming Americans are to foreigners, such as YES students. (InterMedia 2009, p. 5)

While some participants' negative experiences are occasionally alluded to, these cases are not explored in any substantive way. Educational exchange is not evaluated in order to identify the ways in which negative experiences might inadvertently contribute to antipathy toward the United States. It is also possible that participants who report favorable responses nevertheless harbor distrust or skepticism of US foreign policy. In general, ECA's evaluations decouple program experiences from foreign policy-oriented concerns. Seldom are policy-related questions even asked. Measurement of participants' perceived "understanding" or "view" of Americans should not be conflated with an embrace of American values nor support for US government policies.

Educational exchange evaluation at ECA, as it is currently conceptualized, aims to prove to funders that programs bolster America's positive image and reputation. While an implicit objective of educational exchange is for foreign participants to become more accommodating, understanding, or supportive of US economic, political, social, or technological interests, values, and aims, there are clear limits to exchange. Rarely is it suggested that the values of others might inform how Americans view and conduct themselves in a globalized world.

In sum, consideration should be given to how ECA's evaluation techniques make sense in light of growing anti-US extremism. As Comor and

Bean (2012) have suggested, stakeholders ought to consider the possibility that uncritical and narrow means of evaluating educational exchange *may itself entrench a kind of myopia*. If educational exchange is evaluated using limited snapshots that overwhelmingly showcase positive benefits, officials could be hindered in their ability to even recognize the ways that educational exchange might in some cases inadvertently contribute to negative international sentiment or political extremism. More to the point, such evaluations may subtly evoke a *causal* relationship between educational exchange and support for US foreign policy that is not empirically supported. The marketization of US educational exchange at ECA thus reflects and reinforces a hemispheric approach US strategic communication that impedes the development of more critical, reflexive, and democratic conceptualizations of US public diplomacy.

Conclusion

As this volume was going to print, the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (ACDP) released a report, "Data-Driven Public Diplomacy Progress Towards Measuring the Impact of Public Diplomacy and International Broadcasting Activities," that supports the arguments contained in this essay. In its report, ACDP claimed that State Department officials needed to better recognize the importance of research in public diplomacy, reform risk-averse organizational cultures, develop more consistent strategic approaches to evaluation, increase training, and boost funding.

According to ACDP, evaluation activities at ECA in 2013 totaled $1.3 million, which is less than 0.25 % of ECA's total budget. It is therefore unsurprising that ACDP found considerable room for improvement, despite lauding ECA for its evaluation efforts within existing constraints. Specifically, ACDP recommended that evaluators at ECA: "(1) connect program objectives with research design; (2) separate short-term from long-term goals; (3) avoid reports that rely on self-evaluation data; (4) supply greater context of country, regional and global trends; (5) encourage constructive criticism through evaluations; (6) clarify descriptions of research processes; and (7) distinguish between what's inferred versus what is directly assessed or observed" (p. 29). ACDP's fifth recommendation closely aligns with this essay's argument. In reviewing ECA's publicly available evaluations, ACDP similarly concluded that ECA's reports "provided a strikingly positive view of performance measures, which focused on self-reported changes in participants and included positive quotes from participants who filled out the surveys" (p. 32). Notably, however, ACDP did not explicitly call for ECA to investigate negative cases; rather ACDP urged ECA to conduct "more objective data analysis" in order to detect and understand "the reasons for both the formation of and shifts in attitudes and behavior among foreign publics toward the United States" (p. 32). ACDP's recommendation is a helpful and necessary first step; however, in absence of a mandate for more critical and reflexive investigations, ECA officials will likely avoid exploring information from program participants that could challenge taken-for-granted assumptions, policies, and practices. The point of critical and reflexive investigation is to promote self-discovery and self-knowledge; it is not to convince audiences of the overwhelming success of a particular program.

ACDP's recommendation aside, marketization at ECA is likely to endure due to the entrenchment of the promotional framing of evaluation, the cost and time of evaluation, institutional inertia, and the discomfort that arises when officials confront voices critical of their efforts. This chapter's recommendation could certainly spark defensiveness and a counterargument that academics lack awareness of ECA's day-to-day constraints that delimit what evaluation practices are possible. Overcoming reactionary responses is necessary if officials are to meaningfully reduce foreign audiences' suspicions of US aims and intentions. Fear of being rhetorically attacked, confronted with conspiracy theories, or forced to account for historical examples of US hypocrisy likely keeps officials from engaging in international fora where communication is not carefully scripted or controlled. The development of critical and reflexive evaluation practices might therefore demonstrate goodwill, honesty, and a genuine interest in listening to and responding to the wants, interests, and needs of foreign audiences. In theoretical terms, such evaluation practices would do much to promote dialogic communication's principles of mutuality, propinquity (shared bonds), empathy, risk, and commitment (Kent and Taylor 2002).

This chapter has considered how marketization discourse promotes a particular kind of evaluation process that inadvertently hinders the development of deeper mutual understanding, transformation, and peace. Similar to the tensions and contradictions associated with the strategy of "engagement," commitment to mutual understanding requires the development of critical insight, genuine dialogue, and reflexivity. Analysis of ECA evaluation presentations and reports suggests that a "customer orientation" characterizes ECA's approach to educational exchange (Marcus 2008).

This orientation necessarily reflects and influences the way that stakeholders conceptualize public diplomacy. ECA's orientation potentially undermines critical exploration of educational exchange programs that have failed to produce desired outcomes for specific individuals. While negative individual cases may be rare, investigation of those cases could help officials and citizens develop a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the benefits, risks, and consequences of educational exchange. Customer-centric discourse encourages officials to downplay or ignore negative cases in favor of evaluation data that satisfies customers' demands, paints programs in the best light, and promotes expanded funding and operations.

ECA notes that independent evaluation firms conduct its evaluations, but when evaluation is performed principally to showcase success, it loses some of its supposed objectivity. At worse, evaluation instead "functions to reassure, exonerate, and glorify" the organization that has paid for it (Newman 1975, p. 274). Within a marketization paradigm, the products of evaluation risk becoming self-serving: the goal of increased mutual understanding becomes subordinated to the goal of bureaucratic continuance and resource accumulation. While the marketization of relations among government agencies is designed to improve efficiency and effectiveness, marketization discourse discounts a perspective that views public diplomacy as a taxpayer-supported function with a responsibility to *critically* inform not just other federal agencies, congress, and the executive branch, but also scholars and citizens. ECA's own evaluation presentations indicate that possibilities for more critical engagement exist and can be cultivated. Asking evaluation questions that promote understanding of the potential risks and consequences of educational exchange should therefore be on the table.

Acknowledgments The author thanks Dr. Edward Comor for his influence in the development of this essay.

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CHAPTER 7

Lessons Learned from Military Exchange Programs at US War and Staff Colleges

Carol Atkinson

US-hosted military educational exchange programs are extensive, and the professional networks that are built at these schools have had important impacts on their participants and, more generally, on international institutions and international security. This is especially true for the exchange programs at the United States' elite professional military schools, and the war and staff colleges. These schools host rising military leaders from around the world, and the exchange programs are explicitly structured to build trust, intercultural understanding, and a shared frame of reference among US officers and their international counterparts. The military exchanges engage those leaders who have a real chance of instituting reforms and bringing change to their home countries. Indeed, substantial numbers of international graduates of US war and staff colleges have become chiefs of their defense establishments, chiefs of their military services, and commanders of multinational forces. Some have become heads of state.

An earlier version of this chapter was published in All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace, July 2015.

C. Atkinson (✉)
School of International Relations, University of Southern California,
Los Angeles, CA, USA

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_7

The military educational exchanges build cooperative relationships that have been shown to help maintain regional peace and stability, and the exchanges are also explicitly tasked with supporting democratic institutions, values, and norms. While the educational exchanges hosted by the US military are extensive and support important US foreign policy objectives, they have received relatively little attention from scholars. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to describe how the exchanges at the US military's war and staff colleges are structured to achieve their goals and to discuss lessons that can be learned from them.

The chapter begins with an overview of the different types of US military education and training programs that are open to foreign participation and then places the educational exchange programs at the US military's war and staff colleges within this overall context. The nature of the military exchange experience for the participants, both US and foreign, is described to include the overall program structure, the curriculum taught, and extracurricular activities. The educational experience at US war and staff colleges is quite different from that in civilian exchange programs such as the Fulbright Scholar Program or as experienced by foreign exchange students at US universities. These differences are on many levels, from how the classrooms are organized to the extensive amount of social interaction and experiential learning that is planned outside of the classroom by the military schools. Finally, the chapter examines several important impacts of the military exchanges on their international participants and includes lessons that can be applied to the design and administration of international educational exchange programs more broadly.

US Military Educational Exchanges

There are a number of US security cooperation programs that provide military education and training to foreign personnel, both soldiers and government civilians. Taken all together, the US Department of Defense provides education and training to more than 55,000 foreign personnel each year (Reveron 2010a, p. 109). The US government program called International Military Education and Training (IMET) is its centerpiece exchange program; the US Congress funds it; the Department of State manages the funding; and the Department of Defense designs and implements the curriculum. The US Congress established it in the *International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976*. Today IMET education and training courses are quite extensive; on an annual basis the US government provides grant funding for foreign participation in more than 4000 formal courses at approximately 150 US and NATO military schools and installations (United States Department of Defense and Department of State 2011, p. II-2). As directed by the US Congress through the Department of State and the Department of Defense the official goals of the program are to:

1. Further the goal of regional stability through effective, mutually beneficial military-to-military relations that culminate in increased understanding and defense cooperation between the United States and foreign countries;
2. Provide training that augments the capabilities of participant nations' military forces to support combined operations and interoperability with US forces; and
3. Increase the ability of foreign military and civilian personnel to instill and maintain democratic values and protect internationally recognized human rights in their own government and military (United States Department of Defense and Department of State 2011, pp. II-1 thru II-2).

The courses that are funded through IMET range from training courses that last for a couple of weeks, to the longer education programs at US war and staff colleges that last one year. Overall IMET is not very expensive, comprising about 0.2 percent of the budget of the State Department.[1] In 2012, the cost of IMET was roughly $106.1 million, but this relatively small amount of money funded over 6000 foreign students from 135 allied and partner nations to attend courses (United States Department of Defense and Department of State 2011, pp. II-1 thru II-2). The participation in IMET programs by officials from Yemen, as described below, provides an illustration of the different types of programs that are funded and the various backgrounds of officials who attend.

In fiscal year 2012, 376 Yemenis attended IMET-funded courses for a total cost of $2.38 million. The courses that they attended varied and included: (1) US taught courses in Sana'a, Yemen; (2) NATO and/or US taught courses in third-party countries including Bulgaria, Germany, and Italy; and (3) US taught courses at a variety of locations within the United States. Yemeni nationals who attended these courses came from the Ministries of Defense, Interior, and Foreign Affairs as well as personnel from the active duty military and other security-related organizations such as the police. In terms of short training courses, one example is the attendance by two soldiers at the two-week civil-military relations course that is taught at the US Naval Post-Graduate School in Monterey, California. In terms of moderate length courses lasting several months, an example would be attendance by government and military personnel in English language training courses at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas. In terms of the longer duration courses at US military war and staff colleges, there were six officers and officials funded in 2012. Table 7.1 shows which elite US professional military institutes hosted the exchange students from Yemen and the organizations that these officials came from within the government of Yemen.

In addition to attending the war or staff college as shown in Table 7.1, it is likely that these officers and officials also attended a monthlong preparatory course at their US war or staff college prior to the start of the formal course, and previous to that, some may have attended one of the IMET English language courses.

As the US government's centerpiece program, IMET provides grant funding for countries that would not otherwise be able to send their personnel to participate in US military training and education courses. Funding for military exchanges in general comes from a variety of sources, making it difficult to use IMET appropriations as a way to measure a country's level of participation. The US Congress appropriates grant funding for IMET as part of Foreign Military Financing (FMF). The United States also sells slots to its schools to foreign governments as part of Foreign Military Sales (FMS). The type of school varies widely from yearlong courses of study at the prestigious US war colleges to shorter technical

Table 7.1 Example of attendance at US War and Staff Colleges, FY 2012 Yemen

US location	*Student's Home Organization*	*Length of course*
National Defense University	National Security Bureau	18 Jul 2011–7 Jun 2012
Naval Command College	Yemen Coast Guard	27 Jul 2011–15 Jun 2012
Naval Staff College	Yemen Coast Guard	27 Jul 2011–15 Jun 2012
Naval Staff College	Yemen Navy	27 Jul 2011–15 Jun 2012
Army War College	Republican Guards	2 Aug 2011–11 Jun 2012
Command and General Staff College	Department of Military Intelligence	14 Feb 2012–16 Dec 2012

Source: US Department of Defense and US Department of State, *Foreign Military Training, Fiscal Years 2012 and 2013*, Joint Report to Congress, Volume I, Washington, DC, 2011, Section IV–IV, pp. 51–55 training courses on maintenance and operation of equipment purchased from the United States.

While there are several ways for governments to fund study abroad for their personnel, this does not mean that there are an unlimited number of slots at the war and staff colleges. The State Department allocates slots (with the approval of Congress). There is generally only one slot per country at any one war or staff college in any one academic year. The US government's goal is to have a wide distribution of countries represented. For example, the 2015 class at the US Army War College included 79 foreign officers representing 73 different countries: Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Austria, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, and Yemen (United States Army War College Community Banner 2014). In terms of the selection of specific persons for the military exchanges, the US embassies play a role in vetting participants, but the exchange students are chosen by their home countries to fill the slots allocated to that country. The exchange officers constitute a significant portion of the student bodies at the war and staff colleges. Percentages vary by school, but about 10–20 percent of the students are foreign military officers.

The US Army's schools provide a useful illustration of the stature and influence of the international graduates of US war and staff colleges. The US Army's Command and General Staff College (CGSC) has the longest running program, hosting international officers since 1894 (Reichley 1994). As of 2014, more than 7500 foreign military officers had graduated from CGSC. Of these, more than half had obtained the rank of general, and 253 officers from 70 different countries had become chief of their military, commander of a multinational force, or head of state. Notably, as of April 2014, 28 CGSC international graduates had achieved the highest position in their country as head of state (*Leavenworth Times* 2014). Former Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is an excellent example. Yudhoyono, a former military officer, was a 1991 graduate of

CGSC. Yudhoyono was recognized internationally for his role in bringing peaceful democratic transition to Indonesia.

At the senior-level school, the US Army War College graduated its first international students in 1978, and approximately 10 percent of all its international alumni have become Army Chief or Defense Chief in their country (Burbank 2013). It is impressive to note that in spring 2013, 20 international alumni from this one school alone were serving as Army or Defense Chief in their countries—these countries included Germany, Korea, India, Canada, Denmark, Uganda, Norway, Egypt, Italy, Philippines, Lithuania, New Zealand, Oman, Australia, Hungary, Estonia, Georgia, and the Netherlands (Burbank 2013). The recent class of 2015—with 79 foreign officers representing 73 different countries—is the largest international class ever at the Army War College (United States Army War College Community Banner 2014). The above statistics on distinguished foreign graduates are consistent across all of the war and staff colleges with international graduates going on to hold very important political and military positions in their home countries. In fact, this is to be expected because both US and foreign students are chosen for attendance because they are the rising elite leaders in their countries.

An important component of the military exchange experience is the opportunity for the foreign officers to bring their family along to live in the United States, and the majority of the officers do so.[2] Each military school has formal programs and has organized volunteers from the local area to help the foreign participants and their families settle into life in their local US communities. Local area civilian and military volunteers help the foreign participants and their families with such tasks as enrolling children in schools, offering volunteer-led English language classes for spouses and children, and setting up social events for the entire family. Since each school runs its own educational exchange program, there is some variation in how these volunteer programs are organized, but overall the experience for the officers is similar across the schools.

