

The Fulbright Program and American Public Diplomacy

Molly Lenore Bettie

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Abstract

International educational exchanges are widely considered to be an important form of public diplomacy. They are thought to build relationships and mutual understanding between the peoples of different nations, and thereby contribute to international goodwill and the cause of peace. The Fulbright Program, America's flagship educational exchange endeavour, was founded upon such principles and expectations. During its first six decades of exchanges, the programme has grown from modest beginnings into an academically prestigious brand in international education.

This study offers a newly updated history of the Fulbright Program, based on archival research and semi-structured interviews. It examines the role that the Fulbright Program has played in American public diplomacy and foreign policy since its establishment in the aftermath of the Second World War. It situates the narrative of the exchange programme against its larger context of U.S. foreign relations. The exchange programme is shown to be remarkably adaptable, as it overcomes a range of political and economic challenges throughout its history.

Three key themes are drawn from this historical narrative and explored in analytical chapters: funding, bureaucracy and the Fulbright grantee experience. The ebb and flow of Congressional support for exchanges, as well as the phenomenon of cost-sharing by partnering nations, reveals a great deal about the Fulbright Program's purposes and practices. The perceived purpose of the exchanges can also be inferred by examining the changes that have taken place in the bureaucratic structure of American public diplomacy throughout the history of the Fulbright Program. The grantee experience is arguably the greatest determinant of an exchange programme's effectiveness, and has been the subject of most Fulbright Program literature. Unlike previous studies, however, which relied primarily on surveys of

exchange participants, this study adopts a more holistic approach by focusing on the institution rather than the individual grantee.

This study's framework is based upon the parent fields of public diplomacy. Drawing upon theories from psychology, communications and political science, the analytical framework suggests an original approach for exchange diplomacy research. It critically examines the assumptions that are often used to justify exchanges, including the contact hypothesis, the opinion leader concept and the perceived link between public opinion and foreign policy. Using a combination of archival research and interviews, the study offers new insights into the Fulbright Program's practices and challenges normative assumptions about the role of exchange diplomacy in foreign policy.

List of Abbreviations

ASLA	<i>Amerikan Suomen lanian apurahat</i> (Grants from Finland's American Loan)
BAEF	Belgian-American Educational Foundation
BFS	Board of Foreign Scholarships (1947-1991)
CAMPUS	Central American Program of Undergraduate Scholarships
CU	Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
FSB	J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board (1991-)
IIE	Institute of International Education
IV(L)P	International Visitor (Leadership) Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USIA	United States Information Agency
(US)ICA	United States International Communication Agency

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

The international movement of scholars is an ancient practice. Some of the first recorded encounters date back to the fifth century B.C., when itinerant teachers, the Sophists, travelled throughout the Greek-speaking world (Gürüz, 2011, p. 149). During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the first universities were established and scholars travelled great distances to the new centres of learning in Bologna, Paris, and Oxford (ibid., p. 154). In these early instances, the movement of scholars was motivated by a desire to expand knowledge. In the modern era, this purely academic goal has been supplemented by other motivations. In the 19th century, Western missionaries used education as a means of spreading the Christian faith to Asia, Latin America and Africa (Bu, 2003). Literacy was deemed valuable not for its own sake, but because it enabled the converted to read and study the Bible for themselves. During the same period, the European colonial powers used education as a means of uniting their disparate subjects under a common language and culture (Cooper, 2004).

It is only relatively recently, in the twentieth century, that the potential for international education to contribute to foreign policy matters has been recognised by states. As educational exchange brings people from different nations together, it is thought that this interaction generates a sense of understanding and goodwill between the participants and their hosts. It is hoped that participants will gain foreign language fluency, develop an appreciation for other cultures and grow to understand other ways of life. The practice also rests on the premise that exchange participants will share this cultural knowledge with others in their communities upon returning home. This shared cultural knowledge is thought to influence public opinion and, ultimately, to generate public pressure on foreign policy issues. This concept represents a departure from both the purely academic motivations of ancient

nomadic scholars, and the colonising and proselytising purposes of nineteenth century international education. The use of educational exchange as a foreign policy tool, known as exchange diplomacy, is a modern incarnation of scholarly movement which is rooted in concepts of interpersonal communication, mutual understanding and cultural hegemony.

This modern application of educational exchange has figured prominently in the public diplomacy and cultural relations activities of many nations. In 1883, France became the first nation to establish an organisation to promote its culture and language overseas, the Alliance Française. In the United Kingdom, the British Council was created in 1934 to conduct educational exchanges, cultural exhibitions, and support English language teaching abroad. During the same period, in 1936, the United States established its Division of Cultural Relations with a similar remit. Students, educators, research scholars, artists and other cultural visitors were exchanged between the US and Latin America during the interwar period, in the hopes of countering Nazi cultural efforts and gaining allies in the region. This study examines this foreign policy role for exchanges, focusing on the case of the Fulbright Program, an educational and cultural exchange administered by the U.S. government.

The Fulbright Program was established in 1946, in a post-Second World War climate of recovery and peace-building activities. The programme's founder Senator J. William Fulbright was inspired by his own experiences as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, where he recognised the life-changing nature of international education. The exchange proposal was also inspired by his memories of the problems raised by war debts in the aftermath of the First World War. Indeed, Germany's crippling reparations and devastated economy were in part to blame for the rise of Adolf Hitler. Fulbright's bill included measures to prevent the recurrence of such problems following the Second World War by using foreign currencies owed to the U.S. for surplus war property to pay for the exchange scheme. The declared mission of the Fulbright Program is to "increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries by means of educational and cultural

exchange.” (*Public Law 87-256*). It was, as Senator Fulbright described it, “a modest program with an immodest aim—the achievement in international affairs of a regime more civilized, rational, and humane than the empty system of power of the past.” (Fulbright, 1989, p. xi).

When Fulbright exchanges began, they were limited to a handful of countries in Asia and Western Europe. The first year of the Fulbright Program saw 84 participants exchanged between the United States and four other countries: China, Philippines, Burma and New Zealand (*BFS, 1948*). Over time, the programme expanded in both breadth and depth. Bilateral agreements were signed with additional countries and the programme gained financial support from new public and private sources. By 2009, more than 310,000 students, scholars, teaching assistants and other grantees from 155 countries had participated in the programme (FSB, 2009).

This study places the history of the Fulbright Program within the context of American public diplomacy and foreign policy. It begins by looking at the precedents that inspired the establishment of the Fulbright Program: America’s early international educational and cultural activities in Asia, Europe and Latin America. These are discussed alongside relevant biographical details about Senator Fulbright. His exchange proposal was introduced at a time when Wilsonian liberal internationalist thinking had once again gained prominence in Washington, after many years of being disregarded. Fulbright’s bill passed easily in this favourable climate, alongside other recovery and peace-building efforts such as the Marshall Plan. The context of American foreign policy continued to influence the Fulbright Program during and after the Cold War. Educational and cultural exchanges were seen as a means of influencing foreign publics during the Cold War. Studying and teaching in the United States, it was argued, would offer foreign visitors an opportunity to see the American way of life for themselves. This way of thinking reflected a U.S. policy of openness that contrasted with the more strictly controlled information practices of the Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War presented new challenges and opportunities for the Fulbright Program. On the one hand, its ideological component seemed to have disappeared and, some policy-makers argued, new justifications for the programme were needed. On the other hand, the Fulbright Program was now able to initiate educational and cultural exchanges with Eastern bloc countries; six new exchange agreements with the U.S. were signed in the region between 1990 and 1995. America's foreign policy agenda shifted once again in 2001, and the Fulbright Program was not immune to the far-reaching effects of the September 11th attacks. Public diplomacy became viewed in U.S. policy circles as a means of countering terrorism and fundamentalism in the Muslim world. Educational and cultural activities with these regions took on new significance, and new exchange initiatives were created to promote inter-faith dialogue and understanding. The first decade of the twenty-first century has shown the Fulbright Program to be an enduring component of American public diplomacy, as it adapts to meet new foreign policy concerns. It has managed to maintain its relevance for nearly seventy years since its establishment, despite the vast political, economic, social and technological changes that have occurred during that time.

The impacts of the Fulbright Program are as varied and complex as the many different stakeholder groups that are involved in its administration and activities, from grantees and hosts to policy-makers and funding bodies. It has been a life-changing experience for its more than 310,000 alumni around the world (FSB, 2009). Returned grantees often attest that the grant period has had a profound influence on their lives, both personally and professionally. Grantees are nearly unanimous in their praise of the Fulbright Program. One recent official assessment found a ninety-eight percent satisfaction rate amongst returned grantees (SRI, 2005a, p. 14). Most Fulbright alumni pursue careers in research and teaching, though there are also many who have left academia after their grant period. Some Fulbrighters have achieved prominence in public life as political party leaders, cabinet ministers and ambassadors. Sweden's Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Poland's Prime Minister

Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, and Ghana's President John Atta Mills are among the most well-known examples. Notable alumni in other fields include authors Sylvia Plath, John Updike, Joseph Heller and Eudora Welty; economists Joseph Stiglitz and Milton Friedman; opera singer Anna Moffo and actor John Lithgow. Leonard Sussman, former president of the Fulbright Alumni Association, refers to the phenomenon of Fulbrighters going on to win Nobel Prizes as "a favourable commentary on the foresight of the Fulbright selectors." (Sussman, 1992, p. 72). To date, there have been forty-four Fulbright alumni who later achieved Nobel laureate status, as well as nine Nobel laureates who later received Fulbright scholar or specialist grants (U.S. Department of State, 2014).

The Fulbright Program has also had far-reaching effects on its host countries and foreign higher education institutions. The spread of American studies as an academic discipline, for example, has been greatly enhanced by the programme. Departments of American Studies at overseas universities have often been founded and expanded by Fulbright professors visiting from the United States. The exchange programme has also contributed to the development of area studies at U.S. institutions, through the work of visiting professors who provide foreign language, culture and history courses. In some cases, the Fulbright Program has acted as a form of international aid, contributing to the growth of higher education in developing countries and in post-conflict environments. The terms of the grant also require foreign Fulbrighters to leave the U.S. at the end of the grant period, which encourages grantees to contribute to the development of their home countries and thereby reduces the occurrence of the "brain drain" phenomenon.

In addition to its official, state-sanctioned purposes, the Fulbright Program has also become a globally recognised brand in international educational exchange and a mark of academic distinction. For many of its participants, the motivation to apply and undertake a Fulbright grant may be simply to have the academic prestige of the Fulbright name on their *curriculum vitae*. The reputation of the Fulbright Program as a competitive scholarship has

important implications for its conduct and purpose. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' former deputy assistant secretary for academic programs, Thomas A. Farrell, remarked that the current state of the Fulbright Program is "too far away from its original vision." (Lipka, 2004). In the years since the end of the Cold War, the programme's reputation has shifted from an emphasis on cultural exchange to a programme that confers academic prestige. Farrell and his colleagues have found that the Fulbright is now "perceived as a purely academic program...It was never meant to be that." (ibid.) While academic prestige is not incompatible with the objective of promoting mutual understanding, the focus on professional development rather than culture learning raises important questions about the perceived purpose of the Fulbright Program.

Public Diplomacy Literature and the Present Study

This study uses the Fulbright Program as a case study of educational exchange in public diplomacy. By examining the history of the Fulbright Program and positioning it within the context of American foreign policy, this project aims to analyse the role of educational and cultural exchange within U.S. public diplomacy practices. Much of the existing literature on American public diplomacy has focused on information activities, such as the international broadcasting of the Cold War era (Nelson, 1997) or the overseas U.S. Information Service posts (Dizard, 1961; Tuch, 1990; Dizard, 2004).

America's educational and cultural exchanges have been somewhat overlooked in the literature. Exchanges are often mentioned alongside other public diplomacy practices, as is the case with Nicholas J. Cull's history of the U.S. Information Agency, but few studies focus primarily on the practice of exchange diplomacy (Cull, 2008a; 2012). Notable exceptions to this are Richard T. Arndt's comprehensive account of U.S. cultural diplomacy (2005), Yale Richmond's work on U.S.-Soviet cultural relations (2003), and Giles Scott-Smith's work on the U.S. Foreign Leader Program and cultural exchanges (2003; 2007; Scott-Smith and

Krabbendam, 2003). The present study hopes to contribute to this growing subset of public diplomacy literature.

In addition to its emphasis on only certain public diplomacy activities, the existing literature is also limited in terms of its historical scope. The majority of studies are focused upon the Cold War era. This is likely because the modern concept of public diplomacy originates from the period. The splitting of the world into two opposing ideological camps was the primary factor that drove the development of the ideas and practices of U.S. public diplomacy. Scholars have learned a great deal about the particular strengths and limitations of public diplomacy from studying its application during the Cold War. The field of public diplomacy experienced something of a renaissance after the events of September 11, 2001, when a number of studies examined American public diplomacy efforts throughout the Muslim world. The period of U.S.-Soviet détente (1969-1979) and the first post-Cold War decade (1991-2001) are overlooked by much of the public diplomacy literature.

The literature on the Fulbright Program focuses on the early years of the programme, to the neglect of more recent periods. Walter Johnson and Francis Colligan's *The Fulbright Program: a History* (1965) is the best-known account of the programme's early years, but there have been a number of other retellings. The May 1987 Fulbright Program special issue of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences contains three articles on the programme's beginnings, dealing with the Senator's inspirations for the programme, the legislative process behind the 1946 Fulbright Act, and early administrative concerns (Woods, 1987; Jeffrey, 1987; Vogel, 1987). Sam Lebovic's recent article explores the surplus property element in greater detail than previous studies of the programme have, and he argues that the creation of the Fulbright Program was not the altruistic act that has been depicted by Johnson and Colligan (1965) and other insider accounts (Lebovic, 2013). As is the case with public diplomacy literature more generally, there is a lack of research on

the Fulbright Program during both the *détente* period and the 1990s. This study addresses this knowledge gap and offers a comprehensive account of the programme's first six decades.

The existing public diplomacy literature has also been criticised as being overly empirical, leaving the theoretical side of public diplomacy underdeveloped (Gilboa, 2008; Gregory, 2008). Since much of the literature deals with public diplomacy agencies and their activities, there has been a natural tendency towards empirical research. In studies of educational exchange programmes, there has been very little non-evaluative literature. Research has been undertaken primarily to assess whether the programmes are effective, in terms of learning outcomes and participant satisfaction. The Fulbright Program could be analysed in terms of its contribution to international higher education infrastructures, particularly in the field of area studies (Walker, 1975). It could also be examined, as this study attempts to do, as an institution, looking at its evolution under the influence of a range of different factors. There has been little research on the programme itself, rather than on its participants. In the education literature on study abroad, there has been a greater effort to take both the programme and its participants into account. The Study Abroad Evaluation Project (SAEP), for example, recognised that previous study abroad research had often been limited to analysing one dimension of the experience, or one programme as a case study (Burn, Cerych and Smith, 1990). Their study addressed the need for more comprehensive research in terms of educational research objectives, however, rather than those involved in public diplomacy research. It was concerned with, for example, "curricular provisions, modes of assessment and matters of academic recognition which are the primary justification for the study abroad programmes' existence." (*ibid.*, p. 19). In the case of the SAEP, these educational aims served as the justification for the programmes. The study abroad programmes involved in the study were solely intended to be educational in nature. This is not the case for the Fulbright Program, as its rationale is based on public diplomacy principles, such as the promotion of mutual understanding and international goodwill. Yet

evaluators often measure educational or professional achievements, such as the number of papers published, to assess the effectiveness of the Fulbright Program (Sunal and Sunal, 1991; Demir, Aksu and Paykoç, 2000). The present study seeks to address this by taking a more comprehensive approach towards the study of the Fulbright Program, looking at factors that extend beyond Fulbright grantee testimonies. It regards the Fulbright Program as an institution and examines often overlooked aspects including funding, alumni activities, and the impact of American bureaucratic reorganisations on exchange diplomacy activities.

The existing literature is largely descriptive and uncritical. It has been based on a series of normative assumptions: contact leads to understanding, scholars are our best ambassadors, and participant satisfaction indicates effectiveness. Given that many studies have been conducted by scholars who are connected with the Fulbright Program, I would argue that the lack of critical research is due to a lack of authorial objectivity. Table 1.1 illustrates the extent to which the Fulbright Program literature has been written by authors who are affiliated with the programme in some way, listing authors, their works and their connections to the Fulbright Program. To date, Sam Lebovic (2013) is the only author I have found who is unconnected to the programme.

Table 1.1 Author-affiliated Fulbright Literature

Author	Work	Connection
Richard Arndt	<i>The First Resort of Kings</i> (2005); <i>The Fulbright Difference</i> (1993)	Fulbright student in France, 1949; USIA, 1961-1985
Francis J. Colligan	<i>The Fulbright Program: a History</i> (1965)	Executive Secretary of the Fulbright Program, 1948-1957
Arthur Power Dudden	<i>The Fulbright Experience</i> (1987)	Founding President of Fulbright Alumni Association
Russell R. Dynes	<i>The Fulbright Experience</i> (1987)	Fulbright lecturer in Egypt, India and Thailand, visiting professor in the UK
Alice Stone Ilchman	<i>The Lucky Few and the Worthy Many</i> (2004); <i>America's Dialogue With the World</i> (2006).	Assistant Secretary for Educational Affairs at the U.S. State Department.
Walter Johnson	<i>The Fulbright Program: a History</i> (1965)	Member and Chairman of the Board of Foreign Scholarships; Member of US Advisory Committee on International and Cultural Affairs
Arnaud Roujou de Boubée	<i>Retour sur une success story : Fulbright en France</i> (2008)	Executive Director, Fulbright Commission in France
David Lee Rubin	<i>The Fulbright Difference</i> (1993)	Fulbright scholar in France
Leonard Sussman	<i>The Culture of Freedom</i> (1992)	President of Fulbright Alumni Association
Nancy Snow	<i>Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy</i> (2009); <i>Propaganda, Inc</i> (1998); <i>Fulbright Scholars as Cultural Mediators</i> (1992)	Fulbright student in Germany, 1984; Fulbright visiting professor in Japan, 2012
Ralph Vogel	'The Making of the Fulbright Program' (1987)	Director of the Board of Foreign Scholarships
Francis A. Young	'Educational Exchanges and the National Interest' (1969); 'The Fulbright in Asia' (1961)	Fulbright Program administrator, 1949-1969
R.S. Zaharna	<i>Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy</i> (2009); <i>Battles to Bridges</i> (2010).	Fulbright Scholar to the West Bank, 1996

The dominance of alumni-authored literature goes unmentioned in the existing literature. It is completely reasonable that individuals who are affiliated with international education would also be interested in studying it from an academic perspective. They have insider knowledge, as Senator Fulbright noted in his preface to Board of Foreign Scholarships members Johnson and Colligan's *The Fulbright Program: a History*. "Because of their long

and close association with educational exchange programs, they are able to tell the story of their development with more intimacy and detail and understanding than an outsider.” (Johnson and Colligan, 1965, p. ix). This increased level of intimacy could have an impact on the quality and critical nature of their academic work, however. As one early evaluative study warned, “the investigator must keep in mind the obvious gratification and gratitude of persons who have been selected for honorific, subsidized foreign travel. Appreciation of such an opportunity and adventure must color the testimony of recent grantees.” (Riegel, 1953, p. 321). While Riegel and others have asserted that study participants may be biased, the potential biases of programme-affiliated researchers are not openly discussed in the literature.

The existing literature on the Fulbright Program is often overly reliant on anecdotal evidence. While the accounts of returned grantees praising the programme and saying that it changed their lives are no doubt good news for Fulbright Program administrators, they do not constitute academically rigorous research findings. As one researcher of exchange-of-persons programmes points out, “A gap remains between the usefulness of such qualitative research, with its vagaries of human judgment, self-perception, and memory, and the demands of social science for empirically verifiable research, fact, and proof.” (Scott-Smith, 2008, p. 174). This study takes a more critical, more objective approach in its examination of the Fulbright Program in order to address this problematic gap. It challenges mainstream assumptions about the way in which exchange diplomacy contributes to the conduct of foreign policy and serves the national interest.

Four primary research questions guide this study. Each question deals with a separate aspect of the history of the Fulbright Program: its relationship to American public diplomacy and foreign policy, its funding, the grantee experience, and its bureaucratic structure.

1. What role have Fulbright educational and cultural exchanges played in American public diplomacy and foreign policy since the end of the Second World War?

2. What does the funding history of the Fulbright Program reveal about its purpose and practices?
3. How, and to what extent, has the bureaucratic structure of American public diplomacy influenced the development of the Fulbright Program?
4. How does the grantee experience fulfil American public diplomacy objectives?

The first question prompts an examination of the history of the Fulbright Program, and situates the Fulbright Program within the context of U.S. public diplomacy and America's foreign policy agenda. Although the Fulbright Program maintains a high degree of autonomy and emphasises its apolitical nature, it is not immune to the influence of American foreign policy. We can see a number of interesting links throughout the programme's history between Fulbright Program activities and America's foreign relations. When new bilateral exchange agreements are established or exchanges are increased, for example, the partnering countries are often important to the U.S. foreign policy objectives at the time. The target country may be important in terms of economic interests, as we can see in the case of Mexico. After the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, Fulbright exchanges with Mexico were doubled (Snow, 2010). Alternatively, the target country might be important because of a recent conflict, as can be seen in the increase of exchanges with Middle Eastern countries in the post-9/11 era. The number of visiting Fulbright grantees from the Near East and South Asia more than doubled during the 'War on Terror' (FSB, 2000; FSB, 2004).

Foreign relations can also lead to the suspension of exchanges. The Fulbright Program in China was suspended following the 1949 Revolution, for example, and exchanges did not resume between the U.S. and China until 1978 (*BFS, 1979*). Two months after the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, China suspended its participation in the Fulbright Program, allegedly in response to U.S. criticism (Berger, 1989). Despite official statements that educational and cultural exchange activities are apolitical, exchanges have often been shaped by their foreign policy context.

This research question also prompts further questions about the relationship between the programme and foreign policy more generally, beyond the United States. When a new exchange agreements are signed, what are the motivations of each signatory country in establishing an educational and cultural exchange programme? During the early years of the Cold War, exchange agreements were a statement of alignment with the West. The exchange agreement with Finland, for example, took several years of careful consideration and negotiation by the U.S. State Department and the Finnish Foreign Ministry before it was finalised in 1952. Finland had to balance its ties with the U.S. without violating its 1948 treaty with the Soviet Union (Mäkinen, 2001). This study considers how the programme is perceived overseas, and how it might relate to the interests of foreign partner countries. How do exchange partners conceive of the purpose of the programme? Do other countries connect their Fulbright Program participation to their own foreign policy agendas? Considering the relative unpredictability of their potential impacts, can educational and cultural exchange programmes be used strategically? This element of the study considers the consequences of linking exchanges to foreign policy goals, either implicitly or explicitly.

The second research question deals with the matter of exchange programme funding. The public and private sources of financial support for the Fulbright Program can tell us a great deal about how the programme's nature and purpose are perceived. In Senator Fulbright's original 1946 legislation, the exchange scheme was to be funded exclusively from the sale of surplus war property. When these funds were exhausted, private sector assistance and Congressional appropriations were needed for exchanges to continue. The Fulbright Program has used many creative means to secure funding, including earmarking foreign loan payments for exchanges, establishing cost-sharing agreements, and encouraging alumni lobbyists to make the case for further appropriations. What do such innovations tell us about the nature of the Fulbright Program and its support? What does the funding history of the Fulbright Program reveal about its purpose and practices?

The third question examines how the bureaucratic structure of American public diplomacy has changed throughout the history of the Fulbright Program, and what impact this has had on its development. In the years following the Second World War, America's overseas information programme and its educational-cultural activities have been conducted, alternately, in the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Information Agency, as well as the short-lived U.S. International Communication Agency. With each shift, exchange advocates feared that the bureaucratic culture of each department would have a negative impact on the conduct of the exchange programme. While the State Department deals with foreign policy, the USIA was charged with explaining U.S. policies abroad. How did each environment influence the development of the Fulbright Program? Were fears of negative impacts justified?

The fourth and final research question examines the grantee experience. How does the grantee experience fulfil American public diplomacy objectives? It is a common question throughout the literature, but one which I argue has not been applied systematically in prior evaluations. My study draws upon grantee experiences in the literature, in the press, and in interviews. I use a theoretical framework informed by psychology and communications studies to analyse their experiences against programme objectives. My approach also critiques the nature of the grantee role more generally. Do grantees act as unofficial ambassadors, or do they primarily pursue their academic ambitions? Are the two goals of scholarly achievement and culture mediation mutually reinforcing or mutually exclusive?

In examining the Fulbright Program's role in the broad picture of post-Second World War U.S. foreign policy, the present study has necessarily had to prioritise some topics, geographic areas, and time periods over others. An exhaustive account of the history of the Fulbright Program in all 155 participating countries could fill several volumes and would take many years to compile, and would require a level of resourcing far beyond the scope of a doctoral dissertation. Many books, articles and theses about exchanges are limited to single

country programmes and particularly significant time periods. As those authors did, I also had to make pragmatic decisions about the examples that I have chosen to highlight in my analysis of the Fulbright Program's history. These choices were guided in part by my own interests and foreign language skills, and in part by the availability of archival material and access to interview subjects. In selecting examples, I have made an effort to include a representative sample that shows the Fulbright Program at work in different cultures, political contexts and global regions. Determining an end date to limit the scope of this project was perhaps the most challenging aspect, as some new developments seemed too interesting to exclude. 2009 was deemed an appropriate concluding point, due to the transition of U.S. presidential administrations in that year. Some initiatives from the Obama administration will be discussed as comparisons with earlier activities and in reference to future directions for the Fulbright Program. Quantitative data on funding and grant numbers will be drawn from reports up to the 2010-2011 academic year, inclusive.

Analytical Framework and Methodological Approach

This study is guided by a new analytical framework that outlines the assumptions behind exchange diplomacy practices. It utilises a combination of archival research and interviews to analyse the history of the Fulbright Program and its role in American public diplomacy. I approached the archival material with this exchange diplomacy analytical framework in mind, looking for evidence of these assumptions in policy-making and programme developments. Archival material was supplemented by a series of interviews with former and current Fulbright grantees, a former programme administrator and Senator Fulbright's biographer. The insights gained from these interviews were also analysed with reference to my proposed exchange diplomacy framework. Taken together, the study offers an original, analytical historical account of the Fulbright Program's first six decades and an examination of the programme's integral role in American public diplomacy over the period.

The analytical framework, outlined more extensively with reference to the literature in chapter two, is based upon three major assumptions of how exchange diplomacy is thought to function. Each of these assumptions draws upon the literature of a different academic field, and these can each be considered a ‘parent field’ of the relatively young discipline of public diplomacy. They are interrelated and ultimately dependent upon each other for effectiveness. If any element is missing, the desired net effect of increased mutual understanding will fail to come to fruition.

- The first assumption is the concept that contact leads to understanding, known as the ‘contact hypothesis.’ It is drawn from the psychology literature, specifically from Gordon W. Allport’s work on intergroup relations and prejudice (1954). Many studies have tested this hypothesis and found evidence to suggest that contact in an educational exchange does improve understanding and reduce prejudice (Snow, 1992; Stangor et al., 1996). Contact must take place under certain conditions, however, to produce these results. This study will consider whether the Fulbright Program facilitates a type of contact that meets these conditions.
- The second assumption is the idea that exchange participants will share their knowledge with peers and act as opinion leaders in their societies. In the public diplomacy literature, this idea is known as the ‘multiplier effect’ but it is clearly linked to the ‘two-step flow hypothesis’, drawn from communications studies. In their work on opinion leadership, Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) proposed that information and ideas flow from the media to opinion leaders, and then from those opinion leaders to the general public. When applied to the Fulbright Program, the two-step flow model of communication has particular relevance for cultural knowledge. Grantees gain expertise in the host nation that is then shared with the home nation.

Understanding the process behind the multiplier effect is a means of optimising this effect in exchange diplomacy practices.

- The third assumption is a conceptualisation of the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. This is a contested idea from the field of political science. On the one hand, some scholars have argued that public opinion on foreign policy matters doesn't exist, because the public pays little attention to foreign affairs (Lippmann, 1922; Rosenau, 1961). On the other hand, public opinion should be an essential part of policy-making in a democracy (Holsti, 1992; Nacos, Shapiro and Isernia, 2000). If the public is informed on foreign policy issues by those with exchange experience, then the resulting public opinion will have the desired influence on foreign policy matters and, in turn, will influence democratically accountable policy-makers. Of the three assumptions, the public opinion-foreign policy link is the one most frequently used to justify exchange diplomacy. All three, however, are essential components of the exchange's effectiveness. Figure 1.1 illustrates these three assumptions as a sequential process, where each step depends upon the successful completion of each previous step.

Figure 1.1 Theoretical Basis of Exchange Diplomacy



The practice of exchange diplomacy is often praised in the literature without being subjected to scrutiny. It is often assumed to be effective, without reference to relevant literature from psychology, communications studies or political theory. This framework asserts, however, that it is a highly conditional practice with varying results. Outcomes are not consistent

between cases, due to political factors, cultural contexts or even simply the personalities of individual exchange participants.

Archival Sources

The archives relating to the Fulbright Program are spread across different locations, due to the fact that the programme has been administered by different organisations at various points in time throughout its history. For the first thirty-two years of Fulbright exchanges, from 1946-1978, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (known as CU) was located in the Department of State. Under President Carter's reorganisation of public diplomacy activities, the bureau was incorporated into the United States International Communications Agency (USICA). This new entity was soon reverted to its previous form, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) under the Reagan administration. When USIA closed in 1999, the bureau was moved back into the State Department.

These shifts in the Fulbright Program's bureaucratic administration have meant that its records are somewhat scattered. In 1983, the USIA presented the University of Arkansas with a collection of CU records dating back to 1938, when it had been known as the Division of Cultural Relations. The location was selected because of Senator Fulbright's ties to the institution; he was not only an alumnus, but also a professor of law and a former President of the University of Arkansas. The Senator's papers and records of the Fulbright Association, the programme's alumni organisation, are also held at the University of Arkansas.

Records covering the period 1983-1999, the years when the Fulbright Program was administered by the USIA, are held in the National Archives and Records Administration, in the College Park, Maryland annex. The National Archives collection also includes some CU material dating back to 1949, such as Board of Foreign Scholarships annual reports, administrative correspondence and Board member travel reports. There is some duplication between the National Archives records and the CU records at the University of Arkansas, but

most of the material dealing with the Fulbright Program between 1957 and 1975 is held at the University of Arkansas.

The annual reports of the Board of Foreign Scholarships (BFS), later renamed the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board (FSB), provide a wealth of information. Published annually since 1961, these reports begin with a letter from the current board chair, reflecting on the concerns of the day. A summary of the Fulbright Program's activities is offered, along with funding and grant distribution data. Country programme stories and features on individual Fulbright grantees are also included in the reports. The content of these reports reveals a great deal about the state of the programme year by year. This study collates the annual funding and grant data, allowing us to observe shifts and trends over time.

The archives of the U.S. State Department, in both the National Archives and the University of Arkansas, also include country visit reports. When board members travel to Fulbright commissions abroad, they report back to their fellow board members about the state of affairs in the field. These are often far more candid and detailed than the summaries included in annual reports, as they were intended for an internal audience of board members. They express concerns about challenges in the field and discuss possible solutions and long-term recommendations.

Another valuable resource has been correspondence between members of the programme's administrative staff. Ralph Vogel, for example, features prominently in the collection; he served as staff director of the Board of Foreign Scholarships for three decades. His letters reveal a great deal of the day-to-day work that went into managing the Fulbright Program's activities. Another particularly interesting category is the correspondence that took place between binational commission members and Washington officials. Their negotiations often deal with resource allocation, which helps to contextualise funding data. In a similar vein, the CU archives also contain post reports, summaries of activities and conditions written to notify Washington-based administrators of individual country needs and

challenges. Some countries might specify academic fields in which a professor is needed, for example. The preferences expressed in these reports have important implications for the grant selection process. The use of archival material throughout the thesis has been highlighted by italicised in-text citations. Archival material is also listed separately in the bibliography under the heading of 'Primary Sources'.

Interviews

My archival research was supplemented by a series of interviews, in order to create a more complete account of the programme's history. This was particularly important for more recent years, as these records have not yet been added to the National Archives. Speaking with individuals who have first-hand knowledge of the programme is also a means of gaining their candid impressions of the Fulbright experience. One of the weaknesses of the existing literature, however, is that grantee statements are largely uncritical. They often focus solely on describing how the experience changed the grantee's life. Anecdotes are offered to support the life-changing capacity of the programme in terms of career trajectories, research interests, or even meeting a future partner during the sojourn. The reflective essays of Fulbright grantees that have been collected in volumes like *The Fulbright Experience* (Dudden and Dynes, 1987) and *The Fulbright Difference, 1948-1992* (Arndt and Rubin, 1993) are fascinating, but highly polished and uncritical. Candid impressions, reflecting on both the positive and negative aspects of the experience, are largely absent from the literature.

In addition to the lack of candid, nuanced reflections by grantees, the existing literature also has a lack of diversity in terms of interview subjects. Most studies of the Fulbright Program and educational exchange more generally feature only the voices of the exchange participants themselves (Mendelsohn and Orenstein, 1955; Burn, 1982; Sunal and Sunal, 1991; Snow, 1992). There are many others who could contribute to our understanding of exchange diplomacy. In the present study, interview subjects were selected to include both the administrators and the participants of the Fulbright Program.

The interview questions followed a semi-structured format, as this allows for the flexibility of further questioning while maintaining the focus on the topic. Semi-structured interview formats that utilise open-ended questions are the preferred method for elite interviewing (Aberbach and Rockman, 2002; Lilleker, 2003). My interviews with grantees were more structured than the interviews with experts, as can be seen in the transcripts (Appendix A). My questions were adapted to the individual participant in each case.

In my interview with Randall Bennett Woods, Senator Fulbright's biographer, my questions were related to aspects of the Senator's views and his activities with the programme in later life. The discussion covered a wide range of points about both the programme and Senator Fulbright. As Professor Woods specialises in U.S. diplomatic history, he skilfully situated the programme within the overall context of American foreign policy.

The interview with Hoyt Purvis, former assistant to Senator Fulbright and former member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, was mostly focused on the activities of the Board. My questions progressed chronologically from his work in Senator Fulbright's office where he met a young Bill Clinton working as an office boy, to his years on the Board of Foreign Scholarships as an appointee of President Clinton's. He served on the Board until 2003, and I was very much interested in hearing his thoughts on the Fulbright Program's role in America's post-9/11 public diplomacy activities. Professor Purvis was also involved with the alumni activities of the Fulbright Association, an area that has been less explored in the literature but which has important implications for the long-term impacts of the Fulbright Program. Our conversation strayed from the central focus at points but generated some fascinating insights into how the Board operates.

In my interviews with Fulbright grantees, my questions focused on their motivations and experiences. I was interested in hearing why they had applied to the Fulbright Program in the first place, as this would give me a sense of their perception of the programme. If they replied that they wanted to spend a year living and studying in the host country, that response

suggests that they see it as a cultural programme. On the other hand, if their answers were related strictly to their career aspirations, this would suggest that they viewed the programme as being more significant for their academic and professional development, and that they are less focused on the mutual understanding or culture learning elements of the programme.

Asking the students about their experiences during the grant year was a means of understanding the effects of participation. I asked about their first impressions of the host country, in order to gauge their general attitude and whether it had changed. Due to the fact that the exchange diplomacy assumption relies on interpersonal communication, I asked about their social activities. I enquired whether they had made friends with locals, engaged in local holiday celebrations and shared their own culture with local friends. These activities would confirm that intergroup contact and culture learning had taken place. Their absence, of course, would indicate that contact and culture learning had not taken place. Well-considered follow-up questioning is essential to determine the reasons behind a lack of engagement with the local culture and people. Research commitments and a heavy workload, for example, may prevent a grantee from engaging in social activities.

After transcribing the interviews from audio recordings and notes, I analysed the resulting texts with my research questions and framework in mind. In the historical section of the dissertation, quotes from Randall Bennett Woods and Hoyt Purvis have been included as supporting evidence, while the interviews of grantees have contributed to chapter six, which examines the grantee experience.

Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis is divided into six further chapters. It begins with a theoretical chapter and a history of the Fulbright Program; builds upon this foundation with three analytical chapters on the themes of funding, bureaucracy and the grantee experience; and closes with a summary of findings and discussion of the study's policy relevance.

The analytical framework is described in chapter two, where I have explored the underlying assumptions about public diplomacy practices. This section provides a review of the public diplomacy literature, while also drawing upon research from public diplomacy's parent fields: psychology, communications studies and political science. It breaks down the ways that exchange diplomacy is thought to work into three assumptions. Each of these are then described and analysed with reference to the relevant literature in the parent fields. Taken together, the assumptions create a framework for understanding the expectations that guide exchange diplomacy programmes. These expectations have influenced how the Fulbright Program's purpose has been perceived throughout its history, with important implications for the programme's administration, funding and structure.

The historical section, chapter three, provides an overview of the Fulbright Program's first six decades. Some background information on the history of American exchanges is included in this section, in order to highlight the precedents that inspired Senator J. William Fulbright to propose his programme. Periodisation of the history of the Fulbright Program is challenging, given the many factors that make up the context of international educational exchanges. Changes that took place in the administration and conduct of the Fulbright Program can be attributed to prevailing international political relations, economic conditions, the state of war, or a change of presidential administrations. With all of these factors at play, it can be difficult to divide the history of the programme into concrete dates and phases. The timeline below illustrates the periodisation that I have applied to the present study.

Timeline

1909-1945: Early American educational exchange activities: the Boxer Rebellion Scholarships, the Belgian-American Educational Foundation, and the U.S. State Department's Division of Cultural Relations.

1946-1960: Fulbright Program established and expands dramatically in early years. Cold War begins and USIA established in 1953.

1961-1966: Expansion under Fulbright-Hays Act and peak of exchange activity.

1967-1975: Decline of exchange activity and funding levels decrease, Senator Fulbright leaves Congress. Advisory panel proposes reorganisation.

1976-1980: Carter administration's reorganisation of information and educational-cultural activities creates USICA.

1981-1988: USICA reverts to USIA and Fulbright remains with information activities.

Reagan and Wick initiatives focus on media and youth exchanges rather than Fulbright.

1989-2000: The end of the Cold War triggers a new conceptualisation of American foreign policy, culminating in the 1999 closure of USIA and resumption of Fulbright into the State Department.

2001-2009: The Fulbright Program and American public diplomacy undergo a renaissance, as the events of September 11th cause policy-makers to reflect on and seek to improve America's image abroad.

The analytical section builds on three major themes arising from the historical section: programme funding, the grantee experience, and administration. It begins with chapter four, in which the funding structure of the Fulbright Program is examined. The original funds came from a single source: the sale of surplus war property, which resulted in millions of dollars' worth of non-convertible currencies owed to the U.S. by Lend-Lease participating countries. This creative means of funding was a vital component of the original bill's successful passage, but this limited source of funding was soon depleted. Today, the programme is funded by a variety of sources, public and private, foreign and domestic. The exchange programmes with Germany, Japan and Finland, and the Agricultural Trade and Assistance Act of 1954 are included in this chapter as case studies of innovative funding practices. The story of the Fulbright Program's funding illustrates how adaptable and resourceful the programme has been, and gives us an insight into its longevity.

Chapter five looks at two elements of the administration of the Fulbright Program: its placement in the bureaucratic structures of Washington, D.C. and its administrative body, the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board (formerly known as the Board of Foreign Scholarships). It begins by chronicling the search for a bureaucratic home for the Fulbright Program. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which conducts the Fulbright Program and other U.S. Government exchange-of-persons activities, had several different hosts throughout the twentieth century. The U.S. State Department, the U.S. Information Agency and the short-lived U.S. International Communication Agency have all served as the bureau's home at different periods. Each entity has its own mission and its own bureaucratic culture, and of course each is perceived in a different way by foreign audiences. The State Department is home to the diplomatic Foreign Service, but also to America's foreign policy apparatus. The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) was established in 1953 and was America's Cold War propaganda agency. It was in charge of Voice of America and Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe broadcasting as well as overseas posts of the U.S. Information Service, libraries, performing arts tours and cultural exhibitions. The Carter administration's reorganisation of the USIA and rebranding as the U.S. International Communication Agency combined information activities with educational and cultural affairs from the State Department. This approach emphasised the importance of genuine two-way engagement with foreign publics, but it was reverted to USIA and its original mission by the Reagan Administration. When the USIA was closed in 1999, the Fulbright Program was once again administered by the State Department, after a twenty-one year absence. The causes and implications of each of these shifts will be discussed and analysed in this section.

This discussion of bureaucratic history is followed by an analysis of the key administrative body of the Fulbright Program, the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board. Present since the establishment of the programme, this presidentially appointed body meets quarterly to review the Fulbright Program's activities, report on visits to binational

commissions and field offices around the world, and make policy decisions for the conduct of the exchange programme. The Board also makes the ultimate decision on grant applications, after they have been screened and recommended by selection committees. The composition of the Board has changed over the years, and appointments often reflect the attitude of the current presidential administration toward exchanges. Presidential statements specifically about the Fulbright Program are rare, but their overall approach can be deduced by looking at the institutional affiliations and professional backgrounds of their appointees to the Board. A comprehensive table of Board members is included as Appendix B.

The Fulbright grantee experience is examined in chapter six. The chapter begins by looking at the making of a Fulbrighter, the application and selection process. This section discusses the applicants' motivations and objectives as well as the administrators' selection criteria. Carrying on from this first step in the Fulbright experience, the next sections use quantitative demographic data to create a census of Fulbright grantees, in terms of grant categories (student, researcher, lecturer, etc.) and countries of origin, or in the case of American grantees, destination countries.

One area in which there is less demographic information available is the matter of women and the Fulbright Program. Although the programme has been open to female applicants since its foundation, women have constituted a minority, between 35% and 48%, of Fulbright grantees (SRI, 2005a; 2005b). There have been, however, many women who accompanied their husbands on Fulbright sojourns, where they contributed to the culture learning experience in important and often overlooked ways. This section also includes a profile of one of the programme's early notable alumni, Sylvia Plath, and analyses her Fulbright experience as seen through her letters and diaries.

From this foundational profile of the Fulbright grantee, the section then looks at the challenges and opportunities that grantees face while abroad, as well as their research areas and extra-curricular activities, before moving into a discussion of the Fulbright Program

alumni and their contributions. In many ways, alumni have taken up the advocacy role that Senator Fulbright once performed. The chapter closes with a comparison between the experiences of Fulbrighters and other study abroad participants.