The Nature of the Exchange Experience at US War and Staff Colleges

The US war and staff college programs are one subset of the enormous network of educational opportunities available for foreign personnel in US military schools, but they are a very important subset because they educate rising military leaders and defense-related personnel who are most likely to become elite-level decision-makers in their home countries. The educational experience at the war and staff colleges is intensive for both US officers and for their international counterparts. The curriculum includes eight hours of classroom instruction each day as well as a number of activities in “off-duty time.” The organization of the students is an important way that the schools build esprit de corps, trust between officers, professional networks, and lifelong friendships. The students are broken into seminar groups of roughly 14–20 members (depending on the school). Each seminar group has its own room, and the group stays together for six months, and then the members are re-shuffled into a new seminar group for the second half of the course. For each course, a variety of instructors come into the seminar room and teach the group, but the group stays together. This is a significant difference from civilian university exchanges in which students are in a different room with different classmates for each class.

Seminar composition represents the diversity within the school. For example, at the Air Command and Staff College a seminar group of 14 students will typically include 1–2 women officers; 1–2 officers from a sister service, the national guard, the reserves, or Department of Defense civil service; 2 foreign officers (each from a different country); and the rest Air Force officers. The seminar groups spend the day together. The manner of instruction is generally first to attend a large lecture combining all students followed by seminar discussions. In the lecture hall the seminar group sits together. There may also be simulations and exercises where the seminar group will work as a team to solve a problem. On some afternoons there will be intramural sports and the seminar groups will compete with each other. In each seminar group the senior US officer will be designated the seminar leader and other seminar members will be assigned to organize various tasks, such as study groups, sports competitions, or social gatherings. It is common for the seminar group to have at least one social event (such as a barbecue, pool party, golf outing, attending a concert, birthday party, or study group) each week during their off-duty hours, and many of these events will include the spouses and children of the officers. The US spouses also organize outings and events for fellow US and international spouses and their children during the time that the officers are in school. Most of the military students form strong professional and personal bonds with their seminar-mates and remain in touch with their seminar group after graduation.

Like many other educational exchange programs, the students at US war and staff colleges learn useful information in the classroom. Subject areas include military history, strategic theory, national security organization, international relations, military doctrine, civil-military relationships, interagency cooperation, resource management, military operational planning, and leadership. These subjects help provide a common frame of reference both intellectually and operationally for both the US and foreign students. The Field Studies Program is an additional requirement for foreign students. The explicit goal of this program is to expose the foreign students "to the U.S. way of life, including regard for democratic values, respect for individual civil and human rights, and belief in the rule of law" (United States Department of Defense and Department of State 2011, p. II-2). It includes classroom instruction as well as hands-on activities. The highlights of the program are field trips. The field trips are a fun way to expose participants to US society and culture as well as US democracy in action. Trips sponsored by US military war and staff colleges are quite varied. Some examples of past visits include traveling to Washington, DC, to meet with US Congressmen, attending local town council meetings, visiting REI and Starbucks headquarters in Seattle, visiting local correctional facilities (i.e. prisons), and riding horses at a dude ranch in Montana. All of these varied activities that are part of the Field Studies Program help to introduce participants to different aspects of US culture, politics, and institutions. Importantly they also help to build comradery and friendships among the foreign officers.

Sponsor programs are another important part of the exchange experience for the foreign officer and his/her family. Each foreign officer is assigned at least one sponsor from the military base or local community. The Army CGSC (located in Leavenworth, Kansas) assigns each foreign student three sponsors: one from the local military community, one from the local town of Leavenworth, and one from the greater Kansas City metropolitan area. The sponsor programs are run by volunteers and receive no US government funding. While some sponsors are associated with the US military, others have no immediate connection, but are ordinary people in the local communities. Some sponsors have volunteered for numerous years, even decades, to work with the foreign officers and their families. They are a key component in helping the exchange participants and their families navigate US society and culture. The sponsors help the exchange officers when they first arrive to settle into the local community and help the officer and his/her family for their entire stay. The sponsors invite the exchange officers and their families to their homes for events and holidays such as Thanksgiving and Christmas celebrations. They may also go to events such as state fairs or local concerts together. The sponsor programs support all three goals of the officer's attendance at a war or staff college from providing information to building a positive perspective of the United States, its citizens, and way of life. An observation made by a foreign exchange officer from Asia-Pacific illustrates. When asked to describe his best experiences during his foreign exchange program, the officer said that his best experience was: "Our family could meet the wonderful sponsors. We spent much time with them; they were like our parents in the USA. We could learn how Americans think, feel, and also we could share common values with them" (Atkinson 2014, p. 111).

Lessons Learned from the Military Educational Exchange Programs

The military exchanges at the US war and staff colleges are particularly successful in building trust, friendships, and intercultural understanding among participants from widely diverse backgrounds because they emphasize integration and intense social interaction as a mandatory part of the program for all students, both US and foreign. Atkinson (2014) provided empirical evidence that the schools are successful in building professional networks and personal friendships that endure. The foreign military officers return home with more knowledge about the United States, warm feelings for the people who were their hosts, and a desire to maintain these friendships and professional connections for many years to come. There are at least seven lessons that can be learned from the foreign military officers' experiences at US war and staff colleges both for exchange program design in general and when we consider the role and functions of exchange programs as a component of foreign policy.

First, the military exchange programs at the military schools are effective in socially constructing a US-centric network of military professionals across the globe because they emphasize social and professional interactions. After graduation, members of the network are linked together through common experiences and shared expertise. As described above, the military educational exchanges mix and mingle participants from different countries. As a military exchange participant, there is no escaping professional and social interaction, as for example might happen at civilian universities where civilian students might socialize only with others who speak the same home language, choose classes with compatriots, sit together with compatriots in classes, or live in isolated enclaves with others from the same home country.

The social activities and interactions at the military schools foster professional and social networks among participants and provide a personal support system within the school but also a professional network of friends and colleagues across the globe. With modern communication systems, it is now easy to keep in touch after graduation. These networks function as transnational channels of information of all sorts, from continuing professional development to keeping up with friends. Because the officers in these networks are considered experts in their field and hold, or are likely to hold, important military positions, they often have contacts in important military and political institutions. In this sense they form an epistemic community, or as Peter Hass (1992, p. 3) described it: "a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain." According to Haas (1992) these types of professional networks are repositories of specialized knowledge that state leaders may draw upon in order to identify salient issues, define national interests, and formulate policies. In the case of the alumni of US war and staff colleges, the officers share expertise as military professionals and are likely to share common frames of references learned during their US military exchange program. Contacts within this professional network have been useful, for example, in facilitating US operational deployments. Derek Reveron (2010b, p. 30) showed that the relationships built during military exchanges have helped the US military to gain access to forward operating bases and to preposition weapon systems in a number of Middle Eastern countries.

The second lesson is an assumed, but frequently unexamined, aspect of exchange programs: whether the participant returns home after his/her program is finished. If the goal of exchange programs is to build cross-cultural understanding between countries, then participants should be those seeking an exchange experience rather than immigration. Exchange participants that "go native" certainly demonstrate the powerful socializing impacts of travel and study abroad, but this behavior may defeat the core purpose of exchanges, which is to expand cultural awareness and cross-cultural competence between countries. Unlike many other types of exchanges, the military officers must return home bringing the knowledge, perceptions, and professional networks back with them. While civilian exchange participants at US universities may seek to remain in the United

States, for the military exchange participants there is no such possibility. For the military exchange student, whatever is learned in and about the United States travels back to the student's home country; "going native" is not an option.

A third lesson is related to the first two lessons and concerns the wider impacts that may occur as the exchange participant advances in his/her career and more compatriots return home with similar education and experiences. As more and more people from a country participate in US-hosted military educational exchange programs, the network of military exchange graduates in any one country will grow more influential. The cohort or community of graduates also grows increasingly powerful as members enter into elite leadership positions and can design and implement national-level policies relying on fellow graduates for support. The network within any one country is important in helping senior officers to update, improve, or reform military doctrine and military operations by providing a support system of similarly trained colleagues who are likely to share the same goals. Thus, within the wider epistemic community there are also these smaller cohorts that can influence policy, particularly as the cohort grows in numbers. When asked about these country-specific connections, over 97 % of foreign students at US war and staff colleges said that they knew someone from their home country who had graduated in a previous class, and 67 % knew of a previous graduate in their home country who had a "very important" military job (Atkinson 2014, pp. 99–100).

A fourth lesson is the importance of family in longer duration exchange programs. At the military schools, the exchange participant's entire family is welcomed and socially integrated within the local military and civilian communities through specific activities organized by the schools and by the US military officers and their families. Thus, intercultural understanding and international friendships are built not only by the officer, but by his/her entire family. Both spouses and children also come away with increased knowledge about the United States, new US friends, a better ability to speak English, and a more positive view of the United States. Children expand the types of social interactions that the officers and their spouses experience, involving the entire family in activities that the exchange officer might not otherwise have, such as becoming involved in his/her children's schools, hobbies, and sporting events. These activities help widen the entire family's circle of friendships. Spouses are also an important part of the entire socialization experience. They are a trusted person with whom to share the excitement of new adventures and who provide support and commiseration in case of problems. The opportunity to be accompanied by family members on an exchange is an underappreciated and understudied factor that can greatly improve the foreign exchange student's experiences.

The fifth lesson relates to one of the explicit goals of the military exchange programs, which is to "increase the ability of foreign military and civilian personnel to instill and maintain democratic values and protect internationally recognized human rights in their own government and military" (United States Department of Defense and Department of State 2011, pp. II-1 thru II-2). Statistical evidence shows that over the longer term, countries that participated in the exchange programs at US military war and staff colleges were more than twice as likely to succeed in their efforts to transition to more liberal/democratic forms of governance than countries that did not participate (Atkinson 2014, pp. 143–147). During their year in the United States, participants from less-than-democratic countries are exposed to everyday life under democratic governance. As students and heads of their families, the foreign officers must navigate their local US communities in which their schools reside. And over the course of a year they are exposed to democratic governance, both good aspects and bad aspects, as it is experienced on a daily basis by citizens of the United States. While coursework might provide education on, for example, legal systems, the time spent off-duty living under a mature system of rule of law where policemen exercise authority in a system where all citizens are equal under the law exposes participants from less-than-democratic countries to real life functioning of rule of law. As an illustration, one exchange officer from a nondemocratic country remarked that one of the best aspects of the United States was that it was "a society that holds everyone accountable, responsible, but at the same time everyone has rights and privileges that he enjoys" (Atkinson 2014, pp. 123–124). Both book learning and experiential learning provide useful information for those seeking to build and consolidate democratic norms and institutions in their own countries.

The sixth lesson focuses on how the potential to attend a military exchange program can have a wider effect beyond those who are chosen to participate. My research identified that for countries that are in the process of consolidating democratic governance, the possibility to attend a school abroad, particularly in the United States, provides motivation to develop the skills that are prerequisites for attendance, such as fluency in the English language. An aspiring participant may choose to spend several years teaching themselves English through books, hiring an English tutor, or going to evening classes for learning English in order that they might have the opportunity to participate in US IMET-funded schools in the United States.[3] This phenomenon has been noted in countries transitioning to more democratic institutions; thus it might also help in democratization processes because speaking and reading English opens up new sources of information even if the person never goes abroad.

The seventh lesson concerns how educational exchanges in general help to advance the interests and influence of the hosting country through soft power. Soft power is the ability to achieve goals by persuading or socializing others to adopt your own perspectives and preferences. This effect is particularly noteworthy in the case of the military educational exchanges because military organizations are usually associated with the exercise of hard power. The exchanges are one way that the US military extends its influence through ideas, beliefs, and norms. According to Joseph Nye (2011) in his classic work on the topic, soft power can be built through agentive strategies and structural effects. The military exchanges encompass both mechanisms. Agentive strategies are programs and actions of government agents. As discussed above, the military schools' officials (instructors, program officers, US volunteers, and US sponsors) play a key role in shaping the perspectives of the foreign officers. Soft power can also be gained through what Nye (2011) called structural effects, meaning setting an example that others wish to emulate. Structural effects are gained, and soft power accrues to the entity whose culture is pleasing to others; whose values are attractive and consistently practiced; and whose policies are seen as inclusive and legitimate (Nye 2009, p. 161). The military exchanges are designed to show these aspects of life in the United States. It is expected that the military exchange participant, by living and interacting on a daily basis with US people, is likely to come away from his/her experience with a more positive view of the United States. This is indeed what happens in the case of the military exchanges. When asked to reflect upon the most important thing they learned about the United States during their time at a US war or staff college, international participants identify aspects of how Americans think and act, how US democracy works, and different aspects about US lifestyles and culture as the most important things that they learned during their exchange (Atkinson 2014, pp. 114–119). While not all observations are positive, the overall impact is positive with both US and foreign graduates calling their year at the war or staff college "one of the best years of their lives" (Atkinson 2014, p. 131).

Conclusion

This chapter has described how military educational exchange programs at US war and staff colleges are structured to build trust, intercultural understanding, and a shared frame of reference among US officers and their international counterparts. Because the programs are successful in doing this, the US military has benefited from increased cross-cultural understanding, interoperability, and defense cooperation with allied and partner militaries. Additionally, the US government has been able to help support governments and their citizens who are working to build and consolidate democratic institutions and practices.

Three important aspects are worth reiterating here. First, the military exchanges at the US war and staff colleges are particularly successful in accomplishing their goals because they emphasize integration and intense social interaction as a mandatory part of the program for all students, both US and foreign. Second, having one's family along on the exchange enhances an exchange participant's overall positive experience. Sharing the trials and successes of living abroad with one's spouse and children opens up new opportunities for interaction and lessens the effects of culture shock. The entire family builds memories and friendships that they will share together as a family once the year abroad is over. The family helps to ameliorate uncertainties, turning uncertain situations into adventures that everyone shares, or at the worst, providing a comforting safety net when things do not go as planned. Third, an important aspect of program design is the incorporation of mandatory activities that enhance cultural and social learning. For the military officers, the Field Studies Program and sponsorship programs perform a key role in building a positive exchange experience because these programs introduce the exchange participant to opportunities, institutions, and experiences that they might not otherwise have on their own. Additionally, the volunteer-led sponsor programs help to ameliorate the stresses of new situations and lessen culture shock by providing an experienced guide to the local community. These aspects of the military exchange programs could also be implemented in other types of exchanges to improve their effectiveness in building enduring friendships and professional networks that incorporate members from very diverse cultural, social, and political backgrounds.

Notes

1. Based on FY 2012 State Department budget of $50.9 billion.
2. At the expense of the officer, not the US government.
3. This observation is based on my interviews with Bulgarian graduates of US and NATO military exchange programs.

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CHAPTER 8

The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program: 30 Years of Public Diplomacy in Practice

Emily T. Metzgar

JET in the American Context

Statistics compiled in the aftermath of Japan's devastating earthquake and tsunami in March 2011 painted a picture of the disaster's staggering scope: More than 127,000 buildings collapsed ("Damage Situation and Police Counter Measures" 2014); 4.4 million homes were left without electricity (Millions of Stricken Japanese 2011); 25 million tons of debris was generated (Japan Quake 2012); Japan's main island, Honshu, shifted 8 miles east (Oskin 2013); and almost 16,000 people lost their lives. Of these fatalities, two were American. Both of them were participants in the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program.

Since its creation by the Japanese government in 1987, the JET Program has recruited tens of thousands of young, college-educated individuals from more than 40 countries to work in Japan in one of three capacities: Assistant Language Teacher (ALT), Coordinator of International Affairs (CIR), and Sports Exchange Advisor (SEA) (The Three Types

E.T. Metzgar (✉)
The Media School, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, USA

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_8

of Positions on The JET Program 2014). The majority of JET Program participants serve as ALTs, who are partnered with Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) in the country's public schools.[1]

JET's official homepage heralds the program's international reputation for "enhancing mutual understanding" and for being "one of the world's largest" exchange programs (Welcome to the JET Program 2014). Americans have played a big role in the program's success: Since the beginning, they have comprised roughly 50 % of all program participants, today resulting in a pool of more than 30,000 American JET alumni. Despite the program's quarter century of existence and its generation of so many alumni, only one publicly available study has considered JET's value as an exchange program or public diplomacy effort (Metzgar 2012). Instead, JET-related research has focused on questions about the program's pedagogical value as an English language instruction endeavor. These studies' mixed results have left JET vulnerable to periodic attack in Japan's domestic political environment, especially in the period immediately following the 2011 earthquake. However, since the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) gained control of the Japanese government in 2012, the threat of program cuts and even possible program elimination seem to have dissipated. In fact, when 2014's new crop of JET participants arrived in Japan in late summer, 100 of them reported to newly created positions in the Tokyo Metropolitan government. Such a visible show of support for the program in the capital area bodes well for its continuation as a large-scale, government-sponsored exchange program nationwide.