The concluding chapter will summarise the findings of the study and consider their policy relevance. It recommends that policy-makers and programme administrators develop a clear, concrete statement of objectives, using more precise language and clearly defined measures of effectiveness. The archival material and interviews will be discussed with reference to the theoretical framework and primary research questions. The chapter will close with a discussion of future research directions prompted by the present study.

Chapter 2

Exploring the Theoretical Basis for Exchange Diplomacy

Introduction

Public diplomacy is a relatively new academic field that draws upon ideas from communications studies, political science and international relations. In recent years, there have been attempts to create and improve public diplomacy definitions, paradigms and theoretical frameworks (Gilboa, 2008; Gregory, 2008). Most of the literature, however, consists of descriptive institutional histories and policy recommendations that lack analytical depth. This has been true particularly in the case of the United States. Much of the literature on American public diplomacy has been written by former practitioners and is based upon their observations (Dizard, 1961; Tuch, 1990; Arndt, 2005; Kiehl, 2006). Few studies have applied the theories of the parent fields mentioned above to the practice of public diplomacy. There is a great deal of theoretical work in psychology, communications and political science that is relevant to public diplomacy, but it is rarely utilised. A notable exception is Giles Scott-Smith's exploration of exchanges and international relations theory (Scott-Smith, 2008). His approach demonstrates how public diplomacy researchers can apply the ideas of other fields to better understand the theoretical underpinnings behind public diplomacy practices. Rather than invent new theoretical constructs for the study of public diplomacy, scholars can use its interdisciplinary nature to borrow relevant concepts from other fields. This enables them to benefit from existing research and apply it in new ways to public diplomacy practices.

In this chapter, I will explore the ideas that underpin exchange diplomacy, the practice of using educational and cultural exchange as a public diplomacy tool. When examining the literature, it becomes evident that there are a few key theoretical concepts that can be applied in this emerging academic field. I have found three points that are largely agreed upon in the

literature, and will discuss them here as a theoretical basis for exchange diplomacy. The practice of exchange diplomacy is based on a series of assumptions about public opinion, foreign policy, and the relationship between the two ideas.

1. Contact between individuals of different nations contributes towards the goal of mutual understanding and influences the exchange participants' views of each other's nations.
2. Engaging with opinion leaders in a target nation will shape elite opinion and ultimately influence public opinion.
3. Public opinion can influence, to varying degrees, a nation's foreign policy.

Each of these ideas relates to theoretical literature from a different discipline. The first deals with interpersonal contact and attitude change theories drawn from psychology. The second looks at the opinion leader concept, an idea borrowed from the communications studies literature. The third assumption turns to the political science literature in order to understand the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. The chapter will begin with basic definitions and a review of the public diplomacy literature, in which we can see these themes emerge. The three concepts will then each be addressed and explored in turn, with reference to the theoretical literature from psychology, communications studies and political science. Taken together, these ideas constitute a new framework for the study of exchange diplomacy, one that is informed by decades of previous research across multiple disciplines.

Public Diplomacy and Exchange Diplomacy

The phrase public diplomacy is a modern term for the very old practice of persuasive communication. It was coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, founder of the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at Tufts University (Cull, 2009, p. 19). It was first employed as a euphemism for propaganda, a term that carried negative connotations of deception, thought-control and brainwashing. In the U.S., propaganda has become associated with totalitarian regimes, such as Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, or the 'doublespeak' of

George Orwell's *1984*. Orwell's 'Ministry of Truth', based on the real-life Ministry of Information in the United Kingdom, demonstrated the potential for abuse and misuse of propaganda. The highly negative perception of propaganda created the need for a more neutral phrase for persuasive communication.

There have been many attempts to define the term public diplomacy and delineate its activities (Tuch, 1990; Manheim, 1994; Melissen, 2007; Cull, 2008a). The essential components that are common to all definitions are that public diplomacy is a foreign policy practice that is characterised by engagement with foreign publics. There is also generally agreement on the distinctions between public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy. While traditional diplomacy consists of communication between two or more representatives of states, public diplomacy involves communication with foreign publics. These core concepts are consistent across the public diplomacy literature, though the specific actors, methods and purposes of the practice have been subjected to scholarly debate.

For much of the term's history, public diplomacy has been viewed primarily as a state activity. Jarol B. Manheim defines strategic public diplomacy as "efforts by the government of one nation to influence public or elite opinion in a second nation for the purpose of turning the foreign policy of the target nation to advantage." (Manheim, 1994, p. 4). His work highlights the case of Kuwait's image management in the U.S. during the run up to the Gulf War. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, the organisation Citizens for a Free Kuwait (funded by the Kuwaiti government-in-exile) worked with a public relations firm in the U.S. to generate a pro-Kuwait, interventionist sentiment amongst the American people (ibid.). The efforts of the Kuwaiti government successfully turned U.S. foreign policy to advantage, and the majority of Americans supported the Gulf War against Iraq. The story of Kuwait and the Gulf War is an example of the traditional, state-centric definition of public diplomacy.

The concept that only states can be public diplomacy actors has been challenged in recent years by the introduction of the 'new public diplomacy.' Jan Melissen and others have

expanded the scope of the public diplomacy definition to include activities that are conducted by private, non-state actors. The ‘new public diplomacy’ includes many types of engagement between publics across borders, such as activities undertaken by non-governmental organisations, private corporations and other non-state actors (Cull, 2008a, p. xv). This new definition has removed the actors entirely, defining public diplomacy simply as “the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented.” (Melissen, 2007, p. 106). While the absence of actors differentiates this definition from that offered by Manheim, the goal of advancing interests and extending values is similarly strategic in nature.

Another recent definition also omits the identity of an actor. Historian Nicholas J. Cull defines public diplomacy as “the conduct of foreign policy by engaging with foreign publics.” (Cull, 2008a, p. xv). This is perhaps the simplest and most inclusive definition in the literature, and its concept of engagement is particularly well-suited to exchange diplomacy. In addition to this concise definition, Cull introduces a framework of five categories of public diplomacy activities. It provides a useful way of thinking about the various activities that are included under the public diplomacy umbrella. The first two categories are listening and advocacy, which describe the basic process of communicating with foreign publics. New policy ideas would be presented to foreign publics (advocacy), and then the foreign public opinion of those policies would then be fed back into the policy-making process (listening). Cull’s third category is cultural diplomacy, the exportation of culture, which includes language teaching. The fourth category is exchange diplomacy, differentiated from cultural diplomacy in the sense that it involves the two-way exchange of people and culture, rather than the one-way exportation of cultural artefacts. The fifth and final category is international broadcasting, the efforts to reach foreign publics through the mass media (*ibid.*). This is perhaps the best-known form of public diplomacy, exemplified by

international public broadcasters such as the BBC World Service, Voice of America and Deutsche Welle.

Due to the fact that public diplomacy is a relatively new academic field, it can be difficult to identify the seminal texts of public diplomacy literature. The earliest public diplomacy literature refers not to 'public diplomacy' but to propaganda, information activities, and cultural relations. During the 1950s and 1960s, a number of insider accounts about U.S. overseas information activities were published to inform the public about the work of the new U.S. Information Agency after its 1953 founding. Edward W. Barrett's *Truth is Our Weapon* (1953) and Wilson P. Dizard's *The Strategy of Truth* (1961) reflect on the organisation, purposes and methods of Truman's Campaign of Truth and the U.S. Information Service, respectively. Two significant works in the U.S. educational and cultural affairs literature appeared in the mid-1960s: Philip Coombs' *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy* (1964) and Charles Frankel's *The Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs* (1965). Both works were written by Assistant Secretaries of State for Education and Culture. Coombs, the first to hold the position when it was created by President Kennedy, and his successor Frankel argue for a reorganisation of America's educational and cultural activities. They share a fundamental view that the government should play an active role in promoting these activities, and that such activities are effective means of promoting mutual understanding and international goodwill.

While Coombs and Frankel focused on the bureaucratic organisation of American public diplomacy, USIA veteran Dizard focuses on the activities themselves, including radio, films, television broadcasts and publishing. Dizard frequently refers to the corresponding activities of the Soviet Union in these areas, and the Cold War context is prominent in his study. The Foreign Language Publishing House in Moscow, for example, is compared with U.S. Information Service activities in publishing and library sponsorship. This is used to illustrate the threat posed by the Soviet Union's extensive efforts in these areas, and to

encourage increased involvement on the part of the United States in the book world (Dizard, 1961, p. 147). While Coombs and Frankel mention the Cold War as part of their discussion, they present international understanding as a worthwhile activity for its own sake and not solely as a strategic tool. Dizard, on the other hand, links the Cold War directly to America's public diplomacy efforts. In his view, the goal is not to encourage international understanding for its own sake, but to promote American interests abroad. "The measure of its effectiveness is the degree to which the program advances the strategic policies abroad." (ibid., p. 187). In short, Dizard wholeheartedly agrees with the USIA's unidirectional mission, "To tell America's story to the world."

When the Cold War ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, many public diplomacy studies tried to explain these events. Scholars in other fields focused on the political and economic causes, particularly the Soviet policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, but public diplomacy scholars focused on the cultural factors that contributed to the end of the Cold War (Kotkin, 2003). While acknowledging the role that Soviet policies had played in bringing about the collapse of the Soviet Union, these scholars argued that the end of the Cold War had also been a triumph of international broadcasting. The empire had been taken down, they argued, by 'subversive' jazz and rock and roll music and the news programming of the BBC World Service, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and Voice of America (Nelson, 1997). Others looked to educational and cultural exchanges for an explanation, noting that many leaders in the Moscow bureaucracy during the 1980s were alumni of U.S. exchanges, including Aleksandr Yakovlev, a special adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev and an architect of *glasnost* (Richmond, 2003). These works joined a larger discussion in political science, economics and history that tried to explain the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, public diplomacy became a popular topic amongst policy-makers, think tanks and academic circles. In the United States, the terrorist

attacks of September 11, 2001 highlighted the importance of foreign public opinion. The event made the U.S. government realise that they needed to address anti-American sentiment abroad in order to prevent future attacks. This task demanded the renewal of public diplomacy practices, which had been neglected since the end of America's previous ideological battle, the Cold War. Along with a renewal of state interest in public diplomacy practices came a renewal of scholarship in the field of public diplomacy. Academics looked beyond the American mainstream media's questions of 'why do they hate us?' to explore what could be done to improve or repair America's image abroad (Kiehl, 2006). A special issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* appeared in 2008 to examine the state of the field and recent developments (Cowan and Cull, 2008). R.S. Zaharna's *Battles to Bridges: U.S. Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy after 9/11* (2010) offers a comprehensive review and critique of the period.

The renewal of interest in public diplomacy was not limited to the United States. A number of other national case studies have appeared across the public diplomacy literature in recent years. British public diplomacy has been the subject of several studies by the Foreign Policy Centre (Leonard and Alakeson, 2000; Leonard, Small and Rose, 2005). Nikolas Glover's study of Sweden's public diplomacy explores the ways in which Swedish identity has been negotiated and projected by the Swedish Institute (Glover, 2011). China's impressive opening ceremony for the 2008 Beijing Olympics has been analysed in terms of image projection and nation branding (Cull, 2008b). Taiwan's efforts to gain recognition and negotiate its place in world affairs offer a compelling case for the use of public diplomacy by small, constrained states (Rawnsley, 2000). Although the term public diplomacy originated in the U.S. and much of the scholarship comes from American institutions, it has become an increasingly global academic field.

Over the past two decades, public diplomacy has often been linked to the concept of soft power. Harvard political scientist Joseph S. Nye, Jr. first introduced 'soft power' in 1990

but developed it more fully in 2004's *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*. His basic premise is that the ability to attract is a more effective means of persuasion than the ability to dominate by force (Nye, 2004). The attractiveness of a nation is found in its culture, including its language, arts, cuisine, institutions and brands. Soft power is related to public diplomacy in the sense that soft power resources, a nation's attractive qualities, are communicated to foreign publics through public diplomacy efforts. "Public diplomacy tries to attract by drawing attention to these potential resources through broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports, arranging exchanges, and so forth. But," Nye warns, "if content of a country's culture, values, and policies are not attractive, public diplomacy that 'broadcasts' them cannot produce soft power." (Nye, 2008, p. 95). Public diplomacy practices cannot create soft power where there is none. They can only raise awareness of soft power where it already exists.

One recent critique of the soft power concept has arisen in relation to China's appropriation of the term. The Chinese government uses the term 'soft power' to describe what are more accurately labelled traditional propaganda activities (Wang and Lu, 2008; Gill and Huang, 2006). There is also an argument that soft power can only be successfully wielded by countries like the U.S. which also have a great deal of hard power (both military and economic power). Nye's more recent work has coined the term 'smart power,' a hybrid of the cultural attractiveness of 'soft power' and the 'hard power' of military and economic resources. It is also important to remember that soft power ultimately remains a form of power. As Foreign Scholarship Board chair Tom Healy recently remarked, "No matter how decent our intentions or benign our strategies, one of the problems with persuasion is that it is not an effort of tender wonderment and questioning. Persuasion is not meant to explore truth, but to enforce it. Soft power is still meant to be power, our power." (Healy, 2013). The fact remains that one party wields power over another party, and as such, soft power cannot be separated from hegemony.

Communicating through the means of educational and cultural exchange is markedly different from that of international broadcasting, listening and advocacy. It does not reach mass audiences in the way that other techniques do. Educational and cultural activities engage foreign audiences on a small scale, and the audiences are active participants rather than passive consumers. There is a distinct emphasis on mutuality in exchange diplomacy rhetoric, as opposed to the unidirectional approach that characterises international broadcasting, for example. In exchange diplomacy, both parties are considered to be learning from each other.

The speed at which effects can be observed is another distinguishing characteristic of exchange diplomacy. Exchanges do not produce instant, quantifiable results in the same ways that information campaigns might. Education and culture are slow, long-term approaches that might only prove to be effective years or decades after the initial contact has been made. Margaret Thatcher is often cited as an example of successful exchange diplomacy, as she came to the U.S. as a participant in the International Visitor Program (IVP) in 1967 (Scott-Smith, 2003). Her experience demonstrates the long-term nature of public diplomacy efforts; it would be twelve years before she became Prime Minister. The IVP was arguably quite an effective tool in this case, as relations between the United States and the United Kingdom remained warm during Thatcher's long tenure as Prime Minister. Investing in Thatcher early in her career, when she was a rising young Member of Parliament in the 1960s, paid off for the United States when she maintained and strengthened the 'special relationship' throughout the 1980s. Of course, it is difficult to generalise the results of this case more broadly. For every Prime Minister Thatcher there have been thousands of less prominent exchange alumni, as well as many pro-American world leaders who were not alumni of exchange programmes.

Exchanges are thought to be effective because they utilise personal relationships and networks, which are seen as a highly credible means of communication. While information from a government's mass media may be criticised by audiences, a discussion with an

individual representative is more credible and offers an opportunity for follow-up questions and responses. Individuals are better equipped than government media sources for a genuine two-way flow of communication. In addition to being more credible, individuals have other advantages over their governments. A Foreign Policy Centre study of British public diplomacy recognises that “...our broader society will often have more capacity, expertise and credibility than the British government when it comes to successfully interacting with a key group on a particular issue.” (Leonard and Alakeson, 2000, p. 5). Society has built-in communication resources, and exchange diplomacy enables governments and other actors to utilise them. R.S. Zaharna argues that the current global communications environment requires a new network-based communication approach. The network approach, prioritising relationship-building and message exchange, she argues, is more effective than a mass communication approach. “In what is arguably a new global communications’ era—defined by connectivity, interactivity and cultural diversity—those who master message exchange will command communication power.” (Zaharna, 2007, p. 225-226). Genuine exchange is well-suited to meet the communication challenges of engaging with diverse, interconnected publics on a global scale.

Exchange diplomacy is not without its flaws and criticism. As mentioned above, it is a slow method, the results of which may not be known for several decades. From a political standpoint, elected officials may not see the rationale of supporting a method that will not benefit their chances of re-election. From an economic standpoint, it requires continual investment for uncertain long-term returns. It also has moral and ethical considerations to take into account. The idea that a government might derive national benefits from educational and cultural activities is a somewhat controversial concept. On the one hand, government spending of taxpayer funds ought to benefit the nation, to promote the national interest in some way. On the other hand, aligning national interests with educational activities might undermine the academic integrity of such programmes. Education and culture ought to be

promoted for their inherent value, rather than for the national interest, according to this argument. The tensions between these two viewpoints, which are yet to be fully reconciled, remain a dominant theme in the story of American public diplomacy.

The Origins of Exchange Diplomacy

The first use of education and culture in foreign policy has been attributed to France. As far back as the seventeenth century, French missionaries spread the French language throughout Europe and the New World (Mitchell, 1986, p. 22-23). Education played an important part in the French Republic, both domestically and in its imperial ambitions. The architects of the French Republic saw education reforms as a vital element in achieving their wider agenda of a democratic, secular nation. Education had long been exclusively in the hands of the Catholic Church in France. Reforms in the 1880s created free, secular and compulsory education for both girls and boys between the ages of 7 and 13. “Republicans believed the classroom to be the most critical public space for forging a republican citizenry.” (Conklin, Fishman and Zaretsky, 2011, p. 62). As Prime Minister and Minister of Education, Jules Ferry promoted both educational reform and colonialism. “France cannot merely be free,” he declared, “she must be great, exercising over the destinies of Europe all the influence which is rightly hers, and carrying it all over the world.” (ibid., p. 69). Domestic education reforms provided a model for France’s educational activities abroad.

Education played a major role in colonial governance, and was at the heart of France’s overall aim, its *mission civilisatrice* (civilising mission). Colonial texts taught native students that they had benefitted from French rule. The French were depicted as kind protectors, deserving of respect and loyalty. One manual used in Indochina spoke of the obligations that students have towards their *patrie d’adoption* (adopted fatherland). “In recognition of all its favours, we must love France, our adopted fatherland, with the same love that we have for our own country. We owe France even greater respect, and this respect obliges us to conform to the orders of the government which represents France here, to

educate ourselves at the French school and to vow great fidelity to France.” (Cooper, 2004, p. 145). In the context of French colonialism, overseas education was used to unite the people of the empire under a common language and cultural identity.

American Exchange Diplomacy

Compared with France’s long history of exchange diplomacy, the United States has only recently begun to engage in the practice. The early twentieth century Boxer Rebellion Indemnity scholarships are the earliest example of U.S. government exchanges. The Boxer Rebellion nationalist uprising of 1898-1901 resulted in China having to pay crippling indemnities to the U.S. and its allies (Hunt, 1972). An agreement between the U.S. and China determined that indemnity funds were to be used to fund scholarships for Chinese students. Established in 1909, the programme sent thousands of Chinese students to the United States over the next two decades (Bu, 2003, p. 25). In 1924, a conference was held to discuss the problems of returned Chinese students who had become ‘denationalized’ and found it difficult to adjust. The scholarships were then restricted to graduate students, who were expected to be less impressionable and thus have fewer adjustment problems (ibid., p. 75). The fact that such problems arose, however, suggests that the exchanges were highly successful in terms of culture learning objectives.

The story of these scholarships has often been framed in terms of China’s appreciation of American friendship after the Boxer Rebellion. The following summary, by historian Carroll B. Malone, was the dominant account of the Boxer scholarships for many years. “China expressed her deep gratitude, left the time and manner of the remission entirely to the American government, and apparently quite voluntarily stated her intention of using the money for the education of Chinese students in the United States. This was done as an expression of her appreciation of the friendliness of the American government.” (Malone, 1926, p. 68). In this narrative, China initiated the scholarship arrangement voluntarily, and in a spirit of gratitude towards the United States.

This account was widely accepted in American scholarship for the next five decades until historian Michael Hunt challenged it in 1972. Hunt argued that the United States had pushed the Chinese government into the arrangement, and that the exchanges were not a spontaneous show of China's gratitude. He cites Chinese perspectives to make his case, quoting historian T'ao Chu-yin: "Their [the Americans'] 'cultural investment' was used to open up a 'cultural leasehold' and an 'educational factory,' to spread the poison of enslaving thought to overthrow and destroy the Chinese people's culture, and to injure the spirit of China's youth...Americans have called cultural investments 'fertilizer for America's trade with China,' and in substance it is completely like economic investment." (Hunt, 1972, p. 541). This perspective changes the story, and reveals a great deal about the potential role of educational exchange in international political and economic affairs. In Malone's account, educational exchange serves as a goodwill gesture and a mutually beneficial arrangement. Contradicting this narrative, T'ao Chu-yin sees educational exchange as a means by which the U.S. could dominate China by influencing youth values and culture. From the Boxer Rebellion indemnity example, we can see that educational exchange can be a gesture of friendship or a subtle form of imperialism, depending upon context and perspective.

In terms of non-governmental exchanges, the earliest American educational activities overseas were conducted by religious organisations. American missionaries spread not only their Christian culture abroad, but their American culture as well. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, missionary organisations began sending promising indigenous students to religious institutions in the U.S. This practice sometimes led to unintended consequences. "Although the education aimed to imbue foreign students with Christian doctrines and to train them to be indigenous leaders of Christianity, it nonetheless contributed to the political liberalization of the students from non-Western societies." (Bu, 2003, p. 43). Observing this phenomenon led to a belief during the interwar period that education could be used to shape people's values and ultimately to maintain world peace (ibid.).

The interwar peace movement resulted in an increase of educational and cultural exchange programmes. Most were conducted by private, independent entities such as the Institute of International Education (IIE), and the Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller philanthropic organisations. The first annual report of the IIE tells the story of its beginnings and its mission. The backdrop of total war “aroused great interest among our [American] people in foreign nations and in international affairs. That fact,” it tells us, “prompted Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to discuss with the writer [Stephen Duggan, Sr.] the possibility of organizing an institution devoted to the specific purpose of enabling our people to secure a better understanding of foreign nations and of enabling foreign nations to obtain an accurate knowledge of the United States, its people, institutions and culture.” (Duggan, 1920, p. 1). The Institute of International Education cooperated with two previously existing organisations in the field, the American University Union and the American Council on Education. The American University Union had established offices in London, Paris and Rome during the First World War in order “to meet the needs of American college men and their friends in Europe for military or other service in the cause of the Allies.” (ibid., p. 3). The American Council on Education dealt with higher education issues within the U.S. Although they focused on domestic activities, their work with foreign students in the U.S. had some overlap with IIE’s efforts. The two organisations worked with the newly established IIE to avoid duplication of work and coordinate their efforts.

America’s first two-way state-sponsored educational and cultural exchanges began during the interwar period, alongside the private, philanthropic efforts. They focused on Latin America, a region already given prominence in American foreign affairs by President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor policy. First introduced in Roosevelt’s 1933 inaugural address, the Good Neighbor policy was a declaration of respect. “In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor

who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.” (Roosevelt, 1933). The promise of respect was especially resonant with listeners in Latin America, where the United States had a history of political interference and economic exploitation. Roosevelt’s policy was a marked shift away from these types of engagement, and towards the promotion of international goodwill and regional cooperation.

While Roosevelt was promising to be a good neighbour, the Nazi government in Germany was looking to Latin America with a different aim in mind. Germany and France were both active in cultural diplomacy towards Latin America during the 19th century, promoting their national language and culture alongside their economic interests in the region (Frye, 1967). By 1936, the United States had become increasingly concerned with Germany’s cultural relations activities in Latin America. The Nazi government targeted the region with information activities that American officials described as “well-organized and well-subsidized, and designed to counteract and weaken U.S. relationships with the Latin American countries and discredit U.S. motives and purposes in the area.” (Espinosa, 1976, p. 103). Nazi cultural activities included the sponsorship of German schools, where many wealthy Latin American families sent their children. American schools in the region, by contrast, operated on limited budgets and could not compete with their German counterparts (ibid., p. 177). Thus in the years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, Latin America became a cultural battleground for the U.S. and Germany.

In 1936, the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace brought leaders from North and South America together in Buenos Aires, Argentina. One agreement resulting from the conference, the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, proposed a scheme for binationally-sponsored educational exchanges. The exchanges were to be administered by a new body within the Department of State, the Division of Cultural Relations. Established on 27 July 1938, the new division was responsible for managing

America's cultural engagement with Latin America (*ibid.*, p. 102). Private scholarship programs continued as they had before, and while division officials cooperated with private organisations, they avoided overstepping their remit. State Department official Laurence Duggan advised that the Department "should do what it can to assist in the execution of the plan, without of course, becoming too closely identified with it." (*ibid.*, p. 103). The government was meant to act as a facilitator, but was not meant to engage too much with private activities. This arrangement continues to exist today, as the binational educational commissions abroad that administer US government-sponsored exchanges also act as clearinghouses for information about private opportunities for study in the United States.

Educational and cultural exchanges have a long history of use in the conduct of foreign policy, from the early imperialists and missionaries to modern-day exchange diplomacy institutions like the Fulbright Program. They operate on an assumption that increased contact will lead to enhanced understanding, international goodwill and more peaceful relations. Programmes select future leaders on the basis that alumni who become leaders will produce a 'multiplier effect,' as they influence others in their society. Ultimately, it is believed that public diplomacy efforts will have an effect on a target nation's foreign policy, because they will shape the prevailing attitudes and opinions in that nation. These three assumptions, as stated in the introduction, will be examined in greater detail in the following sections, with reference to the relevant bodies of literature from psychology, communications studies, and political science.

Contact and Attitudes

The primary assumption behind the practice of exchange diplomacy is the idea that contact between individuals of different groups will lead to increased mutual understanding. Across the exchange diplomacy and study abroad literature, the reduction of stereotypes and prejudice is one of the most frequently expressed objectives of exchange programmes. A 1959 report from the Board of Foreign Scholarships to the President offers an example of this

type of rhetoric. “Comparatively recent revolutions in transportation and communication have brought peoples closer together. But they have also served to demonstrate the deeply ingrained prejudices that centuries of intercultural isolation have nurtured and the calculated distortions of our enemies have inflamed. By bringing carefully selected groups of foreign citizens into personal contact with our citizens and their way of life, the educational exchange program has done much to convey the truth about the US to the leaders and future leaders of the other nations of the world and, through them, to their peoples.” (*BFS, 1959, p. 2*). There is a broad consensus throughout the exchange diplomacy literature that contact is an effective means of reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations.

This concept, known as the contact hypothesis, has been the subject of many studies in social psychology. It has been used to examine interracial contact scenarios, such as integrated schools and housing initiatives in the United States (Macrae, Stangor and Hewstone, 1996). It has also been applied to studies of disability stereotyping (Langer, Basner and Chanowitz, 1985). Researchers have tested the contact hypothesis in order to understand how stereotyping occurs, why prejudices persist, and how attitudes might be changed. These questions have a great deal of relevance for questions of intercultural contact, as stereotypes and prejudice are barriers to international understanding.

The contact hypothesis originated in Gordon W. Allport’s seminal work *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). His studies deal primarily with interracial contact and efforts to improve intergroup relations. Allport specifies four conditions that intergroup contact must meet in order to effectively reduce prejudice. “Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports, and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups.” (Allport, 1954, p. 281). It is important to note that these conditions must be met in order for the contact

to be effective in reducing prejudiced attitudes. Contact alone is not necessarily an effective means of improving intergroup relations.

How well does the contact hypothesis fit the intergroup contact scenario that takes place in exchange diplomacy programmes? Firstly, the participating groups must interact on a basis of equal status within the situation. For peers or colleagues in an educational exchange scenario, their status is most likely equal. For other contact relationships in exchanges, however, such as lecturer-student or employee-supervisor, this would not fulfil the contact conditions for prejudice reduction. Secondly, the interaction must take place in the pursuit of common goals. Again, this is not always the case for exchange participants. In some situations, Fulbright grantees might work on collaborative projects with locals during their sojourn. Many, however, will work on independent research. These projects offer little scope for the establishment of common goals. Thirdly, there must be an element of intergroup cooperation. As with the idea of common goals, the degree of cooperation depends upon the project in which the exchange participant is engaged. There may be opportunities outside of the institution of higher education for cooperative work, such as sport teams or volunteering. This cannot, however, be relied upon as a feature of the exchange diplomacy programme. Finally, the contact must be supported by authorities. Exchange diplomacy does meet this condition, as the contact is supported and facilitated by authorities, both the programme administration and the participating institution of higher education. Overall, exchange diplomacy does not fulfil the conditions for effective prejudice reduction set out by the contact hypothesis.

Although exchange diplomacy does not meet the standards of the contact hypothesis, this does not mean that it cannot reduce prejudice. The contact hypothesis has been subjected to a number of criticisms. Social psychologists have explored and tested various elements of the contact hypothesis in the decades since its introduction. Like the original studies that Allport conducted, many have focused on the contact that occurs in educational

environments. In a study of a multi-cultural high school in the U.S., contact under the specified conditions was found to reduce intergroup bias, supporting Allport's contact hypothesis. Contact was found to "transform students' cognitive representations from 'us' and 'them' to a more inclusive 'we'." (Gaertner et al., 1994, p. 242).

Critics have found the contact conditions specified by Allport to be unrealistic. One study noted that participants may be unconvinced by overly artificial contact scenarios. "The elaborate creation of harmonious interpersonal relations was so obviously artificial when considered against the external realities of residential segregation, widespread discrimination and numerous intergroup inequalities." (Macrae, Stangor and Hewstone, 1996, pp. 327-328). The exchange situation does not take place in a vacuum. External factors can and do influence contact outcomes. In terms of exchange diplomacy, a recent example of an 'external reality' might be found in the 2003 renewal of U.S.-Iraq Fulbright exchanges. The contact between American and Iraqi scholars took place against a backdrop of the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March of the same year. At a press conference soon after their arrival in the U.S., Iraqi Fulbrighters told of their gratitude for the programme and gave details of their warm reception with President Bush. As one visiting lecturer described his objectives, "I want to play the role of a cultural ambassador to my city, to my country, Iraq, and to let the Americans know everything about Iraq. I'm sure that they have a lot of questions about Iraq right now, and there is a lot of misunderstanding about the situation in Iraq, about the Iraqi people's attitudes, so I'm going to explain that whenever I have the opportunity to do so." (U.S. Department of State, 2004). Yet while twenty-five Iraqis received Fulbright grants and travelled to the U.S. for postgraduate studies and lecturing posts, millions of other Iraqis lived in a warzone under U.S. occupation. The 'harmonious' image of intergroup contact and the realities of warfare are difficult to reconcile.

Richard Brislin's work on intercultural communication describes the difficulties and limitations of the contact hypothesis. "Contact itself does not guarantee favorable results.

Some people are so rigid in their prejudices that any out-group behaviour can be interpreted as supporting their initial attitudes...Administrators must realize these possibilities as well as some background factors which participants bring to the contact situation.” (Brislin, 1981, p. 197). Background factors might be as simple as previous brief experiences with the foreign culture, or as pervasive as fundamentalist religious beliefs. This was the case with several of the September 11, 2001 hijackers, who had lived and studied in the West prior to carrying out their attacks. In their post-9/11 public diplomacy strategy, the Council on Foreign Relations acknowledged this limitation. “The United States will never convince the fanatics who hate us most, and it would be a waste of resources to try.” (Peterson, 2003, p. 21). Resources are more efficiently used by engaging with moderates in the target society, who might be persuaded, rather than with extremists who never will be.

Opinion Leaders

The second common assumption of how exchange diplomacy operates focuses on the ability to influence individuals, particularly those in leadership positions who might go on to persuade others. A 1942 U.S. State Department report on the Travel Grant Program stated this assumption as part of its programme objectives. “One of the immediate objectives of the program is to acquaint distinguished visitors...with the cultural and artistic life of the country visited, so that upon their return they will exert a definite influence on public opinion. This is particularly valuable in the case of distinguished visitors who are held in high regard by their fellow citizens and who are in a position, either through their official positions or otherwise, to influence public sentiment towards a better appreciation of North American culture, life, and government.” (Espinosa, 1976, p. 281). It is expected that the elite participants of exchange diplomacy programmes are the leaders, or future leaders, of a target society. Their views will be shared with others in their society and, it is assumed, will influence and shape public opinion. One participant will influence many others, multiplying the influence across the society, hence it is known as the ‘multiplier effect.’

The case of exchanges between the U.S. and the Federal Republic of Germany after the Second World War offers a compelling example of the multiplier effect. Many of the exchange alumni went on to achieve leadership positions in the government in the decades that followed their exchange experience, including Chancellors Willi Brandt and Helmut Schmidt. A State Department monograph on U.S.-German exchanges describes the effects of these success stories. “By occupying high offices in public life, many were able to translate their personal experience into policies and programs which benefited both countries and over the years contributed to the good relations existing today between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.” (Kellermann, 1978, p. 241). The ability of leaders to influence others, including policy-makers, makes them ideal participants for exchange diplomacy programmes.

The multiplier effect is known in communications studies research as the opinion leader concept. It was introduced by Paul Lazarsfeld in *The People's Choice* (1944) and elaborated upon in his collaborative work with Elihu Katz, *Personal Influence* (1955). Opinion leadership, they assert, “is leadership at its simplest: it is casually exercised, sometimes unwitting and unbeknown, within the smallest grouping of friends, family members and neighbors.” (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955, p. 138). Status is not necessarily a determining factor, as they argue that anyone can be an opinion leader, depending upon the context of interpersonal communication. It is less a matter of class than a matter of perceived expertise and trust. The authors do recognise, however, that elites influence a larger audience than non-elites would. “Higher ranking members...tend to address themselves to a larger number of group members than do lower ranking individuals.” (ibid., p. 88). In terms of exchange diplomacy, this means that influencing elites will, in turn, influence the ideas of many others in the target society.

The opinion leader concept is part of the two-step flow model of communication put forward by Katz and Lazarsfeld. It is the concept that information travels from the mass

media to certain leaders, and then is passed on by these leaders to others in their societies. “The ‘two-step flow’ hypothesis suggests, in the first place, that these interpersonal networks are linked to the mass media networks in such a way that some people, who are relatively more exposed, pass on what they see, or hear, or read, to others with whom they are in contact who are less exposed.” (ibid., pp. 44-45). The two-step flow hypothesis is applicable to the culture learning that takes place in exchange diplomacy. If we think of the information not as that communicated through the mass media but as knowledge of another culture, for example, then the two-step flow is discernible. The first step is the exchange experience, where this cultural knowledge is gained first-hand. The second step is the subsequent sharing of cultural knowledge by the grantee with his or her society. According to this model, the exchange participant’s post-sojourn behaviour is of central importance. Grantees must share their experiences and knowledge gains with others upon returning home in order for the exchange diplomacy programme to achieve its aim of increased mutual understanding between the people of each country.

The concept of the opinion leader also has important implications for the participant selection process of an exchange diplomacy programme. The application process and selection criteria vary according to the different types of exchanges, but most educational exchanges are competitive, merit-based awards. Selection committees look for future leadership potential in interviews and personal statements, in addition to the evidence of high academic merit found in transcripts and test scores. The inclusion of leadership as a selection factor suggests that exchange diplomacy targets opinion leaders deliberately and strategically.

There have been a number of challenges to the original two-step flow model, including Robinson’s work on elections which argued that elites communicated primarily with each other, rather than ‘the masses’ (Robinson, 1976). This argument has a great deal of relevance for the Fulbright Program. When grantees become elites, according to this model, they will influence other elites, rather than the general public. This challenges the exchange

diplomacy assumption that influencing future elites will ultimately have a significant impact on public opinion.

Recent research on network communication dynamics has also offered a new perspective on the opinion leader concept. Network models suggest that information circulates amongst interconnected individuals or organisations, rather than flowing from the mass media to opinion leaders and on to the public in the two-step model. Interpersonal connections between individuals are more influential than the mass media in the new global communications environment, because it is based on connectivity and personal interaction. In light of these developments, R.S. Zaharna argues in favour of a network or relational approach to public diplomacy (Zaharna, 2007; 2010). Informational mass media approaches are less credible and less effective than they were before the advent of the World Wide Web. The relational approach, which includes educational and cultural exchanges, “may not be the most efficient medium, but it is the most effective and preferred one for building and sustaining relationships. It is highly credible and resonates positively with the participatory nature of the relational perspective.” (Zaharna, 2010, p. 147). Thus opinion leaders may have lost their relevance in the new global communications environment, but this development has not diminished the relevance of educational and cultural exchanges. Relationship-building initiatives, whether in the form of the Fulbright Program, the International Visitor Leadership Program, or Humphrey Fellowships, still hold an important place in American public diplomacy.

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

The public diplomacy literature often expresses an assumption that domestic public opinion plays an important role in shaping a democratic nation’s foreign policy. According to the Foreign Policy Centre, the spread of democracy in the twentieth century means that today, “the power to inspire publics is now often the most powerful weapon in international politics.” (Leonard and Alakeson, 2000, p. 38). Nye shared this view in his reflections on the

expansion of democracy and its implications for public diplomacy. “Shaping public opinion becomes even more important where authoritarian governments have been replaced...Even when foreign leaders are friendly, their leeway may be limited if their publics and parliaments have a negative image of the United States.” (Nye, 2008, p. 99). Winning over hearts and minds is considered to be vital in a democratic target nation, where those hearts and minds have the power to influence foreign policy decisions. This assumption is largely unquestioned in the public diplomacy literature, but has been met by far more criticism in the field of political science.

The importance of public opinion in foreign policy was used as a rationale for early U.S. involvement in educational and cultural exchanges. The founders of the IIE were liberal internationalists who felt that education could play an important role in international relations. Elihu Root, an IIE founder and President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, believed that education could serve as a means of promoting rational, well-considered public opinion on foreign policy matters. “With correct information about their relations to other peoples...about what has happened and is happening in international affairs...the people themselves will have the means to test misinformation and appeals to prejudice and passion based upon error.” (Root, 1922, p. 5). Root and his colleagues in the peace movement felt that there were important lessons to be learned from the experience of propaganda in the Great War. They saw education as a solution to the problems of misinformation and prejudice.

The founders of early U.S. exchange diplomacy programmes were adherents of the liberal internationalist school of thought. The peace movement had a great deal of faith in the power of world opinion to prevent future war. President Woodrow Wilson promoted the notion of collective security, the idea that cooperation between states was the only way to ensure peace. This concept was embodied in the League of Nations, a post-Great War attempt at international governance. “The cement that was supposed to bind together the loose sand

of the League's member-states was world opinion, the popular liberal sentiment embedded in all peoples that was being unleashed by the global spread of democracy." (Ninkovich, 1999, p. 14). Despite the failure of the U.S. Congress to agree to League membership, the League of Nations set an important precedent in global politics and inspired the post-Second World War liberal internationalist push to establish the United Nations.

While liberal internationalists and public diplomacy advocates take the importance of public opinion for granted, other political science scholars have questioned its significance. Does public opinion actually have any effect on foreign policy? The extent to which policy-makers pay attention to public opinion and act accordingly has long been debated. The dominant academic approach has changed over time to reflect changes in communication and political structures. According to political scientist Ole R. Holsti, a consensus based on the works of Walter Lippmann and Gabriel Almond emerged after the Second World War and dominated research on the topic until the Vietnam War era. The consensus view was made up of three primary arguments. Firstly, public opinion is volatile and therefore cannot be used to support foreign policy. Secondly, attitudes towards foreign affairs lack structure and coherence. They are not based upon reasoned arguments and evidence. Thirdly, due to these limitations and to the overall policy-making apparatus, public opinion has very little impact on a nation's foreign policy. (Lippmann, 1922; Holsti, 1992). The view that the public is uninformed about foreign policy was shared by other political and communications scholars, such as James Rosenau. Agreeing with Lippmann, Rosenau argues that the general public is not only uninformed about foreign affairs, but is also largely uninterested in them. "Except for acute peace-or-war crises (and not always then), the mass public is usually unmoved by the course of world events. Few of its members are likely to have more than headline acquaintance with public discussions of foreign policy issues or be willing to listen to more than truncated news broadcasts over radio and television." (Rosenau, 1961, p. 36). For the majority of audiences, then, foreign policy issues are of low salience.

The consensus view of an uninvolved public was challenged by the advent of the Vietnam War. The growing opposition of the American public to the war became politically significant over time. This caused even Walter Lippmann to change his views on the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. Due to his opposition to the Vietnam War and the Johnson administration's policies, Lippmann "came to regard the public, which had become increasingly sceptical of the war effort, as more enlightened than the administration." (Holsti, 1992, p. 445). As a result of the Vietnam War, as well as the end of the Cold War, there has been further research on the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. Although a new consensus has not yet emerged, some of the issues that have arisen have suggested that public opinion does play an important role in world affairs, supporting the liberal internationalist view of public diplomacy advocates.

Comparative research has shown that the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy in a given country depends upon domestic policy-making and social structures. In a comparative study of the U.S., the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan, the structures in each nation were found to have an impact on whether public opinion correlated to foreign policy. In the U.S. and the Federal Republic of Germany, where the foreign policy-making process is less centralised and society forces are relatively strong, there was a match between public opinion and policy. In Japan and France, where policy-making is more centralised and societal forces are weaker, public opinion and foreign policy were less closely aligned (Risse-Kappen, 1991).

The impact of exchange diplomacy on public opinion and foreign policy has been the subject of relatively little research. Whitney Walton's recent study of U.S.-French exchanges argues that study abroad between the two nations had an important effect on their relations and on national identity, as well as far-reaching personal impacts (Walton, 2010). As mentioned above, the Soviet Union case has also served as an example of the impact of exchange diplomacy on both public opinion and foreign policy (Richmond, 2003). These

compelling case studies suggest that there are many more examples of successful exchange diplomacy yet to be explored.

Conclusion

Theory is largely absent from most public diplomacy literature, as it is a relatively young academic field that has yet to establish its own theories, paradigms and frameworks. The practice of public diplomacy, moreover, is driven by the specific needs and requirements of individual cases. Practitioners and policy-makers take a pragmatic approach to public diplomacy. They must take into account the context of public diplomacy activities, the nature of the audiences, the purposes of the communication and any potential challenges that might arise. As much of the literature consists of empirical, historical research written by former practitioners, little attention has been paid to theory in the field.