Once their time in Japan comes to an end, JET alumni "use their experiences in Japan to continue enhancing relations between Japan and their home countries" (Welcome to the JET Program 2014). For JET alumni who return to the United States, this involvement often manifests in membership in one of the 19 chapters of the JET Alumni Association (JETAA). JETAA chapters, although funded in part by Japan's Council of Local Authorities for International Affairs (CLAIR), which is the official government coordinator for the JET Program (Who Supports the JET Program? 2014), are indigenous operations. While the largest of these chapters are found in New York City, Chicago, Washington, DC, and San Francisco, other city, state, and regional chapters ensure that all returnees with an interest in staying connected have an opportunity to do so, regardless of where they settle in the United States (JETAA 2014).

The importance of this network of alumni has not escaped official notice in the United States. Speaking of the only two Americans killed in the 2011 earthquake, then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton praised the generosity of the American JET alumni network in its response to the disaster and emphasized the strong friendship between Japan and the United States, bolstered in part by government-sponsored exchange programs (Remarks at the U.S.-Japan Council Annual Conference 2011). This assertion was echoed in comments from James Gannon, an American JET alumnus who is the executive director of the Japan Center for International Exchange in New York. He observed, "[T]he vast majority of the emerging leaders and experts under the age of 45 who are working in fields that involve U.S.-Japan relations are former JET Program participants. This seems to be true in government, policy research, business, academia, arts, and cultural exchange, and it is clear that these JET alumni have started to become valuable resources for U.S.-Japan relations" (Gannon 2011).

Considering International Exchanges as Public Diplomacy

Filliops Proedrou and Christos Frangonikolopoulos (2012), along with others, have written about the perceived need among countries to ensure that their policies "appear more acceptable to foreign publics" (728). Indeed, they write, "In a world where national and global interests frequently overlap, engaging in dialogue with foreign publics is a condition for effective foreign policy" (729). While anecdotal evidence of the influence of the JET Program as a government-sponsored public diplomacy effort abounds, empirical evidence has been more difficult to acquire. The initial study examining American JET alumni (Metzgar 2011) attempted to fill that void, first by placing discussion of JET in the context of academic literature focused on international exchanges and public diplomacy, and then by applying that literature to interpretation of the results of survey data collected from more than 500 American JET Program alumni.

Interest in international exchange programs as a component of state-driven public diplomacy derives from dynamics that Joseph Nye articulated in writing about soft power. He noted that, "All power depends on context—who relates to whom under what circumstances—but soft power depends more than hard power upon the existence of willing interpreters and receivers" (Nye 2004, 16). The findings from the JET alumni survey paint a picture of these "interpreters and receivers" upon their return to the United States, after a year or more in Japan. Results suggest that Japan continues to play a role in alumni's personal lives well after their return. Moreover, alumni continue to serve as interpreters of Japan and Japanese culture in a variety of professional contexts ranging from education to the corporate world to the federal government, thus confirming Gannon's aforementioned observations about the ubiquity of JET alumni in various aspects of the contemporary US-Japan relationship.

Connecting assertions and anecdotal evidence to the academic literature is not a simple task. Giles Scott-Smith, for example, considered exchanges in the context of public diplomacy (2009). He observed that individuals at all levels of society can be engaged in such activities although the higher profile and the more influential a target participant, the less likely a program is to be able to attract that participant, particularly for an extended period, except for the most prestigious programs. JET has overcome this hurdle by recruiting participants who are often straight out of college. The rationale seems to be investing in the long-term and banking on program participants one day having some influence in the societies from which they come. As Scott-Smith notes, whether an attempt to influence participants at some level is "deemed acceptable or not will depend on the state of bilateral relations between the two nations" (51). In the case of the US-Japan relationship, support for exchange programs and other mechanisms that facilitate interactions between the citizens of the two countries is both widely supported and enthusiastically encouraged (Remarks at the U.S.-Japan Council Annual Conference 2011; Ruch 2013).

Although conventional wisdom has long asserted the benefits accruing to sponsors of international exchange programs, more recent scholarship has dared to question this assumption. Writing in 2010, Carol Atkinson noted that while research shows exchange participants routinely "return home with a more positive view of the country … and the people with whom they interacted" (2010, 3), there remains a persistent problem in drawing a direct connection between participation in an exchange program and later behavior. Iain Wilson prefaced a similar criticism with this: "Where exchanges are supported for political reasons they represent governments' attempts to alter individuals' political development by applying a direct stimulus which might not otherwise occur" (2010, 64). He points to sponsoring governments' assumption that a change will take place in the participant as a result of being part of the exchange and that such changes will manifest through behavioral change.

Wilson further suggests it is these presumed behavioral changes that "have the potential to be politically salient" and thus of tangible benefit to program sponsors (2010, 64). But he also echoes Atkinson's concerns, pointing to the danger of assuming that attitudinal changes will always be reflected in behavioral change (2010, 65). This is the central difficulty in attempting to evaluate the outcomes of international exchange programs. Just as in communication studies where it is difficult to disaggregate the effects of media consumption from the effects of a universe of other potential variables, it is similarly difficult to identify behavioral change that is a direct result of participation in an exchange program. The process, therefore, is necessarily one of triangulation. Indeed, Scott-Smith has argued that evaluations of international exchange programs should operate from two basic assumptions: First, that such programs have political intent; second, that these programs also have political effects. Discerning the political intent is relatively easy; assessing the effects is more difficult since they are, as Scott-Smith described them, "fragmentary and inconsistent" (2008, 174).

Atkinson (2010) attempted to tease out effects from foreign military officer exchange programs with the United States, seeking evidence of such programs' impact on the democratization of less democratized states, with specific emphasis on improvement in human rights conditions. She employed longitudinal human rights data and found a positive relationship between increased protections for human rights in countries that had participated in US military officer exchange programs. Her study is an important contribution to the literature as it "confirmed what soft power advocates and … policy makers have often claimed" (19), that such programs make a positive contribution to the promotion of democracy.

With Atkinson's findings in mind, it is useful to recall historian Nicholas Cull's broad definition of public diplomacy as "the process by which an international actor conducts foreign policy by engaging a foreign public" (Cull 2008). The implication is that attitudinal and behavioral change resulting from public diplomacy efforts is expected to facilitate the sponsoring government's foreign policy goals in the international arena. In the case of JET, if the vast network of program alumni in the United States helps bolster broad public support for Japan generally, and if some alumni are instrumental in the maintenance of bilateral relations on public policy, academic, business, and other fronts, then JET can rightly be considered a successful public diplomacy effort. The data presented here demonstrates the presence of American alumni in various bilateral and Japan-focused environments in their post-JET lives.

A body of literature related to international exchanges, but focused specifically on the promotion of democracy as a program goal, also shows some promise as a mechanism for understanding the potential influence of JET alumni in the US-Japan relationship. In a 2014 analysis of transnational influences on democratic diffusion, Tina Freyburg considered the complicated process of socialization in international exchanges. She noted that socialization resulting in "attitude change refers not only to affective change like increased agreement and support … it also covers influences at the level of cognition: actors acquire new knowledge leading to a change in their 'factual beliefs'" (Freyburg 2015, 3).

For Freyburg, Atkinson, and others, the act of exposure to or contact with a host environment is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the effectiveness of an international exchange program. The deciding factor is the quality of that contact. Freyburg notes the similarities between this dynamic and that outlined in the "contact hypothesis" that has long argued meaningful exposure to the other are useful in battling racism and other stereotypes.

Atkinson made similar reference to quality of exposure in outlining the conditions believed to affect the degree to which exchange programs influence their participants. She listed three key variables: The first is duration and intensity of social interactions in the host country. Second is the degree to which the exchange participant feels a "sense of community or common identity" with the local population. Third is a question of whether exchange participants return to their home country and eventually ascend to an influential position where their changed attitudes can have a direct influence on their country's policy toward the sponsor country (2010, 1). The JET alumni survey data documents the presence of both the first and second of Atkinson's conditions for successful exchange and lays a foundation for arguing that the third condition has also been met.

Considering the data presented here, one can confidently argue that the JET Program, although perhaps not initially designed to be a public diplomacy undertaking (McConnell 2000, 2008), has indeed come to function as such. No matter a program's goals, Scott-Smith notes, "exchanges are best kept independent from any sense of direct political interference and obligation in order to maintain the integrity of the participants and the credibility of the programs themselves" (2009, 51). This has certainly been the case with alumni of the JET Program; many of whom in this survey reported little if any contact with program sponsors in the years following participation. While this article again presents basic demographic data first published in 2012 (Metzgar) to paint a picture of survey respondents, it also expands on that initial analysis, emphasizing Atkinson's three conditions and allowing for development of future lines of research.

Methods

The data collection process used for this online survey of American JET Program alumni was approved by the author's institutional review board (IRB). The survey was available at an online survey research site for five weeks in March and April 2011. Invitations to participate in the survey were sent to the leadership of the 19 JET AA chapters around the United States. In addition, requests for participation and assistance in distribution of such requests were circulated via several Japan-focused US sites, via an unofficial online JET alumni community, and across the public diplomacy and US-Japan policy community nationwide.

Through this snowball approach, more than 500 responses were collected. This is considered a valid approach to data collection in a situation where there is no single point of access to a target population. The approach has acknowledged shortcomings, namely a limited ability to generalize from results (Kaye 1999, 2007; Kaye and Johnson 2002). Still, studies using this method have appeared in the peer-reviewed literature. As one researcher has observed: "Though not ideal, such nonprobability sampling is an acceptable method when random sampling is not possible" (Kaye 2007, 141).

The data collected through this survey was entirely self-reported. This, too, has weaknesses, but given the survey's initial intent as an exploratory study it was deemed acceptable. Another quirk of this data set is the time at which the survey was administered. Quite by accident, administration of the survey overlapped with the 2011 earthquake and tsunami. As noted elsewhere (Metzgar 2012), the alumni community's reaction to the disaster may have led to higher than otherwise expected levels of participation. The fact remains, however, that alumni were drawn to the JET community in the aftermath of the quake, thus demonstrating, if only anecdotally, the strong connections that former participants continue to feel toward Japan even years after finishing the program.

Results

Respondent Basics

More than 500 American JET Program alumni participated in this survey. Of the respondents who provided information about their home state prior to participation in the JET Program, California and Illinois were best represented while no alumni claimed eight states (Delaware, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Wyoming). Similarly, upon returning to the United States, California and Illinois again had the highest concentrations while Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, West Virginia, and Wyoming had no alumni. Numbers for the District of Columbia doubled between home state and location after participation in the program. This has interesting implications for the influence of JET and JET alumni on the official US-Japan relationship. Tables 8.1 and 8.2 show the age and gender distribution of respondents to this survey.

More than three-quarters of respondents participated in JET as ALTs (see Table 8.3). Additionally, given the earliest justifications for the JET Program, reported by McConnell to have been internationalization of Japan (2000, 2008), it is not surprising that more participants are found in rural areas (Table 8.4) since those areas were likely a high priority for the program. In terms of outcomes, for the purposes of this study, one assumes that JET participants assigned to more

Table 8.1 Age of respondents at time of survey completion

Age	*Number*	*Percentage*
20–24 years	20	4 %
25–34	273	52 %
35–44	189	36 %
45–54	33	6 %
55–64	5	1 %
65–74	1	0 %
75–84	0	0 %

Table 8.2 Gender of respondents

Gender	*Number*	*Percentage*
Female	263	56 %
Male	201	43 %
Transgender or other	2	1 %

rural areas likely had more intense exposure to Japanese culture. This would suggest that participants in rural areas were more likely to meet the first of Atkinson's conditions concerning the intensity of interactions with the host culture.

As for duration of tenure in Japan, another variable relevant to Atkinson's condition concerning quality and duration of exposure, almost 25 % spent only one year on the program; almost half spent two years on the program; and more than one-third spent three or more years in Japan as part of JET (see Table 8.5). One might expect the effect of program participation to be stronger for those who spent a longer time on JET.

While the data presented above are interesting, it is given greater depth when considered in the context of respondents' reported feelings toward Japan. A "feeling thermometer" was used to gauge alumni's impressions of Japan.

Table 8.3 Respondents by category of participation in JET

Type of JET role	*Number*	*Percentage*
Assistant Language Teacher (ALT)	506	86 %
Coordinator for International Relations (CIR)	53	9 %
Sports Exchange Advisor (SEA)	3	1 %
Monbusho Educational Fellow (MEF)	10	2 %

Table 8.4 Location of JET Program placement

Location	*Number*	*Percentage*
Rural	294	55 %
Suburban	150	28 %
Urban	91	17 %

Table 8.5 Duration of stay in Japan

Time	*Number*	*Percentage*
1 year	117	22 %
2 years	222	42 %
3 years	165	31 %
4 years	10	2 %
>4 years	17	3 %

Table 8.6 Correlation of current age with feeling thermometer score

Thermometer score	*20–24*	*25–34*	*35–44*	*45–54*	*55–64*	*65–74*
0–50	0 %	2.8 %	1.7 %	3.6 %	0 %	0 %
51–60	0 %	1.6 %	1.7 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
61–70	8.3 %	5.6 %	5.7 %	3.6 %	0 %	0 %
71–80	25 %	20.3 %	14.2 %	17.9 %	40 %	0 %
81–90	41.7 %	39 %	38.1 %	32.1 %	20 %	0 %
91–100	25 %	30.7 %	38.6 %	42.9 %	40 %	1 %

Feeling Thermometer

One of the most important results from this survey concerns the feeling thermometer. Respondents were asked to offer their overall impression of Japan on a feeling thermometer ranging from 0 (very cold or unfavorable) to 100 (very warm or favorable). The average impression of Japan by American JET Program alumni was 84.96.

Although no direct comparison is possible, it is instructive to consider evidence from public opinion polls of general American sentiment toward Japan. The polls regularly administered by Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), for example, hint that JET alumni impressions are more favorable than those of the American population at large (U.S. Image of Japan 2012). In 2012, 79 % of Americans questioned considered Japan "as a 'dependable' ally/friend." A similar number (77 %) considered cooperation between the two countries to be "excellent" or "good," and 42 % of Americans questioned believed that mutual understanding between the nationals of both countries was "good."

Assessing the feeling thermometer score using the variables already considered above offers an opportunity for more nuanced analysis of how different variables may have ultimately influenced participants' attitudes toward Japan (Table 8.6).

The highest feeling thermometer scores came from the oldest respondents. Since the majority of participants join JET right after graduating from college, this may suggest that affinity for Japan and appreciation of the value of the JET experience grows over time (Table 8.7).

Women were slightly more likely to evaluate Japan the most warmly. This is interesting given the conventional wisdom that women's rights, at least from the American perspective, are less well developed in Japan than in the United States. In the 71–80 and 81–90 categories, however, men

Table 8.7 Correlation of gender with feeling thermometer score

Thermometer score	*Female*	*Male*	*Transgender*
0–50	2.3 %	0.5 %	0 %
51–60	1.1 %	2.0 %	0 %
61–70	7.2 %	3.0 %	50 %
71–80	17.1 %	19.9 %	0 %
81–90	36.5 %	41.3 %	0 %
91–100	35.7 %	33.3 %	50 %

Table 8.8 Correlation of job category with feeling thermometer score

Thermometer score	*ALT*	*CIR*	*SEA*	*MEF*
0–50	2.5 %	2.4 %	0 %	2.4 %
51–60	1.6 %	2.4 %	0 %	1.6 %
61–70	5.7 %	4.9 %	100 %	5.7 %
71–80	17.2 %	26.8 %	0 %	18.1 %
81–90	38.0 %	39.0 %	0 %	38.0 %
91–100	35.1 %	24.4 %	0 %	34.1 %

offered more favorable evaluations. This is more consistent with expectations (Table 8.8).