In order to better understand how public diplomacy activities, and exchanges in particular, are thought to function, we must read between the lines of practitioner literature. This section has attempted to do this, by drawing out a series of basic assumptions that often go unquestioned (and sometimes go unvoiced altogether) in the public diplomacy literature. I have attempted to summarise these ideas that underpin the practice of exchange diplomacy. Theory has been drawn from each of the parent disciplines of public diplomacy studies: psychology, communications studies, and political science. The research from each of these disciplines has important implications for the study of public diplomacy. This section has revealed that, although these assumptions are not approached critically in the public diplomacy literature, they have been examined more thoroughly in other disciplines. In the psychology literature, we have found that the concept of intercultural contact is not as straightforward and effective as the exchange diplomacy literature assumes it is. Allport's contact hypothesis has been tested and disproven in many cases that do not meet his specific contact conditions. It is important to recognise that exchange diplomacy contact scenarios often do not fulfil Allport's criteria. Another important concept in exchange diplomacy and in

social psychology is the idea of stereotyping. Hewstone's work on stereotypes demonstrates that stereotypes are not always negative, and that intergroup contact does not always succeed in disproving them. In some examples of exchanges, contact may simply reinforce stereotypes, as explained with the example of the Western-educated 9/11 hijackers. Social psychology does not wholly support the exchange diplomacy assumption that contact leads to increased mutual understanding and influences attitudes towards foreign countries.

The communications studies literature, particularly the work of Katz and Lazarsfeld, enabled us to explore more thoroughly the public diplomacy concepts of the opinion leader and the multiplier effect. This assumption has largely been supported by the literature, in fact, though communications research has not often been applied or cited in public diplomacy studies. There is some scope for further exploration of the multiplier effect and the role of elites in other disciplines, as well. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the reproduction of elites in educational institutions has particular relevance for more prestigious, elite examples of exchange diplomacy. Network theory would also be a useful lens through which to examine the international networks that result from exchanges.

Finally, we have looked to political theory in order to understand the extent to which public opinion can influence a nation's foreign policy. Although public diplomacy has been defined as a foreign policy tool that works by engaging with a foreign public, the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy is somewhat unclear. Are the public uninterested and uninformed, as Lippmann and Almond argued? Or are they more engaged than previously thought? Recent developments in the global communications environment have also caused some to rethink the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. The 2011 social media-based protests of the 'Arab Spring', for example, inspired communications research on the role of new information and communications technologies in international politics (Howard and Parks, 2012). Such developments may have important implications for exchange diplomacy, as the realms of public opinion and interpersonal contact move online.

Taken together, these three assumptions contribute towards a theoretical framework for exchange diplomacy. With a thorough understanding of the basic concepts that underpin exchanges and public diplomacy in general, we can move beyond the simplistic questions of how states use exchanges and consider instead why they do so and the extent to which these exchanges might be deemed effective. This theoretical framework guides the analytical section of this study, as the guiding principles and assumptions of exchange diplomacy are uncovered in archival materials and interviews.

Chapter 3

A History of the Fulbright Program

Introduction

This chapter chronicles the development of the Fulbright Program from its modest beginnings as a means of dealing with surplus war property to its current status as “America’s flagship educational exchange program” (Fulbright Program, 2014c). Its history is a fascinating case study in adaptability and resilience, as the Fulbright Program has overcome many challenges. Alice Stone Ilchman, former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, marvelled at the programme’s ability to endure “through budget cuts, wars, economic recessions, political disfavour, and unsympathetic management.” (Ilchman in Kiehl, 2006, p. 53). Indeed, the Fulbright Program has come up against many threats throughout its history, domestic and foreign, political and economic. Its ability as an institution to weather these challenges is remarkable, and warrants closer examination.

The section begins by discussing the origins of the Fulbright Program, including the precedents that inspired Senator Fulbright’s 1946 amendment to the Surplus War Property Act of 1944. It then moves into a discussion of the activities of the Fulbright Program during its early years. The work of establishing further exchange agreements and deciding upon policies took place against the backdrop of the Korean War, the Red Scare and McCarthyism. The Fulbright Program expanded significantly during the Kennedy era, with the passage of the 1961 Fulbright-Hays Act, but this peak soon diminished. The Vietnam War had a negative impact on the programme, as funds were drained away from exchanges and towards defence spending. This situation was perhaps further exacerbated by Fulbright’s feud with President Johnson, over the Senator’s opposition to the war. The story then moves to the period of détente, in which exchanges were established with the Soviet Union, and renewed with China after nearly three decades of suspended activity. The Carter years were also

significant because of their impact on the bureaucratic organisation of the Fulbright Program's home, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. The 'Project Democracy' agenda of the Reagan era is discussed in a further section, culminating with the end of the Cold War. The post-Cold War era witnessed a steep decline in U.S. public diplomacy, yet a relatively stable period for educational exchange. The shift of USIA activities into the State Department was, if anything, a beneficial move for the Fulbright Program in terms of grant numbers and funding impacts. Finally, I consider the Fulbright Program's activities in the post-9/11 era. Exchanges with the Muslim and Arab world became a new priority for the programme in the post-9/11 context, as new initiatives were developed and existing programmes were expanded. American public diplomacy benefitted from significantly increased attention and funding.

The historical account concludes with a discussion of the three primary themes that emerge: the significance of funding for the programme's success, the bureaucratic shifts that have impacted the programme over time, and the centrality of the grantee experience to programme outcomes. These themes offer a foundation for further analysis in the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

Origins of the Fulbright Program

The international educational exchanges that became known as the Fulbright Program were first proposed in the days following the U.S. bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In later years, Senator J. William Fulbright recalled the horrific event as one of the contributing factors that led him to propose the use of exchanges as a peace-building effort. "One thing that inspired the introduction of the bill at that particular time was that we had just dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in August." (*Roundtable Conference, 1987, p. 83*). In the bombings, Senator Fulbright saw the destructive capacity of the nuclear age and knew that mankind had reached a point of desperation. The invention of the bomb changed international relations irrevocably. The international peace movement, which had seen only brief and

limited success in the wake of the Great War, came back onto the agenda. In his statements in exchange programme reports, Senator Fulbright's advocacy for peace was explicitly linked to his recognition of the horrors of war. "The ingenuity of man in inventing such power of destruction as the hydrogen bomb makes it absolutely essential that this movement proceed. The alternative seems to be utterly intolerable and disastrous." (*Armbruster, 1976, p. 5*). Humans must live to learn in peace with each other, he argued, or else face total annihilation by their own hands. "Such indiscriminate destruction of life and property by new and sophisticated methods suggested that some new approach to international relations was essential" (Fulbright, 1976, p. 2). At the heart of Senator Fulbright's proposal was the belief that educational exchange might be a suitable new approach to resolving international conflict.

The Democrat freshman Senator from Arkansas had already made his internationalist views known while serving in the House of Representatives. The Fulbright Resolution, passed in September 1943, pledged U.S. participation in a post-war international peace-keeping organisation. "Participation by this nation in a system designed to prevent war is inspired and justified primarily by the desire to preserve that integrity and freedom of the individual," he told the House (*Fulbright, 1943*). This represented a return to Wilsonian internationalism, and a form of atonement for America's failure to join the League of Nations. It was a marked departure from America's inter-war isolationist foreign policy stance.

The text of the resolution promised America's involvement in what would become the United Nations. "Resolved: That the House of Representatives hereby expresses itself as favouring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to prevent future aggression and to maintain lasting peace, and as favouring participation by the United States therein." (*ibid.*). Representative Fulbright asserted that joining the international institution, in whatever form it might take, would be an initial step towards building and

maintaining a lasting peace. “Surely it is worthwhile to try a new approach to the problem of total war, even though no one can guarantee the success of our efforts. After this first step is taken, it is obvious that many more steps must be taken before an adequate policy can be achieved.” (*ibid.*). One of these further steps, of course, was his exchange programme. Other initiatives that arose in the aftermath of the Second World War included recovery loans and grants, such as the Marshall Plan. The proposed exchange programme complemented these post-war peace-building and recovery efforts.

The Fulbright Program was not America’s first foray into educational exchanges, but it was on a much larger scale than any previous exchange programmes had been. It drew inspiration from three of America’s past exchange endeavours. Firstly, the Fulbright Program took its binational structure from the Boxer Indemnity scholarship agreement. Secondly, the precedent of the Belgian-American Educational Foundation gave Senator Fulbright the idea of using surplus war property to fund his exchanges. Finally, the inter-war period Pan-American cultural exchanges had established an administrative structure within the Department of State that the Fulbright Program would later use. Thus, the basis for the Fulbright Program’s binationalism, its funding and its administration can be found in earlier American educational exchanges activities.

The Boxer Indemnity scholarships were established by an agreement between the governments of the United States and China. At a conference on U.S.-China educational and cultural relations, Senator Fulbright admitted that he had kept the Boxer Indemnity scholarships in mind when he proposed his exchange programme. “I might say that one of the precedents, one of the reasons why the first agreement under the [Fulbright Act] legislation was with China, was the Boxer Indemnity precedent. In the Senate, you must look for a precedent if you propose anything relatively new. It’s a standing principle in the Senate that nothing should ever happen for the first time. So we always look for a precedent to prove that it’s happened before.” (*Roundtable Conference, 1987, p. 83*). Although Senator Fulbright

strikes a humorous tone in his telling of events, there is no doubt that the Boxer Indemnity scholarship precedent strengthened his arguments for educational exchange in the Senate.

Senator Fulbright also looked to the Belgian-American Educational Foundation (BAEF), which was established in the aftermath of the Great War. The exchanges were financed by the aid funds that remained in the hands of the Commission for Relief in Belgium at the end of the war. Before his career in public life and his presidency, Herbert Hoover was working as an engineer and financier in London. When the Great War was declared on 28 July 1914, thousands of American tourists were stranded on the Continent, and many went to London to seek help (Nash, 1988). The situation very quickly overwhelmed the U.S. Embassy. Hoover and his fellow American residents of London created the American Committee, an organisation that helped the stranded Americans obtain return passage. After officials noticed his success with the American Committee, Hoover was asked to help with the plight of the Belgian people (*ibid.*) Under German occupation, over one million Belgians were on the edge of starvation. Hoover organised and chaired the Commission for Relief in Belgium, an organisation that provided food and other forms of aid. At the end of the war, the Commission had some \$33 million in aid funds remaining (*ibid.*). Under Hoover's direction, this surplus was used to establish an educational exchange programme and funding scheme to assist Belgian higher education institutions (Johnson and Colligan, 1965). Establishing the educational foundation contributed to Belgium's post-war recovery and added another dimension to the country's alliance with the United States.

The Belgian-American Educational Foundation (BAEF)'s application of surplus war funds for educational purposes inspired the funding arrangements in Senator Fulbright's proposal. The BAEF served as a model for the creative funding in his first legislation, an amendment of the 1944 Surplus War Property Act. In this amendment, Senator Fulbright proposed to use the funds resulting from the sale of surplus war property to pay for

educational exchanges. The example of the BAEF had already demonstrated that this could be a feasible means of securing funding and promoting international goodwill.

The BAEF was also important in terms of its bipartisan support for international educational exchange efforts. Herbert Hoover's record of supporting international educational exchange made him an important ally for Senator Fulbright, a Democrat. In a letter to Senator Fulbright, former President Hoover described the success of the BAEF and related it to the Senator's proposal. "In 1920, as a disposal of part of the funds from liquidation of supplies, etc., for the Belgian Relief Commission, I established the Belgian-American Educational Foundation, the purpose of which was exactly what you propose." (*BFS, 1955*). In the years after his presidency, Hoover remained a prominent figure in the Republican party. The former President wrote a letter to Republican members of Congress endorsing Senator Fulbright's proposed exchange programme. Another Republican and BAEF member, Senator H. Alexander Smith, also approved Fulbright's proposal and lobbied for its support (Jeffrey, 1987). These Republican allies helped Senator Fulbright gather bipartisan support for his international educational exchange proposal.

The U.S. Government had an infrastructure for educational and cultural exchanges in place prior to Senator Fulbright's proposal. It had been created in 1938 to support exchanges between the U.S. and Latin America. The Division of Cultural Relations served as a model for the administrative structure that later exchanges would follow in the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

On a more personal level, two events in the Senator's life inspired his views on education and its potential role in international relations. Firstly, as a Rhodes Scholar at Pembroke College, Oxford, Fulbright learned the value of international education. He saw first-hand how an early experience abroad could shape one's views for years to come. At the time that he received his Rhodes award, the twenty-year-old had never left the United States, nor visited a major city. Reflecting upon his journey to Oxford in later life, the Senator spoke

of how he sought out “exciting experiences, and if convenient, some knowledge.” (quoted in Woods, 1995, p. 22). The social and cultural elements of study abroad were the highlights of his stay. He played rugby and lived and dined with his British peers. He read politics at Pembroke College for three years, studying under Oxford don R. B. McCallum, who became a life-long friend. After graduating from Oxford, Fulbright then spent an additional year travelling around Europe. This first experience abroad was hugely influential for the young man from Arkansas. It shaped his ideas about international cooperation, as it “heightened his awareness of the basic unity of Western culture and of the dimensions of its responsibility for much of the rest of the world.” (Johnson and Colligan, 1965, p. 13).

In addition to his Rhodes Scholar experiences, J. William Fulbright also drew inspiration from his memories of the problems raised by war debts in the aftermath of the First World War. The costs of that war, in terms of lives lost and property destroyed, were devastating. The damage of reparations to Germany’s economy is well-known, but many other countries suffered as well. The United States loaned more than \$11 billion to fifteen European countries, during and after the war, but nearly all of them defaulted on these loans (All Debtors to U.S. Excepting Finland to Default Today, 1934). Eager to prevent similar problems in the wake of the Second World War, Senator Fulbright proposed a scheme that would enable these countries to purchase surplus war property in their own currencies, much of it at scrap value. His proposal would then convert the proceeds from the sale of surplus war property abroad into scholarships and travel grants (Lebovic, 2013). His educational exchange scheme was to be funded by war property in the hope that such goods would not be needed in the future. In later years, this motivation prompted President Kennedy to assert, “Of all the examples in recent history of beating swords into plowshares, of having some benefit come to humanity out of the destruction of war, I think that this program in its results will be among the most preeminent.” (*White House, 1961a*).

Founding the Fulbright Program

Although J. William Fulbright was a freshman Senator when he introduced his bill proposing an educational exchange programme, he was politically adept and managed to get the bill passed quickly by using a range of tactics. Knowing that the proposal could be controversial, he chose to introduce it to a near-empty chamber, saying later that “the less attention the matter got the greater would be the chance of victory for idealism.” (Woods, 1995, p. 131). Neither the Senators nor the members of the press in the chamber that day took any notice of the bill. It went to committee review without discussion. Following consultation with the State Department and Senate committees, Senator Fulbright abandoned his original bill and drafted a more detailed version. This resulting piece of legislation, introduced in November 1945, took up the consultation recommendations and proposed that the State Department should be the sole disposal agency for surplus war property abroad (Jeffrey, 1987). The bill also created the Board of Foreign Scholarships, an independent, nonpartisan body of presidential appointees who would establish rules, select grant recipients and administer the programme. It was this second, more comprehensive piece of legislation that ultimately became the Fulbright Act of 1946.

Senator Fulbright managed to move the bill quickly through the legislative process by utilising a combination of political tactics. Firstly, there was a distinct effort to make the bill transcend party lines and be accepted by lawmakers on both sides of the aisle. Former President Herbert Hoover and Senator H. Alexander Smith were influential Republicans who also advocated international educational exchange, and Senator Fulbright valued their support. In addition to this effort at bipartisanship, Senator Fulbright also showed skilful political manoeuvring when it came to arranging his bill’s funding. Aware that his colleagues in the Senate might reject any bill that required new appropriations, Fulbright found a creative solution in America’s surplus war property. When American troops returned home at the end of the Second World War, they left millions of dollars worth of surplus war materials

scattered around the world, abandoned on beaches and left to rot, creating a logistical problem for those in charge of war surplus (Lebovic, 2013). Bringing the goods back to the U.S. was untenable, due to prohibitively high transportation costs. The war-torn countries holding the goods were unable to pay for them in U.S. dollars. Essentially, America had a great deal of nonconvertible currency frozen abroad.

By designating the State Department as the sole disposal agency for these goods, Fulbright created a means for these non-convertible currencies to be spent in a manner that would bring “intangible benefits” to the United States (ibid.). Senator Fulbright later recalled telling his colleagues, “These bills are all owing to us what you can’t collect.’ I don’t think I could have got it enacted in any other way.” (Quoted in Dudden and Dynes, 1987, p. 1). Fulbright’s arrangement enabled him to fund the exchange programme while simultaneously addressing the issue of surplus war property disposal.

Senator Fulbright’s third measure that aided the passage of his bill was its provision for the Board of Foreign Scholarships. This was a proposed administrative body, included in the bill after consultation with the Senate expenditures committee. It was the only major change proposed by the committee, and was added “because members distrusted the State Department.” (Jeffrey, 1987, pp. 45-46). They feared that the State Department might use the exchange programme for its own foreign policy agenda, damaging the programme’s academic integrity. The establishment of the Board of Foreign Scholarships as an independent, autonomous decision-making body quelled their concerns that government involvement in such matters as educational exchange would turn students into tools of the State Department. According to the legislation, a ten-member board of Presidential appointees would oversee the programme’s administration, serving without compensation (*Public Law 79-584*). Their responsibilities would include the selection of grantees, negotiating bilateral agreements with other nations, and deciding upon official policies. Members of the Board were to be drawn from “cultural, educational, student and war

veterans groups,” including the U.S. Office of Education, the Veterans Administration, and public and private educational institutions (*ibid.*; Johnson and Colligan, 1965, pp. 21-22). The Board would be composed of representatives from a range of fields, ensuring that its decisions would not be biased in any one direction. This would ensure the programme’s integrity and protect it from the influence of short-term foreign policy demands. Thus, the creation of the Board addressed the concerns of those who did not trust the State Department.

Another line of defence against political interference came in the form of the programme’s binational structure. The binational Fulbright Commissions, established in most participating countries, would act as overseas counterparts to the Washington-based programme administrators. They would publicise programme competition announcements, manage applications, and host receptions and orientations for grantees. In addition to these Fulbright grant duties, the Commissions would also act as clearinghouses for information on other U.S. study abroad opportunities, both public and private. Binational commissions significantly raised the profile of the partnering nation in conducting Fulbright Program exchanges. Commission boards consist of both local citizens and American residents, which encourages an equitable distribution of control. The binational structure provides an element of insulation from short-term foreign policy objectives.

Senator Fulbright’s political manoeuvring over several months succeeded. The Senate unanimously passed the Fulbright Act with no debate and without a roll call vote (Woods, 1995, p. 133). Shortly before Congress adjourned, President Truman signed the bill into law on 1 August, 1946. Following the bill’s passage, a great deal of administrative work had to be completed before any participants could be exchanged. Binational agreements with the governments of participating nations had to be negotiated by the State Department. Official statements of selection criteria and programme policies needed to be established by the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the members of which were appointed on 17 July 1947 (*BFS, 1948*). Funding with surplus war property funds proved to be more complex than anticipated. In the

interest of getting the programme off the ground, funds were initially provided by the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations. These philanthropic organisations were already well-established in the field of education, and agreed to support exchanges for the first six months of the programme (Johnson and Colligan, 1965). At the first press conference about the exchange programme, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs William Benton referred to it as “the Fulbright Program” and this unofficial name became the permanent title (Fulbright, 1989, pp. 214-215). The first binational agreement for exchanges was made with China in November 1947; Burma, the Philippines and New Zealand followed within the next six months (*BFS, 1948*). By the early 1950s, the framework for the Fulbright Program was in place and students, scholars and professors began criss-crossing the world.

Early Exchanges and the Cold War

No sooner had the Fulbright Program taken off than it came up against its first crucial challenge. Just months after the first American and Chinese grantees had taken up their awards, political developments threatened the existence of the U.S. Educational Foundation in China. Civil war had broken out in China after the end of the Second World War, fought between Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist party and Mao Zedong’s Communist party. The Fulbright exchange agreement had been made with the Nationalists, and the first year of exchanges had been paid for with gold yuan, a currency that was soon threatened with devaluation as a result of the conflict.

When Communist troops took Peking on 31 January 1949, neither the Foundation nor the U.S. Embassy knew how events might unfold. The Foundation initially resisted calls to suspend the programme, and discussed the possibilities of having a limited programme or deferring action on the matter until a later meeting (Fairbank, 2005 [1976], p. 192). In a despatch to the State Department in July 1949, Foundation director George Harris asked for assurances that funding from China’s Nationalist government would be available for the following year’s exchanges, “should events render a programme possible.” (*ibid.*, p. 197). By

the 31st of August, the Foundation had exhausted its funding and had to suspend its activities, as it was no longer able to obtain funding from the Nationalist government. The suspended exchange programme in China could be considered the Fulbright Program's first Cold War casualty.

The advent of the Cold War had major repercussions for U.S. foreign policy, as well as America's educational and cultural relations with the world. International exchange activities took on a new meaning in the context of the Cold War. The Fulbright Program became seen as a means of giving foreign visitors a taste of life in the 'free world.' Fulbright Program administrators travelled to parts of the world that they considered vulnerable to the influence of Communism in order to understand the best approach towards this new conflict. Francis J. Colligan, executive secretary of the Fulbright Program, writes of his impressions on a trip to the Middle East and Far East in early 1951. He explicitly links the agenda for educational exchange to the 'Communist threat' in his report to the Board of Foreign Scholarships. "As far as the Fulbright program is concerned, we can best meet this situation by 1) helping certain countries fill their need in terms of knowledge and skills, 2) informing them of the true nature of democracy and of communism, 3) demonstrating the achievements, cultural and intellectual, which have grown out of our way of life, and 4) in all cases demonstrating a spirit of genuine, broad-gauged cooperation as the basis of our attitude towards the free world." (*Colligan, 1951, p. 3*). This second point, telling foreign audiences about democracy and communism, is a commonly used phrase in early Cold War rhetoric. These ideas are typically linked with information-based forms of public diplomacy activities, rather than educational exchanges or cultural diplomacy. The Truman administration's 'Campaign of Truth' (Barrett, 1953) and the US Information Service (Dizard, 1961) are examples of the advocacy public diplomacy referred to by Colligan. This passage shows that the divisions between informational and educational-cultural forms of public diplomacy were blurred during the early days of the Cold War.

The Board of Foreign Scholarships agreed with Colligan's views and explicitly linked its mission with the ideological competition taking place during the Cold War. "With the world divided into two competing ideological camps, it has been apparent for many years that the only real solution to the stalemate that confronts mankind lies in greater mutual understanding among nations." (*BFS, 1959, p. 2*). Grantees were thought to have an important role to play during the exchange experience, which administrators conceived as a microcosm of international relations. "By bringing carefully selected groups of foreign citizens into personal contact with our citizens and their way of life, the educational exchange program has done much to convey the truth about the U.S. to the leaders and future leaders of other nations of the world and, through them, to their peoples. By sending carefully selected groups of Americans abroad to study and teach among the citizens of foreign countries, the program has helped to destroy many false, stereotyped impressions of the attitudes and capabilities of people living in the United States." (*ibid.*).

The rhetoric used in this passage highlights the distinct lack of reciprocity in the exchange. Bringing foreign visitors to the U.S. was thought to indoctrinate them in the American way of life, while Americans sent abroad were thought to proselytise to foreign audiences about the virtues of the American way of life, as well. There was no consideration of the possibility that foreign visitors might share their country's culture with Americans during their stay in the U.S., or that Americans might learn from other cultures when they travelled abroad. In this conceptualisation of the exchange as a Cold War tool, there is an absence of mutuality between the exchange participants.

Educational exchange was another arena in which the U.S. competed with the Soviet Union. An article appearing in *The New York Times* expressed concern at the Soviet Union's expanding efforts in student exchange. "Many of those who cannot enter the United States are turning toward the Soviet Union. The Russian universities are offering scholarships and

educational grants to foreign students, particularly those who reside in Eastern Europe...[and] now inviting students from Western Europe as well.” (Fine, 1947, p. 9) The move towards Western Europe encroached on U.S. higher education ‘claims’ in the region.

For his part, Senator Fulbright did not view the programme as a weapon against Communism. He believed in the intrinsic value of educational exchange and the importance of building mutual understanding between the peoples of different nations. He knew, however, that the programme would need additional funding sources. The proceeds from surplus war property would quickly be exhausted, and his colleagues in Congress would have to be convinced to appropriate further funds, if the programme were to survive. He began to promote his exchange programme as a tool of Cold War foreign policy in the early 1950s.

Congressional appropriations for exchanges came under the same umbrella as overseas information activities, authorised by the 1948 United States Information and Educational Exchange Act, known as the Smith-Mundt Act (*Public Law 80-402*). In order to ensure that his exchange programme would be adequately funded, Senator Fulbright chose to promote it as a Cold War weapon. In a *New York Times* article from 5 August 1951, Fulbright asserts that his programme is such a weapon. “Since the program has gotten under way, the Russians have attacked it as being a clever propaganda scheme. I can agree that, as matters have developed, this program of exchange of persons is one of the most effective weapons we have to overcome the concerted attack of the Communists.” (Fulbright, 1951, p. 26).

When I spoke with Senator Fulbright’s biographer Randall Bennett Woods, he pointed out that the strategy of selling the Fulbright Program as a Cold War weapon was short-lived. “After 1955 he just completely rejected the notion of selling it as an anti-Communist tool, overtly. He was afraid it had been co-opted by the hard right, and he wanted to prevent that.” (Appendix A, p. 261). Fulbright fought to keep exchanges in the State Department, rather than the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), in order to insulate exchanges

from the influence of propagandists in the new agency. While the State Department's foreign policy influence on exchanges had once been a concern, the USIA was altogether more threatening to the exchange programme's academic integrity. Its mission was "Telling America's Story to the World", a decidedly unidirectional purpose that did not accommodate the concepts of mutual understanding behind the Fulbright Program.

The Fulbright Program grew quickly in its early years. Between 1947 and 1952, new exchange agreements were made between the United States and twenty-nine other countries (*BFS, 1952*). Table 3.1 lists these countries and the dates of their exchange agreements. The geographic scope at this stage was still limited to the countries that had purchased surplus war property from the U.S. under the terms of the Surplus War Property Act of 1944.

Table 3.1 Exchange Executive Agreements, 1947-1952 (chronological)

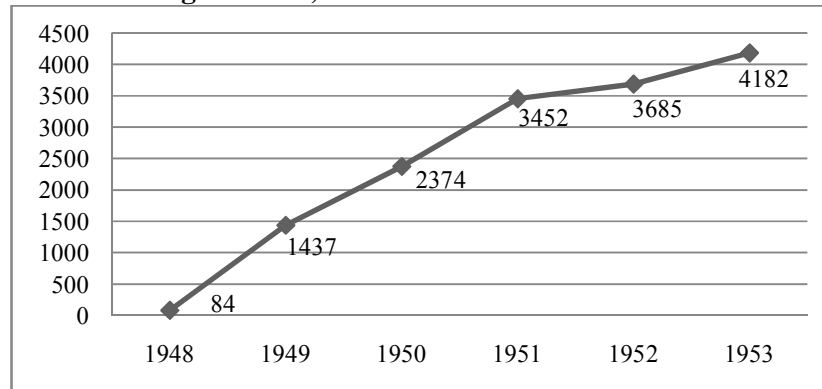
Country	Fulbright Program Executive Agreement Date
China	10 November 1947
Burma	22 December 1947
Philippines	23 March 1948
Greece	23 April 1948
New Zealand	13 September 1948
United Kingdom	22 September 1948
Belgium and Luxembourg	8 October 1948 (joint agreement)
France	22 October 1948
Italy	18 December 1948
Netherlands	17 May 1949
Norway	25 May 1949
Egypt	3 November 1949
Australia	26 November 1949
Iran	1 September 1949
Turkey	27 December 1949
India	2 February 1950
Austria	6 June 1950
Korea	28 April 1950
Thailand	1 July 1950
Pakistan	23 September 1950
Iraq	16 August 1951
Denmark	23 August 1951
Japan	28 August 1951
Union of South Africa	26 March 1952
Finland	2 July 1952
Federal Republic of Germany	18 July 1952
Ceylon	17 November 1952
Sweden	20 November 1952

(Sources: *BFS, 1948-1952*)

The US-Chinese exchanges were the first to be suspended, but there were two further suspensions in the early years of the Fulbright Program. The outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950, less than two months after the educational exchange agreement had been signed with Korea, led to a suspension of the Fulbright Program before any exchanges had taken place. The Board's 1950 Annual Report to Congress states simply "Earlier plans for a program in Korea had to be postponed during the summer of 1950," making no comment on the conflict (*BFS, 1950, p. 3*). The programme with Iran carried out exchanges for three academic years (1950-1952), but exchanges were suspended when funds were exhausted in 1953 (*BFS, 1953*). A new agreement renewed exchanges in 1957, using funds from the sale of American surplus agricultural commodities to Iran to finance an educational and cultural exchange programme (*U.S. Department of State, 1957b*). The Fulbright Program with Iran was the first to be suspended for lack of funds, rather than for political reasons.

The Fulbright Program's expansion in binational exchange agreements is reflected in the rapid growth of grant numbers. Figure 3.1 shows the increase of awards over the first six academic years. The number of Fulbright grants went from just 84 in its first year to 4,182 by 1953, a nearly fifty-fold increase.

Figure 3.1 U.S. and Foreign Grants, 1948-1953



(Sources: *BFS, 1948-1953*)

Although the Fulbright Program expanded rapidly during this period, it was not without its detractors. Some criticised the Fulbright Program for the allegedly 'dangerous' ideas that it might bring to the United States. Senator Fulbright liked to tell the story of an

encounter with Senator Kenneth McKellar just after his bill had passed. “Young man, that measure you had is a very dangerous bill. If I’d known about it I would have opposed that...Don’t you know it’s very dangerous to send our fine young boys and girls abroad, and expose them to those foreign isms?” (Woods, 1995, p. 131). The very mission of the programme, cultural learning through exposure, aroused suspicion and fear in some quarters.

Others found fault with the programme’s scope and inclusivity. One such critic was Fulton Lewis, Jr., a McCarthyite radio broadcaster and columnist “known for his complete lack of objectivity” (Boehlert, 2005). His column in the *New York Mirror* attacked the State Department’s plans to expand the Fulbright Program to Communist states. “The State Department, ever secretive, has a grandiose but carefully guarded scheme in the making for a big Fulbright Scholarship exchange with Soviet Russia and three Iron Curtain satellites. The so-called ‘scholarships,’ lest you be misled, are not necessarily for scholars. They can—and will—go to professional or technical people, artists, writers, singers—almost anybody in the arts, sciences and professions.” (Lewis, 1957). The proposed exchanges that Lewis feared did not take place for nearly two decades. Despite the State Department’s efforts, the Soviet government did not agree to participate in the Fulbright Program until 1974 (Richmond, 2003). Nevertheless, his column offers an interesting example of the types of criticism that the Fulbright Program faced during this period.

Senator Joe McCarthy, infamous for his anti-Communist witch-hunt of the early 1950s, was an adversary of Senator Fulbright. In 1953, McCarthy used an appropriations hearing to attack the exchange programme. “He started by firing angry questions at William Fulbright. Were there Communist students in the program? Communist teachers? Communist books? When Fulbright objected, Joe grabbed an ashtray, banged it loudly on the table, and demanded ‘some answers.’” (Oshinsky, 1983, p. 316). Fulbright was infuriated by both the content and manner of the questioning, but managed to calmly defend the integrity of his exchange programme. McCarthy left the Fulbright Program alone after that encounter,

though the two Senators remained fierce adversaries. In 1954, Fulbright cast the single dissenting vote against funding McCarthy's subcommittee and played a key role in the move to censure McCarthy (Fulbright, 1989, pp. 53-54). As an aside, one early evaluation study notes that support for educational exchange was so universal, "Even Senator McCarthy avers that he likes the idea of exchange-of-persons programs and is critical only of their manner of execution." (Riegel, 1953, p. 326).

The Cold War context shaped the trajectory of the Fulbright Program in its early years. It created challenges, such as the suspensions in China and Korea, and the impact of McCarthyism on America's reputation abroad. The ideological battle of the Cold War also created opportunities for the Fulbright Program, as educational exchange became seen as a means of fighting Communism. Showing foreign visitors the American way of life was seen as the best means of convincing them of its merits. Bringing them into contact with an American visitor, who could explain these merits, was also thought to be persuasive. Although some emphasis was placed on the mutuality of exchanges, the programme became increasingly focused on promoting the American way of life during the Cold War.

The Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961

By the end of the 1950s, the Fulbright Program had changed dramatically from the modest exchange programme of its first year. New funding sources enabled the programme to include regions such as Latin America which had not been eligible under the surplus war property funding requirements. Between 1955 and 1960, fourteen additional countries entered into exchange agreements with the United States (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Exchange Executive Agreements, 1955-1960 (chronological)

Country	Fulbright Program Executive Agreement Date
Chile	31 March 1955
Peru	3 May 1956
Israel	26 July 1956
Ecuador	31 October 1956
Argentina	5 November 1956
Colombia	9 January 1957
Iceland	23 February 1957
Ireland	16 March 1957
Paraguay	4 April 1957
Brazil	5 November 1957
Taiwan	30 November 1957
Spain	16 October 1958
Portugal	19 March 1960
Uruguay	22 July 1960

(Sources: BFS, 1963; no new agreements were signed in 1953-1954).

In addition to the original Fulbright Act of 1946, there had been a number of other pieces of legislation during the 1940s and 1950s relating to international educational exchanges. The most significant of these was the aforementioned 1948 Smith-Mundt Act, which authorised overseas information activities as well as exchanges (*Public Law 80-402*). The 1949 Finnish Educational Exchange Act had created a binational exchange programme between the U.S. and Finland, funded exclusively by Finland's repayments of its First World War loans to the U.S. (*Public Law 81-265*). Another country-specific exchange programme was created by the 1951 India Emergency Food Aid Act (*Public Law 82-48*). The terms of the act's food aid loan authorised the use of India's interest payments for an educational exchange programme between India and the U.S. (*ibid.*, section 7).

Similarly, the 1954 Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act approved the use of funds resulting from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities abroad for educational and cultural exchanges (*Public Law 83-480*). This was a highly significant piece of legislation for the Fulbright Program, as it enabled several Latin American countries to enter into exchange agreements for the first time. The 1956 International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act included provisions for cultural activities which overlapped

with those of the Fulbright Program (*Public Law 84-860*). By 1960, it was clear that America's educational and cultural exchange activities would benefit from improved coordination under new legislation.

The new bill, the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, not only consolidated the existing array of legislation, but also strengthened and expanded America's educational and cultural exchange programmes. Senator Fulbright introduced the bill on 2 March 1961, telling his colleagues in the Senate "the approach to the international scene of the 1940s is not good enough for the 1960s." (Fulbright, 1961b, p. 3028). The new bill was co-sponsored by Wayne Hays in the House of Representatives, thus it became known as the Fulbright-Hays Act. It passed easily by a vote of 329 to 66, and was signed into law by President Kennedy on 21 September 1961 (Johnson and Colligan, 1965, p. 304). Kennedy remarked at the signing ceremony that the bill represented "full recognition by the Congress of the importance of a more comprehensive program of educational and cultural activities as a component of our foreign relations." (*White House, 1961b*).

The statement of purpose of the Fulbright-Hays Act does not include any elements of Cold War rhetoric, of persuading foreign publics or fighting against Communism. Rather, it emphasises education and culture, cooperation and peace.

"The purpose of this Act is to enable the Government of the United States to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries by means of educational and cultural exchange; to strengthen the ties which unite us with other nations by demonstrating the educational and cultural interests, developments, and achievements of the people of the United States and other nations, and the contributions being made toward a peaceful and more fruitful life for people throughout the world; to promote international cooperation for educational and cultural advancement; and thus to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic,

and peaceful relations between the United States and the other countries of the world.” (*Public Law 87-256*).

In terms of the theoretical framework, we can see both the contact and the public opinion-foreign policy assumptions in the language of this act. The first clause relates quite clearly to the contact hypothesis, as it assumes that mutual understanding will increase “by means of educational and cultural exchange”. There is an implied connection between public opinion and foreign policy in the last two clauses, as a connection is drawn between educational-cultural cooperation and friendly international relations. The use of “thus” in the last clause emphasises the simplification of this connection. The link is not explained in the remainder of the act, nor is the contact scenario elaborated upon. Rather, these are normative assumptions about the way in which exchanges relate to the national interest and the stabilisation of international relations. The concept of the multiplier effect is not clearly evident in the text of the act, though the term “demonstrating” implies a distinction between demonstrators (elites) and audiences (mass publics).

The Fulbright-Hays Act includes elements of each of the acts that it consolidated, such as provisions for U.S. participation in international fairs and expositions, continued loan repayment funding for the Finnish and Indian exchange programmes, and other measures. The act also includes a number of new features that had important implications for the Fulbright Program. Section 105 of the act authorised partner nations to contribute financially to their exchanges with the United States. Cost-sharing had taken place with West Germany prior to this amendment, where it had enabled the programme to exchange more participants each year than any other country. It also authorised exchange programme administrators to enter into contracts prior to the granting of appropriations, which enabled them to plan exchange activities further in advance than had previously been permitted.

The act also had substantial effects on the administration of the programme. Section 106 of the act increased the size of the Board of Foreign Scholarships from ten members to

twelve, and designated the Board as the authority for all programmes authorised by the act, not only the Fulbright Program. The act also established the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, replacing the former Commission on Educational Exchange, and requested the new Commission to conduct a “study of the effectiveness of past programs with emphasis on the activities of a reasonably representative cross section of past recipients of aid.” (*ibid.*) The resulting report to Congress, entitled *A Beacon of Hope: the Exchange-of-Persons Program*, was the first large-scale official evaluation of the Fulbright Program. The study involved the consultation of thousands of exchange participants, educators, ambassadors and foreign service officers (Gardner, 1963).

The Fulbright-Hays Act was a highly significant moment in the development of the Fulbright Program. It increased the degree of coordination between America’s various educational and cultural exchange activities, authorised further funding sources and strengthened the role of the Board of Foreign Scholarships. It is also worth noting that although the Fulbright Program has expanded and evolved over the past six decades, no new legislation has been enacted. The Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961 remains the legislative basis for the exchange programme today.

The Vietnam War and Retrenchment

The years immediately following the passage of the Fulbright-Hays Act were a time of great expansion and development for the Fulbright Program. With new funding sources designated by the act, as well as the Board’s enhanced authority to enter into new agreements, the size and scope of the programme increased dramatically. By 1963, forty-five binational commissions had been established around the world, and a further ninety countries participated in Fulbright exchanges through local U.S. Embassies (*BFS, 1963*). The Kennedy administration had looked favourably upon the Fulbright Program, as it was sympathetic to the cause of promoting mutual understanding and international goodwill. The administration saw the Fulbright Program, as well as initiatives like the Peace Corps, as a means of

exporting the American way of life and winning the Cold War by promoting modernisation on a global scale (Latham, 2000). When Lyndon B. Johnson became President following Kennedy's assassination on 22 November 1963, there was every reason to believe that this favourable attitude towards educational and cultural exchange would continue. Senator Fulbright and President Johnson had been friends and colleagues in the Senate; both were Southern Democrats with a great deal of experience in Washington politics. The matter of U.S. military action in Vietnam, however, damaged their relationship permanently, and had lasting consequences for the Fulbright Program.

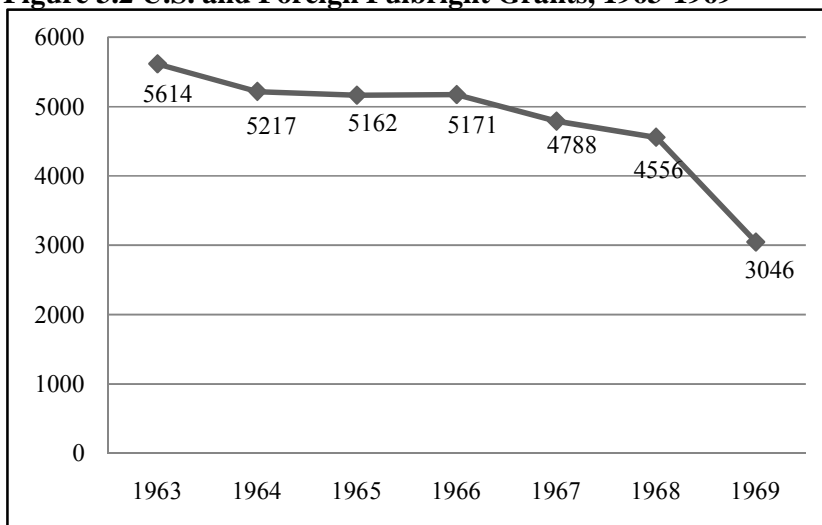
Senator Fulbright's most well-known legacy is, of course, the exchange programme that bears his name, but he is also remembered for his opposition to the Vietnam War. As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he watched the situation carefully as it developed and expressed his views on the strategy of containment. He fundamentally disagreed with President Johnson's understanding of Cold War international politics, and believed that "the domino theory and the notion of a monolithic communist threat were fallacious." (Woods, 1995, p. 415). Senator Fulbright officially broke with the administration on September 15, 1965, when he rose in the Senate and declared "The Administration acted on the premise that the revolution was controlled by Communists—a premise which it failed to establish at the time and has not established since." (Yergin, 1974, p. 78). After this event, Fulbright claimed that "Johnson never forgave me. With a man like President Johnson, you either went along or you got off. He didn't tolerate differences of opinion very easily."(ibid.).

Senator Fulbright was not alone in his criticism of U.S. military action in Vietnam. In 1965, University of California at Berkeley economics professor Dr. Carl Landauer declined a Fulbright lecturing grant to Germany, writing that he felt unable "to defend not merely the morality but also the wisdom of American action." (*Stalnaker, 1965*). BFS Chair John M. Stalnaker's response accepts Dr. Landauer's decision, but rejects his conceptualisation of grantee responsibilities. "You have noted that a Fulbright grantee is an unofficial

representative of his country. The Board of Foreign Scholarships has always considered this to mean representative in the sense of representing the American intellectual and scholarly community, and in no sense as a spokesman or advocate of American foreign policy. We have a Diplomatic Service for this purpose...You are, in fact, a private citizen free to agree or disagree with foreign criticisms of American policy on Viet-Nam, limited only by your own judgment, discretion, and professional responsibilities.” (*ibid.*). This statement of purpose is clearer than many other attempts, before and since, to describe the role and responsibilities of Fulbright grantees.