In terms of jobs held while in the JET program, ALTs offered the most scores in the highest category, barely beating out MEFs. The SEA sample size for this question (n=1) is too small to draw meaningful conclusions concerning those participants. Interestingly, CIRs appear to have offered less warm impressions of Japan. CIRs arrive in Japan with language skills, often serving as interpreters for the offices to which they are assigned. Many CIRs have therefore had previous experience in Japan, whereas few ALTs have been to Japan before. How that might influence impressions of Japan after JET Program participation is unclear, but it is a factor worth investigating further (Table 8.9).

The people most likely to give the highest score were in rural areas; the category of highest scores (91–100) had the most responses coming from those who lived in rural areas. However, the category of second highest scores (81–90) had the most responses coming from those who lived in urban areas. The category of third highest scores (71–80) had the most respondents from suburban areas. JETs in rural locations were more likely to have the most favorable impressions of Japan, but for the middle and

Table 8.9 Correlation of location with feeling thermometer score

Thermometer score	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Suburban*
0–50	2.3 %	2.2 %	2.4 %
51–60	1.5 %	2.2 %	0.0 %
61–70	6.0 %	5.1 %	4.7 %
71–80	18.1 %	14.5 %	23.5 %
81–90	35.5 %	44.2 %	37.6 %
91–100	36.6 %	31.9 %	31.8 %

Table 8.10 Correlation of duration with feeling thermometer score

Thermometer score	*1 year*	*2 years*	*3 years*	*4 years*	*>4 years*
0–50	1.8 %	2.0 %	2.7 %	10.0 %	0.0 %
51–60	0.0 %	2.5 %	1.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
61–70	6.3 %	5.0 %	6.1 %	0.0 %	6.7 %
71–80	14.3 %	20.8 %	17.7 %	30.0 %	6.7 %
81–90	38.4 %	38.6 %	37.4 %	50.0 %	33.3 %
91–100	39.3 %	31.2 %	34.7 %	10 %	53.3 %

middle-to-high scores, urban and suburban JETs offered more positive evaluations. These results are decidedly mixed.

Another part of Atkinson's formula for determining the influence of an exchange program on participations is duration of exposure. Therefore, length of time as a participant in the JET Program is an important variable. One would expect that participants who spent a longer time in Japan would be more profoundly affected by the host culture. This possibility is examined through crosstab presentation of number of years on the program and score on the feeling thermometer (Table 8.10).
Perhaps not surprisingly, the people with the warmest feelings toward Japan were the ones who stayed the longest. But it is not possible to determine if they stayed longer because they had warm feelings toward Japan or if it was the longer stay that caused the warmer feelings. Determining causality is not possible given the data available. Perhaps these are mutually reinforcing dynamics.

Word Cloud

JET alumni's very warm impressions toward Japan as demonstrated in the feeling thermometer average do not mean that alumni view Japan through rose-colored glasses. To the contrary, the word cloud below (Fig. 8.1)

Fig. 8.1 Word cloud generated by respondents' descriptions of Japan

shows respondents' even-handed assessment of Japan, both positive and negative. To create the word cloud, all respondents were asked to provide up to three adjectives to describe Japan. Their unfiltered responses are included in the graphic. The word cloud considered in conjunction with the feeling thermometer score is a good reminder that exposure to a host culture, and the development of affection toward it through an exchange program, is not a path toward unquestioning approval of all things related to the host country. Given the near equal distribution of descriptive words with positive and negative connotations, it seems clear that for alumni who responded to this survey, JET offered an opportunity for exposure to Japan, allowing participants to arrive at their own evaluations of the country.

In fact, 87 % of respondents strongly agreed with the statement that the JET Program had given them a deeper understanding of Japan, and 77 % reported that their experience had been valuable. But such findings should not be interpreted to mean that every experience contributing to the understanding had been valuable. Moreover, viewing something as having been a valuable experience is not the same thing as saying it was uniformly positive. Perhaps the perceived value and understanding derived from the experience stems from authenticity and having had the opportunity to experience Japan as it really is.

Asking the Next Question: How Useful Are JET Alumni?

This chapter has revisited some of the basic data from the author's 2012 report on American alumni of the JET Program. But the analysis has been conducted in the context of the literature of international exchange and has asked what variables may have contributed to alumni perceptions of Japan, perceptions which have been found to be quite favorable. In this work, the feeling thermometer score has served as a proxy for the supposed success of the JET Program where it pertains to influencing the views of participants.

While the discussion here is a good start, it should only serve as the first step in a larger process of evaluating the value of this particular public diplomacy effort from both the program sponsor and program participant viewpoints. The broader question of what influence tens of thousands of JET Program alumni might have on the United States and ultimately its policies toward Japan is a logical next question. So, too, is the question of how effective the Japanese government believes the JET Program to be as a public diplomacy tool. These are important questions, but they cannot be answered with the survey data considered here.

When it comes to measuring the value of international exchange programs, Scott-Smith argues there are two core assumptions: The first is that such exchanges have political intent. The second is that there are political effects (2008, 174). Relatedly, he has argued that exchange programs, "however educational and 'apolitical' they may be presented [sic], inescapably operate within the broader political environment of international affairs" (2009, 50). Future analysis of the JET Program as a public diplomacy effort could, through the process of personal interviews with Japanese policy-makers and program implementers, assess the political intentions of JET's government sponsors, both past and present. It could then proceed to document the range of ways JET alumni may be engaged in efforts in the United States that contribute to Japan's accomplishment of those goals and to American goals for the perpetuation of US-Japan relations.

Over time, the value of the network of past exchange program participants can grow increasingly apparent (Wilson 2013). This is clearly happening with JET and has led to action to facilitate the further development of the alumni community. Leaders in the American JET alumni community are engaged in an effort to establish a national, non-profit organization that could coordinate alumni efforts across the 19 different JET AA chapters around the country. The perceived need for a central point of contact has been growing for years, but the massive outpouring of donations and expressions of concern following the 2011 earthquake strained the ability of the regional JET AA groups to manage the influx. While discussions about establishment of a national-level non-profit organization to serve all American JET Program alumni and regional JETAA chapters are still in the early stages, the range of expectations both by and for the American JET alumni community has necessitated that the talks continue.

The impetus for creation of a centralized structure extends beyond the desire for a point of communication in a time of crisis. Many JETAA chapters function as a source of professional guidance and job placement for newly returned program participants. Indeed, many chapters organize career fairs for alumni, making an effort to connect members to Japan-related resources in their communities. Similarly, different levels of the Japanese government, including prefectural governors, municipal leaders, and representatives from the MOFA, increasingly turn to JET alumni networks for support of high-profile visits and related events in the United States. Japanese companies and non-profit organizations also reach out to JETAA chapters for help in circulating job openings and other opportunities.

The JET alumni community is recognized as an important source of informed goodwill toward Japan, and its resources have proven valuable in the mobilization of everything from monies to human capital. One leading scholar of the US-Japan relationship has called the JET Program the single most important contemporary source of Americans with interest in, and expertise on, Japan. This is a nice illustration of Scott-Smith's observation that a successful exchange program can result in program participants "Acting (voluntarily) as legitimate and respective sources of opinion and judgment" on the host country (2009, 53). The next step for the research discussed here is to document, in greater depth, the many circumstances in which American alumni of the JET Program are exercising that influence.

Scott-Smith asserts that exchanges are especially useful as a tool for reinforcing the status quo (2008, 180). While he offers that statement in the context of limiting expectations about an exchange program's ability to change the mind of a participant who is already negatively predisposed toward the host nation, it might also be prudent to consider Scott-Smith's statement in the context of the contemporary international environment.

In the case of the JET Program, for example, the majority of participants are Americans. The United States and Japan have had a strong, cooperative, mutually reinforcing relationship since the end of World War II. The argument can be made that JET contributes to the continued nurturing of bilateral relations. Given rising tensions in East Asia with the continued rise of China, the significance of the bilateral relationship may actually be increasing, with JET thus doing more than helping sustain the status quo. While JET is certainly not the only exchange program involving participants from the two countries, it is surely an important one, as acknowledged by former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton when she reaffirmed the importance of the US-Japan relationship and referred specifically to JET as an important part therein (2011).

Looking ahead to further discussion of JET as a public diplomacy program, literature concerning epistemic communities may prove useful. Peter Haas (1992) has called them networks "of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area" (3). Survey questions not reported here included respondents' evaluations of their level of knowledge on particular policy issues, both in the Japanese domestic political environment and in the international arena. If respondents' self-evaluations of Japan-specific knowledge are accurate, then they would fit Hass's assertion that "epistemic community members' professional training, prestige, and reputation for expertise in an area highlight valued by society or elite decision makers accord them access to the political system and legitimize or authorize their activities" (Haas 1992, 17). This seems to be increasingly true when it comes to understanding the role of JET alumni in maintenance of the US-Japan relationship. Future research is planned to address the challenge of quantifying that evidence.

Note

1. For the period from 1987 to 1989, the pilot program for what eventually became JET was Monbusho Education Fellows (MEF). Alumni of that early program also participated in the survey whose responses are presented here. Some discussions of the history of JET include the MEF as part of that history, thus putting JET's founding date at 1987. The JET Program as a formal, named entity began in 1989. Nevertheless, in 2014, official Japanese government documents celebrate the JET Program's 27th anniversary, suggesting the official view of MEF as part of JET Program history.

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CHAPTER 9

Exploring the Impact of the Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant Program on Grantees' Educational and Cultural Beliefs and Practices

Yasemin Kirkgoz

Introduction

Established in 1946 under legislation introduced by the late Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, the Fulbright Program is the US Government's flagship international educational exchange initiative. It is sponsored by the US Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, and aims to increase mutual understanding between the people of the USA and the people of other countries. Among its many various focused exchanges, the Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA) program is designed to support teaching assistantships in over 30 languages at US institutions of higher education. The program offers educators, recent college graduates and young professionals from over 50 countries, the opportunity to develop their professional skills and gain first-hand knowledge of the USA and its culture, by teaching their

Y. Kirkgoz (✉)
Çukurova University, Faculty of Education, Department of ELT, Adana, Turkey

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_9

native language at an American university. The program also allows the FLTAs to simultaneously pursue individual study and/or research in addition to their teaching responsibilities in the USA (Fulbright 2014).

Although the increased internationalization of educational exchange programs has brought greater scholarly attention to the issue of participants' experiences (Deardorff 2006; Sideli 2001; Stearns 2009; Steinberg 2010; Sutton et al. 2006), comparatively little research has been conducted focusing on the impact that Fulbright educational exchanges may have on the grantees' perspectives and understandings of particular social, cultural or professional issues. One exception is Demir et al. (2000), who conducted a survey study to investigate the impacts of the Fulbright program on 277 Turkish scholars. All the participating scholars, working in different professions across Turkey, agreed that their Fulbright experience in the USA broadened their world view and had positive effects on their professional, social and personal lives. At the time of the study, many of the scholars were found to hold high-ranking positions, and to be developing and implementing policies in different sectors; consequently, contributing to the development of Turkey. What is unique about the present study is that unlike Demir et al., who focused broadly on M.A. and Ph.D. scholarship grantees from a wide variety of disciplinary backgrounds, this study focuses on a particular group of Fulbrighters, FLTAs, who all come from a similar disciplinary background. In light as well of the increasing demand for Turkish FLTAs—both numbers of grantees and applicants—the present study sought to examine the transformative impact of the FLTA program on the grantees' subsequent understandings of, specifically, education, culture, democracy and peace. The study was conducted with returned grantees to allow for reflection on the completed international experience and to look at the question of whether the Fulbright experience led to transformations in their perspectives on these issues.

The first section of this study provides an overview of transformative learning theory, which is used as the theoretical framework to determine whether change occurred as a result of the international experience. The next section reports on the findings of the survey and interviews conducted with the eight participants, followed by a discussion of the research findings based on Mezirow's model of transformative learning theory in order to assess whether the sojourns were transformative for the grantees.

Transformative Learning Theory

First introduced by Jack Mezirow, transformative learning theory suggests that learning is more than the acquisition of knowledge; it is about identity formation that comes about from some type of a change within the individual. Transformative learning theory breaks down the adult mind into two sets of habits and expectations that have been formed as a result of experience over time (Sifakis 2009). The first of these is *meaning schemes*, which are "made up of specific knowledge, beliefs, value judgments and feelings that constitute interpretations of experience" (Mezirow 1991: 5–6). Meaning schemes are tangible in the sense that they are known to us and are therefore easy to change; an individual can add to or integrate experiences and ideas within an existing scheme. On the other hand, *meaning perspectives* or *frames of reference* constitute the structure of assumptions and expectations through which we understand our experiences (Mezirow 1997, 2000). They shape and define perceptions, thoughts, expectations and feelings, and their transformation leads to transformative learning. When circumstances allow, transformative learners move toward a frame of reference that is more discriminating, self-reflective and integrative of experience. On the other hand, individuals have a strong tendency to reject ideas that fail to fit their preconceptions, labeling those ideas as unworthy of consideration.

Mezirow (1991) defines "learning" as the process of making a new and revised interpretation of the meaning of an experience, which guides subsequent understanding, appreciation and action. Mezirow justifies this definition stating that:

> To become meaningful, learning requires that new information be incorporated by the learner into an already well developed symbolic frame of reference, an active process involving thought, feelings, and disposition. The learner may also have to be helped to transform his or her frame of reference to fully understand the experience. (1997:10)

Mezirow goes on to assert that transformative learning takes place in three stages. The first is a *disorienting dilemma*—an instance, or experience that occurs over time, which results in the individual becoming aware of a discrepancy between his/her current thinking and new information. The whole process of transformation is triggered by participants experiencing an initial problem or *disorienting dilemma* that makes them aware of certain thoughts and feelings they may have concerning a particular experience or problem. At this stage, the learner engages in self-examination that is often accompanied by “feelings of fear, anger, guilt or shame” (Mezirow 2000: 22).

The second is a period of *critical reflection*, during which the individual evaluates the disorienting dilemma in the context of his/her understanding of the world, critically assessing assumptions and reflecting on that experience. Mezirow (2000) suggests that when meaning schemes and meaning perspectives are found to be inadequate in accommodating some life experiences, the transformative process can function as a means of prompting the emergence of new schemes and new perspectives that would be “more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective” (p. 7). Through critical reflection, a resulting reassessment of assumptions and meaning schemes (values and assumptions) currently held, takes place (Reed 2007). Van Halen-Faber (1997) describes critical reflection as the type of thinking that challenges the notions of prior learning when patterns of person’s goals, beliefs or expectations are tested through thoughtful questioning. Transformative learning results in new or transformed meaning schemes or, when reflection focuses on premises, transformed meaning perspectives (McGregor 2008).

The final stage of the transformative process calls for a reintegration of the new perspective into an individual’s life and practice, a permanent alteration of his or her understanding. Often, this shift in meaning perspectives is evidenced through action taken by the individual. As suggested by Taylor (2000, 2007), it is essential that participants act upon that new perspective and do not merely critically reflect on these new ideas. McGregor (2008) points out that:

> transformative learning occurs when new concepts are assimilated such that a person undergoes shifts in his or her foundational frames of reference. Any action that is predicated on one’s redefinition of one’s perspective (one’s frame of reference) is the clearest indication of transformation. (p. 53)

Applying Transformative Learning Theory to the Fulbright Experience

How does transformational theory apply to international experience? Because of its focus on personal transformation resulting from a meaning-making experience, transformative learning theory has been generally accepted to be broadly applicable to adults who have well-established concepts, values and feelings (McGregor 2008). Hunter (2008) applied transformative learning theory to international education, suggesting that a transition to life in a foreign country in terms of experiencing culture shock could serve as a *disorienting dilemma*. Disorienting dilemmas can present themselves before, during and after the sojourn, whether in daily interactions with the host community or as some elements of the study abroad. Tacey (2011) investigated the transformative effect of international education using a longitudinal approach and exploring the paths taken by participants in an international educational experience. Almost all respondents indicated that the international experience had transformed their perspectives on their identity and on their purpose in life.