As the United States military became increasingly entrenched in the Vietnam War, so too did taxpayer dollars. In the late 1960s, the Fulbright Program was subjected to a series of budget cuts, year upon year. As Senator Fulbright put it, “Congress, unfortunately, has far fewer misgivings about appropriations for military items than it does about those which are tagged as educational or cultural.” (Fulbright, 1961a, p. 26). Reflecting on the period in an interview, Senator Fulbright blamed these cuts on his opposition to the war in Vietnam, attributing them to the President’s “falling out with me” over the war (Sussman, 1992, p. 26). Figure 3.2 illustrates the decline in the number of Fulbright Program grants over the course of the Johnson years, 1963-1969.

Figure 3.2 U.S. and Foreign Fulbright Grants, 1963-1969



(Sources: BFS, 1963-1967, 1968b, 1969)

In addition to the high costs of the Vietnam War, there was also now an increase in domestic spending during these years. The Johnson administration's Great Society programmes had introduced a number of domestic welfare initiatives, including Medicare and Head Start, which also required new appropriations from Congress. This further reduced the amount of available funds in the U.S. budget. Educational and cultural exchanges were not tied to the Vietnam War, nor to Johnson's Great Society domestic welfare reforms, and were therefore all the more vulnerable to budget cuts.

The Board of Foreign Scholarships decried the budget cuts in its 1968 Annual Report. "It is false economy to have invested, and to have encouraged others to invest, so much energy and resources in programs and activities whose full potential in many cases cannot now be realized because of a reduction or withdrawal of Federal support." (*BFS, 1968b, p. iv*). In the 1969-70 academic year, Fulbright grants and funding were at their lowest point in over a decade (*BFS, 1969*).

The Fulbright Program's funding was slowly restored during the years of the Nixon and Ford administrations, but by 1975 it had still not reached pre-1968 levels (Figure 4.3). Neither Nixon nor Ford took a strong interest in exchanges or public diplomacy more generally. President Nixon saw them as part of U.S. cultural imperialism, and believed that the exchange programme should send more Americans abroad and bring fewer international students to the U.S. (Woods, 1998, p. 212). The U.S. foreign policy of détente with the Soviet Union opened up new possibilities for the Fulbright Program and other exchanges. Fulbright exchanges of lecturers with the Soviet Union began in 1974 (Richmond, 2003).

For his part, President Ford had even less interest than Nixon did in reconfiguring the American public diplomacy apparatus. As Gifford Malone writes, he was unelected and "preoccupied with many serious problems...unlikely to expend energy on a controversial reorganization effort...in which it [the Ford administration] had no stake and no special interest." (Malone, 1988, p. 38). In a news conference during the Indiana primary of 1976,

President Ford linked concerns about international student visa regulations to the unemployment problem. “It has to be on a selective basis...I agree with you entirely that these young Europeans or others coming to this country for an education, a living experience with American families, may go back in most instances and are goodwill ambassadors for the United States. I strongly believe in the program, but there has to be a balance when it comes to them getting jobs, competing with Americans who also need jobs.” (Ford, 1976). He implies that Europeans are more likely to return home after their education is completed, but that foreign students from other regions may want to stay and work in the U.S., accelerating the ‘brain drain’ phenomenon. In terms of his actions with the Board of Foreign Scholarships, Ford reappointed many of Nixon’s appointees, including John E. Dolibois, who played an important role in the foundation of the programme’s alumni organisation, the Fulbright Association. The alumni organisation soon became an important lobbying voice for the programme, which had lost its strongest advocate when Senator Fulbright retired.

In the 1974 midterm elections, there was a strong anti-incumbency mood in the U.S., due to the Watergate scandal and Nixon’s resignation. Due to his reputation as a Washington insider and despite being unconnected with the scandal, Senator Fulbright failed to secure the nomination for re-election during the Arkansas primaries. His thirty-year career in the Senate ended on 20 January 1975. In his retirement, the Senator frequently travelled to binational Fulbright Commissions for programme anniversaries and other speaking engagements. According to the Senator’s biographer “the last 25 years of his life was one triumphal tour after another. He’d go to these countries and they’d treat him like royalty.” (Appendix A, p. 263). Although he continued to support the programme in his private life, when J. William Fulbright left the Senate, the Fulbright Program lost its most powerful voice in Congress.

Reorganising Information and Educational and Cultural Affairs

After several years of decline and retrenchment, it was clear to many exchange advocates that a new approach to America’s overseas information and educational-cultural

affairs was needed. In 1974, U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational and Cultural Affairs member Leo Cherne initiated a panel review into American public diplomacy activities and their organization within Washington bureaucracy. The review was organised by the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, and Frank Stanton, a CBS broadcasting executive, was chosen to chair the panel.

The panel's consultations and deliberations took place over the course of a year, and its final report was published in March 1975. The Stanton Report proposed the creation of a new agency, the Information and Cultural Affairs Agency, which would combine the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs with many of USIA's activities. It would be semi-autonomous, "under--but not in--the Department of State" (Stanton, 1975, p. 20). A distinction was drawn between policy information and cultural information to distinguish between different public diplomacy activities for the purpose of bureaucratic organisation. Policy information meant communicating U.S. policies to overseas audiences, while cultural information meant informing overseas audiences about U.S. culture. This would include educational exchanges as well as arts exhibitions and other cultural diplomacy activities.

The Stanton Report had a mixed reception. Its recommendations were generally supported by those involved in international education and cultural diplomacy, but opposed by USIA director James Keogh and others involved in overseas information activities (Malone, 1988). Little action was taken on the matter of reorganising America's public diplomacy activities until President Jimmy Carter took office in January 1977 (*ibid.*).

The Carter administration reviewed past assessments of America's public diplomacy activities and only partially accepted the recommendations of the Stanton Report in its reorganisation plan. They agreed that CU and USIA activities should be merged, but did not adhere to the Stanton proposal to move policy information activities into the Department of State. Instead, they moved CU into USIA and renamed it the U.S. International

Communication Agency (USICA). The Carter administration replaced Information with International Communication, and added the notion of listening to the agency's mission. While the USIA had been charged with the responsibility of telling foreign publics about the U.S., Carter's USICA had to tell the world about America and listen to the world in turn.

President Carter was keenly supportive of exchange diplomacy and promised throughout the reorganisation process to protect the integrity of America's educational and cultural exchange programmes (Sablosky, 1999, p. 32). During its years in the USICA, the Fulbright Program fared remarkably well. Grant figures increased year-on-year, from 4,081 Fulbright grants in the 1977-78 academic year to 5,248 in the 1979-80 academic year (*BFS, 1978; BFS, 1980*). New initiatives, such as the Hubert Humphrey programme for early career leaders, were established and the programme was expanded. In 1978 the educational exchange agreement was renewed with China, after being suspended since the country's 1949 Communist Revolution. USICA also published the first general information brochure on the Fulbright Program (*BFS, 1980, p. 10*).

The USICA was a short-lived incarnation, however; in 1981, the Reagan administration reverted its name and mission to its previous state as the U.S. Information Agency. Some accounts of America's public diplomacy history have skimmed over the USICA as a brief episode that moved educational and cultural exchange diplomacy from the State Department to the U.S. Information Agency (Thompson, 1987; Malone, 1988). Other accounts suggest that educational and cultural programmes should have received greater priority than they did under USICA, but scarce resources prevented this (Sablosky, 1999; Arndt, 2005). I would argue that the USICA years were, in fact, a time when the Fulbright Program's mission of promoting mutual understanding and international goodwill through genuine, two-way engagement was widely appreciated by its administrators. The Carter administration's favourable approach towards educational and cultural exchange is a

fascinating moment in the Fulbright Program's history. It is all the more interesting when contrasted with the very different approach taken by his successor.

Project Democracy

When President Ronald Reagan was inaugurated in January 1981, his administration soon changed the direction of American public diplomacy. The USICA was changed back to the United States Information Agency. The 'second mandate' of learning from other countries was discarded and the Agency's motto was once again 'Telling America's Story to the World.' The administration emphasised anti-communist Cold War objectives, such as countering Soviet propaganda and promoting U.S. policies around the world. The Reagan administration's agenda promoted democracy, free trade and U.S. cultural hegemony.

Although total USIA funding increased, the Fulbright Program did not benefit in real terms, as the agency directed more funding to information programmes than exchange of persons and cultural activities. "The administration has successfully boosted agency funding, but it has earmarked most of the new appropriations for programming involving one-way dissemination of propaganda." (Nichols, 1984, p. 132). USIA director Charles Z. Wick, a long-time friend of President Reagan from California, had a background in broadcasting and a keen interest in the developments taking place in cable television. Wick's preference for information activities over educational-cultural affairs was evident from the beginning of his tenure, particularly in terms of budget allocations. "He [Wick] arrived in his job to find that David Stockman's Budget Office had mandated a general cut of 8 percent for USICA. With ambitious media plans, Wick proposed to focus the entire cut on ECA [Educational and Cultural Affairs]—which would have caused a 50 percent cut in exchanges and closed half the world's Fulbright programs. He justified the risk by explaining that his friend the president would reinstate the funding, sooner or later." (Arndt, 2005, p. 527).

Amongst other accomplishments during his eight-year tenure at USIA, Wick established Radio Marti, the Spanish-language broadcasts aimed at Cuban audiences. Both this move and his activities in Eastern Europe reflected Wick's hard-line anti-Communist stance. "He called for 'a wartime urgency' in pursuing initiatives that included a television arm to USIA's radio station in West Berlin and a worldwide live television program celebrating Poland's resistance to the Soviets, complete with Frank Sinatra singing in Polish." (Martin, 2008). Wick's innovations were not always well received by those in Congress. Representative Edward Derwinski (R-IL), for example, met with Wick and White House budget director David Stockman to discuss the 1981 budget cuts. "I told them it is ludicrous to be talking about a Radio Free Cuba [Radio Marti] when we are cutting all these things, including the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe." (Crossette, 1981, p. 3).

Although educational and cultural exchange activities were generally given a low priority at this time, the Reagan administration did promote youth exchanges. Youth exchanges were thought to have a greater potential multiplier effect than other exchange-of-persons programmes, and there was also a prevalent assumption that younger participants would have more malleable views. The Fulbright Program included an undergraduate programme for the first time, the Central American Program of Undergraduate Scholarships, or CAMPUS (*BFS, 1985*). The initiative brought "undergraduates from Central American countries, particularly for upwardly mobile youth with leadership potential," to the U.S. for up to two years of study at one of twelve participating universities (*ibid., p. 1; BFS, 1987*). The programme broadened the scope of Fulbright to include students from the undergraduate level and from low-income backgrounds.

Another example of these youth exchange programmes was a 1983 initiative with West Germany. Every member of the U.S. Congress and of the West German *Bundestag* would nominate a teenager from his or her district to be exchanged for one academic year.

The programme was seen as a return to the earlier exchanges between the U.S. and West Germany that had taken place after the Second World War. Ambassador Arthur F. Burns praised the move in a speech to the Overseas Club in Hamburg. The focus on youth was due to the fact that "...it has been observed time and again that exchange youngsters reinforce the bonds of friendship they had formed with their host families through their own parents, other relatives, and fellow students. We need precisely such a matrix of human contacts to rebuild the warm spirit of partnership that existed between our two peoples during the late 1940s and 1950s." (Burns, 1983, p. 4). While the Reagan administration did not actively promote exchanges to the extent that it pursued information activities, its addition of youth exchange programmes to the Fulbright Program was an important innovation.

In terms of the theoretical basis for exchange diplomacy, youth exchanges have a high potential multiplier effect. Teenage participants will live with host families, whereas postgraduate researchers and lecturers will live independently during their academic sojourn. Youth will thus have more contact with members of the host society simply by the fact of their accommodation. In terms of the opinion leader concept, targeting promising youth is thought to be an effective means of influencing future elites. There is also no clear benefit, from the U.S. perspective, to delaying participation until the postgraduate stage. As the impacts of the exchange experience are thought to be life-long and enduring, then the earlier the exchange contact scenario takes place, the better.

The End of the Cold War and the Decline of American Public Diplomacy

The end of the Cold War changed the nature of international relations within the space of just a few short years, from the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The ties between the Fulbright Program and American foreign policy were not severed with the end of the Cold War, though some officials felt that public diplomacy had lost its relevance in the post-Cold War era. The United States had emerged as the sole

superpower, and its counter-propaganda could not exist without Soviet propaganda. There was no longer a need to 'Tell America's Story to the World,' as there was no other narrative to compete with America's story.

For the Fulbright Program, the end of the Cold War offered an opportunity to expand. Poland was the first to sign an executive agreement for Fulbright exchanges in March 1990, followed by Hungary in December of that year, the Czech Republic in 1991, Bulgaria and Romania in 1992, and the Slovak Republic in 1994. President George H. W. Bush's approach towards the USIA and public diplomacy was largely a continuation of his predecessor's, with an emphasis on media, but with a crucial difference in the quality of management. Bush's USIA director Bruce Gelb lacked the management skills and personal influence of Charles Z. Wick, and struggled with his role, stepping down in 1991 (Cull, 2012). His replacement Henry Catto was more successful, but neither Gelb nor Catto paid much attention to educational exchanges, preferring to focus on media and television as Wick had. There were also fundamental problems in American public diplomacy at the time. Historian Nick Cull describes the ironies of the period, how winning the Cold War had cost the USIA its justification. "The success of Voice of America proved corrosive to the well-being of the agency as a whole; the same free-market idea that the USIA was selling in Eastern Europe led many Americans to assume that publicly funded information work in the region was a short-term measure only." (ibid., p. 64). U.S. public diplomacy had lost its relevance in the eyes of many Americans, just at a time when newly independent states had become receptive to its message.

In the absence of the Cold War context, the promotion of international trade and economic relations became the primary foreign affairs concern of policy-makers. Joseph Duffey, director of the USIA during the Clinton administration, agreed that the end of the Cold War seemed to cause this shift towards economic priorities. "It soon became clear to me

that waves of new Cold War triumphalism were emerging around the concept of a ‘new world order’ as well as that of a dominant military power. There was a growing popular view, expressed widely, that the victory of the Cold War was more a triumph of free markets and diminished government than free spirits.” (Duffey quoted in Snow and Taylor, 2009, p. 330). The ‘new world economic order’ took centre stage in the minds of members of the Clinton administration.

It has been suggested that even the seemingly unrelated Fulbright Program was affected by this shift in priorities. When the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed, Fulbright exchanges with Mexico were increased. Nancy Snow argues that this increase was motivated by purely economic interests, citing a USIS report that stated “The expansion of this program will strengthen educational opportunities in both countries and build on the success of NAFTA whereby exports to Mexico are up by 37 percent, an all-time high, creating jobs for Americans.” (Snow, 2010, p. 91). Thus, Snow’s account suggests that the Fulbright Program was increased in order to benefit American business interests in Mexico. It accuses the administration of interfering, of undermining the programme’s academic integrity by promoting business concerns. This critique fails to recognise, however, that this was not a new development. In many other countries, trade benefits are among the expected outcomes of educational and cultural relations. The British Council was established, in the words of one official, to “enable Britain to make direct contact with overseas peoples, and to present herself to them as a future trading and cultural partner of major importance, rather than in the role of a leading world power.” (Mitchell, 1986, p. 19). This perceived link between economic interests and public diplomacy is not unique to the Clinton administration.

President Clinton had a close friendship with Senator Fulbright, going back to Clinton’s undergraduate years in the late 1960s. Former special assistant to Senator Fulbright Hoyt Purvis tells the story of how Clinton came to work in Senator Fulbright’s Washington

office. “He needed a job while he was going to school in Georgetown, and some prominent people in Arkansas had contacted Lee [Fulbright’s Chief of Staff Lee Williams] on behalf of Clinton, to say, you know, this is a fine young man and he needs a job, and so Lee Williams talked to Clinton and he said there were two part-time jobs that were open...and Clinton said ‘Well, that’s great, can I take both of them?’ And that’s what he wound up doing; he took both of the part-time jobs.” (Appendix A, p. 271). Fulbright acted as a mentor to his fellow Arkansan, and supported Clinton’s application for a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford (Woods, 1995).

President Clinton appointed Purvis, Williams and Senator Fulbright’s wife Harriet Mayor Fulbright to the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board. In 1993, Clinton also awarded Senator Fulbright with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian award in the United States. On 9 February, 1995, Senator Fulbright passed away at the age of 89. The man and the programme are forever linked, not only in name but in ideology and reputation. As a piece in *The New York Times* once observed, “it is difficult to name any other Federal program which is so much the creation of a single man.” (Oberdorfer, 1965, p. 80). Senator Fulbright is remembered for the exchange programme above any of his other actions, such as his opposition to the Vietnam War, or his signing of the Southern Manifesto supporting segregation.

Fulbright’s final book, *The Price of Empire*, covers a wide range of topics, from the U.S. Constitution to his Vietnam War views to the military-industrial complex, but it closes with a discussion of the exchange programme. Even after all of the other noteworthy achievements and events in the Senator’s life have been considered, the Fulbright Program remained the most salient subject in his manuscript. The final chapter contains an eloquent summary of his belief in the power of educational exchange. “The essence of intercultural education is the acquisition of empathy—the ability to see the world as others see it, and to allow for the possibility that others may see something that we have failed to see, or may see

it more accurately.” (Fulbright, 1989, p. 217). The Senator’s understanding of the purpose of international educational exchange has always, to varying degrees, informed the views of those responsible for the administration of his programme.

After 9/11: The Fulbright Program in the Arab and Muslim World

The cover of the 2001 Annual Report of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board featured a memorial to the international victims of the September 11th World Trade Center attacks. The list of countries and their flags extends beyond the edges of the photograph, emphasising its length and making the list of victims appear endless. There were dozens of flags on the list, demonstrating the global nature of the event. The World Trade Center and the Pentagon may have been American targets, but the victims included nationals of eighty-eight nations (FSB, 2001).

The report began, as previous reports had, with a letter from the Board’s Chair Alan Schechter, but the scope and content of the report was a departure from its traditional format. Rather than selecting highlights of Fulbright Program activities around the world, the report centred on America’s relationship with the Muslim world, and the role of the Fulbright Program in these areas. “We have chosen to focus the Annual Report for 2001 on the Fulbright Program in the Muslim world,” Schechter writes, “and the response by the Fulbright community—current and former grantees, professional staff members in Fulbright Commissions around the globe, government officials, staff of non-profit organizations, and volunteers—to the challenge of terrorism.” (ibid.) It is worth noting that the phrase ‘challenge of terrorism’ refers to a very particular form of terrorism. The report is not concerned with Basque separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) or the Irish Republican Army (IRA), for example, but deals specifically with Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. The report aimed to demonstrate how the Fulbright Program contributed to the improvement of relations between the U.S. and the Muslim world.

The events of September 11, 2001 had undeniable political, economic and cultural impacts, and also had particular relevance for American public diplomacy. After the end of the Cold War, the United States had largely stopped worrying about its image abroad. As the U.S. had become the sole remaining superpower, most American officials didn't see the need to court public opinion overseas. The attacks on 9/11 revealed America's vulnerability; the superpower was not omnipotent. It also showed that foreign public opinion can have real, tangible effects: for good or evil, for tourism or terrorism. In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, many Americans didn't understand what had happened, who had carried out the attacks and why. The question on headlines and on people's lips was 'why do they hate us?' Of course, some observers, particularly those outside of the U.S., knew a number of reasons why America might be hated, from capitalist greed and globalisation to military aggression and charges of imperialism. The American people themselves, however, were not so aware of how the world saw them. As Philip M. Taylor pointed out, "That this question should have even been asked suggests a serious failure in U.S. Public Affairs over the previous 10 years." (Taylor, 2006, p. 11). Most Americans simply didn't know enough about their government's actions abroad, nor how their country was perceived by others around the world.

In the wake of horrific events, there is a tendency to dehumanise the perpetrators. The U.S. media portrayed the 9/11 hijackers as simply a ruthless, evil 'other.' It is important to remember, however, that these were Western-educated, elite young men. They were the target audience of American public diplomacy efforts. They were poised to become future opinion leaders in their societies. In this sense, the 9/11 attacks represent a failure of American public diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim world (ibid.). In an effort to address this lapse, the Bush administration launched a number of public diplomacy initiatives in response to the attacks. But what was the extent of engagement between the U.S. and the Arab and Muslim world prior to 9/11? In the case of the Fulbright Program, American engagement with these areas has a mixed record. Exchanges in these countries have faced many

challenges, including a shortage of funding and programme suspensions, due to political instability and warfare. The programme in Afghanistan was suspended from 1979 to 2003, for example, and the programme in Iraq was suspended from 1989 to 2003 (FSB, 2004).

The reports of Board of Foreign Scholarships members on visits to the Near East and South Asia reveal a number of challenges that administrators faced in these countries. Some programme principles, such as merit-based competitive selection and performance-based renewals, were not universally accepted. In 1965, Fulbright administrators faced this problem with the United Arab Republic (UAR, a union between modern-day Egypt and Syria). The UAR government asked for control over grantee selection and sought the guaranteed renewal of grants. The U.S. State Department was unwilling to concede to either of these demands. In his report of a visit to the country, Board member John Hope Franklin writes, “A quite disturbing variation of this desire for regular budgeting of grantees was the virtual demand by the UAR that students going to the United States under the Fulbright Program should be selected by the government in the light of the needs of the government. Then the binational commission should guarantee the renewals for four years, or until the work for the doctorate has been completed. This is so completely out of line with established principles and practices that it is already receiving the attention of the Department of State.” (*Franklin, 1965, p. 2*). Franklin goes on to suggest that this request may have been inspired by another offer that the UAR had received for exchanges. “The Soviet Union has offered the UAR government 250 four-year, all-expenses scholarships for graduate study.” (*ibid.*). In light of this offer, we can better understand the dynamics of the situation. The UAR government simply sought similar exchange conditions from each of the two competing superpowers.

In Iran, the Fulbright Program had suffered from inadequate funding long before the breakdown of the country’s relations with the United States. Exchanges were suspended between 1953 and 1957 due to a lack of funds. It also encountered problems in terms of its

coordination with other American educational and cultural activities. John Hope Franklin writes of the difficulties caused by overlap and miscommunication between the Fulbright Program and the Peace Corps, citing Iran as a particularly challenging case.

“Even more difficult to coordinate is the educational program undertaken by the Peace Corps. Here the lack of coordination has led to a serious weakening of the Fulbright Program in some places. The example of Iran is outstanding. In 1964 a Fulbright teacher recruited for the University of Isfahan had to be transferred to Tehran because Peace Corps volunteers arrived in Isfahan and the University took them instead of the Fulbright teacher...A Fulbright English seminar was cancelled by the [Iranian] Ministry of Education because the Peace Corps announced it would be setting up similar programs in most provincial centers. After Fulbright cancelled its plans it became clear that the Peace Corps could not deliver on its promises, by which time it was almost too late for the Fulbright Program to be reactivated. When after a loss of several months the ministry authorized the Fulbright program to reconstitute its seminar it did so. But it was already too late to recruit Fulbright teachers for next year’s seminar.” (*ibid.*, p. 8).

Franklin goes on to suggest that the difficulties originate in Washington, where better coordination could prevent such problems in the field. Not only do administrative errors waste time and resources, but they can also frustrate host country officials and institutions, undermining the public diplomacy mission. If working with the U.S. Peace Corps or the Fulbright Program becomes difficult, institutions will be less willing to participate in these programmes in the future.

In Afghanistan, the Fulbright Program has served in a development capacity, assisting with the building of a higher education infrastructure during the 1960s. Progress was slow, however, as financial and staffing resources were limited. According to a report from Board

of Foreign Scholarships member James Roach, the Fulbright Foundation was willing to invest additional funds in the Afghan programme, but sought first a stronger demonstration of commitment by the Afghan university to replace Fulbright lecturers. “The university is receiving support and assistance from various foreign and international sources and the Foundation could usefully commit some of its efforts here in several fields—journalism, nutrition, physical education, geography, social science—provided that the university will commit itself to training counterparts to replace the American lecturer after two or three years. In the case of journalism this has not been done, although Fulbright lecturers in journalism have been teaching at Kabul for several years.” (*Roach, 1966, p. 6*).

These three examples show the types of challenges that Fulbright Program administrators encountered in the Near East, North Africa and South Asia. Such challenges, combined with inadequate funding and recurring programme suspensions, may have damaged the Fulbright Program’s ability to operate effectively in these countries.

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, American policymakers prioritised the task of promoting mutual understanding between the U.S. and the Arab and Muslim world. Educational exchange was seen as an important medium through which the parties could understand one another. By experiencing life in the United States first-hand, it was hoped that they might overcome their Hollywood-crafted images of American immorality and materialism. The rhetoric mirrored earlier Cold War era terminology. While false images of the U.S. were promoted by Soviet propaganda during the Cold War, in the current conflict the U.S. government was fighting against global media’s stylised images of American life, many of which originated in America itself. “Only by living in the United States, as foreign Fulbrighters do, can they grasp the extent to which media-driven stereotypes falsify the underlying reality of life in America.” (*FSB, 2001, p. 12*).

The Bush administration renewed America's public diplomacy activities as part of its 'Global War on Terror.' Under Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Public Diplomacy Charlotte Beers, a former advertising executive, is most remembered for the "Shared Values" campaign. It featured the testimonies of Muslim Americans and was intended to show that the U.S. was not anti-Islam (Zaharna, 2010, p. 33). The advertising campaign did little to improve America's image in these regions. In many cases, they merely served to reinforce ideas about American materialism, because they showed the high standard of living that Muslims in America enjoyed. It was clear that the advertising-style methods would not work in this context.

A new strategy of genuine, two-way engagement with the Muslim and Arab world was undertaken by Charlotte Beers' successor, Karen Hughes. One of Hughes' first actions was to visit the Middle East to assess "what is wrong with the U.S. image in this part of the world and why U.S. messages are at times misunderstood." (ibid., p. 65). Her initiatives emphasised relationship-building and facilitated dialogue between Muslim Americans and Muslim communities abroad. How did the Fulbright Program contribute to this new effort?

First and foremost, the Fulbright Program responded to the 9/11 attacks by increasing its exchanges with the Near East and South Asia. The number of grants for students from the Near East to come to the U.S. was doubled. While in the academic year 2000-01, there were 78 foreign student grantees from the region, by 2004-05 this figure had climbed to 158 grantees (FSB, 2000; FSB, 2004). The total number of U.S. grantees to South Asia also rose significantly during this period, from 72 to 123 (ibid.). The mutuality element of educational exchange was particularly important in this new conflict. Americans had a great deal to learn about the Arab and Muslim worlds—not least the fact that they are not synonymous terms. Polling showed that the average American knew little of the geography of the Middle East and South Asia, much less the religions, cultures and languages of the regions. The Fulbright

Program was regarded as a means of introducing Americans to all of these topics, either through first-hand experience or by meeting foreign visitors.

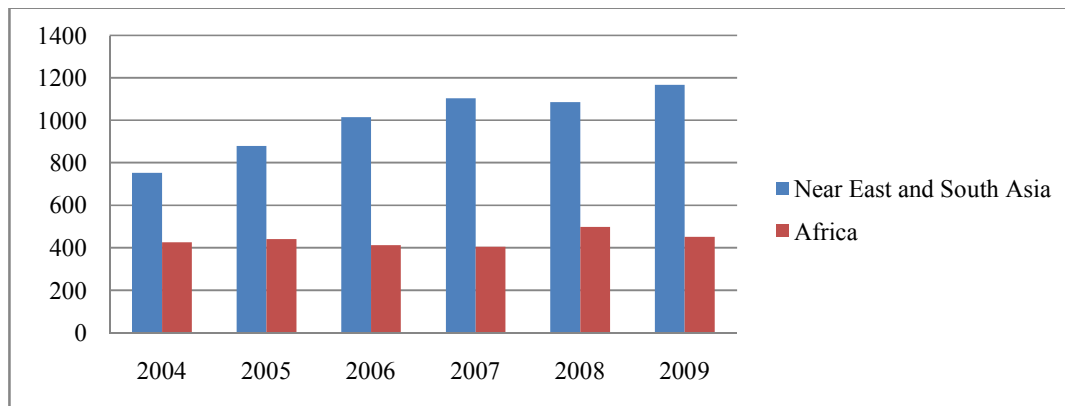
The Fulbright Program was framed as a means of genuine engagement, the two-way conversation side of public diplomacy efforts in Arab and Muslim parts of the world. The failures of Charlotte Beers' media-based public diplomacy efforts serve to emphasise the importance of pursuing alternative methods, such as the relationship-building, two-way engagement methods of educational and cultural exchange. By 2005, the Bush administration had recognised the value of mutuality, of listening as well as speaking to these parts of the world. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice described America's public diplomacy as a conversation with the world in her announcement of Karen Hughes' nomination as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy. "An important part of telling America's story is learning the stories of others. Our interaction with the rest of the world must not be a monologue. It must be a conversation. And as we engage in this conversation, America must remain open to visitors and workers and students from around the world. While we must never compromise our security, we must never close ourselves to the rest of the world.." (FSB, 2005, p. 1).

When the Fulbright Program in Iraq celebrated its 60th anniversary in 2012, Assistant Secretary of State Ann Stock described it as "one of our biggest successes," despite its many years of suspension (Monsen, 2012). The programme resumed exchanges in 2003 and soon became the largest programme in the Middle East. Rawand Abdulkadir Darwesh, an Iraqi Kurd studying at Indiana University, was among the first to participate. "We are meeting many, many people and I'm telling them what Iraq looks like, not how Iraq was conveyed to them by media sources. This bridge of understanding is very important, so that's why I would like very much to thank the government of the United States and the State Department for

allowing us to come.” (Wright, 2004, p. 25). Being able to tell Americans he encountered about his home country was particularly important during this time of conflict.

Figure 3.3 shows the increase of exchanges with the Near East and South Asia between 2004 and 2009. I have displayed the grant data for the Near East and South Asia regions against the grant figures for Africa during the same period, which acts as a control. These figures are relatively stable over the period, demonstrating that the increase in grant numbers for the Near East and South Asia was specific to these regions, and did not reflect a general increase for Fulbright grants worldwide.

Figure 3.3 Fulbright Grants in Africa and the Near East and South Asia, 2004-2009



(Source: FSB, 2004-2009)

The events of 9/11 also sparked two new initiatives for the Fulbright Program: the Fulbright Critical Language Enhancement Award and the Fulbright Interfaith Community Action Program. These programmes addressed two areas, highlighted by the 9/11 attacks, in which the American people were ill-equipped: foreign languages and religious studies. Few Americans outside of the faith understood Islam, and even fewer were fluent in non-European languages. Introduced in January 2006, the critical language award was “designed to increase the number of Americans who can speak Arabic, Mandarin, Russian, Hindi, Farsi and Turkish, among other languages.” (Strout, 2006). The second programme brought scholars from around the world together to engage in interfaith dialogue at institutions like Rice

University's Boniuk Center for the Study and Advancement of Religious Tolerance (Hermes, 2007). While it was ostensibly open to scholars of all faiths, the participants featured in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* suggest an emphasis on Muslim-Christian and Jewish-Christian dialogue (ibid.).

Conclusion

The history of the Fulbright Program reveals a number of interesting lessons about the role of educational exchange in American public diplomacy. One of the most prominent themes that appears throughout its history is the significance of funding for the programme's success. As is the case with most organisations, money is a vital fuel for the activities of the Fulbright Program. The contact scenario described in the analytical framework requires an initial expense of travel costs to facilitate contact. In addition to the grants, there are also a host of administrative expenses, dependent travel costs, and other financial considerations. Quite simply, the Fulbright Program expands when it has funding and contracts when it does not. Budget cuts have been the greatest threat to the programme throughout its history.

Secondly, we can see from the programme's history the importance of bureaucratic shifts. Over the course of the past six decades, the Fulbright Program has been moved between the foreign affairs apparatus, the U.S. State Department and the propaganda agency, the U.S. Information Agency, and back again. When each of these moves has taken place, there has been a great deal of concern over the impact of the reorganisation. If the exchange programme is too closely linked to foreign policy, will it be misused for short-term American foreign policy goals? If the exchange programme operated by the propagandists, will it lose its credibility abroad? There have also been concerns about the impact of these bureaucratic shifts on funding levels, executive branch support and prestige. The story of these bureaucratic changes can tell us a great deal about the way that exchange diplomacy has been perceived and practiced throughout the history of the Fulbright Program.

Finally, another important emerging theme is the centrality of the grantee experience to programme impacts. The success or failure of the Fulbright Program is inextricably linked to the experiences of the individual Fulbright grantee. It is the responsibility of the grantee to participate in culture learning activities and represent his or her country well. The grantee experience ultimately determines the nature of the impact of the Fulbright Program. This raises a number of questions about the grantee's role. Are Fulbrighters meant to act as ambassadors? If so, are they free to express dissenting views and criticise their government? If they are not ambassadors, what is the nature of their role? How does the Fulbright experience differ from any other exchange experience? These questions, and those of each of these emerging themes, are explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Funding the Fulbright Program

Introduction

Examining the budget of an organisation can reveal a great deal about its nature and purpose. Funding sources can tell us about an organisation's support and accountability, while expenditures can reveal the purpose and mission of an organisation. In the case of exchange diplomacy, an initial investment of travel costs is required to facilitate the contact scenario. The subsequent multiplier effect and impact on public opinion and foreign policy in the target nation require no further financial commitment on the part of the sending organisation. The multiplier effect and subsequent public opinion effects are by-products of the initial intergroup contact that takes place in an exchange-of-persons programme. It is perhaps this feature of exchange diplomacy that has led advocates to praise its cost-effectiveness, particularly when compared with other U.S. government activities.

Fulbright Program advocates often contrast the exchange budget with America's defence budget in order to emphasise the low cost of exchange activities. During the Vietnam War, for example, former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Charles Frankel compared the cost of the war to recent budget cuts. "The reason given for the cuts was the cost of the war in Vietnam. The annual 'savings' effected are about equivalent to the cost of four hours of that war." (Frankel, 1969, p. 34). The comparison between educational exchange budgets and defence spending remains part of the funding advocacy rhetoric today. In a 1996 commencement address, Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board member Harriet Mayor Fulbright called the programme "...one of the most economical efforts ever undertaken by the U.S. Government. In fact, 50 years of the Fulbright Program has cost the taxpayer less than three days of the Defense Department at today's spending level." (*FSB, 1996, p. 20*). This comparison makes a compelling argument, but as will be discussed in

further detail in this chapter, it is an oversimplification of the U.S. budget. It fails to recognise that exchanges and defence do not exist in a zero-sum relationship to each other.

Despite the relatively low cost of exchanges, Congressional appropriations have not always been forthcoming. Public diplomacy activities have been seen as a target for budget cuts. The U.S. Office of Management and Budget has often struggled to rate the effectiveness of public diplomacy activities, particularly in the case of information programmes, “because there is no general strategy to set expectations” (Johnson in Kiehl, 2006, p. 110). As public diplomacy activities deal primarily with foreign audiences, they lack a domestic constituency to rally to their defence. Exchange diplomacy is unique in this sense, as American exchange programme alumni are a domestic constituency for the programmes. They have often lobbied Congress in response to proposed budget cuts, along with educators, higher education administrators and other stakeholders in international education.

The Fulbright Program’s funding history shows it to be a remarkably resilient and adaptable organisation. It has faced a range of financial crises throughout its history, yet it has managed to consistently secure enough funding to exchange over 310,000 participants over the past six decades (FSB, 2009). What political, economic and structural factors have enabled the Fulbright Program to maintain its funding in the face of these challenges? What does the funding of the Fulbright Program reveal about the way in which its nature and purpose have been conceived throughout the exchange programme’s history?

Funding Structure

Before embarking on an examination of the Fulbright Program’s funding history, it is worth noting that the programme’s complex budget structure makes this a difficult undertaking. In his study of the programme, Leonard Sussman noted “If the organization of the worldwide Fulbright Program is a bureaucratic maze partially so designed to prevent the politicization and loss of academic integrity, the financing of the program is even more difficult to examine in all its parts.” (Sussman, 1992, p. 107). The programme’s funding and

budget structure is largely undocumented, particularly with regards to the Board's annual reports of recent years. Round figures are presented in pie charts with simplified designations between public and private, foreign and domestic. International educational exchanges appear as a single item line in the U.S. State Department's annual budgets, with no distinction made between Fulbright and other exchange programmes. Outgoings are similarly obscured, with no collated figures on grant amounts for the various destinations and award categories.

Drawing upon a variety of sources, including annual reports, memoranda, federal budgets and programme evaluations, we can outline the main features of the Fulbright Program's budget structure.

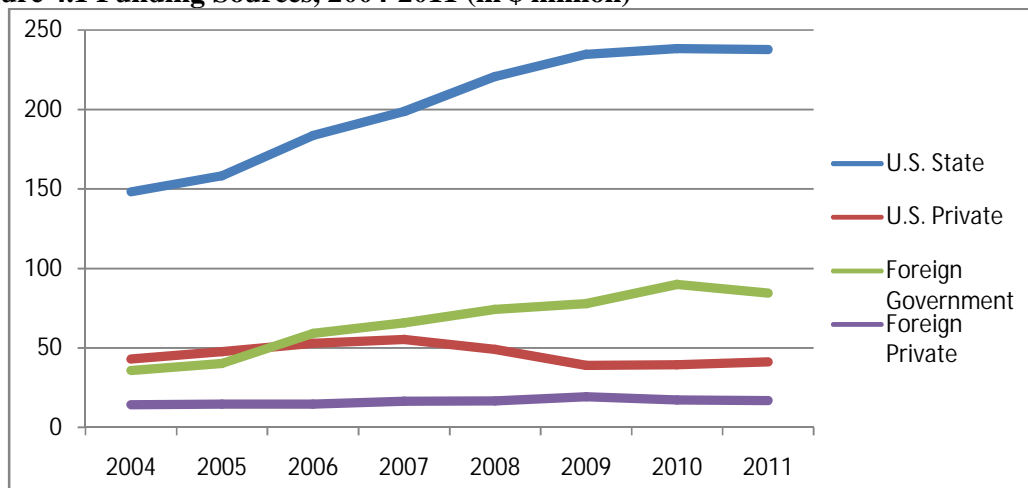
Firstly, congressional appropriations to the U.S. State Department constitute the largest source of Fulbright Program funding. For the academic year 2011-12, \$237.7 million (61.3%) of its budget came from the State Department (FSB, 2011, p. 60). The Fulbright Program is the largest U.S. Government-sponsored educational exchange programme; it received 69.5% of the total budget for all State Department academic programmes in the fiscal year 2011 (U.S. GPO, 2013). Congressional support has varied throughout the history of the Fulbright Program, from a complete absence of appropriation funding at the programme's origins to its peak of \$238.4 million in 2010 (FSB, 2010).

Foreign government contributions, the second largest source of funding for the Fulbright Program, can vary a great deal between the participating nations. Some countries match or surpass U.S. funds, while others do not contribute public funds to the programme. In considering the list of foreign government contributions, no clear pattern emerges. Developed nations tend to be the largest donors in terms of raw numbers, yet some developing nations are proven to be more generous when the smaller relative size of their exchange programme is taken into account. In the 2011-12 academic year, the top five foreign government contributors were Chile, Spain, Brazil, Germany and South Korea (FSB,

2011, p. 53). Foreign government contributions currently represent just over one-fifth (21.7%) of the total Fulbright Program budget (ibid., p. 60).

The third largest contribution to the Fulbright Program’s annual budget comes from private domestic organisations, such as universities, research councils, private individuals and civic groups. Local organisations in American communities were especially important during the early days of the Fulbright Program. Not only was their financial support vital for international students who held travel-only grants, but it was also a gesture of hospitality and international goodwill. Senator Fulbright felt that local assistance from civic groups, churches and fraternal organisations contributed to the goals of the exchange programme. Hospitality, he argued, was part of generating mutual understanding between hosts and visitors in the host academic institution. “The success of the exchange program depends heavily on the participation of private groups and individuals, since local patrons are in the best position to facilitate the acceptance of foreign students in the American academic community.” (Fulbright, 1961a, p. 22). The contribution of domestic private sources has fallen slightly in recent years, and this decrease coincides with the 2007 economic downturn (Figure 4.1). While private sources are seen as an important contribution, Alice Stone Ilchman and other public diplomacy advocates argue that the U.S. government must first set an example for other domestic and foreign funding sources to follow (Ilchman in Kiehl, 2006).

Figure 4.1 Funding Sources, 2004-2011 (in \$ million)



(Sources: FSB, 2004-2011)

The fourth category, foreign private sources, includes overseas institutions of higher education, civic organisations and private individual donors. They make up a small percentage, consistently less than one-fifth, of the total Fulbright Program budget (Figure 4.1). As with foreign government contributions, the amount of funding varies between different participating countries. In the 2011-12 academic year, the top five contributors of private funds were the United Kingdom, Finland, France, Colombia and Australia (FSB, 2011, p. 53). Sponsorship of Fulbright grants is a common practice, either by private companies, non-profit organisations or universities. The US-UK Fulbright Commission, for example, has fifty-eight private partners which sponsor one or more exchange grant. These partners are not exclusively academic in nature; they include medical research charities, publishers and international financial services companies (US-UK Fulbright Commission, 2014). Sponsoring a Fulbright grant can also benefit a company's reputation, as international education is seen as a philanthropic activity. In Japan, for example, corporate sponsors are given hyphenated awards, such as Toyota-Fulbright, when they donate above a certain level (Shono, 2006).

As a final note on foreign and domestic private sector contributors, in recent years corporate sponsorship has become an increasingly common practice. The MTV-U-Fulbright award is the most prominent example. Created in 2007, the grant is designated for projects in international contemporary or popular music, and is sponsored by the university programming arm of the music television network, MTV. Some corporate funding arrangements are reciprocated by companies in the binational partner nation. Airline travel for American Fulbright grantees to Japan is sponsored by Japanese airline All Nippon Airways, while the U.S.-based United Airlines sponsors their Japanese counterparts (Japan-US Educational Commission, 2014). There are also other private contributions that aim to enhance the grantee experience. For example, the Royal Oak Foundation provides one-year

memberships for all American Fulbrighters in the UK, which grants them free admission to National Trust tourism sites (US-UK Fulbright Commission, 2014).

Given the wide range of sources that contribute to the Fulbright Program's budget, it is clear that there are many stakeholders with an interest in its continued success. This complexity is both a strength and a weakness of the programme's budget structure. On the positive side, diverse funding sources can help to fill the gap when one source diminishes. On the negative side, this arrangement may give contributors a false sense of security, leading them to reduce their contributions with an expectation that other sources will compensate. The diversity of funding sources also makes long-range programme planning more complex, as exchange administrators must consult a range of stakeholders in order to estimate future funding levels.

Surplus War Property and the Private Sector

When Senator Fulbright proposed his exchange programme, he knew that it would have to be funded by some means other than a Congressional appropriation. While his amendment seems now to have been a creative use of surplus war property, at the time it was the only way he was able to justify his proposed scheme to his colleagues in the U.S. Congress. "They wouldn't even give them money to educate them here in those days, much less abroad...I said, 'These bills are all owing to us what you can't collect.' I don't think I could have got it enacted any other way." (quoted in Dudden and Dynes, 1987, p. 1). Using surplus war property funds meant that the programme was essentially cost-free, requiring no congressional appropriation initially. In his summary of the programme's origins, Philip Coombs called Senator Fulbright's act a "financially painless measure; it asked no new dollars and simply proposed using in a good cause some of the foreign currencies piling up in war-torn countries." (Coombs, 1964, p. 30). Making use of these funds provided an answer to the question of surplus property abroad, and allowed Fulbright to proceed with a scheme that Congress would have rejected, had it requested new appropriations at the time.

When the Fulbright Program began, it was funded exclusively by the proceeds resulting from the sale of surplus war property. In some countries, surplus war property funds were available but political concerns prevented the establishment of an exchange agreement. The Board's first annual report cites the Indonesian National Revolution as a factor in its failure to pursue exchanges with that country. "Though proceeds from the sales of surplus property may be made available for an educational program in Indonesia, the politico-military situation in the country makes it inadvisable to initiate negotiations at the present time." (*BFS, 1948, p. 3*). In other countries, particularly in Latin America, a lack of surplus war property prevented exchange participation. In order for these countries to be able to participate in the Fulbright Program, new funding sources were needed.

The funding structure also limited the mutuality of the programme. These surplus war property funds were in non-convertible foreign currencies. In practical terms, this meant that American exchange participants would receive grants for their tuition and living expenses while abroad, but their grants would not cover travel costs. Foreign grantees, on the other hand, would receive grants only for their travel expenses. Without an appropriation from Congress, foreign grantees in the U.S. could not be supported to the same degree as their American counterparts abroad. This made the exchange programme decidedly unequal.

Private American organisations played a vital role in making the Fulbright Program more equal for foreign participants by supporting them in the U.S. For example, fraternities and sororities at some campuses offered accommodation to foreign Fulbright students. In a 1951 article promoting the exchange programme, Senator Fulbright quotes a local Arkansas newspaper to offer an example of the Greek system's hospitality, as well as that of other local community organisations. "Jerome M. LeMasson of Neuilly-sur-Seine and Germaine Laisne of Bruney will receive assistance this coming year from the civic clubs of Siloam Springs, Arkansas—Lions, Rotary and Kiwanis. The two French students have Fulbright travel grants and will live with fraternities during the academic year. Mr. LeMasson will live at the Sigma

Chi house during the fall semester and the Kappa Sigma house in the spring. Miss Laisne will be a guest at the Chi Omega house all year.” (Fulbright, 1951, p. 26). Senator Fulbright selected this example to illustrate the idea that even a small, rural community like Siloam Springs could help the cause of international goodwill. By assisting these students and welcoming them into the community, ordinary citizens had an opportunity to give foreign visitors a positive impression of America and the American people.

During the early days of the Fulbright Program, private sector assistance was essential. Had it not been for the timely cooperation of the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation, the initial progress of the Board of Foreign Scholarships would have been significantly delayed. Had it not been for the hospitality of community organisations, foreign Fulbright grantees may not have been able to take up their travel-only grants in the United States. Private foundations helped establish the fledgling Fulbright Program, and civic organisations increased its reciprocity.

Some exchange advocates have warned against an overreliance on the private sector. “Private funds are unlikely to step in where public funds have served so well. They will partner; they will add; they will not replace.” (Ilchman in Kiehl, 2006, p. 55). Michael Cardozo, likewise, notes that the scale of the Fulbright Program demands strong U.S. Government support. “Private foundations, such as Ford, Guggenheim and Rockefeller, make magnificent contributions but cannot be expected to provide two-way exchanges on the global scale that is required.” (Cardozo, 1959, p. E10). Although private funding still plays an important role in the Fulbright Program, congressional appropriations constitute the largest proportion of its annual budget (FSB, 2009).

Alternative Funding Sources

The funds resulting from the sale of surplus war property were quickly exhausted in the early years of the Fulbright Program. Private sector assistance and foundations, though initially vital in terms of establishing the programme, were not a long-term solution to the

question of funding. Congressional appropriations were necessary if the exchange programme were to become a permanent feature of U.S. international educational and cultural affairs. The challenge for Senator Fulbright and other supporters, however, was how to make the case for appropriations to Congress.

During the early years of the programme, advocates often used the Cold War as a justification for funding the exchange programme, linking it with other American public diplomacy activities such as international broadcasting and overseas libraries. By tying its purpose to the ideological battles of the Cold War, public diplomacy supporters were able to make the case for Congressional appropriations. “For years USIA and even CU [Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs] had adopted rhetoric for budgetary purposes by which both claimed to be major weapons in the Cold War; even Senator Fulbright would use this alternate pleading when he thought it would ‘get us the money.’” (Arndt, 2005, p. 102). Although Senator Fulbright would often deny that exchanges could or should be used as Cold War weapons, when it came to financing the exchange programme, he was willing to use any justification necessary (Fulbright, 1951). Exchange administrators had to be creative in their search for funding sources.

One of the most important sources of foreign currencies for the exchange programme was created by the 1954 Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (*Public Law 83-480*). During the 1930s, President Roosevelt’s New Deal introduced interventionist agricultural policies to support American farmers. These policies remained in place during the Second World War, when the industry was regarded as part of the war effort. By the 1950’s, however, the U.S. had amassed a large surplus of agricultural commodities. Domestic disposal was prohibited by price-support measures, still in place from the Great Depression, so the U.S. looked to foreign markets as a means of resolving the agricultural surplus problem. The 1954 Act expanded U.S. export of its surplus commodities from \$449 million in 1952 to \$1.9 billion by 1957 (Wallerstein, 1980, p. 6). Amongst other measures, the bill

allowed proceeds from the sale of these commodities, held by the U.S. in foreign currencies, to be used for the Fulbright Program. The so-called “P.L. 480” funds were used in the same way that local currencies from surplus war property sales had been used to pay for the Fulbright Program. The 1954 act not only created a much needed additional form of funding, but it also allowed the exchange programme to expand to countries that had not held war surplus in the aftermath of the Second World War. Latin America was now opened up to the Fulbright Program and exchanges were soon initiated with Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Paraguay.

Despite the increase of food exports under the 1954 act, agricultural over-production continued to be a problem. In 1961, the U.S. experienced its largest ever wheat and feed grain surplus, 115.2 metric tons (ibid., p. 7). President Kennedy saw that agricultural surplus exports could be used in conjunction with his other new foreign aid activities, such as the Peace Corps, and rebranded the law as the “Food for Peace” programme. Kennedy and Johnson changed the agricultural surplus exports from being simply a disposal mechanism to “a mix of policy objectives that also included humanitarianism, development, and foreign policy.” (ibid., p. 8). The Fulbright Program continued to benefit from these funds in many regions throughout the world. “By 1962, 32 out of 43 country programs were being financed with foreign currencies accruing from the sale of agricultural surpluses.” (Johnson and Colligan, 1965, p. 95).

Another important example of alternative funding can be found in the story of educational and cultural exchange between the U.S. and Finland. It is a fascinating example of the administration’s creativity in seeking out alternative sources of funding and of adapting programmes to local political considerations. The exchange programme began with a special arrangement that earmarked Finland’s First World War loan repayments for educational exchanges and equipment. When the loans were due to be paid in full, the Finnish government established a fund that would continue to support exchanges in perpetuity. It is a

story that reveals a great deal about the ingenuity of administrators and the Cold War context of the Fulbright Program's early years.

In the aftermath of the First World War, most European countries were in debt to the United States for war expenses, food assistance and reconstruction costs. For its part, Finland had borrowed \$8.3 million in 1919 (Mäkinen, 2001). As head of the American Relief Administration, Hoover wrote to President Wilson about the plight of the Finnish people. "If ever there was a case for helping people who are making a spirited fight to get on a basis of liberal democracy and are asking no charity from the world whatsoever, this is the case." (*U.S. Department of State, 1956, p. 8*).

During the Great Depression, many countries were unable or unwilling to make payments on their war debts to the United States. In 1934, Finland became the only country to continue paying its debts. Even during a temporary suspension of relations during the Second World War, Finland tried to make its payments to the United States. Finland's tenacity was a conscious decision that was intended to garner favour with the Americans. As a relatively young country, having only gained its independence from Russia in 1917, Finland sought friendship and trade with the United States.

Repaying their war debts raised Finland's profile, as newspapers across the U.S. praised the small country's dedication. A piece in the December 7, 1935 issue of *The Indianapolis Times* expressed the gratitude of the American people with Christmas wishes in the Finnish language. "Hauskaa Joulua! On December 15th Finland will pay her semi-annual war-debt installment of about a quarter of a million dollars--It's sure nice to think one nation will drop a remembrance in the lean old sock this year. In our best Finnish we wish her a Merry Christmas! Hauskaa Joulua!" (cited in Salo, 2004). Another article in the *New York Times* announced that the Finnish government was granted permission to operate a tourism office in New York, the first time that a foreign government had been permitted to do so. "The exceptional measure is regarded as justified because of Finland's present popularity in

the United States as a result of debt payments.” (Finland Seeks Tourists, 1935, p. 37). Some 3,000 similarly positive newspaper articles appeared in the U.S. during the Great Depression, portraying Finland as a reliable debtor and a friend to the United States.

U.S. interest in Finland was also due in part to the country’s strategic position, adjacent to the Soviet Union. Although a friendship agreement had been signed between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1947, the relationship between the two countries was clearly unequal and Finland remained vulnerable. Fears of Soviet aggression towards its neighbour led the U.S. Congress to introduce a number of trade and assistance agreements with Finland following the Second World War. One such agreement was the idea that loan payments could be used to benefit Finland through educational investment and exchange programmes. The notion that Finland’s debt payments could be used in this way can be seen as early as 1936. A letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, signed simply “Educator”, proposed the creation of a scholarship fund. “If our people and Congress feel that some concession to Finland is appropriate and desirable, let Congress designate two or three of the instalments paid by Finland as an American-Finnish education fund for the financing, in this country, of the studies of properly equipped and selected Finnish students.” (Scholarships for Finns, 1936, p. 14).

When the Fulbright Program was created in 1946, Finland was among the first countries approached for participation. The Finnish government was reluctant, however, fearing that joining the U.S.-sponsored exchange programme might damage Finland’s precarious relationship with the Soviet Union (Mäkinen, 2001). The U.S. government, in a rather unique move, proposed an alternative exchange programme with Finland, funded by an alternative source. By using Finland’s First World War loan repayments, the scheme would attain the same goals as the Fulbright Program but allow the U.S. to maintain a lower profile (ibid.).

The 1949 Finnish Educational Exchange Act earmarked future loan repayments for educational purposes. “[A]ny future repayments by the Republic of Finland on the principal or interest of its debt of the First World War to the United States shall be used to provide educational and technical instruction and training in the U.S. for citizens of Finland and American books and technical equipment for the institutions of higher education in Finland, and to provide opportunities for American citizens to carry out academic and scientific enterprises in Finland.” (*Public Law 81-265*). The bill cites Finland’s repayment as the motivation behind this exceptional piece of legislation. It also refers, indirectly, to Finland’s ability to remain independent from its neighbouring Soviet Union. “This program would be undertaken as a mark of respect and friendship for a people with a valiant record for maintaining their independence and liberty” (*ibid.*, p. 4). This is a reference to the Winter War (1939-40), in which a vastly outnumbered Finnish force defeated Soviet troops during the Second World War. Given that the Soviets became U.S. allies, while Finland sided with the axis powers in the Second World War, this is a curious example for the U.S. Congress to include in the legislation. It should be read, therefore, as a statement about America’s hopes for the relationship between Finland and the Soviet Union in the Cold War.

The exchange programme, known as ASLA (an acronym for the Finnish name, Amerikan Suomen lanian apurahat, or Grants from Finland’s American Loan), significantly influenced the development of Finnish higher education in the post-war era (Mäkinen, 2001). When Finland’s relationship with the Soviet Union was more decidedly stable in 1952, Finland signed a Fulbright exchange executive agreement and the programme’s name became hyphenated to ASLA-Fulbright. Despite the new agreement and the new name, the exchange programme continued to use Finnish loan repayments as its funding source. Over \$650,000 worth of books and other educational materials were given to Finland’s libraries during the first two decades of the programme (*ibid.*).

The use of Finland's loan payments to fund ASLA-Fulbright exchanges had one significant drawback: what would happen to the programme when the loan had been repaid in full? According to the loan schedule, Finland's final payment was expected in 1984. What had once seemed a distant date in the future had become, by the mid-seventies, a quickly approaching reality. Exchange advocates considered a range of funding options. American-Scandinavian Foundation President Peter Strong wrote to the U.S. State Department repeatedly, proposing the creation of a 'Finnish Fund.' Under his proposal, a portion of the annual ASLA funding would be set aside each year and placed into a fund administered by the American-Scandinavian Foundation. The interest from these funds, as it compounded over time, would be sufficient to sustain the exchange programme indefinitely (*Strong, 1974*).

In 1975, the Finnish Fund was established by an agreement between the United States and Finland (*Mattila and Austad, 1975*). Although it accomplished the same goal of maintaining exchanges between the two nations, it differed from Strong's proposal in two significant ways. Firstly, the fund was to be administered by a newly established board of trustees, consisting of two Americans and two Finns, rather than by the American-Scandinavian Foundation (*ibid.*). Secondly, rather than setting aside part of the funds each year for the trust fund until Finland's payments ceased in 1984, the Finnish government agreed to pay the remaining debt in full in 1976, which the U.S. would then put into the trust fund. In terms of day-to-day operations, the new funding arrangement did not change the nature of the programme. It was still to be administered by the existing binational organisation, the United States Educational Foundation in Finland. In 1976, Finland paid its outstanding balance of \$2.8 million in full and the fund was established to finance the exchanges in perpetuity (Copeland et al., 1983, p. 12).

The ASLA-Fulbright Program has been successfully maintained for more than sixty years. Nearly five thousand Americans and Finns have participated in the exchange

programme, a high figure for the relatively small country. Neighbouring Sweden, for example, has only had some three thousand participants but has a larger total population (FSB, 2010). Finland's Fulbright programme is among America's most successful exchange diplomacy efforts.

Cost-Sharing and Binationality

The Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961 made provisions for partnering countries to contribute financially to their educational and cultural exchanges with the United States. Cost-sharing agreements soon became an important component in ensuring the Fulbright Program's financial sustainability. By 1965, ten countries had committed to financial contributions: the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Taiwan, Australia, Denmark, France and the United Kingdom (*BFS, 1965*). This grew substantially over the following years and by 1982, 28 countries were contributing the equivalent of \$9.5 million to their Fulbright Program exchanges (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Cost-Sharing Expansion, 1966-1982

Year	Contributions (in 1970 constant U.S. dollars)	Cost-sharing countries
1966	\$1.6 million	10
1970	\$2.0 million	20
1974	\$3.36 million	21
1978	\$5.3 million	23
1980	\$7.5 million	25
1982	\$9.5 million	28

(Source: *BFS, 1983*)

What does the act of cost-sharing tell us about the Fulbright Program and its overseas support? Exchange advocates suggest that cost-sharing indicates a strong sense of faith in the programme. There may be a range of assumed benefits linked to participation, but countries would not invest, presumably, in a scheme that they did not believe was worthwhile in some manner. Cost-sharing is also an indication of the binational nature of the Fulbright Program. Shared funding implies shared control, to some extent, over programme planning and policy

decision-making. It insulates the programme from accusations of U.S. imperialism by giving shared control to partner nations.

Germany is home to the largest Fulbright Program in the world, in part because of cost-sharing. The exchange programme began within the context of the U.S. occupation of the Federal Republic of Germany. Educational and cultural exchange were part of the U.S. State Department's 're-education' policy, "...intended to bring about a fundamental change in the German character. It was to eradicate militarism, chauvinism and National Socialist thinking as well as promote the development of democratic principles."(Junker, 2004, p. 410). As part of this re-education and occupation, by 1956 the U.S. had sent more than 14,000 Americans to the Federal Republic of Germany and brought more than 12,000 Germans to America (ibid.).

Germany has contributed financially to its Fulbright exchanges since the programme was established on 18 July 1952, long before cost-sharing was authorised by the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961. The original exchange agreement included provisions for the "assumption of financial responsibility through voluntary contributions." (Kellermann, 1978, p. 168). Germany's economic recovery made these contributions possible, both from the Government and the private sector. After cost-sharing was authorised as a general practice by the Fulbright-Hays Act, a cost-sharing arrangement with the Federal Republic of Germany was agreed on 20 November 1962. The terms of the agreement included equal contributions of \$800,000 from both the United States and Germany (ibid., p. 201). Over time, Germany began to contribute more than the U.S. did to its exchange programme. In the early 1970's, when American appropriations for the Fulbright Program had sharply decreased, the Federal Republic of Germany more than doubled its contributions to make up the shortfall (Rogers, 1972, p. 210).

In 1983, Chancellor Helmut Kohl praised the Fulbright Program during "Fulbright Week", an annual seminar for alumni held in Berlin. "I would like to express to the Fulbright

Commission appreciation for its exemplary work. (The Commission) has made an especially important contribution toward strengthening German-American relations.” (*BFS, 1983, p. 4, parentheses as in original*). Since 1954, the Commission has hosted an annual Berlin Seminar, bringing American and German alumni and their families to the capital city to share their ideas and experiences. The programme in Germany has continued to lead the way in alumni relations. Barbara Ischinger, executive director of the German-American Fulbright Commission, described the Commission’s efforts to build alumni networks. “We are forming partnerships with our colleagues in the other 140 Fulbright programs worldwide; we are strengthening our ties with the private sector through the Association of Friends and Sponsors of the German-American Fulbright Program...We are seeking to build a network of our former grantees, the very people who have helped to make our program such a success.” (*FSB, 1997, p. 18*).

In the case of Japan’s Fulbright Program, cost-sharing involves both public and private funds. Under the terms of a 1979 bilateral exchange agreement, the Japanese government contributes to the Fulbright Program on an equal basis with the United States. Former executive director of the Japanese commission Caroline Matano Yang cited the agreement as “the only program in any field between the two governments founded and administered on a fifty-fifty basis.” (Yang, 1987). Japanese Fulbright alumni have also been particularly active fundraisers. In 1982, the occasion of the programme’s thirtieth anniversary in Japan was marked by a large-scale alumni fundraising campaign. By 1986, alumni contributions made up 15% of the programme’s budget, and were formally institutionalised by the creation of the Japan-United States Educational Exchange Promotion Foundation (*ibid.*, p. 91).

Yang points out a number of political, economic and cultural factors that encouraged alumni to take part in the fundraising campaign, including the concept of ‘ongaeshi’ or returning a favour. The concept of returning favours and respecting one’s obligation to do so

is an important cultural value in Japan. “The fundraising campaign was the perfect vehicle for grateful alumni to reciprocate the gift of the Fulbright grant they had received from the United States. ‘Ongaeshi’ became a major slogan of the campaign and was readily grasped by the alumni and the public. It may have been the strongest single factor in the success of the fundraising campaign.” (ibid., p. 88).

Despite the many positive effects of cost-sharing in countries like Germany and Japan, the practice has also had some negative impacts in other parts of the world. When the Fulbright Program faces budget cuts to its Congressional appropriations, countries which participate in cost-sharing can absorb some of the loss in funding. Countries that are unable to contribute in-kind, however, are left underfunded when the U.S. side of funding is diminished. The cuts of the late 1960s demonstrate this unequal impact of budget cuts. “Binational commissions or foundations existed in 47 of these countries in 1968-69, although not all were fully active. Those in Ethiopia, Ghana and Tunisia were dormant due to a lack of finances.” (*BFS, 1969, p. 9*).

It is also important to note that there are other elements, in addition to cost-sharing, that can contribute to a programme’s binational character. One important consideration is the amount of local participation in programme planning and execution. On a tour of the Near East, Board of Foreign Scholarships member John Hope Franklin found that participation was mostly limited to the executive director. “I was interested to discover that the local members seem not to participate to any great extent in shaping the program,” Franklin observed in his report to fellow Board members. “In answers to direct questions put by me, I discovered that the program proposals were largely the work of the executive director, with some assistance, here and there, from U.S. government officials. It seems to me that if all members were encouraged to contribute ideas and suggestions to the program, not only would its binational character be strengthened, but the program itself would doubtless be

strengthened.” (*Franklin, 1965, p. 3*). Binational participation, including but not limited to cost-sharing, is a valuable component of the programme’s administration.

Cost-sharing has become a common feature of Fulbright Program participation. In 1996, Fulbright administrators observed that “today every participating country contributes something in kind, and a number of countries—including Germany, Japan, Norway and Spain—contribute more than the U.S. to their country’s Fulbright exchange.” (*FSB, 1996, p. 20*). In Table 4.2, the top five cost-sharing countries, in terms of government contributions and private contributions, are listed. It is interesting to note that the top five contributors in each of the two categories give quite a high percentage of the total foreign contributions. Five countries give forty percent of the total foreign government contributions, out of some 155 total participating nations (*FSB, 2009*).

Table 4.2 Top Five Foreign Contributors, Government and Private, 2009

Top 5 Foreign Government Contributors	Amount (USD equivalent, 2009)	Share of total foreign government contributions	Top 5 Foreign Private Contributors	Amount (USD equivalent, 2009)	Share of total foreign private contributions
Spain	7,401,072	9.6%	Colombia	1,991,401	10.9%
Chile	7,080,216	9.2%	France	1,508,963	8.3%
Germany	6,834,212	8.8%	Canada	1,423,423	7.8%
Brazil	5,431,108	7.0%	India	885,623	4.9%
Japan	4,456,328	5.8%	Mexico	861,868	4.7%
Total	31,202,936	40.4%	Total	6,671,278	36.6%

(Source: FSB, 2009, p. 54)

A 1967 article by Olive Reddick, retired director of the US Educational Foundation in India, explores the question of whether the Fulbright Program is truly binational. She points out that while the structure of the programme features largely equal representation from the U.S. and India, the funding of the exchange programme prevents it from being a genuinely binational practice. The Fulbright Program, at the time and for more than a decade, was funded exclusively in Indian rupees held by the U.S. government. This arrangement presented a number of inequalities in the administration of the programme. “There is no doubt in my mind that the source of the funds has, at times, inhibited Indians on the board of directors from expressing any disagreement with a statement or proposal received from the

Department of State or, on rare occasions, from the American Ambassador in India. They know they are receivers of a gift and are very polite about it.” (Reddick, 1967, p. 69). Dr. Reddick asserts that as long as the funding comes exclusively from one side of the exchange relationship, the programme will not be genuinely binational.

Executive director of the German Fulbright Commission Ulrich Littmann responded to Dr. Reddick’s article, challenging her suggestion that cost-sharing would make the programme more equal and more genuinely binational. As Dr. Littmann asserted, “In contrast to the situation in India, cost-sharing in Germany produced quite a few prospects of strain in the relations between the Commission and its two ‘masters’.” (Littmann, 1967, p. iii). The implementation of cost-sharing had not resolved questions of equality and binationality between the two exchange partners. Rather, cost-sharing had introduced new difficulties. The US-German binational commission, in Littmann’s view, was able to navigate these challenges successfully because it was “not looking toward genuine binationality but toward mutual recognition of opportunities, possibilities and limits.” (ibid., p. iv).

The source of funding can colour an administrator’s perception of the exchange programme. In Reddick’s experience, American funding of the exchanges with India caused some commission board members to express a sense of resignation. “It is their money,” Dr. Reddick recalls one of the Indian board members saying, “I have no objection to their spending it as they wish.” (Reddick, 1967, p. 69). This statement suggests that unilateral funding of the binational programme can lead to diminished participation in decision-making. This has important implications for the binational character of the Fulbright Program; can the exchange programme be a binational joint venture without the implementation of cost-sharing? To what extent does the funding structure influence binational commission members’ participation in decision-making?

Moreover, does the implementation of cost-sharing necessarily lead to more equal control and genuine binationality? The case of Germany, according to Littmann’s view,

suggests that it does not necessarily resolve these concerns. Although the programme is funded on a binational basis, there are still elements of the relationship that are not entirely equal. Littmann cites the language of the Terms of Award for American students as an example. “I still owe a written explanation to the German Government on the phrase ‘effectuation of grants (for American students) is in every instance contingent upon stable conditions in Germany’ and why a reciprocal phrase is not included in the Terms of Award for German students going to the United States.” (Littmann, 1967, p. iii). Cost-sharing, therefore, can be seen to influence the binational character of the exchange programme, but it is not the sole determinant of equality between participating nations.

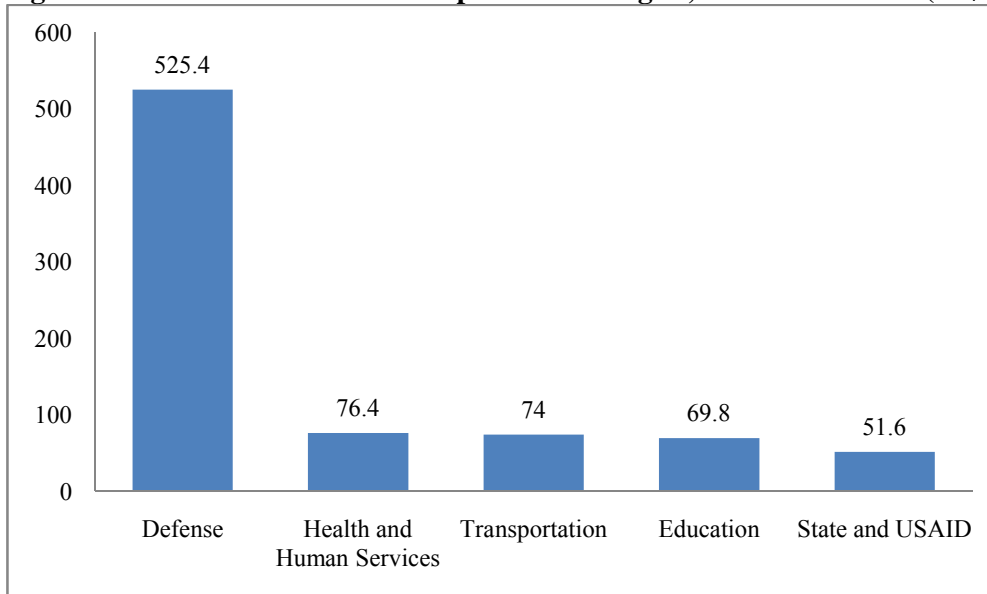
Exchange Advocacy

Fulbright Program supporters have used a range of arguments to make the case for continued or increased Congressional appropriations. One of the most common is to compare exchange funding with the nation’s defence budget. Senator Fulbright often used this rhetoric in his advocacy for the exchange programme. “During fiscal year 1959, the government spent a total of \$31.3 million on educational and cultural exchange activities, less than the cost of one nuclear-powered submarine.” (Fulbright, 1961a, p. 26). In a more recent example, Public Diplomacy Council executive director William P. Kiehl noted that the United States spends almost five hundred times as much on defence (nearly \$500 billion) as they do on public diplomacy (\$1.2 billion). “The savings in American blood and treasure from just one preventable military adventure would more than make up for the increases in public diplomacy budgets.” (Kiehl, 2006, p. 145).

Of course, this argument depends upon the assumption that an increased public diplomacy budget would prevent war. The comparison positions public diplomacy and military action as direct alternatives to each other. It is an oversimplification, because the budget of the U.S. Government includes a great many expenditures. Appropriations for public diplomacy and defence are not in a zero-sum relationship. Spending fewer taxpayer

dollars on weapons does not necessarily mean that more will be spent on educational exchange, or vice versa. The rhetoric of contrasting public diplomacy spending with defence spending is a persuasive argument, based on the assumption that public diplomacy prevents war. This rhetoric does not accurately reflect reality, however, because public diplomacy and defence are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, these advocates compare public diplomacy and defence budgets in order to argue for increased public diplomacy spending. This approach neglects the alternative response, however, that defence spending could simply be decreased instead. Comparing the budgets of selected indicative U.S. federal government departments shows that defence spending is the outlier, not State Department funding. Figure 4.2 demonstrates this, comparing the fiscal year 2013 budgets for the Department of Defense, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Education, and the Department of State/U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S. GPO, 2013).

Figure 4.2 Selected U.S. Federal Department Budgets, Fiscal Year 2013 (in \$ billion)



(Source: U.S. GPO, 2013)

The most significant Fulbright Program budget crisis moments in its history have been the drastic cuts of the Vietnam War era and a 1981 proposed budget reduction. These two stories can tell us a great deal about the nature of programme funding considerations and

advocacy. Who defends the Fulbright Program when it is threatened with budget cuts, and how do they make the case for continued funding?

The first large scale budget cuts occurred in the late 1960s. As the conflict in Vietnam escalated, financial resources were diverted towards the war effort. The budget for educational and cultural exchanges was diminished considerably. The 1970 Board of Foreign Scholarships Annual Report begins, “In the past year our exchange programs were at their lowest point since 1956, as a result of the 33 percent cut in appropriations for fiscal year 1969. Although the size and suddenness of the cut was deeply discouraging here and abroad to many persons associated with the administration of these programs, most of them responded with sincere efforts to reduce other costs and to keep as many openings for grantees as possible.” (*BFS, 1970, p. iv*). Grants were reduced from 4,556 in the academic year 1968-69 to 3,046 in the academic year 1969-70 (*ibid.*, p. 5).

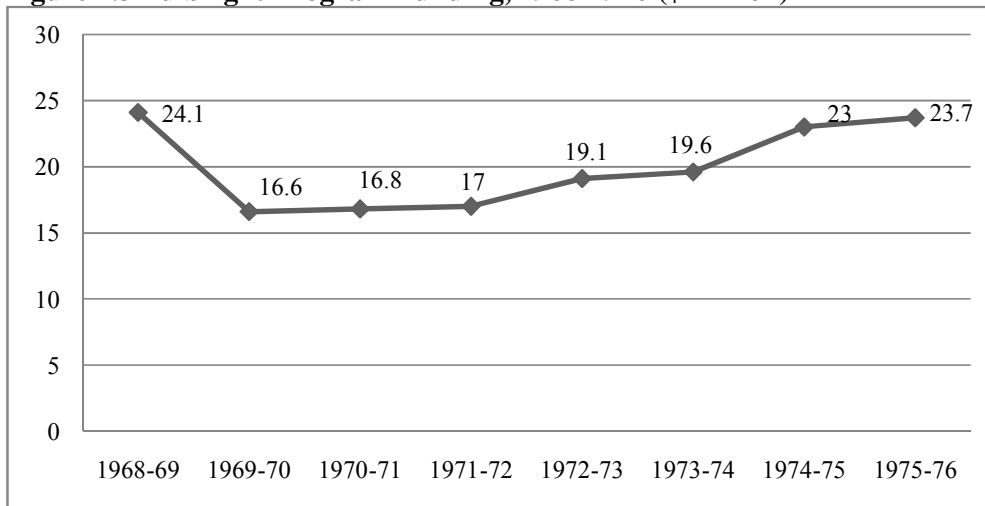
Senator Fulbright took the matter quite personally, attributing the cuts to his feud with President Lyndon Johnson over the Vietnam War (Woods, 1995; Sussman, 1992). As budgets are determined two years in advance, the effects of the Johnson feud were carried over into the Nixon years. Though Johnson and Fulbright had once been on good terms, Fulbright’s Senate speech denouncing U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic was a turning point in their relationship. “After that, Lyndon didn’t have anything more to do with me...He struck me from the White House guest list, and I felt he was making a personal issue of our differences over policy.” (Fulbright, 1989, pp. 115-116).

It has also been suggested that another personal conflict was responsible for the programme’s diminished funding. Representative John J. Rooney of New York and CU director Charles Frankel had a “highly personalized feud” that Richard Arndt believes led to the cuts (Arndt and Rubin, 1993, p. 177). A 1970 editorial also suggests that Rooney was “heavily responsible for slashing the Fulbright appropriation by more than forty percent.” (Reviving Fulbright Program, 1970, p. 40). Representative Rooney was quoted in the *New*

York Times, justifying the cuts as a reduction of wasteful spending. “It seems we have too many of these leeches who have attached themselves to the Federal payroll under this [Fulbright] program who are living on it...It does not mean a darn thing because our relations with countries abroad are worse than they ever were.” (Scholarship Plan is Hard Hit Again, 1970, p. 13). Representative Rooney, like other critics of exchange diplomacy, demanded proof of the programme’s effectiveness. Without this proof, he argued, the exchange programme administrators were parasites, living off of the American taxpayer while failing to serve American interests.

Whether the cuts were related to personal feuds, or should be considered as part of a general retrenchment policy, the impact on the exchange programme was severe and long-lasting. The Fulbright Program took several years to recover from the budget cuts enacted during the Vietnam War. Figure 4.3 shows the programme’s recovery, from a low point in the 1969-70 academic year to a nearly restored level in the 1975-76 academic year.

Figure 4.3 Fulbright Program Funding, 1968-1976 (\$ million)



(Sources: *BFS*, 1968-1975).

Another important crisis moment, the story of the proposed budget cuts of 1981, demonstrates the importance of lobbying and advocacy. When President Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, his administration called for spending decreases across the board, and the Fulbright Program was no exception to these cuts. The Board’s annual report describes the

scale of the proposed budget reductions. “In October 1981 the board and many others associated with the Fulbright Program here and abroad were startled by the news that the Administration had proposed, subject to Congressional approval, a 66% reduction in educational and cultural exchanges for 1982. ICA, like other Governmental departments, had been directed by the President to reduce its fiscal year 1982 budget request an additional 12% across the board...” (*BFS, 1981, p. 2*).

Media coverage of the proposed cuts outlined the threat to American interests posed by the cuts to the U.S. exchange programme. Cold War arguments were used to justify continued funding of exchanges. “The Soviet leadership appears to have placed its greatest hope for ultimate success in the academic exchange program,” some argued, and the United States must be equipped to compete in the field of educational exchange (Kole, 1981, p. 3). A *New York Times* article featured statements from politicians and academics, including the Presidents of Harvard, American University and the University of Minnesota, who disagreed with the proposed cuts (Crossette, 1981). It also included details of how the cuts would be implemented: “Grants would be reduced by 40% and the current exchange with 120 nations would be cut to 59, ending most programs in the third world...” (*ibid.*, p. 3).

Advocates of the Fulbright Program took action, writing letters to newspaper editors and lobbying Congress to oppose the budget cuts. The Board’s annual report describes the wide range of support for the programme. “This threatened reduction was sufficient to galvanize the Board, Fulbright alumni, the academic community, assisting private organizations and institutions, participating governments, the media, a number of American Ambassadors and countless others. They quickly made their concerns known to administration officials and to the Congress.” (*BFS, 1981, p. 2*). The decision was reversed, and the Fulbright Program saw budget increases approved for the following fiscal year.

This budget crisis moment highlights the importance of the advocacy role played by alumni and those involved in international education. During the thirty years of J. William

Fulbright's tenure in the U.S. Senate, he was the programme's chief advocate and defender. As a 1965 article described his involvement with the exchange programme, "Fulbright conceived it, pushed it through Congress, sold the doubters in the executive branch, schemed and pleaded for the money to support it and materialized like a guardian angel each time some new threat to it appeared." (Oberdorfer, 1965, p. 80). When Senator Fulbright lost his seat in 1974, his advocacy role was taken up, not by one of his colleagues in the Senate, but by those who saw value in the exchange programme: Fulbright alumni, educators, and academics.

Conclusion

The funding history of the Fulbright Program reveals the programme's adaptability and the determination of exchange administrators and advocates. The story of its modest beginnings as a surplus war property disposal scheme illustrates the importance of private sector support and marks the start of a near-constant search for Congressional appropriations. The case of the 1954 Agricultural Trade and Development Act demonstrates the creativity applied by administrators in the search for additional funds. When surplus war property funds were exhausted, agricultural surplus exports became another vital source of U.S.-held foreign currencies for the exchange programme.

The story of the U.S.-Finnish ASLA-Fulbright Program also illustrates the flexibility of the programme, both in terms of its ability to designate new funding sources and its capacity to adapt to local political concerns. The geographic proximity of Finland to the Soviet Union made the Finnish exchange programme strategically important for the U.S., but it also made the exchange agreement more difficult to negotiate. The 1949 Finnish Educational Exchange Act demonstrates flexibility and creativity on the part of administrators and policy-makers, as the exchange programme was adapted to meet the demands of the Cold War context. The experiences of cost-sharing in the German and Japanese programmes raise important questions about the binational nature of the programme

and the way in which the exchange programme is perceived in participating countries.

Maintaining exchange programme funding has required a flexible, pragmatic approach on the part of administrators.

Finally, the advocacy and lobbying efforts of Fulbright Program supporters have been shown to be an invaluable means of sustaining financial support for the programme. Alumni have been shown to be willing to participate in fundraising campaigns and donate directly to the programme. At an early Fulbright Association gathering, an alumnus made a rather ambitious proposal: “Fulbrighters themselves could support the program by each contributing one dollar a month, thereby providing an additional \$1.38 million annually.” (*Armbruster, 1976, p. 10*). Though there is no evidence to suggest this proposal was taken forward, it shows the enthusiasm held by alumni in some quarters for the programme. In countries such as Japan, alumni donate to the programme through formal Fulbright Foundations. In the U.S., alumni can demonstrate their support by lobbying Congress for continued appropriations. While other American public diplomacy activities lack a domestic constituency to defend them against Congressional budget cuts, the Fulbright Program has an active domestic constituency in its alumni and other stakeholders who support international education. The Fulbright Program has taken a pragmatic and creative approach to its budget, seeking funding from a variety of sources, public and private, foreign and domestic.

Chapter 5

The Fulbright Program in American Bureaucracy

Introduction

The administrative home of exchange diplomacy activities within the U.S. government has changed a number of times throughout the history of the Fulbright Program. The reasons behind each restructuring reflect the ways in which America's overseas information, educational and cultural activities have been viewed by different administrations. Some have regarded the Fulbright Program as an exchange diplomacy tool that can be used to engage, inform and influence foreign publics. They believe that it should contribute to American interests overseas, if it is to be supported by public funds. Others have viewed the Fulbright Program as a strictly educational endeavour, and one which needs to be protected from political influence and attempts at strategic use. This debate over the true purpose of the Fulbright Program has shaped the bureaucratic history of the Fulbright Program, moving it from the State Department to the U.S. Information Agency and back again. The story of these developments reveals a great deal about prevailing contemporary attitudes and how the role of exchange diplomacy was conceived at various times.

This chapter considers the causes and impacts of these shifts in the Fulbright Program's bureaucratic history. When restructuring has been proposed, concerns have been raised about how the move might impact the exchange programme. Exchange advocates have feared that the programme would lose its prestige, become a propaganda tool, or simply lose funding due to the change in bureaucratic organisation. With the benefit of hindsight, however, this study has found that such fears are often unrealised. The Fulbright Program has been largely unaffected by these reorganisations, and in some cases, exchanges have even benefitted and expanded. This section will examine key transitional moments, asking how,

and to what extent, has the bureaucratic structure of American public diplomacy influenced the development of the Fulbright Program?

Throughout each of the bureaucratic reorganisations, the Fulbright Program's main administrative body has remained the Board of Foreign Scholarships, known since 1991 as the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board. The Board was established by the original 1946 Fulbright Act as a protective measure that would guard the programme against political interference. As the members of the Board are appointed by the President, the composition of the Board can give us valuable insights into each President's attitude towards educational and cultural exchanges. The latter section of this chapter will examine how the Board has changed throughout the history of the Fulbright Program, and what its composition reveals about each Presidential administration.

Since the establishment of American educational and cultural exchange activities, there has been a recurring debate over the appropriate bureaucratic home for exchange diplomacy in Washington. Do international educational and cultural exchanges belong in the department that deals with foreign affairs, or the department that deals with international communication? Or perhaps exchanges should be kept out of the federal government altogether, becoming the responsibility of an independent institution, such as the Library of Congress or the Smithsonian Institute. How will the exchange programme be perceived if it is conducted alongside information, or propaganda, activities? As Charles Frankel asserts, "...an information program tends to embarrass and compromise an educational and cultural program when it is too closely and visibly associated with it." (Frankel, 1965, p. 33). Time and time again, committees have been formed, experts have been consulted, recommendations have been considered and compromises have been made in an attempt to settle the debate. Resolution has often been temporary, however, and questions of the true purpose of the Fulbright Program continue to be discussed.

Information and Educational-Cultural Perspectives

The debate over where educational exchange activities belong in Washington involves many different viewpoints and stakeholders, which can be broken down into two opposing camps: the information perspective and the educational-cultural perspective. The information perspective sees the Fulbright Program as part of America's public diplomacy toolbox. Exchanges are considered to be one among many different public diplomacy resources, such as Voice of America broadcasting, American-sponsored schools and libraries abroad, and the International Visitor Leader Program exchanges. In this line of thought, Fulbright grantees become another type of 'media' through which the government can communicate with target foreign audiences. As Fulbright participants are sponsored by the U.S. government, those who agree with the information perspective would expect the participants to act as ambassadors while abroad. "International educational and cultural activities would have little legitimacy to receive Congress's support unless they were put in political service." (Bu, 1999, p. 415). Due to the fact that participants are supported by U.S. taxpayer dollars, the information camp argues, it is only right that the American public should reap some tangible benefit from their investment. The mechanism of sponsorship suggests that a grant has some strings attached, whether they are implied or explicit.

The opposing point of view argues that educational and cultural exchange activities ought to be conducted for their own sake and should remain free from the influence of America's foreign policy agenda. They are inherently valuable activities and do not have to be strategic. Indeed, using them strategically may actually undermine their purpose and compromise the program's academic integrity. If exchange students came to be viewed as government mouthpieces or spies, they would no longer be effective practitioners of public diplomacy. The strongest advocates for this position are the academics themselves. Amongst educators, "exchanges are seen as private people-to-people transactions that should not be attached directly to the immediacies of day-to-day formal policy considerations or efforts to

restore a nation's image in a host country or region.” (Snow in Snow and Taylor, 2009, p. 236). Some advocates of the educational-cultural approach look to the models of other nations, such as Germany or the United Kingdom, as models of best practice. “Academics, in particular, have expressed their preference for foreign mediation through autonomous bodies such as the DAAD [*Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst*, German Academic Exchange Service] and the British Council rather than through ministries or embassies.” (Mitchell, 1986, p. 68). Bureaucratic autonomy is thought to protect educational and cultural exchange activities from undue political influence.