In this study, Mezirow's paradigm was used as a framework to interpret the experiences of the Turkish FLTAs. Through identification of transformative effects of this international experience, the areas in which the participants' meaning perspectives have undergone transformation were investigated. The research questions addressed in the study were:

1. What challenges do the grantees experience in teaching Turkish as a foreign language in multinational classes?
2. Does the FLTA experience have an impact on the grantees' perspectives of education, culture and democracy? If so, what kind of impact?
3. Do the grantees integrate their transformed perspectives into their occupational practice and career prospects? If so, how?

Methodology

Research Instrument

A questionnaire consisting of three sections was used to gather data. The first section gathered information on the participants' basic demographic backgrounds and educational profiles as well as asking about any orientation or prior training in teaching Turkish as a foreign language (TTFL) prior to going abroad. The second section focused on the participants' time abroad as FLTAs. Through five open-ended questions, they were asked to reflect on the impact the FLTA experience had on their understandings of culture, education and democratic values, and whether they felt their perspectives and understandings of these issues had changed following the (disorienting) Fulbright experience, in order to determine whether there was a transformative effect of the FLTA experience. Because TTFL was the main objective of the participants' sojourn, the questionnaire also sought to investigate any difficulties they experienced while teaching Turkish, the kind of cultural and personal challenges they faced trying to live and teach in another culture, such as adapting to the classroom culture in the host country, and any reflections that they may have had on these experiences. The final part of the questionnaire asked about the participants' experiences after their return home to explore whether and how they made use of the knowledge and experience they gained from the program by practicing it in their present profession. Responses from this initial phase of the questionnaire were complemented with interviews to gain a deeper perspective on the impact of the abroad experience related to the major areas in the questionnaire and to identify any commonalities in the lived experiences of the FLTAs.

Data Analysis

The results of the survey and interviews were analyzed qualitatively to understand each grantee's lived experience from his/her own perspective. The data were analyzed without preconceived notions of how participants made sense of their experience; rather, to provide a descriptive basis for the analysis of the participants' experiences (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Merriam et al. 2007; Smith et al. 2009).

Demographics

Table 9.1 illustrates the demographic profiles of the participants. As seen, four males and four females, all Turkish native speakers with English as their L2, were the participants. Respondents were, on average, 24.5 years old when they went on their Fulbright FLTA program and their ages at the time of the current study ranged from 26 to 37. All participants held B.A.s from English language teacher education departments except for one with a B.A. in Literature; four had attained M.A. degrees and one had a doctorate at the time of their exchange. At the time of the study, two of the participants were working as Assistant Professors in university English Language Teaching departments; one private and one public, two as teachers; one at a state and the other at a private secondary school; two were English language instructors at state universities and simultaneously

Table 9.1 Demographic profile of the participants

Grantee name (pseudonyms)	*Gender*	*Age*	*Date of visit*	*Prior study abroad*	*Duration of Fulbright visit*	*Location*	*Current occupation*
Arda	Male	36	2004–2005	No	1 year	Syracuse	Asst. Prof. in ELT Department of a state university
Onur	Male	29	2008–2009	Poland Erasmus	10 months	Syracuse	English language instructor & PhD candidate at a state university
Kemal	Male	29	2009–2010	No	10 months	Michigan State University	Research assistant & PhD candidate in ELT
Özge	Female	31	2007–2009	Yes 2 weeks	2 years FLTA, language mentor for Turkish	Massachusetts	English language instructor & PhD candidate
Seval	Female	31	2010–2011	Poland Erasmus	10 months	Stanford	Research assistant & PhD candidate in ELT
Yeşim	Female	37	2004–2006	No	2 years	Texas Tech University, Lubbock	Asst. Prof. at a private university
Ziya	Male	26	2010–2011	No	10 months	Stanford	English teacher at a state secondary school
Fatma	Female	27	2010–2011	Belgium Erasmus	10 months	Boston University	English teacher at a private secondary school

pursuing their PhD research, and the remaining two were research assistants engaged in PhD research.

Discussion of Findings

Prior Study Abroad

Regarding the respondents' prior experience abroad, four participants had been abroad before their FLTA exchange, three on an Erasmus exchange program in a European country lasting 10 months and one visiting friends. This is notable because, generally speaking, prior study abroad visits can be considered to be a predictor of having fewer adjustment difficulties abroad. None of the participants had previously studied in the USA, where they did their Fulbright exchange.

Participants stated that they received a week-long orientation program from Fulbright Commission staff in Ankara before their departure. The orientation had three aspects: One was a general program meeting with the Fulbright officials giving some information about the aims and outline of the program, living conditions, educational life in the USA, technical information for visas and so on. The other two were given by former Fulbrighters sharing their experiences. Additionally, the program provided information packets and a website with materials. All participants stated that they found the pre-orientation very useful as it covered many potential problems.

Concerning the respondents' prior experience in TTFL, they stated that they had not have any teaching experience in TTFL, nor were they provided with any teacher training related to language teaching, except for one who had a five-month experience in teaching English as a Comenius language assistant, prior to her Fulbright FLTA.

The next question asked about any difficulties they had in the USA during their visit and how they coped with those difficulties. While the international experience clearly appeared to constitute a "disorienting dilemma" for most participants, the nature and extent of this dilemma varied among the participants. Two participants stated that they had no difficulties in adjusting to a new environment as they received useful help from their program coordinator. As a result, they reported that they easily adapted to their host cities, where they found the people quite friendly, and where the international student community made them feel comfortable. For the remaining six participants, the initial difficulties were mainly related to adjusting to food and to the attitudes of young Americans toward foreigners, as reflected in this excerpt from Arda:

> I had a hard time getting used to American food culture, and the young Americans' attitude to foreigners. I received such questions as do you ride camels in Turkey? Where is Turkey? Are you an Arab? Older Americans had more knowledge about Turkey and told me that the U.S. and Turkey are allies. (Arda)

Concerning how they coped with such difficulties, they stated that in due course, they enlarged their circle of friends and took up some leisure time activities such as sports, as indicated by one of the participants below:

> When I couldn't find a close friend I found some activities like sports. Syracuse University had a very big gym and I spent much of my free time there. As to food problems I am used to eating bread but I couldn't find the type of bread I had in Turkey. Later on I discovered big shopping malls where I found French bread, which was more similar to Turkish bread. I also found eastern restaurants where I could have Turkish like menu. (Onur)

The TTFL Experience

Related to whether they experienced any challenges/difficulties in teaching Turkish, the participants generally agreed that they found TTFL interesting, but not without its challenges. Since they had no prior experience in TTFL, they initially had some difficulties about deciding what to teach, how much time to allocate to each topic, in what order to teach etc., as described by one participant as follows:

> I taught Turkish to the students at Syracuse, Cornell and Colgate Universities at the same time through multi point videoconferencing. Most of my students were academics. They were all kind and hardworking. Teaching Turkish from a distance was a bit difficult particularly in the exam time. I had a cooperating partner on the other side and on the exam day I sent exam questions to them. We didn't have difficulties other than the problem of distance. (Arda)

Comparing her multinational class of American students to classes of Turkish students, at least one FLTA found the former more goal-oriented and disciplined:

> Comparing my students in the USA with our Turkish students, I'd say that they were quite professional in that they knew how to learn a subject. They sometimes directed us about what and how to teach as that would help them learn easily. (Özge)

Other FLTAs also noted the focus and discipline of the students and emphasized challenges stemming from the language itself:

> Besides American students, I had one Kazakh, one Iranian, and one Turkish American student with very little proficiency. On the first day, I gave them some preliminary info about the language, history, current situation and following it, how the lessons will be like, the grading and attending the classes. Later, I tried to speak only Turkish in my classes and using realia and a lot of practice, I tried to make the learning process smoother for them. They seem to be organized and skilled language learners. Turkish phonology was one of the most difficult parts. Pronunciation of some sounds were problematic such as "ü", "u", "ö", "ı". I told them that it was something they would acquire in time and by the end of the year, they made a big progress. (Kemal)

For another grantee, TTFL posed challenges because of the lack of materials and lack of institutional support:

> I was lucky that Turkish was previously taught there and some kind of a syllabus existed. I designed a new syllabus and had difficulty in finding materials; I did not know what material to use. There were some books but we had difficulties in using them. Some materials were grammar based, I experienced uncertainty how to sequence them. I networked with other Fulbrighters who shared their experiences with me and I found it useful. I used role play activities by setting up situations such as a restaurant in Turkish context using visuals. Universities were applying different programs. Some of my counterparts were assisting the lecturer so they had a structured syllabus to follow. They had more structured and sophisticated programs. I had the main burden of the lesson on my own to solve the problem. (Onur)

In due course, all the grantees coped with the difficulties they faced in different ways. Özge, for example, stated that she had the chance to observe the main teacher. Observing a more experienced colleague helped her to design her own classes. In addition, she attended a French course in the USA and benefited considerably from the experience of being both a student and a language teacher at the same time. Kemal tackled his challenges by consulting other Turkish Fulbrighters through existing networks.

Turning to the question of impact, the FLTAs all reported that the experience had a definite transformative effect, particularly on their educational and intercultural understandings. In the following section, the transformative effect of the grantees' sojourns will be discussed in detail.

The Effect of the FLTA Experience on Grantees' Perspectives of Education

Turning to more broadly transformative experiences, nearly all respondents indicated that the Fulbright experience greatly affected their educational understanding in some way: It contributed to building up knowledge and skills, it taught them something new about the teaching practice and about students' attitudes, and it led to changes in their established viewpoints about a particular educational issue or opened up new opportunities professionally.

The fact that the program allows FLTAs to be both a student and a teacher was considered to be a great opportunity. In addition to teaching, each participant benefited by taking courses, for example:

> I had the privilege to attend linguistics courses from the best known professors in the field. I took bilingualism, sociolinguistics, TESOL and linguistics courses in Syracuse University besides teaching Turkish. The courses were fruitful and I learned a lot. (Onur)
>
> Professionally, I had a chance to take classes related to my major such as Educational Technology, Children's Literature, Teaching Grammar and Methodology. I also observed language classes at primary and middle schools in Boston. I had a chance to compare the language teaching in Turkey and America. I noted down the fun and interesting classroom activities and adapted them to use in my classes in Turkey. I improved my classroom management skills thanks to the discussion classes at university and school observations. Secondly, I taught Turkish at Boston University and gained teaching experience by comparing both teaching English and Turkish. Teaching Turkish in Boston was a good reference for me and it gave me a chance to work as a Turkish teacher besides teaching English. (Fatma)

When Seval reflected upon her experience, she expressed few shifts in her educational perspective, but noted that her goals related to her career were certainly affected:

> About education, I did not encounter ground breaking differences from our education system. Theory and structure of education in the States is in a similar line with ours, however, what makes the huge difference is in practice. My understanding of education is that it is a life-long process that must be associated with necessities of people and countries. (Seval)

Two respondents shared the opinion that the FLTA program had an impact on their decisions about the topic and direction of their postgraduate research. For example, prior to his Fulbright experience, Kemal wanted to pursue research in literature. However, his experience changed the direction of his studies, as reported below:

> My Fulbright experience contributed a lot to my profession. Firstly, I clarified the subject of my master's thesis. Since I took lots of master's and doctoral modules at the host university, they helped me a lot both in completing my master's thesis and pursuing an academic career through the doctoral study. I changed my research area from English Language and Literature to English Language Teaching, specializing on intercultural communicative competence; I can say that my highly multicultural and multilingual experience in the USA laid the foundation of my area. (Kemal)

These comments are consistent with other responses indicating that there was an impact on both educational goals and career path:

> It is not wrong if I say that it's my experience in the USA that made me study in the area of English Language Teaching. I was an English Language and Literature graduate when I participated in the exchange program, and although I had been working as a research assistant at the department of ELT, I had no intention to pursue a PhD degree in this area. However, as part of the program requirement, I took varied master modules in English, TESOL and American Studies program. One of the courses inspired me for the topic of my master's thesis, and all in all they inspired me for a further study in the area of foreign language teaching. Thus upon my return, I finished my master and applied for the PhD program where I am currently registered as a PhD student and working as a full time research assistant. (Onur)

What is important is that each participant has seriously reflected on key educational issues by comparing Turkey and the USA. Seval, like others, upon critically examining her assumptions concerning students' ways of learning, reported shifts in her perspectives, as she reflects in the interview:

> During my stay in the USA, the most striking point was my realization of how professional the students were. Each of them was aware of how to learn a subject effectively. That is why they sometimes were able to direct the teachers for the way they teach. For example, in mid-evaluation forms, they expressed their need for more quizzes for our course. (Seval)

Similar to Seval, Özge appreciated American students' learning habits, contrasting them to those of Turkish students:

> Students are goal-oriented. It is a competitive system; there is no copying as in Turkey. There are strict rules and regulations to follow which are made explicit to the students at the beginning of the year. (Özge)

Likewise, Kemal noted shifts in his foundational frames of reference concerning students' way of learning, again by noticing disparities between the Turkish and American education systems:

> Although the American education system is not the best, with its standardized aspects and systematic functioning it is still better in some ways when compared to education in Turkey. The experience I had with my students and other teaching staff made me to appreciate the value of education as a system leading students to independent and critical thinking, questioning, reasoning, experiential learning, and goal oriented studying with a student-centered learning approach based on the needs of the students. On the other hand, it's also highly standardized and systematic in terms of the syllabus design, grading and assessment criteria, allocated office hours and accessibility of the teaching staff by the students. (Kemal)

While critically reflecting upon his experience, Ziya experienced a disorienting dilemma in which he became aware of an inconsistency between his preconceptions of the American educational system and what he observed once he became a part of it. Upon critical reflection on the dilemma, he reassessed his currently held assumptions, resulting in transformation, which he reports below:

> I need to state that visiting the USA was my first study abroad experience, thus I had very limited knowledge about what education looks like in other countries. I was so full of positive attitudes to education in the USA that I was also unable to understand the shortcomings of the US education system at first. Later I had a balanced view; and was able to compare the education

> system in both countries. Thus, I appreciated the American education system which leads students to independent and critical thinking, independent and applied learning, equal representation in the classroom, respect for diversity in the classroom, and independent research. I admired how the education system in the USA leaves much space to students to decide what they want to do, and what they want to learn. I also appreciated their transparent school policy and management, clear syllabus and course expectations and timely manners. Meanwhile, I also criticized the costly American college education, which I believe suspends access and equity in education. (Ziya)

As these participants pointed out, even though their opinions of the US education system may not have changed dramatically, their FLTA experience gave them greater knowledge and a deeper understanding of students and the education system in the USA. This finding is consistent with that of Demir et al. (2000). All participants in that earlier study agreed that their Fulbright experience in the USA broadened their world view and increased their knowledge about American life and education.

Transforming Perspectives and Understandings of Culture

For Mezirow (2000), learning is an attempt on the part of the learner to find meaning in his or her ongoing experience of life and knowing. It is more of a process of interpretive construction, rather than an accumulation of objective facts. Survey responses indicated that the FLTA experience broadened this study participants' intercultural competence and helped them overcome cultural biases. One participant stated:

> Apart from the "American Culture", with the Fulbright program, I met people from around 20–25 countries and I am still in contact with many of them. Learning about their lifestyle, their view of the world and particularly of my country was of great interest to me. Also learning about their culture was one of the most precious gains of the program for me. All in all, thanks to the Fulbright program, I was privileged enough to broaden my horizons by being open to all sorts of different cultures and being free of prejudices. To me, culture is an accumulation of what a people has experienced in the course of time but more importantly, a consequence of their interaction with the neighboring societies. With the Fulbright program, I realized that cultures of the world, however distant they are to one another, are similar to each other. Surely, there are and must be differences. They are not drawbacks but a great opportunity for cultures to get to know and rejoice. (Ziya)

Others also pointed out how the FLTA program gave them a fuller picture and better appreciation of other cultures:

> My FLTA work has certainly broadened my appreciation of other cultures. My experiences teaching abroad to students from different cultural backgrounds also showed that people appeared to have no prejudices for different cultures. People get accustomed to living with those from other cultures; they rather considered that as a variety. (Fatma)

A few participants also compared the local culture with Turkish culture, saying that people appear to be friendly but they found it to be in a superficial way so that, ultimately, it struck the participants that the Americans they met were in fact *not* so friendly. But for many, the FLTA program was seen more as an opportunity to overcome their own biases hence transforming their cultural perspectives toward American culture. Kim (2001) sees intercultural competency as anchored in the individual's adaptive capacity to alter his or her perspective in an effort to accommodate the demands of a different culture, and in having the ability to manage the varied contexts of the intercultural encounter. Evidence of such adaptive capacity is reflected in the words of the following participant:

> Before I participated to the program, I can say that I was biased against the American culture in relation to its political affairs in the Middle East. A typical American image in my mind was rude, selfish, not caring about others' feeling. I was also so protective about my own culture. During my stay in the USA, I built really strong relationships with American and international community living in Michigan and other areas. I suspended my beliefs and biases about American culture and appreciated Americans that have unique cultural values. I realized that Americans are more individualized and caring about their individual rights. But they are also caring about each other, protesting when necessary. Turks might be a little bit more communal when compared to Americans, but it is also true that a typical American respects individual differences and varieties more than we respect in our culture. All in all, participating in that program also helped me to stabilize my identity as a global citizen and led me to suspend my own cultural values, and made me to question my own culture; whether we are really welcoming to differences, tolerant of each other, respect each others' rights etc. (Arda)

Transformational growth necessitates an action—critical reflection on the experience—to happen. Ziya stated that dialogue with his students and others contributed greatly to mutual understanding and overcoming some biases:

> I also noticed that young Americans didn't know much about Turkey and thought of Turkey as an Arabic country and even I witnessed some people asking me if we rode camels in Turkey. My dialogue with many American friends was helpful in giving a real picture of Turkey. When I talked to an American at the age of 40, on the other hand, they know much about Turkey and even some told me they visited the touristy places in Turkey. (Ziya)

Most grantees naturally compared American culture with Turkish culture, focusing on their commonalities and differences. As an example:

> In the Turkish culture people don't like loneliness and prefer to pass time together more often than the US people. American party life offers a solution to loneliness, where people come together to get rid of loneliness. All in all, getting to know other places and cultures makes you analyze your own, and you can see the good and the bad. I'd like to state that I saw a multicultural community in Syracuse with lots of MA and PhD students studying at Syracuse University. One interesting aspect of this community is that they all get on well with each other, share their experience and knowledge while together and express their local home culture freely in any event. I feel that I have developed cross-cultural understanding while interacting with this community, tasting different foods, witnessing different points of view and different approaches to the academic problems. While hanging out with my American friends I noticed that when they faced a problem they took it easy, didn't panic and could look at the problem from different perspectives. (Ziya)

From the words of these grantees, it is evident that their experiences gave them greater knowledge and deeper understandings of American people and culture, leading them to question their preconceptions of various cultural issues, which in turn affected their overall opinions. This process of learning and reflecting resulted in a reassessment of their assumptions and meaning schemes (Reed 2007).

Transforming Perspectives and Understandings of Democracy

A transformation was also experienced in some participants' perspectives of democracy. Several participants stated that they greatly appreciated American democratic values, for example:

> I witnessed and enjoyed an atmosphere in which people could freely express themselves in every possible way. People were very responsible and aware that their freedom ends when they interfere in other's, which proved to be one of the prerequisites of peace in the USA. However, after a year in the States, and five years passing by, I still have difficulties in understanding the election system and the parliamentary regulations in the USA. (Kemal)

Two participants felt, however, that they had overemphasized the importance of an American perspective prior to their stay in the USA, and that during their sojourn, they seriously reflected on their assumptions of an American image. These increased doubts and criticisms were expressed in particular detail by Arda:

> Before my visit I thought that everything was wonderful, free and liberal. During my visit I noticed strict rules to be followed. Although people appear to have freedom of speech, they need to behave within rules. If they break the rules they are violated by the police. To say the truth, I believe that Americans also witness major democratic abuse, but they have what I call a "prominent democracy". So they are not very sensitive to those abuses: I mean typical Americans might not run into trouble if they criticize the government; there is freedom of speech after all. Or typical journalists might not be arrested if they report a corruption scandal. There is a highly standardized system which lets individual do act, and be free inside the border of the system. In this standard, there is no problem as long as one knows where he belongs in the hierarchy, is busy with his individual problems, and raises his voice inside the borders. Thus, in this peaceful order, everything, every diverse society, and marginalized idea seem to be represented equally, however if one tries to resist against the order (which I believe highly relates to the real democratic representation), then there would appear a very strong democratic abuse. There is a fine system set by the lobbies effective in the American politics, and Americans have their rights to play in this system which they call democracy. Thus, my Fulbright experience might lead me to suspend my understanding of democracy in the world, but it definitely did not make me appreciate the democracy in the USA. However I had a chance to observe the difference between the notions of democracy in two cultures, thus I found different aspects that I appreciate in both cultures. (Arda)

In summary, almost all participants indicated that the FLTA experience greatly affected their intercultural and educational understandings as well as their views of democracy. Most of them, in some way, became aware of an inconsistency between his/her previous thinking of various aspects of the American culture (initial frames of reference), and new information. They reflected critically on their assumptions, resulting in transformation. As stated by Reed (2007, p. 25), through critical reflection, a resulting reassessment of assumptions and meaning schemes (values and assumptions) currently held takes place. The participants reported a variety of examples of how and why their FLTA sojourn was a transformative experience. Some respondents were easily able to identify that disorienting dilemma, others had to re-examine the experience, verbally, to find it. Having faced a disorienting dilemma, participants engaged in critical reflection on their assumptions and beliefs. Transformation, in many cases, was bounded by questions of what the American education system, culture or democracy is like compared to the Turkish one. From the educational aspect, for four participants, the FLTA experience reinforced the decision to follow an academic path on which they had already started, but with a different perspective and research topic to investigate.

Do the Grantees Integrate Their Transformed Perspectives into Their Occupational Practice and Career Prospects? If so, How?

Through this question, the aim was to find out whether FLTAs, after their return home, made use of knowledge and experience they gained from the program in their profession. In fact, the new perspective manifested itself in several different ways, which can be illustrated under various sub-topics.

Highlighting/Integrating Culture in Teaching

Upon returning from the Fulbright sojourn, almost all grantees stated that they put a greater emphasis on allocating time to "culture" in their courses. Arda, for example, reported combining his skills as a lecturer with his new cross-cultural perspective in teacher education courses at his university:

> After my return home I focused more on cross-cultural understanding in my teaching and research. I have been teaching the course "Approaches to ELT I and II" and in these courses I allocate a chapter to teaching culture in ELT. I focus on how to teach culture and how to develop cross-cultural understanding in students. In this course, the textbook we use doesn't include a chapter on teaching culture. The USA experience taught me I

> should place more focus on culture, which is very important in language classes. Thus I cover such topics as "cultural islands", "culture capsules", "culture clusters", "culture assimilators", "critical incidents/problem solving", "mini-dramas", "audio-motor units", "cartoons", "celebrating festivals", "kinesics and body language", "cultural consciousness-raising" to develop cross-cultural understanding in learners. (Arda)

Teaching English in a secondary school, Ziya was able to transfer his transformed cultural perspectives into his teaching, as reported below:

> Having spent some time in the USA makes me a reliable and enjoyable source of information about the US culture in their eyes. So how could I use this in classes? Whenever we come across something interesting in course books related to the US, they immediately want me to tell them depending on my experiences and giving my own examples and stories. I sometimes use photos I had taken during my stay there and show some documents I was given while getting my visa, or receiving lessons in the USA. To make things more enjoyable, we wrote mails to American friends of mine and examined their replies in terms of the language used and what they themselves tell about their own culture and traditions. It was a big fun for the students. (Ziya)

Another aim of sharing their transformed perspectives of culture was to help students and Turkish people to overcome possible cultural biases against Americans:

> The program taught me that unless I share what I learned about the USA, its people, and culture, what I gained would just be a useless mass of information. I, as a teacher of English and as someone who is expected to teach the language and culture of the USA, felt that it is more than necessary to let people know that a great many of what we think we know about the people of other countries, especially of the USA, might be based upon stereotypes and misunderstanding and should be replaced by accurate ones. And here, I have got responsibilities to share what I know and to encourage people around me to try to learn more about others by having a direct communication rather than movies, and what from media. (Ziya)

This sentiment is also shared by others, as in the following:

> Having gained such experiences in the USA, being a teacher of English and thus having responsibilities to teach English language together with culture of America and Britain, I felt that I should try my best to let others know

what is real and accurate about America in my teaching environments and when I am together with my friends. (Seval)

It is also noted by the following grantee, teaching in a private secondary school, that cultural elements were integrated into her English lessons reflecting her own knowledge of culture:

I use my experience in my English lessons to enrich my classes with cultural points to help my students understand and appreciate the target culture. I involve cultural items in my examples. I try to give examples from the academic environment there to my students here who want to become academicians in the future. The students not only extend their knowledge and raise their awareness about how people outside their country live, but they also get to think that America or other countries are no longer reachable only in dreams. (Fatma)

Changing the Direction of Academic Research

The Fulbright experience expanded the participants' knowledge and strengthened their expertise, leading them to acquire new or altered educational and research perspectives. From the educational aspect, for four participants, the FLTA experience reinforced their decision to follow the academic path that they had already started on, but with a different perspective and research topic to investigate, as in the example expressed below:

After my return home, in my research studies I focused more on English as an International Language Pedagogy and wrote such articles as "Standards and Competence in English as an International Language Pedagogy" (published in the *Journal of English as an International Language*) and "Models, Norms and Goals for English as an International Language Pedagogy and Task Based Language Teaching and Learning" (published in the *Asian EFL Journal*). In the USA I took sociolinguistics classes where I studied English as an International Language and later on I focused more on the topic and now it is one of my research areas. In 2009 I held a conference with the theme "English as an International Language" and presenters from 22 different countries attended the conference. In 2014 I organized another conference and in this conference I presented a paper on "Cultures of Learning", which is again related to culture and English as an International Language Pedagogy. Thus the US experience helped me gain the necessary knowledge that I currently use in my research and teaching. (Arda)

Integrating Perceptions of Democracy into Teaching

Many of the grantees were able to transfer their altered perspectives of democracy into their classroom to promote democratic values and respect for individual rights. The following participant, for example, reported gaining in intercultural sensitivity as well as in respect for diversity. He explained his sensitivity to diversity in teaching multicultural, multilingual classes to students with different ethnic background in a secondary school in Turkey:

> The multicultural, multilingual, diverse but aggregated giant structure of the USA helped me to be aware of the value of diversity and cross-cultural understanding. This awareness has reflections in my classroom activities back in Turkey in terms of my approaches to the students, and equal representation of the diverse ideas. Living generally in an isolated geography and my students' sensitivity to protecting their own cultural values and identities have been critically important for me to easily incorporate culture teaching into my English classes. (Ziya)

A similar perspective was expressed by another grantee teaching in secondary education:

> [Since returning] I attach great importance to equality in my classes. I try to maintain my class in a democratic way as much as possible; students are able to express themselves on a given topic without fear. Even when it is politics and when it is a controversial one, I give equal turns to people to express themselves and also require them to respect one another. (Fatma)

Improving Teaching Knowledge and Skills

The FLTA experience also helped the grantees to promote their professional knowledge and skills in teaching English and transform it into their classes in Turkey, as expressed by all participants. The following quotation is a good example of how this is manifested:

> Professionally, I had a chance to take classes related to my major at the university such as Educational Technology, Children's Literature, Teaching Grammar, and Methodology. I also observed the language classes at primary and middle schools in Boston. I noted down the fun and interesting

> classroom actives and adapted them to use in my classes in Turkey. I improved my classroom management skills thanks to the discussion classes at university and school observations. Now, I enjoy sharing all these with my students in my English classes. (Fatma)

Another educational issue that saw some transformation was the participants' attempts to promote independent learning in their classes, as pointed out below by a participant teaching in a secondary school:

> I aim to help my students find their preferred way of learning and equip them with methods of learning English. In this way, they can be independent learners. (Yeşim)

A final way that some participants saw a broadening of their teaching knowledge can be seen in their reports of continuing to teach Turkish after their return from the USA. While several pointed to now enjoying teaching Turkish to foreigners at their home institutions, at least one reported also using her FLTA teaching experience skills to teach Turkish to Syrian students back in Turkey.

In summary, as explained in the preceding section, after completing the FLTA program, all participants continued to work in the education field. They reported that they integrated their transformed perspectives either in their teaching practices or in shaping the future direction of their research in several different ways. As a result, they accommodated changes and implemented changes in their teaching and/or career direction, seeking to incorporate their new goals into their educational pursuits. The participants reported a variety of examples of how they integrated their transformed perspectives into their teaching, whether in secondary level education, university education or in their specific research context.

Conclusion

In this study, Mezirow's transformative learning paradigm was used as a theoretical framework to evaluate the impact of eight Turkish FLTAs' experiences in the USA. It was found that the international experience caused the participants to critically question their assumptions of education, culture and democracy, and reflect upon previous ideas; leading to a transformation and to greater accommodation of new perspectives (Mezirow 2000).

This apparent transformation is significant for three reasons: First, it shows a broadening of the participants' perspectives of educational and cultural issues as well as of democracy. Second, this transformation is significant as it conforms to the aim of the Fulbright Program, stated below by Senator Fulbright:

The rapprochement of peoples is only possible when differences of culture and outlook are respected and appreciated rather than feared and condemned, when the common bond of human dignity is recognized as the essential bond for a peaceful world. (http://fulbright.org/diversity/)

Indeed, in this study, each Fulbright grantee reported overcoming some of their biases, and developing greater respect and appreciation of others' cultural values.

The third significant aspect of this transformation lies in the fact that the participants seem to have been able to implement their transformed perspectives upon returning from their sojourn. An evaluation of the participants' experiences seems to demonstrate that the FLTA Program does indeed serve to building bridges of understanding between the USA and Turkey—the underlining mission and policy of the Fulbright programs. The findings of this study also suggest that the FLTA program successfully serves to promoting a positive image of the USA.

Regarding the implications of the study for the Fulbright Commission organizers of the FLTA program, the results suggest that time be given during the pre-departure orientation to address the possible challenges the grantees may experience in teaching Turkish as a foreign language. By providing strategies and tips for dealing with such technical complications, the program organizers can help the grantees capitalize more effectively on the program's deeper potential.

This study is qualitative in nature, incorporating a survey with in-depth interviews to interpret these cases of Turkish Fulbright awardees as exemplars of the transformative nature of the international FLTA experience, rather than aiming to present generalizable findings coming from a greater population. Moving forward, future research with greater number of grantees could enrich the present findings. In addition, in the present study, it has been observed that even after two years following their sojourn, the grantees' transformed perspectives seemed to be impacting their professional lives. Hence, further systematic research can be done to evaluate the even longer-term impact of the FLTA program on grantees' perspectives, and exploring whether and how the returned grantees integrate their transformed perspectives into practices in their occupational and/or academic contexts.

It can be concluded that the FLTA Program is a powerful educational tool of US foreign policy as it provides grantees with a unique opportunity to learn firsthand about the USA. Such an experience causes the grantees to challenge their preconceptions about various issues, as discussed in this study, and come to terms with these preconceptions based on first-hand observations of the USA.