This preference for autonomy has been reflected in a number of policy recommendations throughout the Fulbright Program's history. A 1953 Senate Foreign Relations Committee report kept educational and cultural activities out of the newly established United States Information Agency (USIA). In 1975, a panel review of American public diplomacy recommended that both information and educational and cultural activities be placed in a new agency “under, but not in” the State Department. In 1987, Senator Claiborne Pell made a proposal to dismantle the USIA and move the Fulbright Program into the Smithsonian Institute (Snow, 2010, p. 89). These examples represent a few of the ways that policy-makers have approached the matter of autonomy in the past, addressing the matter of foreign policy influence with varying degrees of success.

For his part, the programme's founder and strongest advocate Senator J. William Fulbright was adamant that exchanges be conducted independently from America's foreign policy agenda. “I utterly reject any suggestion that our educational and cultural programs are weapons or instruments with which to do combat...There is no room, and there must not be any room, for an interpretation of these programs as propaganda, even recognizing that the term covers some very worthwhile and respectable activities.” (quoted in Coombs, 1964, p. 52). For Senator Fulbright, the programme was primarily an instrument of international

goodwill. He often spoke about the potential for educational and cultural exchange to 'humanise' America's foreign relations.

In the earliest days of the Fulbright Program, many observers did not fully understand the nature of exchange diplomacy and the purpose of the programme. Some members of Congress and publicity officers expressed their concerns about the long-term nature of the programme, and asked instead for more immediate observable effects. The slow, long-range process of education does not make for good headlines that will impress constituents. One proposal asked the Board of Foreign Scholarships to "require that all American student grantees in France conduct a weekly public opinion poll to ascertain reactions to the Voice of America." (Johnson and Colligan, 1965, p. 75). This proposal, like others demanding similar output, was rejected by the Executive Committee of the Board. Members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships agreed that the Fulbright Program should certainly contribute to the national interest, but feared that if it were to evolve into a 'propaganda' program, it "would become self-defeating and should be abandoned." (ibid., p. 72). Administrators struggled to strike the appropriate balance between supporting U.S. foreign policy interests and maintaining academic integrity and credibility.

In the more than 155 countries that have participated in the Fulbright Program, exchanges are carried out by binational commissions, or by the local U.S. Embassy in countries that have not established a commission with the U.S. These overseas counterparts to the programme's Washington-based administrators have generally supported the educational-cultural approach rather than information (propaganda) applications of the program. As many members of the binational commissions are university lecturers, professors and administrators, the preference for an academic emphasis is not surprising. For their part, the binational commissions have seen academic integrity as a prerequisite for any further diplomatic gains that might be sought by the Fulbright Program's administrators in Washington. Without the solid foundation of academic integrity, the programme would fail to

be respected or valued by partner nations and institutions of higher education. The commission in the United Kingdom, for example, saw academic prestige as an important factor in the development of mutual respect and understanding. “As a general policy the Commission has supported and will continue to support all measures that enhance the academic prestige of the scheme, not because it believes that academic success is in itself the entire justification for an international educational exchange program, but because from it alone will grow the respect both here and in America that will produce broader results in the sphere of mutual understanding.” (US-UK Fulbright Commission, 1951, p. 6).

The history of the Fulbright Program is troubled by what Richard Arndt succinctly calls a “built-in tension” between the cultural and the propagandistic aims of exchange diplomacy (Thompson, 1987, p. 88). In the following section, three crisis moments will serve to illustrate this tension and examine how it has been resolved in the past. Firstly, the early days of the Cold War show how the creation of the United States Information Agency brought the purposes of the budding exchanges into question. The Cold War provided an excellent opportunity for exchanges, as they could be utilised in an attempt to persuade foreign audiences to favour capitalism over communism in the ideological struggle. The Cold War also presented a challenge, however, as exchanges might be misused for political purposes by the U.S. or a partnering nation. Secondly, the story moves ahead two decades to a moment of Cold War thaw, when the question of the appropriate bureaucratic home for exchanges came under scrutiny. A panel at Georgetown University’s Center for Strategic and International Studies reviewed the state of affairs and issued its 1975 report *International Information, Education and Cultural Relations: Recommendations for the Future*, more commonly known as the Stanton Report for the panel’s chairman, Frank Stanton. The panel’s recommendations were not followed, however, during the subsequent reorganization under President Jimmy Carter. His short-lived United States International Communication Agency (ICA) directed both information and educational-cultural activities. When the Agency’s name

and purpose was reverted to its former state, the exchange programme remained in the US Information Agency. Finally, the state of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the first decade of the twenty-first century deserves special attention in view of the closure of the USIA in 1999. During each of these illustrative transitional periods, we can see the various institutional factors at play and take note of the underlying determinants behind bureaucratic developments in the history of the Fulbright Program.

The USIA and the Fulbright Program

The advent of the Cold War caused Fulbright Program administrators to examine the potential role of educational and cultural exchange in the new international conflict. Chief of the Division of Exchange of Persons and member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships Francis J. Colligan observed a wariness of propaganda on a 1951 tour of participating nations in Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East. The impressions from this trip convinced him that in order to accomplish the programme's objectives, administrators must guard against giving the impression of propagandising. In a report to the Board of Foreign Scholarships following the tour, Colligan warns his colleagues about foreign perceptions of information activities. "An indirect, subtle approach is required. This is because of a general sensitivity in all the countries visited to out-and-out foreign propaganda in the popular sense, especially in an educational program established by executive agreement on a long-term and relatively large-scale basis." (*Colligan, 1951, p. 2*). Recognising this sensitivity, Colligan goes on to suggest how the program might reach its goals while avoiding accusations of propaganda.

"This objective can best be accomplished:

1. by including a maximum number of well thought out projects,
 2. by providing for efficient selection, orientation, guidance and follow-up,
 3. by making maximum use of grantees in terms of the fields of specialization which they represent and in terms of personality, personal contacts and incidental activities,
- and

4. by streamlining policies and procedures, for example, by awarding short-term grants and recruiting senior personnel directly. In so doing we shall help increase the number of friends of the United States in key circles in foreign countries. This is our basic ultimate objective.” (*ibid.*, p. 3).

There is a distinct emphasis on quantity and competition in this plan—maximum numbers, maximum personal contacts, more short-term grants rather than fewer long-term grants.

These priorities reflect the competitive Cold War mindset of contemporary policy-makers and program administrators. It illustrates the widely held belief that the world consisted of potential Democratic allies of the U.S. and potential Communist allies of the Soviet Union. Colligan and other administrators of the Fulbright Program viewed engaging with opinion leaders in key circles as a means of translating personal friendships into geopolitical alliances.

Overseas, binational commission members were also concerned about the perception of their exchange programme. The Australian commission had a number of staunchly anti-Communist, prominent individuals amongst its members, including former Chief Justice Sir John Latham. Despite his anti-Communist views, he was cautious about the development of American studies under the Fulbright Program in Australia, as it might be perceived as propagandistic. “It might do grave harm if the Fulbright scheme were to run the risk of being charged with passing from the field of general assistance to education as a means of promoting understanding between the USA and other peoples into that of propaganda.” (quoted in Garner and Kirkby, 2013, pp. 130-131).

The explicit application of the Fulbright Program as a tool in the early days of the Cold War was relatively limited in scope. The use of surplus war property funds meant that exchanges were conducted only in the two theatres of the Second World War: the North Atlantic and the Pacific. Exchanges were also limited to the so-called free world, the community of non-Communist, democratic nations. In 1948, the Board of Foreign

Scholarships wanted to conduct cultural exchanges in Eastern Europe, but the State Department was unable to support them, as cultural relations activities soon ceased to operate in the region (Ninkovich, 1995, p. 147). Exchange agreements with these countries were eventually reached during the 1960s and 1970s, a period of Cold War thaw and programme expansion. During the early years of the Cold War, however, the Fulbright Program was unable to reach beyond the Iron Curtain. It focused instead upon creating strong relationships with allies and the non-aligned countries. Administrators felt the exchange program had an important role to play in the Cold War, namely “to bulwark the free and democratic areas against the erosion of revolution and totalitarianism.” (ibid., p. 148). Thus, educational exchange played a largely indirect role in the conflict, underscoring alliances rather than confronting ideological foes.

When the United States Information Agency was established in 1953, the question arose as to whether educational and cultural exchanges should remain within the Department of State or if they should instead be moved to the USIA, the new home of other public diplomacy activities such as broadcasting. Senator Fulbright was adamant that his namesake program be kept separate from information activities, or as he referred to them, propaganda. Speaking to a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Overseas Information Programs, Senator Fulbright argued against any interference with the exchange programme. He had originally made provisions for the Board of Foreign Scholarships in order to ensure that an autonomous, apolitical body would administer the exchange program. Placing the Board under the USIA’s remit, he told the subcommittee, would defeat the purpose entirely. “If you seek to coordinate them in any degree—make them subordinate or direct them as part of a government propaganda agency—I think that by that act you will have destroyed their principal usefulness, and destroyed their incentive to function.” (quoted in Frankel, 1965, p. 27). The usefulness of the Board was their independence and autonomy, features which lent the members of the Board a degree of credibility and integrity. If it were to be placed under

the USIA, there was a risk that the program would be adversely influenced by the propaganda-dominated environment.

In terms of the theoretical framework, keeping the exchange programme separate from the USIA can be read as a means of managing the way it is perceived by target nations. If the exchange programme were to be conducted by the USIA, foreign publics might perceive it as propaganda. This would undermine the exchange activities at the contact level: grantees would be perceived as less credible if they were sponsored by a propaganda agency. As each stage in the framework relies on its previous stage, undermining the contact scenario diminishes the multiplier effect and prevents the desired impact from taking place on a target nation's public opinion and foreign policy.

Senator Fulbright and his like-minded colleagues managed to keep the Fulbright Program in the State Department, for the time being. A compromise was reached which distributed educational and cultural activities between the newly formed USIA and the State Department. "Books, libraries, cultural centers, English-teaching and exhibits went to USIA, while exchange-of-persons programs, support of American-sponsored schools, the UNESCO National Commission secretariat and a few odds and ends were left behind in the State Department." (Coombs, 1964, pp. 33-34). The two categories were labelled "cultural information" and "cultural relations," though Coombs notes that this was "regarded by some at the time as a distinction without a difference." (ibid., p. 34). The new arrangement meant that officials in the field, such as cultural attachés and public affairs officers working in U.S. Embassies, would now have to answer to both the State Department and the USIA in the conduct of their work. While in Washington cultural information and cultural relations were now the responsibilities of two separate agencies, they were still carried out in the field by the same officials.

The Stanton Report

Ten years later, concerns about the bureaucratic organisation of America's overseas information, education and cultural activities were revisited. In 1975, an independent Panel on International Information, Education and Cultural Relations was established to analyse the field and seek out recommendations for its improvement. The idea for a panel review was the result of a chance meeting between Leo Cherne, a member of the Advisory Commission on Educational and Cultural Affairs, and CBS broadcasting executive Frank Stanton. Seated next to each other on a flight, they discussed the state of American public diplomacy and its organization (Thompson, 1987, p. 55). Stanton agreed to chair a panel that would examine the matter further. The members of the panel represented both the information perspective and the education and cultural perspective, with academics and members of advisory bodies. The panel consisted of Peter Krogh and Walter R. Roberts of Georgetown University; W. Phillips Davison of Columbia University; Leo Cherne, Thomas Curtis, David Derge, Harry Flemming, Lawrence U. Goldberg, Rita Hanser, Hobart Lewis, and William French Smith, members of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs; James Michener, J. Leonard Reinsch, John Shaheen and George Gallup, members of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information; Andrew Berding of the USIA and Kenneth Thompson of the International Council for Educational Development. Edmund A. Gullion of Tufts University was unable to participate, due to other commitments, though his dissenting remarks are included in the panel's final report. Leonard Marks participated in discussions but abstained from the final report and William C. Turner resigned from the panel when he was appointed as US ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The panel's findings, known as the Stanton Report, emphasized the long-term nature of exchanges and recommended that they be conducted with long-term objectives rather than short-term foreign policy goals in mind. A short-term strategy, for example, might be the

desire to gain favour with promising pro-Western political leaders in strategically-selected countries, while a long-term strategy would be to build relationships with people in non-aligned countries, on a basis of mutuality and respect, in the hope that they might choose to align themselves with the United States in the future. Indeed, the concepts of friendship and mutual understanding appear frequently throughout the Stanton Report. The report contended that these “programs, both cultural and educational, support the ultimate goals of U.S. policy by promoting the exposure of Americans and people of other nationalities and cultures to each other. Their objectives are thus to build mutual understanding in areas most important to preserving friendly and peaceful U.S. relations worldwide and to help develop a reservoir of people who can exchange ideas easily, can identify common objectives, and can work together in achieving these objectives. Their operations should, therefore, be directed with careful attention to long range policy interests. Close connection with the day-to-day policy process is not required.” (Stanton, 1975, p. 6). Neither the USIA nor the State Department, home to the day-to-day policy-making process, were judged to be an appropriate site for the programme.

The panel proposed the creation of a new entity, combining overseas information and exchange-of-persons activities in an autonomous position under the State Department, rather than the existing state of separation between USIA and the State Department. Uniting the two activities was a controversial step, defying Senator Fulbright’s express wishes to keep exchanges away from the influence of America’s overseas information activities. The commission arrived at this decision, however, because they felt that the fear of USIA influence in exchanges was unfounded. In practice, exchanges were already potentially politicised in their current home at the State Department. Exchange-of-persons programmes were administered overseas by officials who answered to both the State Department and the USIA. In Washington, the Fulbright Program operated out of the State Department, but in the field, it became the responsibility of the Cultural Affairs Officer (CAO) of each U.S.

Embassy. The CAO answered to both State and USIA, as their responsibilities also included information activities that were under the remit of USIA.

This state of affairs undermined the debate between the information perspective and the educational-cultural perspective. The report notes this in its argument for their consolidation into a single entity. “The separation never made much sense, since both programs were executed in the field by the same agency, and educational and cultural exchange remained subject to political currents flowing through the Department of State.” (ibid., p. 15). The proposal to combine information activities with educational and cultural affairs would have streamlined the CAO role. The officer in the field would have received instructions from a single entity in Washington. Such changes would have, according to the report, increased efficiency and decreased instances of miscommunication.

The Information and Cultural Affairs Agency proposed in the Stanton Report was to be autonomous, located under the State Department but operating with its own budget and administration (ibid.). The panel acknowledged the challenges inherent in striking the right balance between maintaining information & cultural affairs’ relevance to the national interest and protecting these activities from undue, short-term political influence. “It must be close enough to policy makers to respond to long-range policy needs and the national interest without being so close that it is subject to pressures of diplomatic crises or political expediency. The distinction drawn here is admittedly a fine one, failure to draw it, however, leaves only the alternatives of a program that is irrelevant to the national interest in foreign policy and unworthy of government support, or one consisting of a blatant propaganda and politicized culture which has almost no chance of effectiveness.” (ibid., p. 17). The panel’s proposed Information and Cultural Affairs Agency was an attempt to find the right balance between these two extremes. In order to remain both relevant and effective, exchanges must not be too far removed from, nor too closely tied to, the foreign policy apparatus.

The story of the Stanton panel, however, had a disappointing ending for its members, as their recommendations failed to be fully implemented. Their recommendation to coordinate activities by bringing information and educational-cultural affairs together in the same bureaucratic department was followed, but not under the terms that the Stanton panel had suggested. While the panel had advised moving information activities into the State Department, the reorganisation moved educational and cultural activities into the USIA. As panel member Walter R. Roberts described the Stanton Report's reception, "...intellectually and philosophically it made a lot of sense. It just organizationally didn't catch on, and again those of us who would like to make the changes will have to overcome the organizational problem rather than the philosophical problem." (Roberts in Thompson, 1987, p. 49). Officials in Washington were concerned with the day-to-day practicalities of conducting information and educational-cultural activities. Organizational feasibility was seen as a more pressing matter than the intellectual and philosophical arguments for the proposed plan.

The 1976 election of President Jimmy Carter brought with it a new approach towards information activities and educational and cultural affairs. Carter and his administration emphasised mutuality in their 'two-way mandate,' believing that the U.S. had as much to gain from other nations as they had to gain from the U.S. (Cull, 2008a, p. 361). This was a departure from the one-way communication practice of the information approach, which included broadcasting activities such as Voice of America, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, as well as other one-way mass media tools. It reflected President Carter's personal approach towards international affairs, which were formed in part by his own experiences on a cultural exchange to Latin America while serving as Governor of the state of Georgia (ibid.). As an alumnus of exchange, President Carter felt that "it is in our national interest to encourage sharing of ideas and cultural activities among the people of the United States and the peoples of other nations." (Tuch, 1990, p. 32). Believing strongly in the possibilities of

educational exchange and public diplomacy, President Carter took an interest in restructuring the country's activities in that area.

Under the Carter administration, the USIA was re-branded as the United States International Communication Agency (USICA or ICA). Information was replaced by communication, a move which emphasises the concept of two-way engagement across borders rather than a unidirectional flow of propaganda. Instead of telling the world 'America's story,' the new agency's mission was "to tell the world about our society and policies in particular our commitment to cultural diversity and individual liberty. To tell ourselves about the world, so as to enrich our own culture as well as give us the understanding to deal effectively with problems among nations." (Carter, 1977). The language of the new mission statement, known as the 'two-way mandate', is very much in line with the rhetoric that Senator Fulbright used when speaking about his exchange programme. Fulbright often linked cultural understanding to conflict resolution in the same way (Fulbright, 1951; 1976).

Restructuring America's information, educational and cultural affairs was a complex task and many changes were made in the process of moving the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs from its home at the State Department to the newly rebranded USICA. It was a large undertaking, involving thousands of staff members and posts around the world. According to Richard Arndt, some feared that the USIA's propagandists would overpower their new colleagues from educational and cultural affairs. "A small bureau of the Department of State, employing approximately 270, was to be swallowed by an agency of 5,000, with admonitions to the shark to behave." (Arndt in Thompson, 1987, p. 94). This discrepancy in size between the two put the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs at a disadvantage. While other various program cuts and consolidations took place, however, the Fulbright Program was less affected by the move to USICA. Arndt asserts that the Fulbright Program was viewed as off-limits. "Only the Office of Academic Programs stood roughly as

it was, suggesting that the Fulbright Program's sacrosanctity still exerted a protective screen." (ibid., p. 96). Given the fact that Senator Fulbright had left Congress in 1975, I would argue that this sacrosanctity came in part from the programme's domestic constituency of alumni, educators and other supporters, rather than from its association with its founder.

Senator Fulbright lamented the move of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Although he had retired by the time the reorganisation took place, in his memoir account Fulbright seemed offended that the exchange programme had been moved without his prior knowledge. "Without consulting me, or giving me advance notice, he transferred the administration of the program from the State Department to the U.S. Information Agency. I couldn't stop it and I still feel it was a great mistake. Carter, I think, didn't know anything about it; he only had some theoretical idea of simplifying the bureaucracy. It wasn't that he had anything against the program." (Fulbright 1989, p. 65). Senator Fulbright's antipathy towards the U. S. Information Agency, which he considered to be a propaganda agency, made him disregard the USICA entirely. The educational exchange programme did not suffer from the move, however, as Senator Fulbright feared it would.

During the years of the ICA (1978-1981), exchanges and cultural activities were actively promoted and expanded with the establishment of several new bilateral agreements. The ICA made significant progress in Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, China and the Middle East during the late 1970s (Cull, 2008a). Despite being heavily outnumbered by former USIA staff, employees of the former Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs managed to achieve a great deal in their new home at ICA. The Hubert H. Humphrey Program was launched to bring mid-level public sector professionals to the United States for one year of study. Its stated aim was to support "career development of the next leadership generation in the developing nations." (BFS, 1979, p. 7). A new private sector agreement was created with Spain's Bank of Bilbao to sponsor forty new Fulbright grants, resulting in the first privately-funded scholarship program in post-Franco Spain (ibid., p. 3). In addition to these

achievements, Fulbright Student grants also rose significantly over the period. The number of grants increased by nearly one-third between 1978 and 1980, from 4,081 to 5,248 (*BFS, 1978; BFS, 1980*).

The Fulbright Program fared well under the ICA because the respective missions of the Fulbright exchanges and the new agency were both centred upon the concept of mutual understanding. President Carter's 'second mandate' emphasised the importance of listening, a key concept that had been absent from the USIA's mission of 'Telling America's Story to the World.' Exchange diplomacy also values listening, through its emphasis on mutual understanding and culture learning. Engagement between people from different nations, as explained by Allport's contact hypothesis, requires listening by both parties. The ICA had the potential to be an ideal bureaucratic home for exchange diplomacy activities like the Fulbright Program.

The ICA was short-lived, however. Just as President Carter had changed the USIA to reflect his worldview, his successor Ronald Reagan was quick to make his mark on the country's public diplomacy activities. Under the Reagan administration, the ICA's name and mission soon reverted back to its previous state as the USIA. The motto 'Telling America's Story to the World' was restored and the agency now had a strongly anti-Communist agenda. President Reagan appointed his friend Charles Z. Wick as USIA director, and Wick's broadcasting background meant that information activities dominated the administration's vision of U.S. public diplomacy. Wick secured increased funding for the agency, but the funds were channelled towards Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the newly founded Radio Martí, a broadcasting service directed towards Cuban audience (Arndt, 2005). Despite the renewed emphasis on information activities at the US Information Agency, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs was not moved back to the State Department. The Fulbright Program remained in the USIA for another eighteen years, until the agency was closed and reintegrated into the State Department in 1999.

The End of the USIA

After the end of the Cold War, the American public diplomacy community struggled to remain relevant in the eyes of policy-makers. The task of “Telling America’s Story to the World” no longer seemed to be necessary after the end of the ideological struggle. Many of the themes and symbols used in American public diplomacy were now irrelevant. What would happen to the USIA without the Berlin Wall, the Iron Curtain and the Soviet Union? How would its mission and its activities change, now that they had lost the context of the Cold War?

Amongst the educational and cultural exchange community, the end of the Cold War was not seen to diminish the importance of the Fulbright Program. Hoyt Purvis, who was appointed to the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board by President Clinton in 1993, rejected the idea that the programme had lost its relevance. “Well, to me, there was never any question—there was ample rationale. That is, the basic goals of mutual understanding, of giving people an opportunity to develop a perspective from another country, to learn to understand and appreciate other cultures...those goals didn’t diminish...in some ways they became even more important than ever because we were in a situation where we weren’t sort of limited by the Cold War.” (Appendix A, p. 269). The original goals of the Fulbright Program remained relevant in the post-Cold War era, and exchange administrators saw new possibilities for engagement with newly independent states.

American public diplomacy as a whole, however, was struggling to make the case for itself in Congress in the new environment. Historian Nicholas Cull points out how the success of U.S. public diplomacy also contributed, ironically, to its demise. “Success in the Cold War and in broadcasting to China lifted the self-confidence of the always independently minded VOA to an all-time high, while the same victory prompted Congress to search for the peace dividend by pressing hard on the budget.” (Cull, 2010, p. 65). The ‘peace dividend’ came in the form of discontinuing any programmes that were no longer deemed important in

the post-Cold War world. Cutting back public diplomacy activities was seen as an easy way to make savings.

Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina was among those most determined to secure the peace dividend. A fiscally conservative Republican, Senator Helms served as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where he argued for a reform of America's foreign affairs structure. Observers in the media noted that he was an unlikely member of the committee, as his background does not suggest an interest in foreign relations. As a piece in *Foreign Policy* described the Senator, "Helms has seemed miscast as a leading figure in international affairs. By his own admission, he doesn't like to travel abroad, and he has little faith in international institutions. He is openly disdainful of an American diplomatic community that he sees as dominated by the Eastern Establishment." (Kitfield, 1997, p. 1886). This disdain extended to the bureaucratic structure of foreign affairs in Washington. Senator Helms felt that there was too much wasteful spending, caused by an overlap of duties across the various independent agencies. He sponsored the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1997, which proposed consolidating the activities of USIA, US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) into the State Department. During a debate on the bill, he laid out to his colleagues that "the responsibilities of just one of these agencies is [sic] duplicated by about 42 other entities in the Federal Government." (Helms, 1998, p. 3563). Consolidating foreign affairs would eliminate the problem of duplication by placing all such responsibilities under the remit of the State Department.

The reform bill also contained provisions for repayment of American debts to the United Nations, a feature that made Secretary of State Madeleine Albright support the reforms in her hopes to gain favour with the UN. Helms felt that the UN had become a "bureaucratic nightmare," and made UN reform the condition for America's repayment of funds owed to the UN (ibid.). The repayment and its conditions represented compromise

between the Republicans and Democrats that seemed promising for the bill's success. When the bill was sent to the Republican-controlled House of Representatives, however, a small conservative faction attached a controversial amendment. They added a measure which prevented American foreign aid funds from being used to lobby foreign governments on the issue of abortion. The bill's Democratic co-sponsor Senator Joe Biden lamented that the bill had been derailed for the sake of this unrelated and extremely divisive issue. Senator Patrick Leahy's comments summarised the Democratic position succinctly: "This bill is about how many Assistant Secretaries of State there will be, the bureaus, how they are set up, and so on. It is not about running Planned Parenthood. The House saw things differently. Unfortunately, a minority in the House saw yet another opportunity to hold hostage important foreign policy legislation, and they did, like funding for the United Nations and the reorganization of the State Department." (ibid., p. 3570). The bill had become a political football, passed between the Republicans in the House and the Democratic Clinton administration. "The USIA merger with [the Department of] State was not about policy but politics," and the future of American public diplomacy activities was almost an afterthought (Snow, 2010, p. 63).

When the USIA was dismantled by the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998, the bureaucratic home of the Fulbright Program once again had to be renegotiated. Prior to the reorganisation, the USIA included two distinct offices for information and educational-cultural affairs. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs managed the Fulbright Program and other exchanges, while the Information Bureau handled media and information activities. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright initially planned to merge the two divisions into a single entity, to be known as the Bureau of Information Programs and International Exchanges. Academics and exchange advocates, such as the Association of International Educators and the Alliance for International Educational and Cultural Exchange, lobbied Congress to reject this proposed merger. Following consultation with these groups and their allies in Congress, Secretary Albright modified the plan to reflect their

views. After the move to the State Department, exchanges remained in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, while information activities were placed in a dedicated Office of International Information Programs.

The initial plan to combine the two divisions into the Bureau of Information Programs and International Exchanges had been motivated by a desire to make savings by streamlining public diplomacy activities that were seen as less vital in the post-Cold War environment. The new arrangement agreed upon after consultation was still intended to make savings, but only through “consolidating personnel and payroll activities and other back-room functions.” (Desruisseaux, 1999). Funding for the exchanges themselves was not diminished by the move, as some had feared. Over the three year span before and after the reorganisation, funding for the Fulbright Program rose from \$202.2 million to \$219.8 million (*FSB, 1997; FSB, 2000*). Fulbright grants in the student category also rose substantially, from 2,266 in the 1997-98 academic year to 3,265 in the 2000-01 academic year (*ibid.*). On the whole, the move from USIA back to the State Department had positive effects for the Fulbright Program.

In his reflections on the reorganisation, former Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board chairman Hoyt Purvis emphasised the importance of President Clinton’s personal support of the Fulbright Program. “I think that if Clinton hadn’t been President, that the program might have run on really hard times because of the pressure that was there to eliminate programs and cut back spending, etc. I’m not suggesting the program was going to be done away with but at the same time, it was a time of real pressure.” (Appendix A, p. 272). President Clinton’s background as Senator Fulbright’s mentee gave him a unique affection for the programme. Other Presidents may not have been so attentive to the Board’s concerns for the welfare of the Fulbright Program.

The exchange community and Fulbright Program administrators were generally pleased with the reorganisation’s outcome, and the lobbying effort demonstrated broad

support for exchanges, both in academia and in Congress. In an interview for the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, former USIA Educational and Cultural Affairs associate director William B. Bader observed, in the restructuring effort, “it is not the address of the organization that matters, it is the attitude of the landlord.” (Desruisseaux, 1999). The new landlords at the Department of State had a high regard for international educational exchange. The 1999 restructuring did not have the negative impact that some in the exchange community had feared, at least in terms of the Fulbright Program’s activities. Public diplomacy in general, however, did suffer during this period. “It is difficult to overestimate what was lost with the merger of the USIA into State. Agency hands with decades of field experience took early retirement, young people with an eye to career prospects avoided public diplomacy work; budgets withered and skills grew rusty.” (Cull, 2008a, p. 484).

The Board of Foreign Scholarships

The composition of the Board of Foreign Scholarships has changed a great deal since its first appointments in 1947. This section will examine how it has changed, and what these appointments can tell us about the attitude of each President towards exchange diplomacy. Figure 5.1 depicts the composition of the Board, according to the institutional affiliations of each member and organised by the President who appointed each member. The professional affiliation and hometown of each appointee are typically listed in Board annual reports, White House press releases and news articles about the appointments. I have collected these details to create a table of all Board members from 1947 to 2013 (*Appendix B*), and used this data to inform the present analysis. Professional affiliations of Board members have been organised into five categories: Academic, Government, Law, Business, and Other.

Academic (1): The category to which most Board members belong includes universities, colleges and other educational institutions. It does not include government administrative posts in the field of education, such as a board of supervisors or a superintendent, as these are listed under the ‘government’ category. It also does not include education policy research

organisations, non-profit educational foundations or education consultants, as these are included under the ‘business’ category.

Government (2): This category includes government affiliations, such as former White House officials and advisors, USIA officials, Governors and Secretaries. It also includes the post of US Commissioner for Education and Veterans Administration representatives, who were originally required to serve on the Board.

Law (3): Many of those in the ‘law’ category are attorneys who are somehow politically affiliated with the President or his party. I have chosen to refer to them by their listed affiliation rather than link them to the government on the basis of my own judgment, however.

Business (4): The business category includes a number of CEOs and Presidents of publicly and privately owned businesses, as well as consultants, policy think tanks, and non-profit organisations. It also includes one former US Ambassador to the World Trade Organisation who was also a businesswoman.

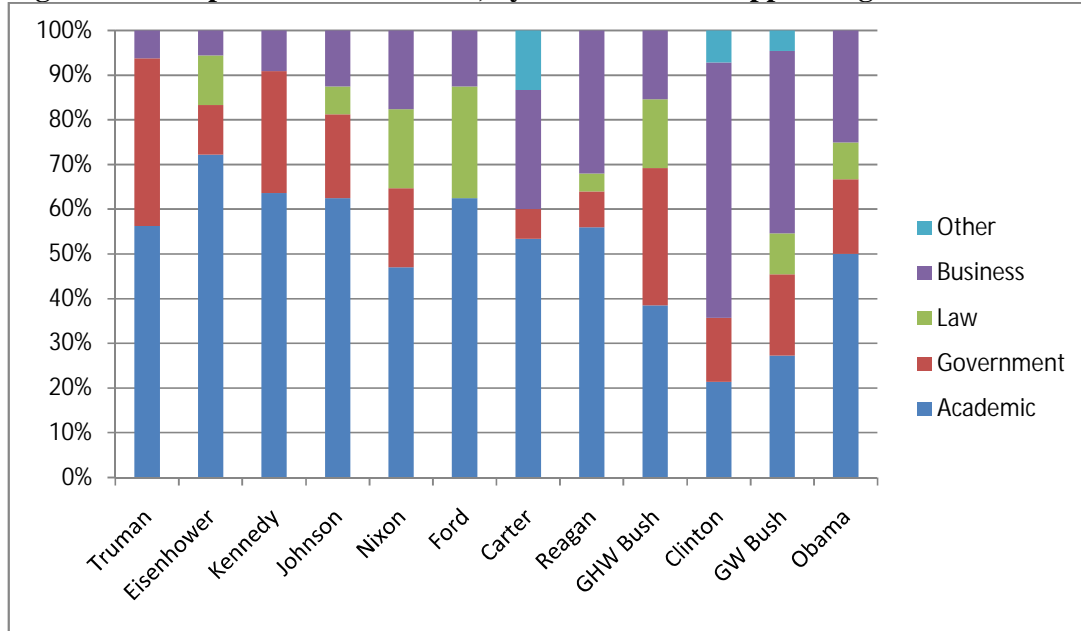
Other (5): Amongst the 175 Board members analysed, just four did not have affiliations that fit into the above categories. President Carter was the first to appoint anyone outside of the categories, and he appointed two of them: Lia Triff Belli and Harrison E. Salisbury. In the White House press release of her appointment, no occupation is given for Belli; rather, she is described as “active in civic and community affairs” (White House, 1980). Harrison E. Salisbury, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, was a very interesting choice. He is known for reporting from behind the Iron Curtain during the Cold War, as the *New York Times* Moscow correspondent. He was also the first American journalist to cover the Vietnam War from Hanoi, North Vietnam, and happened to be filming a documentary in Beijing during the Tiananmen Square protest (Pace, 1993).

President Clinton’s appointment of Harriet Mayor Fulbright is also difficult to categorise. On the one hand, she does have an institutional affiliation. She is listed as the

President of the Center for Arts in Basic Curriculum, a policy organisation that promotes arts education in Washington, D.C. On the other hand, she was married to Senator J. William Fulbright and appointed to the Board by his protégé. I would argue that it is more likely that she was appointed because of her personal affiliation, rather than her professional one. She was an excellent choice, however, as she was a former head of the Fulbright Association and had frequently travelled with, or on behalf of, her husband to Fulbright commission anniversaries and other events.

The most curious unaffiliated board member, perhaps, is Jan O'Neill. When she was appointed to the Board by President George W. Bush, there was no affiliation of any kind listed. She appears in press releases and the annual report as "Mrs. Jan O'Neill, Midland, TX" (White House, 2001; FSB, 2004, p. 6). A biography of George W. Bush explains her connection to the President: in 1977, Jan and Joe O'Neill acted as matchmakers for their friends George W. Bush and Laura Welch (Minutaglio, 2001). She was a childhood friend of his future wife. Another of Bush's appointments, Anita McBride, also has a connection to the First Lady, as McBride was formerly Mrs. Bush's Chief of Staff.

Some members of the board have multiple affiliations, and could potentially fit into multiple categories. Tom Healy, for example, is a poet and writer who taught at New York University at the time of his appointment in 2011. During the Clinton administration, he served as an advisor on HIV/AIDS issues. His affiliations could place him with academia or the government, but in such cases I have chosen to categorise members according to their affiliation at the time of appointment. On the other hand, in the cases of Shirley Moore Green and Thomas T. Lyons, who were retired at the time of appointment to the board, I have chosen to use their listed prior affiliation.

Figure 5.1 Composition of the Board, by Affiliation and Appointing President

(Sources: Annual Reports, White House Press Releases)

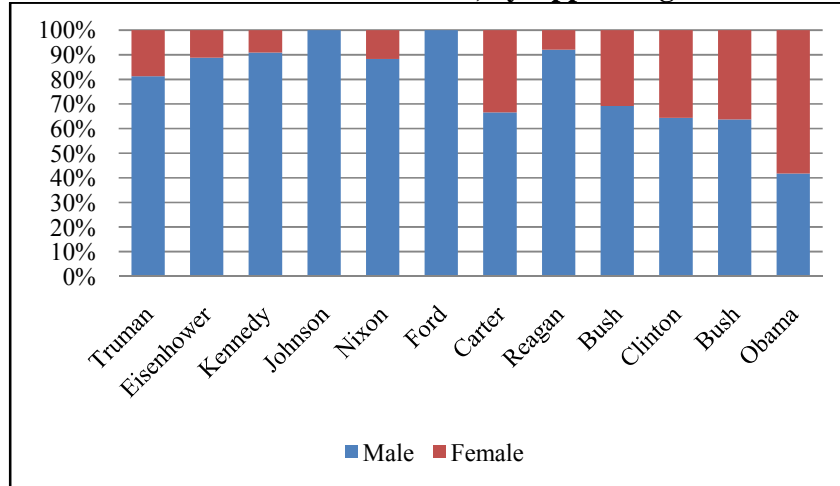
The terms of the original 1946 Fulbright Act established general guidelines for its membership. The ten members of the Board would be appointed by the President and would be drawn from a variety of fields to represent academia, educational administration, and veterans interests (*Public Law 79-584*). The first Board members, appointed by President Truman on 17 July 1947, represented each of these fields (*BFS, 1948*). Six of the ten members were professors or University presidents, and three were affiliated with educational administration: the director of the Institute for International Education, the New York State Commissioner of Education, and the U.S. Commissioner of Education. General Omar N. Bradley, head of the Veterans' Administration and later five-star General, represented veterans' interests on the Board.

During the Eisenhower administration, Board appointments continued to follow the guidelines of the Fulbright Act legislation, with representation from the Veterans' Administration and the U.S. Commissioner of Education. The only departure from the original formula is Eisenhower's appointment of Philip Willkie, an attorney and politician from Indiana, and the son of the 1940 Republican Presidential candidate Wendell Willkie. It is also worth noting that Eisenhower appointed the first African-Americans to the Board,

President of Lincoln University Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs in 1954 and President of Southern University Dr. Felton G. Clark in 1956. The appointments of Presidents of historically black institutions are quite progressive for this era, considering that it was only in 1954 that *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruled that segregation was unconstitutional. In U.S. politics, the Democratic Party is traditionally associated with minority issues, so it is interesting to note that Eisenhower, a Republican, appointed African-Americans and women to the Board.

The Kennedy administration drew its members primarily from academia and educational administration. Amongst Kennedy's appointees were two from the private sector of educational activities: Francis X. Sutton, executive associate of the Ford Foundation and John M. Stalnaker, president of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. President Kennedy also appointed John Hope Franklin, professor of American History at the University of Chicago, a prominent figure in African-American history.

President Johnson was the first President to appoint former members of his own staff to the Board. Former advisers Jack Valenti and Walt Rostow and former deputy press secretary Wyatt Thomas Johnson Jr. were among the President's appointments. He was also the first to appoint a member of the business community, with his appointment of Edward A. Booher, president of McGraw-Hill publishing. President Johnson's long career in the U.S. Senate gave him many connections to Washington insiders, and a reputation for using his long-standing friendships to get bills through the legislative process (Woods, 1998). It is therefore somewhat surprising that Johnson's appointees did not include more Washington insiders, as well as more minorities and women. Johnson and Ford are the only Presidents to not appoint any female members to the Board (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Male versus Female Board Members, by Appointing President

(Sources: Annual Reports, White House Press Releases)

President Nixon's appointments represent a marked departure from the original format. Nixon did not include a representative from the Veterans' Administration. The programme's original inclusion of veterans' interests was made with Second World War veterans in mind, not the men then returning from the conflict in Vietnam. Nixon appointed three attorneys to the Board, John H. Carley and Bernard Katzen of New York, NY; and Donald S. Lowitz of Chicago, IL. Two of Nixon's appointments were drawn from policy think-tanks: William Kintner, Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, and J. Archie Hargraves, President of the Institute for International Development. Nixon also appointed his former USAID director Lane Dwinell, bringing an international development perspective to the Board. One of Nixon's academic appointments, John E. Dolibois, was an administrator at Miami University in charge of alumni relations. In his memoirs, he writes of his initial proposal to create a Fulbright Alumni Association. "Its members would become a powerful voice in lobbying Congress. Organized on a geographical basis, they could interview candidates for grants, and promote educational and cultural exchange. The possibilities were endless." (Dolibois, 1989, p. 226).

President Gerald Ford appointed only eight members to the Board, fewer than any other president. During Ford's brief presidency, many of the Board of Foreign Scholarships members were reappointments carried over from the Nixon years. Ford's appointees were

primarily drawn from academia, as five out of eight were professors and deans at universities. Following the example set by Nixon, two appointees were affiliated with think-tanks and the remaining Board member was an attorney.

The Carter administration's reorganisation of public diplomacy activities is reflected in his Board appointments. The emphasis on communication can be seen in his three appointments drawn from the media: *The Anniston Star* newspaper publisher H. Brandt Ayers, the president of *Firehouse* magazine and novelist Bartle Bull, and Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Harrison Salisbury. Bull also had long-standing connections to the Democratic party, working on Robert F. Kennedy's presidential campaign in 1968. Carter's appointments also included the first African-American woman, Adelaide Cromwell Gulliver of Boston University, and the first Hispanic member of the Board, Mario Anglada, executive director of Aspira, a non-profit organisation that promotes education and leadership development for Latino youth.

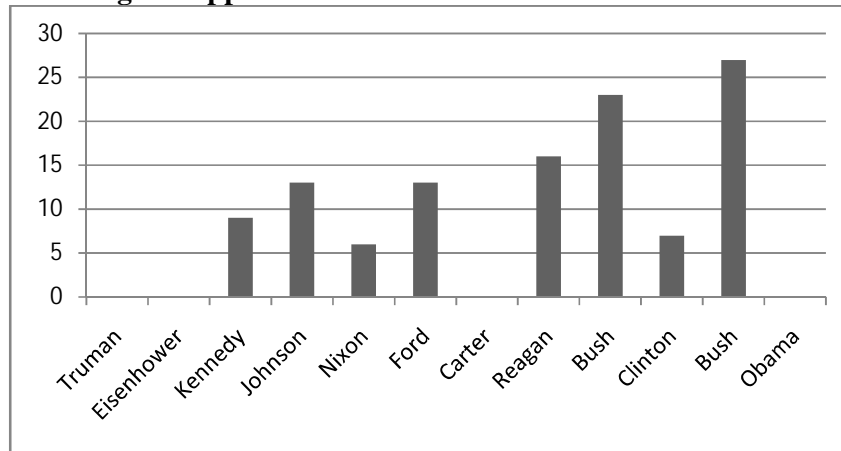
President Ronald Reagan drew two of his Board members, Jeffrey B. Gayner and Philip N. Marcus, from the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think-tank. Think-tank affiliations suggest a blend of partisanship and academic credentials, as many members are former or retired academics. Reagan appointed more members from the business world than any of his predecessors, but he also appointed more academics than any of his successors. Reagan's appointments represent a balance of affiliations, though in terms of demographics they are primarily white and male.