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CHAPTER 10

The Interculturality of Graduate Turkish Sojourners to English L1 Countries

Faruk Kural and Yasemin Bayyurt

In this chapter, we report on the findings of an investigation into Turkish students engaging in study abroad programs and discuss how the results of that research contributed to the designing of a syllabus to develop the intercultural competence of such study abroad students (See Appendix B). The findings provided the thematic outline of the syllabus content, which was structured within the framework of Deardorff's (2006) process-oriented intercultural competence development model.

Background

Sending students abroad has a long history in Turkey as part of the state's policy of modernizing the education system. In 1929, the parliament approved Act No. 1416, the "Legislation of Sending Students Abroad to Study" (Karagözoğlu 1985), which also provided scholarships for graduate students deemed eligible by the Ministry of Education or other state institutions to pursue their studies in foreign countries upon completion

F. Kural (✉)
Yeditepe University, Istanbul, Turkey

Y. Bayyurt
Department of Foreign Languages, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey

J. Mathews-Aydinli (ed.), *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43829-0_10

of their undergraduate education. In recent years, the number of Turkish students studying abroad under this act has increased. In 2002, 630 Turkish students sponsored under the act undertook their graduate studies in foreign countries; by 2011, this number was up to 1723. An overwhelming majority of these students undertake their studies in English L1 countries, especially in the United States. The figures show that 577 of the 630 sojourners in 2002 and 1577 of 1723 in 2011 were enrolled in programs in the USA and England. Under the current provisions of the Act, students who lack sufficient language skills are required to take a six-month-long preparatory language course prior to their departure. These courses are offered at the departments of foreign languages of certain state universities, in order to prepare the students for internationally recognized exams such as the TOEFL and IELTS.

According to the Council of Turkish Higher Education (2005) figures, 43 % of the government-sponsored students who returned to Turkey *without* completing their education did so due to academic failure. It can be assumed that the figures could be even higher if we consider the numbers of those who undertake their advanced studies abroad without government sponsorship. As the studies of Khawaja and Stallman (2011) and Poyrazlı and Kavanaugh (2006) found, low academic achieving international students studying in the USA reported lower levels of English proficiency and greater overall adjustment strain, from which it can be proposed that lack of sufficient intercultural competence (IC) could be contributing significantly to the academic problems experienced by these students.

Despite the long history of English preparatory programs offered for government-sponsored Turkish international graduate students, there has been scant research to date to demonstrate to what extent the candidates who undertake these programs have been able to develop sufficient IC needed for their academic progress abroad. While the success criteria of these programs are bound by the candidates' sufficient preparation for the TOEFL and IELTS exams, which are also set as the primary achievement objectives by the program providers, there has not been any academic attempt that would address the views of the program students on their IC needs, as based on their own experience and reflections. Furthermore, IC development has become an inseparable dimension of communication domains in the context of English L1 countries, as cross-cultural communication in these countries is the reality of everyone's daily interactions. It has to be considered therefore in terms of the global nature of English, that is, from the perspective of English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF), particularly for those whose first language is other than English.

The program on which the present study focused is offered at a state university in Istanbul, Turkey. The program consists of 125 days of full-time studies. In the first term, the students are placed according to European Language Portfolio proficiency level and are given intensive course-book-based instruction. They are reshuffled at the beginning of the second term to undertake intensive TOEFL and IELTS exam preparatory instruction. Upon completion of the program, the participants are entitled to take another six-month language course abroad if they still do not have sufficient language skills or if they simply choose to. If they have sufficient TOEFL or IELTS scores, they are allowed to start their graduate programs immediately without taking any further language course. Once they complete the program in Turkey, they are allowed to begin their sojourns without being obliged to meet any other linguistic criteria.

Literature Review

The characteristics of global speech events are inconsistent with the principles and priorities of traditional norm-based ESL/EFL pedagogy. However, recent theoretical approaches to English language teaching (ELT) from a critical perspective (Hülmabauer et al. 2008) provide grounds on which researchers and practitioners can reconceptualize ELT. For example, in ELF-informed/ELF-aware pedagogy (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015; Seidlhofer 2011), learners are not expected to conform to native-speaker norms. They are primarily considered to be *users* of the language, where the main consideration is not formal correctness but functional effectiveness. Gnutzmann (2000) indicates that when used as a lingua franca, English is no longer founded on the linguistic and sociocultural norms of native speakers and their respective cultures. Widdowson (1994) claims that language learners cannot be autonomous in a learning environment where another culture and its language are imposed upon them, and proposes to “shift the emphasis away from context of use to context of learning, and consider how language is to be specially designed to engage the student’s reality and activate the learning process” (p. 387).

Other studies undertaken over the last decade concerning ELF-awareness in ELT (e.g. Bayyurt and Akcan 2015; Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015) also indicate that the pedagogic perspective of ELF, with its global features and cross-cultural role, shifts the focus of English teaching toward communication skills and procedures abandoning unrealistic notions of achieving “perfect” communication through “native-like” proficiency. They indicate that exposure to a wide-range of varieties of English and a multilingual/comparative approach are likely to facilitate communication strategies and accommodation skills, which include drawing on extra-linguistic cues, gauging interlocutors’ linguistic repertoires, supportive listening, signalling non-comprehension in a face-saving way, asking for repetition, paraphrasing, and so on (Jenkins 2014; Matsuda and Friedrich 2011).

One dimension that needs to be considered as an essential factor inseparable from ELF-informed pedagogy is its emphasis on intercultural awareness and intercultural communicative competence/intercultural competence (IC). Recent studies in the field focus on IC as an essential element of global culture, global citizenship, and global communication skills and their development in ELF interactions (Alptekin 2002; Baker 2011; Seidlhofer 2011).

In their report prepared for the Council of Europe, Barrett and Byram (2013) define IC as:

> a combination of attitudes, knowledge, understanding, and skills applied through action which enables one, either singly or together with others, to understand and respect people who are perceived to have different cultural affiliations from oneself; to respond appropriately, effectively and respectfully when interacting and communicating with such people; establish a positive and constructive relationship with such people; and understand oneself and one’s own multiple cultural affiliations through encounters with cultural ‘difference.’ (p. 7)

There have been a variety of terms used by different researchers to describe IC or intercultural understanding, such as “interpersonal communicative competence” (Ruben 1976), “cross-cultural adaptation” (Kim 1993), “intercultural sensitivity” (Bennett 1993), “intercultural effectiveness” (Stone 2006, p. 338), “intercultural competence” (Deardorff 2006), “intercultural literacy” (Heyward 2002), and “global competence” (Hunter et al. 2006). However, there has been scant consensus on how concepts related to IC should be defined (Deardorff 2006; Freeman et al. 2009; Stier 2006). Although what they all try to account for is the ability to step beyond one’s own culture and to function with other individuals from linguistically and culturally distinct backgrounds, Deardorff (2006) argues that the differences in the use of terminology and the lack of specificity in the definition of IC is caused by the difficulty of identifying the specific components of the concepts attributed to IC.

The literature indicates that IC and related skills can be interpreted as the abilities to behave and communicate effectively and appropriately in multicultural settings, suggesting that the development of IC skills involves an on-going learning process of interpretation, self-reflection, and negotiation that gradually transform one's attitude, knowledge, and skills toward cultural differences, in which language functions as a means of interaction and communication to facilitate its development.

Although there is no complete agreement on the definition of IC between researchers and scholars, a study conducted by Deardorff (2006) applied both survey and Delphi methods to bring together a range of intercultural experts, scholars, and administrators to encapsulate the many perspectives on IC into a single consensus definition that could serve as the compromising basis and starting point for future IC development attempts and purposes. The model was developed through identifying the aspects on which the experts reached consensus, and then categorizing and placing them into a model that lends itself to better understanding and furthering the development of measurable outcomes. Briefly, the model defines IC as "the ability to interact effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations, based on specific attitudes, intercultural knowledge, skills and reflection" (Stiftung 2006, p. 5).

The model describes IC as a process orientation that is organized at two levels or stages, individual, and interaction, each of which contains separate steps. At the individual level, the first step requires one to possess the attitudes of respect, value for other cultures, openness, ability to withhold judgments, and curiosity to discover, while tolerating ambiguity. The second step requires one to develop specific knowledge and comprehension that would include cultural self-awareness, deep cultural knowledge, and sociolinguistic awareness. Consequently, to continually acquire and comprehend this kind of knowledge, one must possess the skills to listen, observe, evaluate, analyze, interpret, and relate. At the interactional level, this definition of IC distinguishes between two types of desired outcomes: internal and external. The internal desired outcomes demonstrating IC are an informed frame of reference change that comes through adaptability, flexibility, ethnorelative view, and enthusiasm. The external outcome desired from this process orientation is that all of these developmental gains are integrated holistically so that the individual demonstrates effective and appropriate communication and behavior in an intercultural setting.

Much of the literature concerning IC development (Bennett 1993; Chen and Starosta 2000; Zhao 2002) has noted that the more intercultural sensitivity a person has, the more interculturally competent s/he can be. Various intercultural sensitivity areas that can be used as indicators of IC development and assessment have been identified:

- Interaction Engagement
- Respect for Cultural Differences
- Interaction Confidence
- Interaction Enjoyment
- Interaction Attentiveness

As the word "international" implies intercultural, IC plays a key role in ELF as well as in foreign language programs (Baker 2011; Bayyurt 2006, 2013), in which language and culture are traditionally treated as separate constructs (Byrnes 2002; Crawford-Lange and Lange 1984; Kramsch 1993). While the traditional notion of communicative competence requires learners to learn the cultures of the native speaker's norms, such an approach to culture teaching would not be appropriate for ELF-aware teaching, which involves cross-cultural communication among speakers from different backgrounds.

Thus, educating students to become ELF users means to accustom them to be interculturally sensitive; and to equip them with the ability of acting as cultural mediators, seeing the world through others' eyes, and consciously using culture learning skills (Sen Gupta 2002). Within this framework of intercultural learning, the learner is viewed as an "intercultural speaker," someone who "crosses frontiers, and who is to some extent a specialist in the transit of cultural property and symbolic values" (Byram and Zarate 1997, p. 11).

Deardorff (2006) suggests that a fundamental aspect of study abroad programs is adequate preparation of the students in intercultural learning that occurs beyond declaring "it changed my life." This indicates that adequate preparation means helping students gain an understanding of IC frameworks, vocabulary, and concepts so that they can apply them to their learning, before, during, and after the experience.

Focusing on the significance of the teacher's role and the learner's perceptual change in an EFL context, Bayyurt and Altınmakas (2012) reported that some significant changes were observed in the students' perspectives about native speakerism during the implementation of an ELF-aware oral and written communication course designed for an English Language and Literature undergraduate program in Turkey. They indicated that despite the students' rigid view of standard English forms being the ideal forms and emphasizing the primacy of learning these norms, their exposure to global varieties of English led to the recognition of the significance of mutual intelligibility, which also was reflected in a shift both in their concepts of self and in their attitudes to other cultures. Emphasizing the significance of the teacher's role in the development of global culture through English, they reported that the students' initial stereotypical images mainly stemmed from their high school education and their teachers' lack of knowledge about global characteristics of English. Such stereotypical attitudes developed through all stages of English language teaching based on native speakerism, which is one of the main characteristics of the Turkish education system (Bayyurt 2006, 2012).

The Study

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current study was to design an IC-focused syllabus for Turkish international graduate students to be implemented prior to their departure to English L1 countries where English is used as a medium of real communication (henceforth ELF context), and thus to equip them with the necessary IC skills they would need to resolve their communication problems in English during their graduate studies, and to improve their capability of communicating their own identities, affairs, opinions, and reflections in global settings. The outline of the syllabus resulting from this study can be found in Appendix B.

Research Questions

In order to identify the participants' IC development needs, the study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the IC needs of government-sponsored Turkish international graduate students who are preparing to undertake studies in English L1 countries?

2. How can we design an IC development course that could better equip and prepare these students with the capability of communicating their own identities, affairs, opinions, and reflections in global settings?

Data Collection and Analysis

In order to answer the above research questions, a needs analysis was conducted by collecting data from 25 participants who were preparing to go abroad for their academic studies. Initially, a demographic features questionnaire and a *Needs and Attitude Analysis Questionnaire (NAAQ)* adapted from Bayyurt and Karataş (2011) were administered to all the participants before they started their study abroad English preparatory program. The *NAAQ* consists of 18 statements to be responded to using a 5-Level Likert-type scale ranging from *Least Important*, *Partially Important*, *Important*, *Very Important* to *Extremely Important*. This questionnaire elicits the participants' opinions on the purposes for which learning English serves and to what extent learning English is important for these purposes.

Following completion of the preparatory English program in Turkey an E-mail interview questionnaire (Holliday 2005) was later sent to these same participants during their sojourn in English L1 countries. This questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions in which the participants were asked to assess their own intercultural experience in the ELF context (See Appendix A).

The descriptive statistics of the questionnaire data were analyzed using SPSS version 17.0. Thematic analysis was used to analyze and categorize the themes that emerged in the E-mail interviews, as will be explained in detail in the following section.

Results and Discussions

The descriptive statistics results of the NAAQ indicated that, prior to their sojourn, the participants considered learning English relatively more important than developing intercultural sensitivity in terms of their academic progress and professional life. They also emphasized that learning English was more important for their communication needs with native speakers compared to their communication needs with non-native speakers. As the subsequent section will reveal, several of their initial ideas changed once they began their sojourns abroad.

The following themes emerged as a result of the analysis of the participants' e-mail interview responses during the period of their study-abroad programs: *perceptions of the "ideal English" and native speakerism* (i.e. their attitudes toward English used by its native speakers compared to its use by non-native speakers); *perceptions of their own English*; *views on their English learning experiences*; *intercultural awareness and views on intercultural development needs*; and *receptivity to ELF*.

When the participants were asked to describe "ideal English" and its speakers, they stated that their opinion of these concepts changed drastically after arriving in the host country. Their responses indicated a shift away from a normative approach that considers native-American or British English as the "ideal variety," toward the realization of the existence of many varieties in the host country, as seen for example in the following excerpts:

> The English you need to use for communication abroad is different than the ideal English. (participant 9)
>
> I do not think that there is anything like ideal English. Everyone speaks English at different levels. (participant 13)

From these and others' responses, it could be concluded that the instruction content of the preparation class syllabus has to focus on the existence of different varieties of English in the host countries, and on the subjectivity of the "ideal English" concept.

The participants' shift in opinion was also evident in their responses concerning native speakerism. The participants stated that English used in daily communication was much different from the way it was used in academic writing or in teacher–student communication in the classroom context, and they noted that native speakers also made a lot of mistakes in their oral interactions, just as non-native speakers do. In the words of participant 1:

> Although I have developed English needed for social life in a short period of time, the academic level of English is much different. The vocabulary world is very broad especially in the area of social science. There are very complex sentence structures in the articles. It is very difficult to express what you want in the street. English is not spoken grammatically by uneducated people in the way it is taught to us. (participant 1)

Although the participants expressed that their views on "ideal English" had changed since their arrival in the host country, they all firmly believed that communication was more important than conforming to the norms. As some of the participants stated:

> When we consider the U.S., intelligibility of English varies between the states. (participant 6)
>
> I have confronted many different accents here such as Scottish, Irish and American. Scots were the most difficult for me to understand. I have realized that I still have shortcomings in English and yet there is a lot more to learn. I have also seen that even the English have uncertainties about their own language and often do not make sense of some of the grammar rules… (participant 24)

The participants' responses, whether consciously or subconsciously, tended to point out the significance of communication, and to issues involved with being exposed to the different varieties that exist in the host country, rather than conforming to any particular norm.

The participants' responses concerning their perceptions of their own English revealed that they had difficulties especially in their oral communication with native speakers, contrary to their expectations that native speakers would strictly conform to all the rules that the students had been taught. Examples of this observation can be seen in the responses of participants 16 and 17:

> English used in daily communication is not like the proper and intelligible English we heard in the classes; and unfortunately I've had some minor difficulties as Americans do not speak like the English do by following the rules. (participant 16)
>
> What I used to think was that knowing more vocabulary would make it easier for us to speak; but as far as I have seen here, what is important is not just to know the vocabulary, but is to know how to use it. In short, chicken translation is completely over for me. (participant 17)

The participants' responses indicated that the instruction content of the syllabus needs to provide sufficient sociolinguistic awareness especially in the areas concerning the nature and the cultural dimension of language, such as self-concept, idiolect, irregularities, and variation in language.