President George H. W. Bush drew on a variety of sources for his appointments, including five academics and two from think-tanks. Like President Johnson, Bush appointed two of his White House staff, Katherine Super and Rose Zamaria. Just before leaving office in 1993, Bush appointed Mark N. Blitz, former associate director for educational and cultural affairs at USIA, to the Board. It is also worth noting that the elder Bush did not appoint any members from the business community to the Board. The Republican Party and the Bush

family are often associated with business, so it is interesting that Bush did not draw on these relationships for Board appointments.

As Bill Clinton was mentored by Senator Fulbright, it is interesting to note that he was the only President to appoint Board members who were in some way connected with the programme's founder. He appointed the Senator's wife, Harriet Mayor Fulbright, as well as two former staff members, Fulbright's chief of staff Lee Williams and his press secretary and special assistant Hoyt Purvis. His other appointments, however, were primarily from the world of business. Clinton appointed eight businesspeople, more than any other President, and only three academics, fewer than any other President (Figure 5.1). Clinton's choices reflect his personal background and the nature of the economically driven U.S. foreign policy agenda of the 1990s. In the post-Cold War environment, international trade became the most important issue on America's foreign policy agenda, and Clinton's appointments from the business world reflect this state of affairs.

George W. Bush's appointments to the Board reflect his background and personal life perhaps more than any other President. He appointed his former roommate at Yale, Robert D. McCallum Jr., as well as the First Lady's former chief of staff Anita McBride. He appointed six Texans, including his father's former chief of staff Jean Becker and the aforementioned Jan O'Neill, a family friend. Figure 5.3 shows that a higher percentage of George W. Bush's appointees were from his home state than any other President. Truman, Eisenhower and Carter did not appoint anyone from their home states and, to date, Barack Obama has not appointed anyone from either Hawaii or Illinois.

Figure 5.3 Percentage of Appointees from the President's Home State

(Sources: Annual Reports, White House Press Releases)

President Barack Obama appointed the first former Fulbright grantees to the Board: Mark Brzezinski (Poland, 1991), Christie Gilson (China, 2006) and Gabrielle Giffords (Mexico, 1993). With a balance of seven women to five men, he is the first and only president to appoint more women than men to the Board. He also appointed the first openly gay member of the Board, author and New York University professor Tom Healy. As Chairman of the Board, Healy writes about the Fulbright Program for online news aggregator and blog site, *The Huffington Post* (Healy, 2013). He has raised the profile of the position of Board chair in his advocacy for exchanges and his work offers a thought-provoking consideration of soft power and its applications.

Conclusion

Over sixty-five years after the Fulbright Program's establishment, there is still some disagreement over the true purpose of the programme and its appropriate home in Washington bureaucracy. The record of administrative changes and reorganisations can tell us a great deal about how the purpose of the Fulbright Program has been perceived, and how the role of exchange diplomacy has been conceptualised. Until 1978, the programme was kept at the State Department because Senator Fulbright and other exchange diplomacy advocates were concerned about the programme's reception abroad. If the programme were

to be directed by a propaganda agency like the USIA, they feared, this would diminish its credibility and effectiveness. Observers like Richard Arndt have argued that America's cultural diplomacy suffered greatly after the integration of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Information Agency (Arndt, 2005; Arndt in Thompson, 1987). However, for the Fulbright Program at least, the move did not have the negative impacts that Senator Fulbright had feared. This suggests that the exchange programme was remarkably adaptable and resilient.

The Board has alternately been composed of academics and politicians, business people and lawyers, friends of the President and alumni of the exchange programme. The Board simultaneously protected the Fulbright Program from political influence and represented the most direct means for the President to influence the direction of programme. The appointment of Board members with think-tank affiliations is a particularly interesting phenomenon. Think-tanks offer a means of legitimising partisan appointments, as members of think-tanks are often former or current academics. As members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, those drawn from partisan think-tanks have both political affiliations and academic credentials. The fact that these partisan appointments did not result in the politicisation of the programme suggests that the multiple levels of insulation did prevent the programme from being misused for political purposes. Senator Fulbright's plan included measures such as binational administration and private partnerships, and they managed to protect his exchange programme. According to his biographer, Senator Fulbright "believed that the Board ought to be mainly scholars and veterans of the exchange program. But he didn't see any way around presidential appointment. And his attitude was, the program's a hell of a lot stronger than they are. I mean, it's gonna survive." (Appendix A, p. 266).

Chapter 6

The Fulbright Grantee Experience

Introduction

The nature of the Fulbright grantee experience is central to questions of the programme's purpose, impacts, and reputation. Fulbright grantees are 'the human element' discussed in exchange diplomacy literature (Scott-Smith, 2009). The students, researchers, lecturers and other participants determine the programme's success. As a USICA evaluative study asserted, "The impact and value of exchanges ultimately rest with the promotion of the exchanges themselves and the resulting benefits that are derived in mutual understanding between the two countries." (Staats, 1979, p. 48). Grantees are seen as the agents who promote mutual understanding in their daily interactions abroad with hosts and locals. They are often thought to act as 'citizen diplomats' or 'unofficial ambassadors' during their academic travels. As described in the theoretical framework of this study, they are thought to share their culture with others abroad, and then to pass this knowledge on to their communities when they return home. Long after the end of the grant period, it is assumed, they will continue to contribute to the Fulbright Program's activities.

Alumni often go on to serve the programme as fundraisers, lobbyists, volunteers and selection panellists. Senator Fulbright believed that participation did not end with the grant period. Rather, according to his conceptualisation of the program, Fulbrighters would use their experiences to benefit society for the rest of their lives. He envisioned his programme's alumni "scattered throughout the world, acting as knowledgeable interpreters of their own and others' societies; as persons equipped and willing to deal with conflict or conflict-producing situations on the basis of an informed determination to solve them peacefully, and as opinion leaders communicating their appreciation of the societies which they visited to others in their own society." (Fulbright, 1976, p. 3).

Due to the centrality of the individual participant, evaluative studies of the Fulbright Program have tended to focus on the grantee experience. The personal and professional impacts of the Fulbright experience are well documented in the literature (Mendelsohn and Orenstein, 1955; Dudden and Dynes, 1987; Arndt and Rubin, 1993). Most accounts, however, are descriptive rather than analytical. Returned participants frequently attest that the experience was life-changing, and researchers rarely ask further questions to discern the nature of these changes. In what way was it life-changing? Did it influence your career trajectory or shape your political views? These would both be significant and life-changing outcomes, but with very different implications for the practice of exchange diplomacy. Influencing a foreign grantee's political views in a pro-US direction, for example, would fulfil the assumptions of exchange diplomacy much more than a grantee's decision to pursue a new line of research would.

In the State Department's official evaluations of educational exchange programmes, the satisfaction of returned grantees is often used as proof of effectiveness (SRI, 2005a). A high satisfaction rate does little to explain how or whether the programme is successful in meeting its objectives. Grantees might reasonably be expected to be satisfied, as the grateful recipients of travel grants, research costs and living expenses. Their gratitude tells us nothing about the programme's foreign policy impacts, however, or its ability to foster international goodwill. Effectiveness ought to be measured in terms of the programme's stated goals, the increase of mutual understanding between people of the United States and the people of other nations.

This chapter seeks to examine the role of the Fulbright grantee's experience in the context of American public diplomacy activities. It considers the third research question: how does the grantee experience fulfil public diplomacy objectives? The first section examines who the grantees are, where they come from and travel to, and what they do during the sojourn. These basic demographics provide a foundation for the second, more analytical

section of this chapter, in which the impacts of the programme are discussed. Programme evaluations, which rely on the grantee experience to demonstrate effectiveness, will be reviewed. The long-term impacts of the Fulbright experience will be discussed in relation to the activities of the Fulbright Association, the programme's alumni organisation. Finally, the elite nature of the programme's alumni will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework. Elite Fulbright alumni are an example of the opinion leader concept in practice, with all of the expectations that this implies. The chapter closes with a brief summary of the differences between the experiences of Fulbright grantees and those of other international students. Fulbrighters receive both financial and practical support from programme administrators, and often have access to resources that others may not have. By comparing and contrasting them with other academic sojourners, we can better understand the Fulbright experience and its impacts.

The Task of Selecting Fulbrighters

During the first six decades of the Fulbright Program, more than 334,000 individuals were exchanged between the United States and 155 other countries (FSB, 2009). Of course, in addition to this figure, many others have applied to take part in the programme. What distinguishes successful applicants from those who are not selected? How are Fulbright grantees chosen? Competitive scholarship selection processes have often been overlooked in the literature (Ilchman, Ilchman and Tolar, 2004). The awards are often simply described as merit-based, with little elaboration. The selection process is often taken for granted by those who assess the programmes, acting as an invisible preface to the grantee experience. Examining the process, however, can tell us a great deal about the purposes and factors that Fulbright administrators consider as they choose the next generation of grantees.

The selection process begins in marketing and recruitment, as one must first be aware of the award in order to apply. Early publicity consisted of programme competition announcements, sent across the US and abroad to "...faculty Fulbright Advisers, screening

committee members, editors of professional journals, officers of professional associations, libraries, medical schools, etc.” (*Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 1957*).

The awards were not publicised to a mass audience but limited to ‘those in the know.’

Information about grant opportunities was sent to carefully targeted stakeholders, people and institutions that would be in a position to advise potential applicants.

The Fulbright Program has relied largely on word-of-mouth advertising. When U.S. Fulbright student participants were asked how they had learned about the programme, 49% identified an academic advisor or other professor and 35% responded ‘word of mouth.’ (SRI, 2005a, p. 34). Prospective grantees are often advised to apply for a grant by a friend, a relative, or an instructor or colleague at their home institution. In some countries, Fulbright Commission representatives host information sessions at universities. These sessions are meant to encourage students to consider the Fulbright Program, as well as other educational opportunities in the United States. Fulbright binational commissions often act in this advisory capacity, providing information about other federal programmes, as well as private-sector grants and scholarships. In countries which have no binational commission, the publicity of Fulbright and other opportunities are part of the local U.S. Embassy’s administrative responsibilities. Fulbright alumni play an important role in recruitment, advising students and colleagues and sharing their experiences at public talks or through publications.

Although the Fulbright Program has depended upon word-of-mouth marketing for much of its history, that may be changing. In recent years there has been an effort to use social media to raise awareness of the programme. Facebook pages and Twitter accounts for the Fulbright Program and individual country programmes are active recruitment tools. They share links to the online application, post information about eligibility requirements and submission deadlines, and announce new awards. They also give users a forum in which to ask questions about the application process or share stories about their experiences abroad (Fulbright Program, 2014a). Similarly, the Fulbright Program’s YouTube channel hosts over

100 videos, primarily consisting of interviews with grantees speaking about their experiences (Fulbright Program, 2014b). The use of social media by the Fulbright Program has important implications for its selection process, broadening its applicant pool. In the past, personal recommendations were the primary route of advertising. This likely skewed selection towards the elite, as those attending or working in elite institutions would be most likely to come into contact with the aforementioned stakeholders who received competition announcements. Today, social media enables the Fulbright Program to engage, potentially, with a wider section of the public in its recruitment.

Selection criteria are determined by the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the administrative body of the Fulbright Program which ultimately awards the grants. In practical terms, however, the task of selecting grantees falls to the thousands who are involved in screening at the institutional, regional and national levels. Most work as volunteers, and many are Fulbright alumni themselves. A special report published for the Fulbright Program's twentieth anniversary praised the volunteers who screen applications, and gives us an insight into the scale involved in screening.

“Volunteer professionals do the initial screening of every application for an exchange grant, both in the United States and overseas. Across the United States in some 800 separate committees, over 2,800 school, college and university teachers, professors and administrators, and men and women otherwise distinguished in the academic, professional and cultural world, contribute their time and expertise to this job. Each country overseas also has its volunteer screening committees. In all, to choose the grantees in the 1965-66 exchange program required the volunteered expertise and devoted hours of an estimated 4,800 men and women in the United States and abroad.” (*BFS, 1966, p. 18*).

This large undertaking has changed little over the Fulbright Program's history, as applicants are still screened by selection committees before the final decision is taken by the Board of foreign scholarships.

The decision-making process is relatively opaque, as it is the policy of the Board of Foreign Scholarships not to disclose their reasons for selecting or rejecting any given candidate. We can, however, gain some insight into the priorities of the Board through their published statements on selection criteria.

The primary consideration is the applicant's proposed research project. The merit of the proposal is judged upon a number of considerations, including its originality, feasibility, impact and contribution to knowledge. A 1964 magazine article about the programme suggested that Fulbrighters should, first and foremost, be talented academically and professionally. "The impression I get from hearing the experiences of many young Americans like these is that the ability to do something really well is more important than words in leaving behind a good impression, of both the scholar *and* America. For the brightest glows of all are those left by Fulbrighters whose competence won them respect that overflowed into respect for America...Abroad, as at home, a person who knows how to do a first-class job talks with the loudest voice even before he opens his mouth." (*Cerami, 1964, p. 78*). This concluding sentence offers a succinct justification for the programme's merit-based selection criteria.

The programme's founder disagreed with this approach, however. He felt that candidate selection should be more holistic, taking an applicant's character into account. Writing at the fifth anniversary of his exchange programme, Senator Fulbright emphasised the importance of personal qualities over academic achievement. "High academic standards are important, of course. But the purpose of the program is not the advancement of science nor the promotion of scholarship. These are by-products of a program whose primary aim is international understanding. To this end, it is important that candidates for awards are

generally well informed about their country, have emotional stability and common sense.” (Fulbright, 1951, p. 18). Here, Senator Fulbright touches on three important personal qualities that have a strong bearing on a grantee’s experience abroad. Participants who are well informed about their home country are better equipped to share its culture with those they meet during the grant period. Emotionally stable grantees will be able to cope with the culture shock of living and working in unfamiliar surroundings. Finally, common sense helps grantees in all aspects of living and studying or working abroad, as they adapt to their new environments.

In an effort to strike the right balance between scholar and diplomat, therefore, Fulbright Program selection committees also consider the candidate’s personal qualities. They try to predict the scale of an applicant’s future achievements, in a sense. Will this candidate become a leader in his or her field? Over time, administrators learn to recognise the qualities that indicate future achievement. In their work on competitive scholarships, Sternberg and Grigorenko propose that future leaders demonstrate a synthesis of wisdom, intelligence and creativity. These qualities, they argue, are better predictors of a candidate’s leadership potential than academic transcripts or standardised test scores (Sternberg and Grigorenko in Ilchman, Ilchman and Tolar, 2004). These personality characteristics are valuable metrics for selection committees, and can be observed in a candidate’s interviews and essays.

Leadership qualities have long been considered an important feature of the Fulbright grantee profile. The following early statement on selection appeared in a March 11, 1957 Foreign Service Educational Exchange Circular, issued by the Department of State.

Candidates preferably should be persons who show promise of attaining, or who actually occupy, positions of responsibility and influence in their respective spheres of activity. Leadership—including leadership among youth and student groups—or

potential leadership in particular fields or professions which are important to country program objectives should be an important factor...(*U.S. Dept. of State, 1957, p. 7*)

It is important to note, however, that the Board of Foreign Scholarships does make changes to its selection criteria. In the most recent statement of guiding principles for grantee selection, there is no such emphasis on leadership. Rather, administrators are advised to “Recognize and reward academic, artistic, and professional excellence...[and] Select grantees who demonstrate dynamism and flexibility for active involvement in the host culture.” (Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, 2013). This suggests that the programme currently emphasises merit and cultural engagement.

As they result from careful, multiple-stage screening and collaborative decision-making, Fulbright application decisions are rarely contested. One exception is the Loewenberg case, a controversial episode that questioned the politics behind Fulbright grant selection. In 1959, Professor Bert J. Loewenberg applied for a Fulbright grant after being invited by the University of Leeds to lecture in American history. His application was recommended by two screening committees, but turned down by the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Several prominent professors alleged that Loewenberg had been rejected because the Board had doubts about his loyalty as an American citizen (Joughlin, 1960). The matter was taken to the American Association of University Professors and appeared in the press across the country. *The New York Times* reported that the eight members of one screening committee that had recommended Loewenberg had all threatened to resign unless the Board agreed to review his case and, if his loyalty had been questioned, provide Professor Loewenberg with an opportunity to respond to any allegations (Kenworthy, 1959, p. 81).

Due to the controversy and resulting media attention, the Board made an exception to its policy of giving no reasons for its decisions, and chose to defend its process with a public statement. “For the 1959-60 academic year, twenty-four awards were available for American professors to lecture or conduct research in the United Kingdom. Two-hundred and thirty-

seven American scholars applied...the Board chose the candidates it considered best qualified to receive the available awards.” (*Storey, 1959, p. 2*). The Board reaffirmed its decision and refuted the claim that Loewenberg’s loyalty had been a factor in their consideration of his application. They asserted, instead, that it had been simply a matter of competition. “The regrettable fact is that so many qualified candidates applying each year simply cannot be accommodated.” (*ibid.*). The Board makes an effort to distribute grants geographically, as well. The fact that Loewenberg’s home institution was located in New York state, which has many prestigious universities, may have made this a particularly competitive case. In the interest of fair geographical distribution, the number of awards given to candidates from New York state may have been limited. Preference is also given to applicants who had not previously had an opportunity to live and work; Professor Loewenberg had significant overseas experience. The following year, however, Loewenberg was awarded a Fulbright grant for the lectureship at the University of Leeds. The Board, adhering to its original policy, did not publicly state a reason for this decision.

As with any competitive scholarship, the number of applications exceeds the number of available awards each year. In 2009, there were 5,155 applications for 1,024 U.S. Student Program grants, indicating an overall acceptance rate of 19.9%, or just under 1 in 5 (U.S. Fulbright Program, 2011). Table 6.1 illustrates the distribution of these applications and awards by grantee destination in 2011. Europe is by far the most popular region, receiving more applications than East Asia, Africa, the Near East and South and Central Asia combined. Europe is also particularly well-funded, as discussed in chapter four, with many European countries contributing equally, or more than the United States, to their Fulbright exchanges. Due to the high number of awards available in Europe then, the acceptance rate for this popular region is near average (18.2%).

The lowest acceptance rate is found amongst applicants to Africa (11.5%), while the highest acceptance rate is in South and Central Asia, where 28.2% of applications are

successful (ibid.). This pattern may be related to discrepancies in funding and cost-sharing. There are fewer cost-sharing arrangements in place between the U.S. and its African partner nations than there are in South and Central Asia. During the 2009-10 academic year, for example, 18 out of 48 African Fulbright participating nations contributed financially to the exchanges (FSB, 2009, p. 54). Amongst these, Morocco, Botswana and Egypt were the only countries to contribute more than \$100,000 (ibid.). In South and Central Asia, by contrast, India contributed over \$3 million and Pakistan nearly \$6 million to their Fulbright exchanges with the United States. While other factors such as language teaching, application quality and individual preferences of potential grantees will contribute to the differences in acceptance rates and popularity, the cost-sharing discrepancies across regions are noteworthy. Funding, as discussed in chapter five, inevitably influences many aspects of the Fulbright Program.

Table 6.1 U.S. Fulbright Program Applications and Awards, 2011

Region	Applications	Awards	Acceptance Rate
Europe	2209	403	18.2%
East Asia and Pacific	846	184	21.7%
Western Hemisphere	806	186	23.0%
Africa	582	67	11.5%
Near East/North Africa	404	97	24.0%
South and Central Asia	308	87	28.2%
World Total	5155	1024	19.8%

(Source: U.S. Fulbright Program, 2011).

It could be argued that the relatively low acceptance rates across all regions are an indication that the programme's selection procedures are truly merit-based. In some cases, countries do not accept any of their applicants, despite the availability of award funds. In 2009, this occurred amongst American student applications to Slovakia (5 applicants), Gambia (1), Gabon (1), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (2), Macao (2) and Yemen (1) when no candidates were successful. This phenomenon suggests that the awards are granted on the basis of merit, as being the sole applicant for a country with available awards does not guarantee acceptance.

As a final note on the topic of selection, it is important to recognise that Fulbrighters are a self-selected group. They are not nominated by their government or other officials;

applicants put themselves forward for consideration on their own initiative. Self-selection has significant implications, as noted by a UNESCO study of international educational exchange programmes. “It requires a certain amount of enterprise to take this step and face the adventure that it is hoped will result, especially for those coming from families whose members have not been accustomed to foreign travel in the past. It is very important that scope should exist for self-selection of this kind as distinct from the ‘drafting’ of students by governments or education authorities.” (Eide, 1970, p. 12). The very fact that they have chosen to apply for a Fulbright grant tells selection committees something about a candidate’s personality, initiative and ambition. In her work on self-efficacy and study abroad, Tema Milstein suggests that the act of self-selection indicates a strong belief in one’s own capabilities. “People who choose to sojourn, a generally daunting task, may need high degrees of self-efficacy in order to make the initial decision to do so.” (Milstein, 2005, p. 233). Self-selection ensures that grantees are motivated and willing participants, and insulates the programme from the political misuse that might result from the involvement of the state or other authorities in ‘nominating’ candidates.

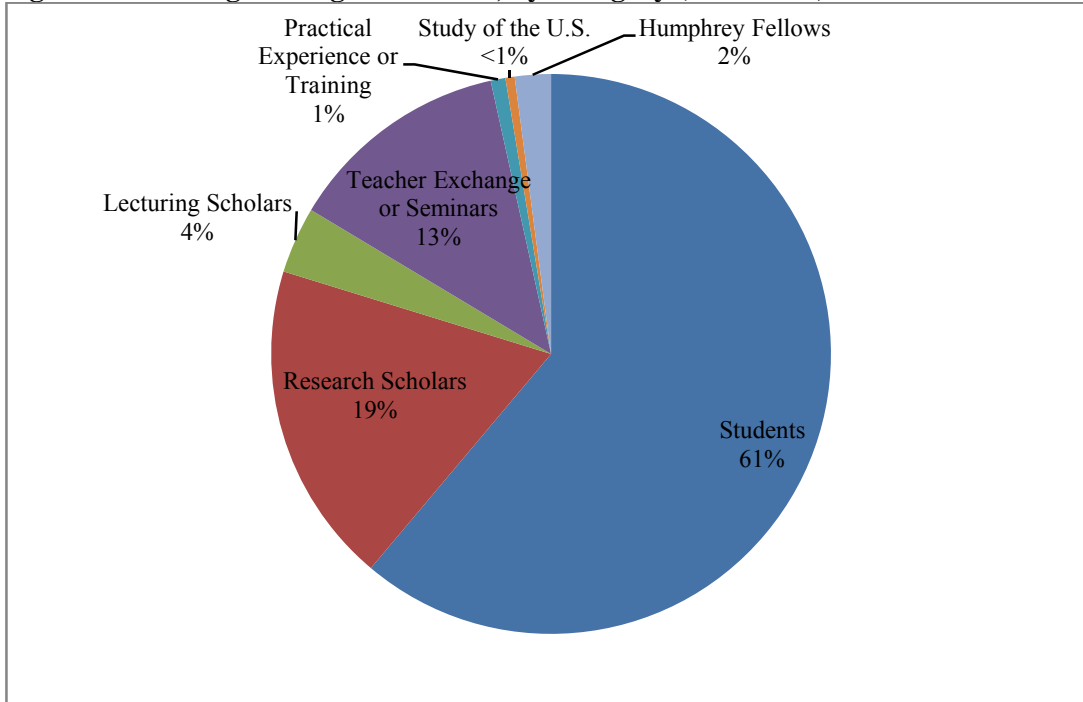
Fulbright Categories and Distribution

Grant categories determine the capacity in which a grantee goes abroad. They vary according to the purpose and the duration of the grant: for teaching or research, for a two-week lecture series, an academic term, or a year-long stay. The Fulbright Program umbrella includes a wide range of different grant categories. Fulbrighters can be students, researchers, lecturers, artists, film-makers, librarians—essentially, anyone involved in educational or cultural activities. There are eleven core grant categories, seven for visiting (foreign) grantees and four for American citizens. These include Students (U.S. and Visiting), Research Scholars (U.S. and Visiting), Lecturing Scholars (U.S. and Visiting), Teacher Exchange or Seminars (U.S. and Visiting), Practical Experience or Training (Visiting only), Study of the U.S. (Visiting only), and Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowships (Visiting only).

Over the course of the programme's history, grant categories have fluctuated in popularity and in funding. The number of English-language teaching assistantship grants, for example, has increased dramatically over the past decade, due to rising demand from other nations for English instructors (Wilhelm, 2010). In 2000, there were 109 Fulbright English teaching assistants working in five countries. In 2010, the programme had expanded to 725 grantees across 66 countries (U.S. Fulbright Program, 2014). The list of destination countries includes many smaller states that might not otherwise participate in the Fulbright Program. The principality of Andorra, for example, hosted five English teaching assistants, while Luxembourg had two. In both countries, these teaching assistants were the only American grantees for that year. The dramatic increase of English teaching assistantships suggests that the Fulbright Program has become more responsive to the needs of its partnering nations.

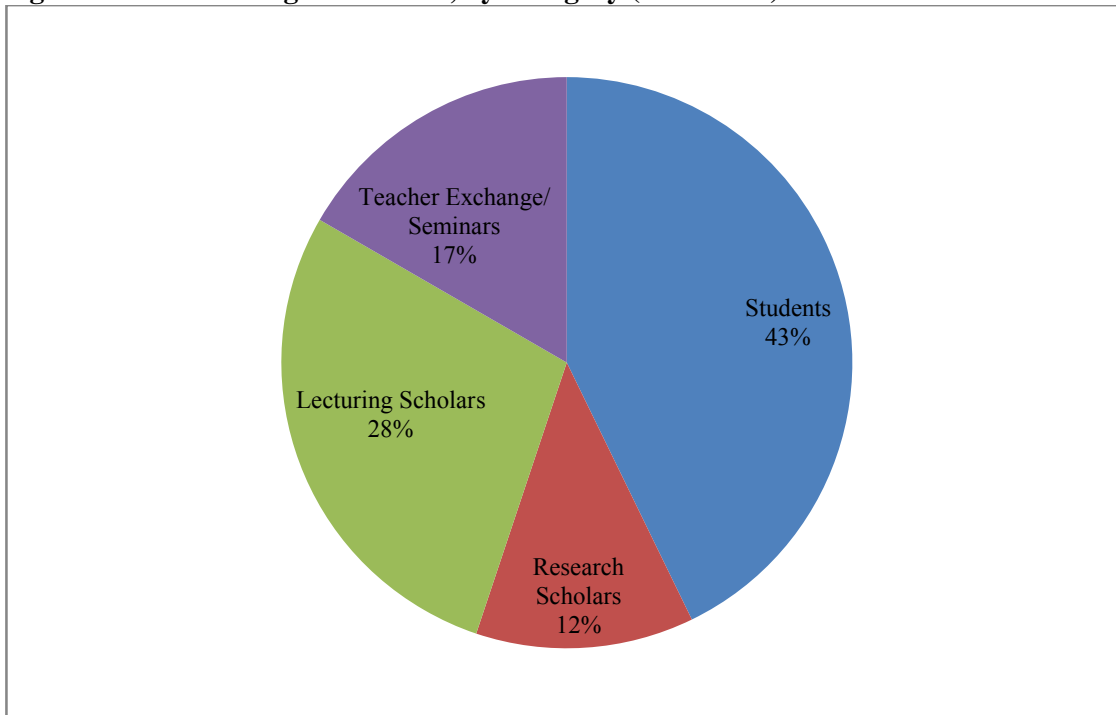
Figures 6.1 and 6.2 depict the distribution of grantees across the different award categories, based on total figures from the first sixty years of the programme, 1949-2009 (FSB, 2009). Visiting grantees have been predominantly students (60.8%) and research scholars (18.5%), while only 3.8% of visiting grantees have lectured at U.S. universities and colleges (Figure 6.1). American grantees have been more evenly distributed across the range of categories, with students constituting less than half of the total number of grantees (42.8%). Significantly, research scholars are the smallest group (12.4%). The figures suggest that Americans go abroad to lecture and teach, rather than to engage in research. Conversely, foreign grantees come to the U.S. to study, rather than to lecture or teach.

Figure 6.1 Visiting Fulbright Grantees, by Category (1949-2009)



(Source: FSB, 2009)

Figure 6.2 U.S. Fulbright Grantees, by Category (1949-2009)



(Source: FSB, 2009).

This pattern of unequal distribution has important implications for the ways in which we think about the Fulbright Program’s declared mutuality. If one side of the exchange equation participates in different activities than the other side does, how mutual is the exchange

relationship? On the basis of these figures, increasing the size of the visiting lecturer programme would help to bring balance to the exchange relationship.

American Grantee Destinations

Europe has been by far the most popular destination for American Fulbright grantees. It has also been, not coincidentally, the most popular study abroad destination for U.S. undergraduates more generally (IIE, 2014). The Fulbright Program in Germany is a particularly large programme, which explains in part the large number of American grantees who have sojourned in Europe. With over 46,000 American and German alumni, more Fulbright grantees have been exchanged with Germany than with any other country in the world (FSB, 2010). There are a number of explanations for American students' partiality towards European destinations. The most compelling reason might be that the U.S. public education system prepares students to study in Europe. The history taught in U.S. schools is typically entitled 'Western Civilization,' consisting of modern European history. The foreign languages most commonly taught in American schools are all of European origin: Spanish, French and German. It is difficult for American students to find instruction in Arabic or Mandarin, for example, and to do so would require the use of private resources. It could be argued that American students are ill-prepared by their curriculum to study outside of Europe.

Critics might question the need for so many Fulbright exchanges between the U.S. and Europe. There exist strong political, economic and cultural ties between the American and European people. In terms of public diplomacy goals of fostering mutual understanding and goodwill, the practice does seem redundant. Perhaps it is unnecessary to actively promote and fund exchange-of-persons programmes between societies that already know each other well, trade with each other and act as allies in many international conflicts. Exchange advocates, however, see the value in continued exchanges between allies. Former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Charles Frankel argued that, far from making them redundant, friendship justified continued exchanges between the U.S. and

Europe. “Precisely because the peoples of the Atlantic area hear so much and see so much of each other, there is a strong necessity for systematic programs of educational and cultural exchange across the Atlantic.” (Frankel, 1968, p. 16).

At the opposite end of the spectrum, Africa has received the fewest American Fulbright grantees and is the least popular study abroad destination for U.S. students (FSB, 2010; IIE, 2014). Even before the Fulbright Program was established, American educational exchanges routinely ignored African countries. The first annual report of the Institute for International Education discusses the increased interest in studying in the U.S. after the First World War. Notably, it mentions every region apart from Africa. “The War has aroused a great interest in the United States in every country of Europe, and large numbers of students are anxious to come here to study, but have not the funds. This is also true of Latin America, the Far East and the Near East.” (Duggan, 1920, p. 7). Africa, unfortunately, has been a neglected continent in America’s international educational exchange activities.

Although Africa has produced and hosted fewer Fulbright grantees than other regions, there are a number of success stories involving the continent. John Atta Mills, the late President of Ghana (2009-2012), was a Fulbright Scholar at Stanford Law School in 1971. He was the first Fulbrighter to become a President of any republic in the world (FSB, 2009). A study of American Fulbright Senior Scholars in Africa found that the programme had been generally successful, meeting both general Fulbright Program aims, such as increased mutual understanding, and goals that are more localised, such as institutional development. Alumni reported that their experiences in Africa had led to “provision of a network of African peer and student contacts which, for a substantial segment of returned Fulbrighters, builds over time.” (Sunal and Sunal, 1991, p. 117). Personal contacts such as these help to develop and maintain ties between African and American universities, research networks and grant programmes. They play an important role in supporting the local higher education infrastructure.

The domestic infrastructure of African universities, shaped in many places by colonial powers and interests, may have hampered the expansion of the Fulbright Program on the continent. The legacy of French and Portuguese colonialism in Africa meant that in many countries, these languages were preferred over English as a second language. Board of Foreign Scholarships member G. Homer Durham encountered this preference on a tour of educational exchange posts in Africa. “The Liberian and Ghanaian Commissions have the benefit of the English language. The Tunisian Commission I found to be virtually non-operative. It was viewed as a costly, time-consuming, awkward and ineffective organization by the PAO [Public Affairs Officer] and CAO [Cultural Affairs Officer],” Durham told his colleagues in the Board. “I nevertheless received the impression that despite the Tunisian penchant for the prestige of the French educational system, the complications of the French and Arabic languages and transcriptions of records in English as well, that the Commission should be retained and used whenever and wherever possible.” (*Durham, 1966, p. 3*). These examples illustrate some of the linguistic and cultural challenges that Fulbright administrators have faced in the region. These challenges, and the aforementioned funding concerns, go some way towards explaining the low grantee numbers, both to and from Africa.

American grantee destination choices are also limited by the state of U.S. foreign relations. The case of the Fulbright Program in China offers a clear example of how educational exchanges can be employed as a reward or punishment, a ‘carrot’ or ‘stick’, in international relations. The first suspension of the Fulbright Program in China was initiated by the United States in 1949, in response to the Communist Revolution. America’s Cold War anti-Communist foreign policy stance was the cause behind this suspension. When the Nixon administration re-established relations with China, this opened the door for educational and cultural exchanges, including Fulbright, to be renewed in later years under President Carter. America’s engagement with China through exchanges signified a move towards normalised relations between the two countries. When China suspended the programme in 1989,

however, it was in retaliation over American criticism of the Tiananmen Square incident. Although both countries, of course, have an equal say in participation, this was the first case in which a partnering country, rather than the United States, initiated the suspension of Fulbright Program exchanges. Although exchanges were resumed the following year, China's suspension triggered bilateral negotiations and reduced the size of the programme. The suspensions and renewals of the U.S.-China exchange programme illustrate the varied political factors involved in this allegedly 'apolitical' activity.

Women and the Fulbright Program

Women have played an important but often overlooked role in the Fulbright Program, both as grantees and as accompanying dependents of grantees. Unlike many educational institutions, the Fulbright Program has always been open to women. The Ivy League was not fully co-educational until 1983, while Rhodes Scholarships were only made available to women through a 1974 parliamentary amendment (Ilchman, Ilchman and Tolar, 2004). The Fulbright Program has had female grantees, as well as women on the Board of Foreign Scholarships, since its establishment in 1946. There have been many prominent female Fulbright alumni throughout its history, including National Public Radio host Melissa Block, neuroscientist Nancy Andreasen, Italian journalist Loretta Napoleoni, opera singers Anna Moffo and Renée Fleming, and U.S. Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords. In a less prominent and largely overlooked capacity, women have contributed to the culture learning experience as wives of Fulbright grantees. Both roles will be explored in this section.

Throughout the history of American public diplomacy activities, women have often been given less attention than their male counterparts. Early U.S. Information Agency documents explain that the prioritisation of male audiences was due to a general lack of female leaders. Any efforts to reach out to women were not expected to produce a significant impact, because women did not hold leadership positions. As men hold leadership positions, they are more valuable public diplomacy targets. Following this logic, the reports suggest that

targeting women would simply reduce the resources available for targeting male audiences. A 1959 USIA report on women's activities explained that the changing status of women in some countries was a further complicating factor in planning its overseas information activities. "We are working in the dark. Where women themselves do not know what their new roles are; where their men are perceiving change with unease and anger, the official information program of the United States Government can proceed only with utmost caution." (*Geiger, 1959, p. 12*). The report had been prepared for Senator Fulbright; his request for information on women's activities suggests that he appreciated the changing role of women in these countries.

The recommendation that more emphasis be placed on the selection of women has appeared in a number of reports over the history of the Fulbright Program. The 1963 report, *A Beacon of Hope*, noted that women leaders were especially needed in the case of the developing world. "In the past, although about a fifth of all foreign grantees coming to the United States have been women, very few of these have been leaders. In 1962, for example, only 43 women were chosen as grantees from the whole of Africa, and only 15 of these were leaders. From all the Near East and South Asia in 1962, there were only 11 women leader grantees, and from the Far East only 13." (*Gardner, 1963, p. 36*).

On the whole, it can be difficult to assess the number of female grantees over the programme's history. No study has been undertaken, to date, to examine the role of women in the Fulbright Program, and demographic information is limited in the archival material. The Fulbright Program's annual reports, for example, do not contain figures on age, race or sex. Some evaluative studies, however, do include this information in their reports. The figures in the following analysis are taken from such studies, both academic and those undertaken by programme officials.

The distribution of male and female grantees has become more equal over time, though the balance is still decidedly in favour of male grantees. In the student category, the

U.S. grantees are nearly equally divided: 52% male and 48% female (SRI, 2005b). Amongst visiting students, however, women are outnumbered: 65% male and 35% female (SRI, 2005a). Women have also been found to be outnumbered by men in the lecturer and research scholar grant categories. Statistics from the 1957-58 research and lecturing grant competition show that women constituted 13% of applicants and 8% of awards (*Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 1957*). In their study of American Fulbright lecturers in Africa, Sunal and Sunal found that although the percentage of female lecturers increased over time, the distribution of male and female grantees in this category remained significantly uneven. In the 1972-73 academic year, women compromised just 3% of the lecturer grants to Africa. Ten years later, in the 1982-83 academic year, the balance had shifted to 22% female and 78% male (Sunal and Sunal, 1991, p. 115). While these figures reflect a substantial increase over the ten year period, they also illustrate the disparity between male and female Fulbright lecturers.

Female Fulbright grantees have also been outnumbered by their male counterparts in terms of receiving prestigious awards and holding leadership positions. Amongst the fifty-four Fulbright alumni who are also Nobel laureates, Rosalyn Yalow is the only woman (U.S. Department of State, 2014). Likewise, just three women are amongst the twenty-nine Fulbrighters who have gone on to serve as heads of state or government (Fulbright Association, 2013). In academia, the most noteworthy example of leadership is former Brown University president Dr. Ruth J. Simmons, the first African-American president of an Ivy League institution.

Among the most famous female Fulbright alumni is American poet Sylvia Plath, who studied English literature at Newnham College, Cambridge University from 1955 to 1957. Her diaries and letters reveal Plath's motivations for applying for a Fulbright grant, her first impressions of England, and her goals for her Fulbright experience. Her earliest mentions of Fulbright appear in her diaries, going back to 1952. Fulbright appears listed among many

other aspirations, much like one of the figs from Plath's fig tree analogy in *The Bell Jar*. It is one of many paths that she might choose, and she finds the decision overwhelming. In January 1953, she mentions a destination country for the potential grant for the first time. "Of course, there is always the ambitious project of trying for a Fulbright to England (only a million people want them, no competition, really)." (Kukil, 2000, p. 166).

Plath's plans become more concrete during her final term at Smith College, when she begins to apply for graduate school and grant opportunities. In a letter to her mother dated 27 September 1954, Plath describes the Fulbright grant application process in detail. The previous year, she had been treated for depression at McLean Hospital for six months following a suicide attempt. In the letter, she expresses her fear that this history of mental illness might count against her, and she considers how that might be addressed with the right letters of recommendation.

"My main bother this month is my Fulbright application. I've had numerous interviews with the head of the graduate office and all my former professors, all of which have at least resulted in most gratifying results: Elizabeth Drew, Newton Arvin, and Mary Ellen Chase have agreed to write my letters of recommendation, and as they are all very big names in their field internationally, I should have an advantage there that might compensate for my mental hospital record. I think I definitely am going to write Dr. B [Plath's therapist Ruth Beuscher] for my personal reference as I have to tell about McLean anyway, and a letter from her would serve the double purpose of eloquent recommendation and also of leaving no doubt as to the completeness of my cure." (Plath, 1975, p. 141).

Over the following months, Plath was accepted under separate applications to Cambridge and Oxford, hedging her bets with another funding opportunity from the American Association of University Women. She accepted the offer of a Fulbright grant for

study at Cambridge in May 1955, and wrote enthusiastic letters home upon her arrival in England that September.

“Where to begin! I feel almost smothered when I start to write this, my first letter! I feel that I am walking in a dream,” Sylvia wrote to her mother from London, while en route to Cambridge for the first time (*ibid.*, p. 181). While Plath certainly enjoyed her time at Cambridge and renewed her Fulbright grant for a second year in March of 1956, her tone in these letters changed, showing that she became less infatuated with England over time. On 20 March, 1956, Plath tells her mother “I must say, too, I am happier every day to be an American! For all the golden ‘atmosphere’ of England, there is an oppressive ugliness about even the upper-middle class homes, an ancient, threadbare dirtiness which at first shocked me. Our little white house is a gem of light and color compared to the dwellings here.” (*ibid.*, p. 231). Plath’s reaction may be read as a mix of homesickness and culture shock.

Sylvia Plath met English poet Ted Hughes at a party in April 1956, and the two were secretly married just two months later. Her mother was visiting Sylvia at the time, and was the only family member in attendance at the surprise ceremony. In letters over the following months, the reason for Plath’s secrecy is explained. “At first, I thought I could study better away from him [Ted] and domestic cares and that the Fulbright might cancel my grant if I were married and Newnham disown me...[but then] I looked up the Fulbright lists, and they have three married women on grants.” (*ibid.*, p. 279). When Plath informed the Commission of her marriage, she learned that her fears of grant cancellation were unfounded. The Fulbright Commission in London congratulated Plath on her marriage. “One of their main qualifications of the grant, I discovered, is that you take back your cultural experience to America, and they were enchanted at my suggestion that I was taking back double in the form of Ted as a teacher and writer.” (*ibid.*, pp. 282-283). The couple did fulfil this qualification of the grant, however briefly, before settling in the UK permanently. Plath and Hughes spent the

academic year following her grant experience in the U.S. at Smith College, where she held her first teaching position.

Women have also played an important role as accompanying dependents of Fulbrighters. The experiences of dependents have been largely overlooked in the literature, yet they often figure prominently in the anecdotes of returned grantees. Many Fulbrighters attest to the added value of having their partners and families with them during the academic sojourn. Dependents can serve to widen the social circle of local contacts, as accompanying spouses and children make local friends through work, school and social organisations. An evaluative study on the exchange programme's thirtieth-anniversary supports this observation. "Several groups noted that among the most lasting and significant contacts made while abroad were those of the spouses and children." (*Armbruster, 1976, p. 15*). I have elected to frame this discussion in terms of accompanying wives, because although there certainly have been cases of female Fulbright grantees bringing their husbands with them, the archival material available largely consisted of cases in which male Fulbright grantees were accompanied by their wives and children. There is a great deal of scope for further research in this area, but for the purposes of the present study, this discussion will be limited to the experiences of women as Fulbright dependents.