As one of the enrolment prerequisites of the participants' graduate programs in the host country was to obtain a sufficient achievement result on an internationally recognized normative exam such as TOEFL and IELTS, and since their English preparatory program was based on achieving this objective, the participants did not dispute that the program's contents and activities had been directly related to the preparation for these exams. However, their dissatisfaction with the program became apparent when they viewed their English learning experiences in terms of their interaction with people of different cultural backgrounds in the host country. A majority (15) of them expressed their dissatisfaction by suggesting the addition of listening and speaking classes, and by recommending that an interactive teaching approach be used in all the classes so that they could have an opportunity of interaction in the classroom context, for example:

> As a solution to accent differences some activities can be directed towards local varieties. Training can be given to provide support in daily speaking and difficulties confronted in education life. (participant 6)
>
> More conversation classes might be helpful. I think direct instruction on the idioms and structures and more practice will contribute to comprehension and adaptation. (participant 18)

The participants' responses stressed the significance of interaction in the classroom context and indicated that the syllabus content should include activities that would generate in-class discussions guided by the instructor who should act as an interactant/participant instead of assuming the role of information provider.

The participants' responses revealed that only four of them had, prior to their sojourn abroad, some brief, general, and partial intercultural awareness of their non-native associates in the host countries. The remaining 21 students affirmed that they had not had the faintest idea on this matter. Here are some of the examples extracted from the participants' responses that demonstrate typically their lack of intercultural awareness:

> I absolutely did not have any knowledge of the cultures of people around me before I came here. All I can say is that I had thought I had had some narrow knowledge about American culture that I had learned from films and TV series, but when I got here I realized that I had been wrong. (participant 3)
>
> I did not have any knowledge but I had thought that our cultures had been very different. But when I got here I realized that their cultures matched Turkish culture one to one, except for religious issues; except for the Indonesian culture. I thought I knew more or less something about Arabic culture and thought that it would be the closest to our culture; but when I got here I realized that I was completely wrong about that. For

example, I have not met anyone Arab who would not drink, except for just a few. (participant 5)

The participants also stressed the significance of intercultural training prior to sojourn as a contributory factor to adjustment problems. In some of their responses, they raised the suggestion that the English preparatory programs should provide some intercultural training to their candidates to develop sufficient awareness in the cultures that might exist in the host country prior to their departure. They considered such training as a way to establish understanding to ease up their adjustment process and interaction with those of other cultural backgrounds, as the examples provided below reveal:

> I think if a course that is based on the culture of the host country is provided by an instructor who has lived in that country it would help students by averting them from feeling like a fish out of water. In the classic system I suggest more listening. (participant 3)
>
> More weight should be given to the host country's culture and spoken language to overcome the adaptation process earlier. (participant 20)
>
> I definitely advise them (the newcomers) to be open to innovations and to prepare themselves psychologically at the very beginning. (participant 23)

The participants' responses indicated that the syllabus content should include a cultural awareness development component that would inform the participants about the different cultures that exist in the host country. This would help enable them to overcome cultural barriers and ease their interactions with people from different cultural backgrounds within the host country.

Finally, the respondents were asked whether they had any suggestions to new sojourners that might be useful for tackling the difficulties that could be posed by cultural, national, ethnic, and language differences. Among their responses were the following:

> Along with being respectful and tolerant, it is also essential to understand others' points of views and interpretations of cultural similarities and differences. (participant 11)
>
> I advise them to be open-minded and be respectful and understanding to other people. Besides, interpreting people's behavior from different culture according to their own culture and habits, and drawing conclusions from

> such interpretations might mislead them, which might often lead to touchiness and impediment in relationships. (participant 24)

These examples among their responses provide support for the idea that a preparatory syllabus should aim to develop IC qualities prior to sojourn. Such qualities include flexibility, open-mindedness, being tolerant and respectful, and avoidance of stereotypes.

In summary, the participants' responses contributed to the development of the thematic content of the syllabus as their responses stressed the following points. The participants stated that their perceptions of "ideal English" and its speakers had changed since their arrival in the host country, indicating a shift away from a normative approach that considers native-American or British English the "ideal variety," toward the realization of the existence of many varieties of English in the host country. The participants stated that the English used in daily communication was much different from that used in academic writing and in teacher–student communication in the classroom context, and that native speakers, like non-native speakers, also made a lot of mistakes in their oral interactions. They all expressed the belief that communication was of greatest importance, and some participants drew attention to the existence of variation among native speakers and the difficulties posed by their own lack of familiarity with such variation. They all had difficulties, especially in their oral communication with native speakers, contrary to their pre-sojourn expectations that native speakers would strictly conform to the rules in the way the students had been instructed. As one of the enrolment prerequisites of the participants' graduate programs in the host country was to obtain a sufficient achievement result on an internationally recognized normative exam such as TOEFL and IELTS, and their English preparatory program was based on achieving this objective, the participants did not initially dispute the programs' content and activities directly related to the preparation for these exams. However, their dissatisfaction became apparent when they viewed their English learning experiences in terms of their interaction with people of different cultural backgrounds in the host country. More than half (15) of them then expressed their dissatisfaction and suggested the addition of listening and speaking classes and an interactive teaching approach to be used in all the classes so that they could have the opportunity for interaction in the classroom context.

Only four of them stated that they had had some brief, general, and partial intercultural awareness of their non-native associates in the host countries, with 21 affirming that they had not had the faintest idea on this matter. The participants also stressed the importance of having intercultural training prior to sojourn in order to ease adjustment problems, supporting the idea that a preparatory class syllabus should be a means to establish understanding to ease up their adjustment process and interaction with people of other cultural backgrounds. Once traveling to their host countries, these students had come face to face with the reality of ELF posed by the presence of people of different backgrounds using different varieties of English as their second languages for communication. Although the participants, in a technical sense, may not have known what ELF referred to, their responses revealed that they were developing a strong propensity toward the notions related to ELF. As a result, the instruction content and model they expressed support for reflected an ELF perspective of the global communication model. Their views, which suggest exposure to different varieties of English and to the associated cultures in the host country, as well as their advice to those who would like to pursue their graduate studies abroad, clearly indicated their receptivity to ELF, with its emphasis on IC development and sensitivity. Namely, their responses suggested that the syllabus should expose newcomers to different varieties of English and to the cultures existing in the host country, prior to their sojourn.

The IC Development Syllabus

The resulting IC development syllabus was designed to be spread over an eight-week instruction period with 4 hours/week instruction or a 16-week instruction period with 2 hours/week. Its weekly instruction was conceptualized, classified, and described within the syllabus categories of instruction materials, activities, IC development focus areas, IC development goals, and intercultural sensitivity goals. The content of the syllabus was conceptualized and presented as ELF topics in a sequential order spread over the eight-week instruction period with one topic specified for each week.

Based on the data from the students' input, the goals and objectives of the syllabus were set to develop awareness about the global nature of the English language and its function as a lingua franca in global communication. It was designed to enhance the participants' IC through their exposure to ELF-based materials and their participation in in-class activities focusing on the changing notions of and concepts about the global culture and ELF. The goals and objectives of the syllabus were therefore set to be achieved consistent with Deardorff's (2006) process-oriented model, which defines the involvement of the participants in their attainment of IC development by their own involvement in in-class activities at two levels: individual and interactional.

The instruction materials were chosen to expose the participants to ELF varieties in the context of English L1 countries, and intercultural topics deemed essential for the development of intercultural awareness and competence needed for global communication. They include films, videos, and written materials. The written material was compiled and adapted from academic sources, including extractions from Bayyurt (2012, 2013), Wardhaugh (1986), Jenkins (2014), and Parker (1986). The adaptation was accomplished by redundancy and simplification to match the participants' linguistic levels and the IC development areas identified in the syllabus.

The medium of instruction model in the implementation of the syllabus, as well as in the redundancies and simplifications for material preparation, was conceptualized according to Matsuda and Friedrich (2011), who suggest that the most appropriate medium of instruction for an ELF program for learners from the same region or country should be based on the established variety that is dominant in these areas, as they would be consistent with the learners' background in English. Since English classes in the Expanding Circle countries are predominantly held in American or British English, ELF-aware curricula (Bayyurt & Sifakis 2015; Sifakis 2014; Seidelhofer 2011) in these countries should adopt one of them as the instructional model. This did not contradict with the syllabus objectives, which intended to expose the participants to many different ELF varieties used in their host countries.

The activities specified in the syllabus are to be conducted in line with Deardorff's process-oriented model, which is consistent with sociocultural learning theory. The participation of the subjects in the activities was conceptualized within this approach by the activation of the students' skills to listen, observe, evaluate, analyze, interpret, and relate in the classroom context to develop, step by step, first an attitude of respect, value for other cultures, openness, ability to withhold judgments, and curiosity to discover while tolerating ambiguity, and then specific cultural knowledge and comprehension.

Conclusion

The current English preparatory programs provided for government-sponsored Turkish graduate sojourners generally fall short when it comes to developing participants' IC, as the success criteria for these programs are instead bound by the candidates' sufficient preparation for the TOEFL and IELTS exams. These criteria fail to meet the sojourners' communication needs as they ignore the global nature and functions of English and the existence of ELF domains in English L1 countries. Data collected from participants during their studies abroad demonstrate the shortcomings of the current preparatory programs in these areas. They also indicate the participants' desire for complementing these skills through a pre-departure course to be provided during their preparation period.

The syllabus that was designed as a result of this study aims to meet such students' IC development needs. It consists of three major aspects: ELF content; an IC development dimension as defined by Deardorff's (2006) process-oriented model; and a sociocultural outlook to be followed in the implementation of the syllabus, which is intended to turn all three aspects into a common culture to be enjoyed by all those involved—the instructor as an interactant mediator, the learner as an interactant participant, and the administrator as a researcher participant.

Guided by sociocultural learning theory, the IC development process defined by the model and used as the framework in the development of this syllabus, requires the internalization of knowledge shared in the classroom by all the participants, with the mediation of the instructor as an interactant. The learning process designed in the syllabus aims to promote individual development by encouraging the individual's in-class interaction, thus, development can be achieved at both the individual and interactional levels.

Appendix A

E-mail Interview Questions

1. Where are you currently living and studying?
2. Are any of your colleagues, close friends, and lecturers native speakers of English?
3. Do you have any non-native English speaker colleagues, friends, and lecturers? Where do they come from?

4. Prior to arriving in the host country did you have any knowledge about their culture? Please explain briefly.
5. Have you had any adjustment problems such as with language, culture shock, differences in body language, religion, ethnicity, nationality, gender, clothing etc.? Please explain.
6. What are the important issues required for intercultural communication (open-mindedness, social initiative, emotional stability, flexibility, patience, humor, curiosity, and ability to deal with stress)? Please explain.
7. Since you have been abroad has there been any change in your perception of what the ideal English language is and who its speakers are? Please explain.
8. What kind of advice would you give to those who will go to study abroad if they encounter problems resulting from culture, national, ethnic, and language differences?
9. In terms of these issues, do you think the English preparatory program you attended prepared you to live and study abroad?
10. In your opinion, what can be added to the English preparatory program you attended in Turkey in terms of its contents and subjects that would facilitate convenience for living in these countries and ease communication with people living in these countries?

Appendix B: Intercultural Competence Development (ICD) Syllabus

The weekly instruction content of the syllabus was organized according to the material used in a weekly session, and the activities were organized for each session according to the IC focus, identified as "IC and sensitivity development goals," to be achieved on a weekly basis for gradual IC development within the eight-week instruction period.

Week 1: Registration and Introduction; Stereotyping

Material: YouTube videoclips of different varieties of English; Written Handout 1: "Social Categorization and Stereotyping."

Activity: Information exchange on the differences between the students; Discussions on how stereotypes are constructed in societies

Focus: Recognizing differences between individuals within the group; recognizing differences between cultures
IC goal: Withholding judgments; tolerating ambiguity; valuing other cultures
Intercultural Sensitivity goal: Respect for cultural differences; interaction attentiveness

Week 2: The Concept of "Self" and "Idiolect"

Material: YouTube videoclips: different people talking about a common subject; Extracts from the *New York Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Times of India*, the *Turkish Daily News*; Written Handout 2: "Self-Concept"; "Idiolect."
Activity: Students' reports and opinions on the same subjects; Discussions about the news content with particular reference to differences in daily activities and preferences and their cultural variation dimensions; discussion about what makes a person a New Yorker, Londoner, Istanbulite, etc.
Focus: Awareness of "self"; awareness of cultural differences between English speaking societies; multiculturalism in the sense of being a world citizen and recognizing others as members of the same world
IC goal: Withholding judgment; cultural self-awareness; sociolinguistic awareness
IS goal: Interaction confidence; interaction attentiveness; interaction enjoyment

Week 3: English in Turkey; English in L1 Countries

Material: YouTube Videoclips: people from English L1 countries speaking different varieties of English; Written Handout 3: "English in Turkey"; "Variations in English in L1 Countries."
Activity: Debate over their contents with particular reference to what is "ideal" in terms of learning, teaching, and practicing English; discussion on the possible difficulties to be confronted in interaction with similar people in the clips, and what could be done to pursue communication with them

Focus: Awareness of the concept of "ideal" and English learning/teaching practices in Turkey; Communication problems posed by linguistic and cultural variations in English L1 countries and their remedies; strategies to perpetuate communication

IC goal: Tolerating ambiguity; withholding judgment; deep cultural knowledge

IS goal: Interaction confidence; interaction attentiveness

Week 4: Irregularities and "Errors"; Global Varieties of English

Material: YouTube Videoclips: People from different parts of the world using different ELF varieties; Written Handout 4: "Irregularities and Variations in English"

Activity: Discussions on the significance of "errors" in terms of cultural exchange and their communicative function; debate over "grammaticality" and whether "errors" should be corrected; debates and discussions on the contents of the material

Focus: Communicative function of language; and communicative function of English in the global context; reciprocal influences of languages; inevitability of language change as a process of representing societal change

IC goal: Valuing other cultures; tolerating ambiguity; deep cultural knowledge; sociolinguistic awareness

IS goal: Interaction attentiveness; interaction enjoyment

Week 5: ELF Practice

Material: Videos/TV programs presented by native and non-native speakers; watching the movie *Kite Runner* or other

Activity: Students' reports, views, and debates on the content and language use; reports and discussions on the setting and scene, themes and the protagonists

Focus: Differences between variants of English; difficulties posed by such differences

IC goal: Tolerating ambiguity; sociolinguistic awareness; deep cultural knowledge

IS goal: Interaction confidence; interaction enjoyment

Week 6: English in Modern Science; Globalism and National Cultures

Material: Videos/films; Written Handout 5: "Global Varieties of English"
Activity: Students' reports, views and debates on the topics presented in the material discussions
Focus: Linguistic variation and intelligibility; the role of English as a means of global culture and the issue of whether it is a threat to national culture
IC goal: Valuing other cultures; cultural self-awareness; deep cultural knowledge; sociolinguistic awareness
IS goal: Interaction confidence; interaction enjoyment; respect for cultural differences

Week 7: ELF in the International University

Material: Written Handout 6: "Globalism and ELF"
Activity: Discussions about the contents
Focus: The role of ELF in advanced education worldwide; the development of awareness of the significance of ELF in advanced education
IC goal: Deep cultural knowledge; sociolinguistic knowledge
IS goal: Interaction attentiveness; interaction enjoyment

Week 8: Evaluation of the Course

Material: -
Activity: Discussions about the course and its improvement with particular reference to the participants' intercultural development; strengths and weaknesses of the course
Focus: Significance of ELF and intercultural competence in global communication
IC goal: Improvement of the course
IS goal: Interaction engagement; interaction enjoyment

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