Spouses of Fulbright grantees can contribute in their own way to the multiplier effect, acting as cultural mediators between the home and host nations. A 1962 study of American Fulbright scholars in India found that grantees' wives often worked or volunteered outside the home and made their own impact on the local community. "Several American wives undertook almost full-time activity as public lecturers, classroom teachers, or consultants in educational work. Others joined charitable or church organizations or served in the welfare programs of village development organizations. Reports from the educational foundations highly commend the influence of these women on the Indian community," the report asserts. "The record of these wives and the depth of their understanding of India leads to the

conclusion that grantees' wives are not only an asset or a handicap [to the grantees]. Their contributions to communities of countries like India can become highly significant.”

(MacGregor, 1962, p. 40).

This has been true of the dependents of visiting Fulbright grantees in America, as well. The story of Indian grantee Dawoodbhai Ghanchi and his wife was featured in the 1993 essay collection, *The Fulbright Difference*. Throughout his career, Dr. Ghanchi held three Fulbright awards, serving as an exchange teacher, a visiting lecturer and a research scholar in the United States. He was accompanied by his wife only during the last of these grant periods, but he found that having her with him improved his grant experience. “My wife’s presence made everything the richer...She gave presentations, organized exhibits of Indian artifacts and demonstrated various skills of cooking and dress. To her amazement, she learned that American women shared the important things with her: a desire for a stable, satisfying and safe home life in a world free from war, want and division.” (Arndt and Rubin, 1993, p. 231).

Despite the enthusiastic testimonies of these grantees, there are some critics who consider the presence of families during the grant period an unnecessary cost. During one particularly stringent cost-cutting effort in 1965, Congress slashed \$300,000 from the Fulbright Program budget by refusing to allocate funding for the travel costs of grantee dependents. Representative John J. Rooney, chairman of the House appropriations committee, referred to dependent travel as “a luxury the American taxpayer cannot afford.” (Oberdorfer, 1965, p. 87). The view that it was unnecessary for dependents to travel with a Fulbright grantee, or at least for them to do so with public funds, was shared by the programme’s founder. Although Senator Fulbright disagreed with Representative Rooney on many occasions, this was a point upon which they had the same opinion. For his part, Fulbright simply did not believe in the funding of dependent travel. In an interview with former Fulbright Association President Leonard Sussman, Fulbright cited the cost of

dependent travel as one of the problems that had arisen in the exchange programme. “The original idea, which is still sound, I think, is to take your best American graduate students, not their families...Too much is spent on sending professors and their families over.”

(Sussman, 1992, p. 56). It is worth noting that travel is the only element of dependent support; living expense grants are not increased for Fulbrighters who are accompanied by dependents. Indeed, this can be a barrier to some grantees, as one critic points out. “For a scholar with a family, the situation is nearly intolerable, because most countries legally forbid him or his spouse from taking a job that requires a working permit.” (*Kostelanetz, 1966, p. 725*).

The Academic Sojourn

After the chosen candidates have accepted their Fulbright grants and all of the necessary travel and sponsorship arrangements have been made, the Fulbright experience begins in earnest. The following section examines the behaviour and activities of Fulbright grantees during their academic sojourn. It begins with a discussion of culture shock, the psychological problems that can arise during a grantee’s period of adjustment upon arriving in the host country. For many grantees, particularly during the early years of the programme, the Fulbright grant afforded their first overseas experience. Adjusting to new surroundings can be especially difficult for those who have never lived abroad previously. Regardless of prior experience, however the demands of establishing a temporary home overseas can be overwhelming. Grantees not only have to study or teach in a new atmosphere, but they must also cope with the practical aspects of living abroad, such as finding accommodation and managing finances. Culture shock is a commonly reported aspect of the Fulbright experience.

The discussion will then turn to the empirical question of what grantees actually do during the sojourn. Their proposed research project is, of course, the primary concern of grantees. The academic fields of Fulbright grantees will be examined and compared across grant categories and over time. Culture learning is also an essential part of the Fulbright

experience, however, and the ways in which grantees learn about their host country and its culture will be discussed in detail. The non-academic activities of Fulbrighters, where a great deal of culture learning takes place, will be included in the subsequent section.

When grantees first arrive in their host country, they may experience symptoms of culture shock, a term describing the “stresses and strains which stem from being forced to meet one’s everyday needs (e.g. food, cleanliness, companionship) in unfamiliar ways.” (Brislin, 1981, p. 13). The degree to which a Fulbrighter experiences culture shock depends upon a grantee’s personal qualities, of course, but research has also shown that it can vary depending upon the respective cultures of the home and host countries. According to psychologist Stephen Bochner’s work on culture shock, the degree of cultural distance determines a student’s likelihood to struggle with culture shock. Students who study in countries of greater cultural distance are more likely to experience problems coping with these changes than students who study in countries that are more similar to their own (Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001, p. 95). On a visit to Fulbright offices in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nepal, Board of Foreign Scholarships member James R. Roach found that as the programme expanded beyond the Western world, more Fulbrighters reported experiencing culture shock. “Many grantees waste considerable time, are frustrated and even embittered as they struggle to settle themselves and their families into unfamiliar surroundings, and they are often greatly disappointed by the gap between their own professional standards and expectations and those existing in the host institution.” (Roach, 1966, pp. 1-2). Pre-departure orientation sessions in the home country have been found to be an effective means of managing participant expectations and easing the grantee’s adjustment upon arrival in the host country.

This is not to say that grantees who participate in exchanges between culturally similar countries do not experience culture shock. Rather, the impact of culture shock may be less pronounced, and a grantee’s behaviour and academic performance may be less affected.

In such a case, the more subtle cultural differences may be an interesting discovery and learning experience for the grantee, one which might produce mild homesickness rather than disruptive culture shock.

Although the degree to which culture shock affects a grantee's behaviour depends upon a range of personal and contextual factors, there is no doubt that culture shock is a common problem for Fulbright participants. Anecdotes from grantees attest to this, demonstrating how they might experience culture shock in both extra-curricular and academic settings. Fulbright Program administrators have also recognised the problem and sought to address and alleviate culture shock wherever possible, through orientation activities, personal mentoring and other forms of support.

For some fortunate grantees, culture shock is minimal. The thrill of being in new, stimulating surroundings can outweigh any difficulties that might arise. They are enamoured with their adopted home, even to the point where they are unaffected by negative factors that might normally result in culture shock. As one American Fulbrighter in France put it, "I was living in a storybook romance which glorified all things French. Therefore, I explained away what would otherwise have upset me." (Arndt and Rubin, 1993, p. 83). The length of this 'honeymoon period' varies from one grantee to another, if it exists at all. But statements like the above attest to the enthusiasm for host country culture that is typical of Fulbright participants, who are a self-selected group. They have chosen to study or teach in the host country on their own initiative. They have likely had to become proficient in a foreign language, a commitment that demonstrates an interest in the host country culture. It is therefore unsurprising that, for some grantees at least, culture shock may be outweighed by more positive sentiments.

Culture Learning

During the grant period, Fulbrighters are expected to share their culture with others and to learn about the host country culture. This has been called their 'ambassadorial' or

'culture mediator' role in the literature, and previous studies have found that Fulbrighters are generally successful in carrying out this role. They have been found to accomplish many of the goals of culture mediation, with returned grantees reporting an increased knowledge of the host culture, the establishment of close friendships with host country nationals, and an increased competence in intercultural communication (Snow, 1992). Studies have also noted that exchange participants can correct certain misconceptions that hosts might hold about their home country. In Gullahorn and Gullahorn's study, American tourists were cited as a factor which had strongly contributed to a negative image of the United States abroad. According to a French interviewee, "The exchanges between French and American students are of great importance because they show that the United States is interested not only in force but that it has need of culture and of other values which it lacks. Besides, this helps suppress in France a part of the false image which is given us by the American tourists who are quite detestable." (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1966, p. 57).

Grantees learn about their host country from their peers and colleagues, both host country nationals and fellow foreigners. In Nancy Snow's study of the cultural mediator role played by visiting Fulbright students, her conceptual framework relied on the culture-learning model put forward by psychology scholar Stephen Bochner (Snow, 1992, pp. 13-17). A more recently updated version of the model emphasises the importance of contact with host nationals, a view supported by a number of observed sojourner outcomes. "Frequent contact with host students has been associated with greater sojourn satisfaction; social integration and having local friends have been linked to lower levels of stress; spending more time with host national students is related to having fewer psychological adjustment problems; and satisfaction with host national relations predicts better psychological adjustment among international students." (Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001, p. 149). As Snow's study demonstrates, this model has important implications for the Fulbright experience.

Fulbrighters who interact primarily with host country nationals will not only contribute to the

public diplomacy goal of increasing mutual understanding, they will also have a more positive experience overall.

Education research has also confirmed the importance of exchange participants' friendships with locals. The Study Abroad Evaluation Project found that interpersonal communication with host country nationals was more valuable in terms of culture learning than any other activity. "The students reported that the most significant forum for becoming familiar with their host country was through group discussions and talking with host nationals. Host country nonfiction, journals, television programs and lectures were viewed as contributing only marginally to the students' general understanding and appreciation of the culture and society in which they lived." (Carlson et al, 1990, p. 42). This suggests that culture learning and friendship networks are inextricably linked. As the Fulbright Program's mission is to promote culture learning and increase mutual understanding, the friendship networks of Fulbright grantees play a vital role in accomplishing its mission.

According to Bochner's functional friendship model, students abroad tend to have three friendship groups within their social spheres: host nationals, other international students, and fellow compatriots. Each of these groups, he argues, plays a distinct but equally important role in a student's social life (Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001, pp. 147-148). Each of these friendship groups is utilised in the culture learning process. Locals are valuable in terms of language acquisition, as well as providing 'insider' information about the host country culture. Compatriots often mediate culture more effectively than host nationals, however, because they have a shared knowledge base of culture to reference. There has been little research on the role of other international students in the social network of student sojourners, but some studies suggest that their role is largely recreational, and that they can provide social support (ibid., pp. 149-150).

In a study of American and European study abroad participants, it was noted that Americans tended to be the group most likely to utilise both host national and compatriot

friendship networks in the culture learning process. “Asking host nationals about their country was notably pronounced among the Americans, whose responses interestingly also indicated they had conferred comparatively more extensively with fellow Americans abroad, to become more knowledgeable about the host country.” (Opper et al, 1990, pp. 45-46). This finding confirms the importance of the friendship groups outlined in Bochner’s model, but differs with respect to their roles. It supports the idea that both host nationals and compatriots play valuable roles in the culture learning process.

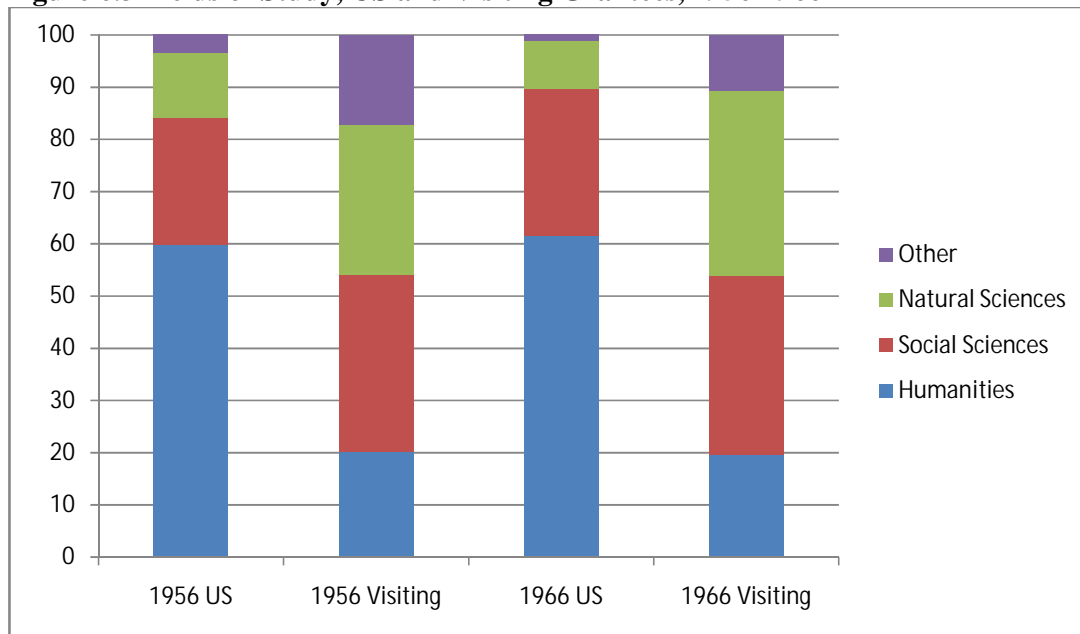
However, students themselves can perceive contact with compatriots as a negative aspect of the study abroad experience. “The great importance attached by students to integration into the life of the host country becomes apparent in that their most common complaint, given a list of various potential difficulties, was that too much time was spent with students or other people from one’s own country.” (ibid., p. 206). Excessive time spent with compatriots may be seen as a lost opportunity for culture learning, but it can happen easily, as friendship network models suggest that the social support of compatriots is also important.

Taking the two concepts of culture shock and the friendship model together, we can see how cultural distance might relate to a grantee’s friendship networks. Participants who are exchanged between culturally dissimilar countries may be expected to experience more culture shock and therefore rely more heavily on the social and practical support of compatriot friends. Fulbrighters who are exchanged between more culturally similar countries, on the other hand, may experience less culture shock and feel more confident about forming friendships with host country nationals. These concepts relate strongly to the first of the assumptions in the theoretical framework, the contact hypothesis. They explain, to some extent, how the desired interpersonal contact with target groups may be encouraged or inhibited by cultural factors and psychological effects. This has important implications for our understanding of the contact that takes place in the Fulbright experience.

Research and Extra-Curricular Activities

What do Fulbright Program grantees do while abroad? First and foremost, they carry out academic research and teaching work as proposed in their applications. In terms of academic fields, there has long been a significant difference between the fields of study for U.S. and Visiting Fulbright grantees. American grantees tend to be primarily in the humanities, while Visiting grantees are more evenly disbursed across the social sciences, the humanities, and physical and natural sciences (Figure 6.3). These trends were consistent for much of the history of the Fulbright Program. In the 1979-80 academic year, 68% of U.S. grantees were in the humanities, while amongst Visiting grantees, 35% were in the social sciences and 21% were in the humanities (FSB, 1980, pp. 38-45).

Figure 6.3 Fields of Study, US and Visiting Grantees, 1956-1966



(Joyce, 1966, pp. 15-17)

The marked difference between U.S. and Visiting grantees may be changing in more recent years, however. While Fulbright grantee subject area data has not been collated and reported since the 1982 annual report, the IIE's Open Doors data suggests that American and international study abroad participants are becoming more similar. While Americans still lean towards the humanities and international students are still more likely to pursue the sciences,

21% of both American and international students studied business and management (IIE, 2012).

A great deal of a Fulbright grantee's time will be spent on research and teaching, and this may act as a barrier to socialising and culture learning. In our interview, a Fulbright student estimated that she spent 7-8 hours each day, six days a week working in the lab. "Water polo is pretty much the only social activity I have time for." (Appendix A, p. 282). She suggested that the team sport was also the only way she was able to meet locals.

Of course, not all Fulbright grantees are as studious. Upon his retirement from the Binational Commission in Germany, former executive secretary John F. Mead wrote a report to the Board of Foreign Scholarships expressing his concerns about a tendency for American grantees to travel excessively during their grant period. "...[A] goodly number of American students yield to the temptation to travel and loaf during scheduled sessions of their universities...This 'tourist' attitude is also a source of embarrassment to conscientious American study grantees in Germany." (*Mead, 1958, p.1*). He cites examples of grantees travelling to England and Spain without the Commission's knowledge or approval. In his report, Mead included an unsolicited letter that he had received from University of Munich's Professor Rolf Huisgen. He had observed this tendency amongst those assigned to his chemistry laboratory. "The danger of 'bumming around' is much greater with the post-doctoral fellows than with (pre-doctoral) exchange students. Perhaps in the future one ought to point out the obligation to maintain normal work schedules with more emphasis. I always deplore if the limited number of work places are not fully used. After all, we want to take care that a distinguished organization like the Fulbright Commission is not being abused and degraded to an 'American Vacation Organization'; this term circulated among our German doctoral candidates two years ago." (*ibid., Addendum A, p. 2*).

In terms of their choice of extra-curricular activities, Fulbright grantees behave like others would when studying or working abroad. Research has shown that Fulbrighters and

other study abroad participants engage in different leisure time activities while they are abroad compared with when they are at home. The Study Abroad Evaluation Project students reported engaging in a range of sightseeing activities during their time overseas (Opper et al, 1990). Amongst Fulbright grantees, 95% reported visiting museums or historical sites, and 94% reported attending concerts, plays, sporting events or cultural events (SRI, 2005a, p. 19). It was also found that study abroad participants played sports less frequently while abroad. “The American students’ participation in sports dropped approximately the same amount that their museum and concert attendance increased while abroad.” (Opper et al, 1990, p. 49). While pre-departure figures are not included in the Fulbright evaluation, it is clear that Fulbright participants have a similar preference for sightseeing over sports: only 16% reported participating in team sports during their academic sojourn (SRI, 2005a, p. 19).

In some ways, Fulbright grantees may see more of a host country than the locals do, as they seek out different aspects of local culture and life. A 1953 study of Indian Fulbright grantees found that most grantees had visited a broad range of American political and social institutions during their time in the U.S. (*Langley, 1953*).

Table 6.2 American Institutions Visited by Indian Fulbright Grantees

Type of Institution	Percentage of Fulbright Grantees Who Visited the Type of Institution
Administrative Departments of Government	54
Church Activity	76
Small Town	78
Recreation Center	69
Farm Run by Family	70
Slum Area	71
School	62
Congress and Legislature	37
Citizen Action Group	47
Court	33
Parent Teacher Association	38
Labor Union	13

(*Langley, 1953, p. 64*)

Some of these figures are quite surprising; it is doubtful that a vast majority (70-71%) of Americans have visited slum areas or family-run farms. These are remarkably high percentages, given the unusual nature of many of the listed activities. It is also interesting to

note that some institutions that would traditionally be considered emblematic of American democracy—court, citizen action group, parent teacher association—were all visited by a minority of grantees. This has interesting implications for the foreign grantee experience and the type of America to which visitors are exposed. The grant period represented in this study is clearly not a tour of pro-American, pro-democratic institutions, but rather, a ‘warts-and-all’ itinerary which includes slums areas.

During the early years of the Fulbright Program, participants were encouraged to engage with locals through public speaking and home visits. Justin Zulu, a visiting Fulbright Student at the University of Colorado from Northern Rhodesia (present day Zambia), shared an impressive list of extra-curricular activities in the Board of Foreign Scholarships 1964 annual report. He appeared on local television twice, was a guest in the homes of three American families, and spoke to eight groups that ranged from Sunday schools to women’s organisations (*BFS, 1964, p. 15*). Today, grantees share their experiences with a more limited audience than Justin Zulu did. In the 2005 annual report Sody Munsaka, a Zambian student at the University of Hawaii, shared his experience of volunteering with a local ministry outreach team at the Manoa Senior Care Center. “It is such a wonderful ambassadorial work that we are doing here. We are adequately representing Zambia to a people some of whom have never heard about our country.” (*FSB, 2005, p. 20*). The difference between the outreach opportunities of these two students, from the same country and forty years apart, is striking. Today, volunteerism seems to have taken the place of public speaking engagements. It represents culture learning on a smaller scale than public speaking, emphasising quality over quantity of communication.

Fulbrighters are largely free to engage in any of their interests, but they are warned against participating in one particular extra-curricular activity: political activism. While on the one hand, grantees are expected to act as ‘unofficial ambassadors,’ on the other hand, they are also asked to “protect the non-political character of the program.” (*BFS, 1968a*). Grantees

must strike a careful balance between honest expression and respectful neutrality. This became especially important in the context of the Vietnam War, when American military actions were the subject of large-scale protests at university campuses across the United States and abroad. In 1968, the Board of Foreign Scholarships issued a statement to American grantees about their conduct in light of the political situation.

“Whether they agree or disagree with government policies, they should be aware that public political utterances or activity while abroad can in certain circumstances draw the Fulbright-Hays program into the political arena... The holding of a Fulbright-Hays grant is incompatible with engaging in activities that are part of the domestic political processes of other countries, and when behaviour of grantees shows a deliberate intention to engage in such activities or unreasonable negligence in considering the implications of one’s conduct, this may be reason for revocation of the grant.” (*ibid.*)

Revocation is not a common occurrence in the Fulbright Program, but it can happen. A recent example is the case of an English Language Teaching Assistant in India, who travelled to Kashmir as a tourist during her Fulbright year (Carlan, 2012). The U.S. State Department advises against travelling to Kashmir, as it is an area of political unrest that may be unsafe for foreigners. In an unfortunate turn of events, her visit happened to coincide with an outbreak of anti-U.S. protests in September 2012, relating to an anti-Islam YouTube video. When the local Fulbright administration in India heard of her visit, she was called in for questioning, her grant was revoked and she was sent back to the United States within days (*ibid.*).

Although she was not involved in political activities during the visit, this case demonstrates that the administration is sensitive to the aforementioned “negligence in considering the implications of one’s conduct” while holding a Fulbright grant.

The concept of the contact hypothesis and its impact on foreign policy is illustrated well in the following excerpt from a 1951 special Fulbright issue of *The Record*, a U.S. Department of State. A 21-year old U.S. veteran who had spent his Fulbright year at

Cambridge University wrote of his contact experiences abroad. He conceptualised this contact as an opportunity to counter Russian propaganda during these early days of the Cold War.

“There is no better antidote to the European conception of Americans than a normal decent American. There is nothing more damaging to Russian propaganda about America than an normal American ready and competent to fairly analyze and answer it...I have found that frank, honest discussions on the pros and cons have had no little effect...You can explain Marshall Aid, how it doesn’t consist of Cocoa-Cola [sic], how it comes out of Americans’ pockets and is an act of good will rather than imperialism...It is also impressive to these people when you point out that the United States thinks enough of the cultures of foreign nations to send students abroad to study, and is sufficiently proud of its own institutions to allow foreign students to study in the United States in obvious contrast to Russia. These facts tend to make Russophiles, who have never seen a Russian face-to-face, think. Intelligent discussion, not phrase-throwing, seems most effective.” (*U.S. Department of State, 1951, p. 6*).

After the Fulbright

There is a great deal of evidence to show that the Fulbright Program has long-lasting effects on its participants. It can alter the direction of one’s career and personal life, spark a new academic interest, or simply change one’s perspective on life. Many Fulbrighters report a heightened sense of awareness of international issues, and a desire to share their experiences with others. For teachers and lecturers, the potential multiplier effect is particularly strong, as their career provides an outlet for them to share their stories and cultural knowledge gains. This was expressed by an American couple who taught dance in Zimbabwe under Fulbright auspices. “When we returned, we had been enriched and that

enrichment could be passed on to our American students.” (Dudden and Dynes, 1987, p. 143). By the same token, a Fulbright professor’s experiences behind the Iron Curtain in then-Czechoslovakia greatly influenced his teaching and shaped his worldview. “My Fulbright experiences, and surely those of other Fulbright professors, have taught lessons that we cannot help but translate anew for American students every time we enter our classrooms.” (Arndt and Rubin, 1993, p. 295). The lessons and experiences gained during the Fulbright grant period inspired this professor, and many others, to pass them on to future students. His knowledge of life behind the Iron Curtain also taught him a great deal about his life in America, another common theme among the accounts of returned Fulbright grantees.

“I began to know my own country better.” (Dudden and Dynes, 1987, p. 119).

“My commitment to American traditions and institutions has been strengthened by the Fulbright experience.” (ibid., p. 172).

“As each Fulbright experience required me to see more in a different culture, I am now disposed to see more in my own culture.” (Arndt and Rubin, 1993, p. 299).

“...we now have a more intense wonder about, a sense of strangeness concerning, ourselves, Americans, as a people.” (ibid., p. 383).

The cliché phrase “it changed my life” appears frequently throughout the educational exchange literature. Countless students, scholars and other Fulbright grantees have reflected on their academic sojourns and drawn the same conclusion: it was a life-changing experience with both personal and professional impacts. In a survey of American Fulbright students, 93% agreed that the Fulbright had been a life-changing experience (SRI, 2005a, p. 14). For some, the Fulbright experience changed the direction of a grantee’s career permanently. In her contribution to *The Fulbright Difference*, Georgie Anne Geyer tells of how her time in Vienna, where she had intended to study history, led her to pursue a career in journalism. When discussing her reasons for the change, she writes “...I did it because it was fun—so much fun, indeed that it should have been illegal or immoral, by my youthful value system.

Fulbright was in fact for many of us a kind of moral relief. It made discovery respectable, even noble. It showed us that this kind of joyous ‘fun’ of discovering, learning and enjoying is what life is—or ought to be—all about.” (Arndt and Rubin, 1993, p. 128).

For other grantees, the effects of the Fulbright sojourn have been personal rather than professional. A number of Fulbrighters have met their future partners during their time abroad. Gerard Dietemann, a French Fulbright student, met his wife Margaret, an American, while studying at Syracuse University in New York. She undertook a Fulbright grant to study at the Sorbonne the following year, and the two married. In their contribution to *The Fulbright Difference*, they discuss the cultural lessons learned and challenges they have faced throughout their four decades of international living. The chapter ends with remarks about another legacy of their Fulbright experience, their four children. “Our children are quite simply the result of the Fulbright Program. Without it, we never would have met and married. They have always been aware of that. In their early years Senator Fulbright ranked with Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny.” (ibid., p. 86).

The study abroad experience can have a particularly strong impact upon a participant’s worldview, how they think the world is or how it should be. This is perhaps the least tangible or measurable result, but one that is quite widely reported by returned grantees.

“From beginning to end, that Fulbright year taught lessons that have made me see the world differently.” (ibid., p. 288).

“As I see it, the Fulbright opportunity extends to each of its beneficiaries an unspoken invitation to risk abandoning some part of his or her vision of the way the world works, or ought to work, and to replace it, permanently, with a fragment of a worldview shaped by another culture in another place.” (ibid., p. 260).

For some, their worldview becomes fixated upon continued travel and the initial Fulbright sojourn became the first of many international living experiences in a grantee’s life. After a Fulbright scholarship brought him to New Zealand in 1952, Robin W. Winks spent the rest of

his career replicating this experience with research grants; visiting scholar positions in Beirut, Sierra Leone, and South Africa; university tours in India, the Pacific Islands and East Africa; a visiting professorship in Sydney, and a two-year position as cultural attaché at the American Embassy in London (Dudden and Dynes, 1987, pp. 40-41). Winks also held a second Fulbright as a professor at the University of Malaya. Other grantees, such as the aforementioned Dr. Ghachi and Nancy Snow, have also held multiple Fulbright grants.

During the early years of the Fulbright Program, there was little interest in maintaining contact with former grantees. Some annual reports would include contact information for alumni in a directory appendix, but this was limited to country-specific programmes. It did not include all participants in a single directory, or feature any other signs of central organisation. The Board of Foreign Scholarships began to take an interest in Fulbright alumni in the early 1970's. "One of the most difficult tasks that the Board undertook in the course of the year was the attempt to begin a systematic alumni list of former American grantees with a view toward drawing on their ideas and enlisting some of their demonstrated energies and enthusiasms on behalf of the ongoing exchange programs...Unfortunately no central directory exists with current addresses and positions of the more than 100,000 individuals here and abroad who have been the recipients of grants...The board is giving a high priority to a systematic expansion and maintenance of a basic alumni directory." (*BFS, 1972, p. 8*).

The Fulbright Association was founded in 1977, after more than thirty years of exchanges had already taken place. Its establishment coincided with a low point in Congressional support for the programme, as Senator Fulbright had left Congress in 1974 and no one had replaced him as the advocate for exchanges. Involving alumni at this time was seen as a means of establishing a constituency for the Fulbright Program, a group of concerned citizens who would rescue the programme in times of need. Just four years after its founding, the Fulbright Association was faced with such a moment. The substantial cuts

proposed for the 1981 budget were thwarted by the lobbying efforts of Fulbright advocates, including the alumni association. Another crisis moment occurred with the 1999 foreign affairs restructuring and closure of USIA. Fulbright advocates lobbied against proposed plans to merge the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) with the Information Bureau. Alumni were amongst the advocates, along with educators, international education organisations, and some members of Congressional foreign affairs committees. When Secretary of State Madeline Albright changed course and decided to keep ECA separate within the State Department, advocates applauded her choice. They welcomed the move to State, suggesting that it could help boost the profile of educational exchanges. “It’s a more powerful and prestigious institution than USIA, and better known overseas.” (Desruisseaux, 1999). Thus, the prestige of the Fulbright Program was enhanced by an affiliation with State, rather than compromised by an alliance with information activities.

Lobbying remains a primary activity for the Fulbright Association. Although it represents only some 6% of all American alumni, it provides the constituency for the Fulbright Program. “The association, with alumni in every congressional district, is an important advocate for sustained public funding.” (Ilchman, Ilchman and Tolar, 2004, p. 21). The organisation’s website includes a section entitled ‘Take Action,’ which encourages American alumni to contact Congress when the programme’s budget is being decided. “When urgent and rapid action is needed to prevent Fulbright Program cuts, Fulbright alumni are strongly encouraged to call their members of Congress.” (Fulbright Association, 2012). The website provides alumni with a sample telephone script to use when calling their member of Congress:

“Hello, my name is ___ and I am a constituent and an active proponent of the Fulbright Program. I am calling today to urge Senator/Representative ___ to support our most important foreign policy objectives by funding State Department exchange

programs for the rest of Fiscal Year 2011 at the 2010 level of \$635 million and within that amount, fund the Fulbright Program at \$254 million.

I also urge Senator/Representative ___ to support Fiscal Year 2012 funding for State Department exchange programs at the \$637 million level and the Fulbright Program at \$253 million.” (ibid.).

The site also includes links to a directory that enables these constituents to find the contact information of their Congressperson and make the above phone call.

In addition to their lobbying for continued public funding, Fulbright alumni are also active in private fundraising efforts. The Japanese Fulbright Alumni Association reported its fundraising activities to its US counterpart as part of a discussion of best practice. One of their major events was the 31st Annual Japan-US Fulbright Charity Golf Tournament. With a \$340 entry fee, the tournament’s 160 players donated some \$60,000 in all. The alumni association also solicits corporate sponsorship and creates new, jointly-funded scholarships. “The \$43,000 (¥5 million) donors will enjoy their name being hyphenated with Fulbright Crown Scholarship as Toyota-Fulbright, Mitsubishi-Fulbright and YKK-Fulbright Scholarship. The news of this fundraising was widely reported by various media.” (Shono, 2006, p. 2). Such cooperation with prestigious companies also benefits the Fulbright Program’s reputation, as indicated by a note that “well-known corporate names are desirable.” (ibid.) In times of budgetary constraint, fundraisers have chosen to embrace private sector involvement and celebrate it with prestigious, named co-sponsored awards.

It is worth noting that the Fulbright Alumni Association was founded and operated exclusively by individual alumni, not by the Board of Foreign Scholarships or the State Department. Although the Board believed in the value of communicating with alumni and made it a matter of policy, a report on the programme’s administration abroad found that officials made little to no effort to do so. “Field officials are supposed to maintain contact with former foreign grantees—for the most part, this is virtually ignored in all countries.”

(Staats, 1979, p. 11). The Fulbright Program administration has not consistently followed up with alumni after the end of the grant period. This observation was supported by former J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board chairman and Fulbright Association President Hoyt Purvis. In our interview, Professor Purvis noted that the lack of alumni involvement was not due to a lack of interest; rather, the former grantees simply hadn't been asked. "One of the things that we discovered was that most Fulbright alumni, of course many of them were academics, had not really been called upon to rally on behalf of the program. A lot of them were quite willing to do that if they were asked, you know. They hadn't really thought about it...[the Fulbright Program] really had not done enough to foster that kind of continuing involvement by people who had been the beneficiaries of the grants." (Appendix A, p. 273).

Elites and Elitism

There is some hesitation amongst exchange diplomacy scholars to use the term 'elite', as it carries negative connotations of classism and discrimination. I would argue, however, that it accurately describes the Fulbright Program and its participants. Elitism is an inherent quality of the Fulbright Program. A full 90% of U.S. and Visiting Fulbright Students considered the 'prestige of a Fulbright grant' a 'somewhat or very important' factor in their decision to apply (SRI, 2005a, p. 35; SRI, 2005b, p. 37). International higher education is, by its very nature, an elite activity. The traditional 'grand tour,' in which privileged young men travelled around Europe as a capstone of their education, has been replaced by the semester abroad today (Goodwin and Nacht, 1988). International study is a financially demanding undertaking, requiring overseas travel on top of the tuition, books and living expenses incurred by all postgraduate students. It also demands, as prerequisite, an undergraduate degree or its equivalent. Elite status of participants is implied, therefore, by the eligibility requirements. The Fulbright Program application also requires the ability to interview well, which is a skill associated with elite admissions. In most cases, applicants must also possess foreign language fluency, another prerequisite that often suggests elite status. Taken together,

the requirements of financial resources, degree holder status, interview skills and language fluency demonstrate that in order to be eligible for a Fulbright grant, applicants must already possess many markers of elite status.

The Fulbright grantee experience can be understood as the process by which elites gain international expertise. This is consistent with the stated mission of the programme, as elites are well-positioned in their societies to influence others' views of foreign countries. They are expected to become opinion leaders, future elites who will use the knowledge gained during their exchange experience to act as cultural mediators in their careers. When exchange alumni are later involved in foreign policy matters, they represent fulfilment of the opinion leader concept. Lee Hamilton, former chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, mentioned this phenomenon at the 2001 Fulbright Award ceremony. "I recall scores of times when foreign policy challenges were made easier because key actors were beneficiaries of exchange programs that helped them to understand the world and other countries better." (Fineberg, 2001).

Senator Fulbright was responsible, in part, for the elite nature of his exchange programme. According to his biographer Randall Bennett Woods, Fulbright was an elitist (Appendix A). Despite his attempts at a 'folksy' communication style that he employed to connect with working-class Arkansans, J. William Fulbright came from a wealthy, well-connected family. His status as a Rhodes Scholar classifies him as an elite, but even more tellingly, his family already had social connections in the UK prior to his Rhodes experience. "Through their circle of university and banking friends, the Fulbrights knew a number of people who traveled to Europe regularly." (Woods, 1995, p. 21). When Fulbright arrived in London, he spent two days sightseeing with family friend Vivian Lemon before he continued on to Oxford to take up his Rhodes Scholarship (ibid.). His background predisposed J. William Fulbright to elitist views which can be seen throughout his later career.

In addition to his educational exchange programme and his dissenting views against the Vietnam War, Senator Fulbright is also more infamously known for his opposition to the integration of schools and other civil rights acts. Fulbright claimed that he voted according to his constituents' wishes. "In those days in Arkansas my constituents were not about to be persuaded on civil rights...against an emotional fear like miscegenation, I don't think I had a real choice." (Fulbright, 1989, p. 90). Many critics today, however, see his segregationist position as being in line with the views of his generation and his Southern background. Interestingly, however, this racism did not extend to non-white elites, according to his biographer. "His racism had more to do with class than it did with color. If he was dealing with the elite of Ghana or Kenya or India, skin color didn't matter. If you were educated and part of the elite, you were acceptable to him, so it wasn't race prejudice as much as class prejudice. But he even moved away from that." (Appendix A, p. 261). Over time, Senator Fulbright approved of various attempts to 'democratise' the programme.

There have been efforts to broaden the pool of applicants and provide grant opportunities to underprivileged but gifted individuals. During the second decade of exchanges, for example, the Board noted that in some parts of the world, the language proficiency requirement prevented many from applying for grants. "Since fluency in English tends in many countries abroad to be found chiefly among the socially and economically favored groups, efforts are made to draw student grantees from outside these groups by providing opportunities for intensive training in English for the grantees before they take up studies in the U.S." (*BFS, 1966, p. 36*).

Elitism is an inextricable part of the Fulbright Program, and in some ways, it is essential for the success of the programme. Manheim's definition of public diplomacy explicitly mentions elites as a target. He defines public diplomacy as the "efforts by the government of one nation to influence public or elite opinion in a second nation for the purpose of turning the foreign policy of the target nation to advantage." (Manheim, 1994, p.

4). Amongst the various potential elite targets for public diplomacy efforts, students and scholars are prime examples of future opinion leaders. Education plays an undeniably significant role in the formation of one's worldview. As Mitchell describes, "...what intellectuals are saying and students are believing today will affect the political configuration of tomorrow. Friends in high places are perhaps yesterday's seekers of friendship and knowledge." (Mitchell, 1986, pp. 67-68). The application of educational exchange as a public diplomacy tool is based upon the premise that international friendships will lead, in the long-term, to international cooperation and goodwill between the home and host nations. If such friendships are formed amongst the elites, the opinion leaders, then the public diplomacy effects are all the more evident.

The effectiveness of the Fulbright Program is often measured in terms of the elite status of its alumni. Fulbright grantees who hold elite status are publicised as evidence of the programme's success; heads of state, cabinet ministers, business leaders and other distinguished alumni are celebrated in the Fulbright Program's annual reports. Further achievements of individual grantees are used to indicate the exchange programme's effectiveness. Without the exchange experience, it is assumed, they would not have achieved the same levels of success. It is impossible to prove or disprove such counter-factual arguments, however. On the one hand, applicants often apply to more than one competitive scholarship opportunity. If they are unsuccessful in obtaining a Fulbright grant, they may find an alternative scholarship, or even take out an educational loan to pursue their studies. The United States federal educational loan system permits the use of its loans for study at accredited overseas institutions. On the other hand, many Fulbright grantees claim that the experience could not have happened through any other means. Their testimonies cannot be dismissed. There are not always other pathways open to Fulbright applicants.

In terms of fundraising, however, elitism may be damaging to the Fulbright Program. Randall Bennett Woods suggests that elitism might be off-putting for potential donors who

have not been Fulbright grantees. “Fulbrighters don’t have any money. We try to raise funds for the college here [the Fulbright Institute at the University of Arkansas], and they just don’t have any money. They’re not plugged into people who have money. Very unsuccessful fundraisers because, I think, they don’t want to condescend to spend their time with people who make money...Fulbrighters are very elitist.” (Appendix A, p. 265).

Evaluation

The Fulbright grantee experience is often the central object of study in programme evaluations. Within the field of public diplomacy studies, evaluation is a much debated topic. It is difficult to measure the outcomes of programmes which have vague goals, such as ‘increased mutual understanding.’ As former USIA director and celebrated journalist Edward R. Murrow observed, “no cash register rings when a man changes his mind” (Waller, 2007, p. 395). The impact of public diplomacy is not readily observable. The challenge for public diplomacy research is to find a systematic way of turning intangible qualities, such as goodwill, into quantifiable data. How can one measure understanding, trust or reputation? Is it necessary, or even possible to do so? Should the effectiveness of public diplomacy activities simply be taken on faith, as it often is? There have been many attempts, by both academics and programme officials, to measure the effects of educational exchanges. During the early years of the Fulbright Program, when enthusiasm and interest ran high, evaluation studies were frequently conducted in order to understand the impact and explore the potential of the new programme. As the programme matured, however, academic interest waned. In recent years, attempts to assess the practice of educational exchange have been limited in scope and, for the most part, conducted under the remit of the U.S. Department of State. Moreover, many of the academic contributions to the literature have been undertaken by programme alumni; independent assessments are scarce.

Evaluations of the Fulbright Program can be understood to serve two primary functions. Firstly, they provide an evidence-based justification for continued practice and

funding. When lobbying Congress for further appropriations, advocates of educational exchange can point to evaluative research which has judged the programme to be a worthy investment. Such evidence can act as a form of oversight, ensuring that taxpayer dollars are spent wisely. Without the evidence of effectiveness offered by programme evaluations, moreover, the Fulbright Program may be more vulnerable to budget cuts which target ineffective or inefficient federal programmes. In the late 1960s, a time when the Fulbright Program was subjected to such cuts, the Board of Foreign Scholarships struggled to make the case for continued funding levels without demonstrable results. “The [State] Department’s primary mission is to protect and advance the interests of the United States abroad. Its officers often are inclined to seek ways in which the educational exchange program may be utilized to this end alone. Members of Congress see the exchange program as a budgetary and administrative responsibility of the Department. They are inclined to ask for evidence of specific, quantifiable, and immediate results (in a foreign relations sense) of the program.” (*BFS, 1968b, p. vi*). The Board argued that this was unreasonably, as the nature of educational exchange meant that the programmes could not produce the requested quantifiable, immediate effects. Education is a long-term investment, yet this is often unappreciated by those who insist upon short-term evidence of value for money. The Fulbright Program accordingly faced drastic funding reductions. Appropriations dropped from \$46 million in 1968 to \$31 million in fiscal year 1969, a loss of nearly one-third (*ibid.*).

Secondly, evaluations can also play a valuable role in programme planning and policymaking. They provide an opportunity for administrators to better understand both the strengths and limitations of the Fulbright Program, and for participants to make their views known to administrators. In a study of the first four years of the US-India Fulbright exchange programme, for example, several grantees suggested that participants should be older and more experienced. One Indian grantee advised that “...no one below 30 should be allowed to go to America. America is a dangerous place for a young man who falls in love with its

glamour and forgets to do serious studies. America, like other countries, has good and bad things but a matured person with discriminating judgment can decide what he should do. I would not want to make it a hard and fast rule about a man's age but I feel that a man should have at least six to eight years' experience after his graduation before he can absorb what is good and beneficial for himself and to his country." (*Langley, 1953, p. 7*). As a more recent counterpart to this from a 2005 evaluative study, an American student in India suggested "that returning scholars be given more organized opportunities to share their experiences—personal, not academic—with more Americans: children, seniors, high school children, anybody. The Rotary Scholarships do this with returning scholars giving presentations at clubs." (*SRI, 2005a, p. 42*). Evaluative studies can help guide policy decisions, from candidate selection criteria to reimbursement of dependents' travel expenses. Aspects of the programme that are seen to contribute to its goals and enhance the culture learning experience can be continued in the future. By identifying the most and least effective elements of educational exchange, evaluation research can guide administrators towards a set of definitive best practice guidelines.

These two purposes seem to justify the need for evaluative studies, yet some Fulbright Program administrators and exchange advocates have argued that such assessments are unnecessary. The programme, in their view, is above scrutiny; there is often an implication that only the unenlightened would question the value of educational exchange. In his contribution to an edited volume of alumni reflections, three-time Fulbright grantee Robin W. Winks argued that the educational exchange advocates should not have to bear the burden of proof. "The reply that the effectiveness of educational exchange is not so obvious to our congressmen is best met by the simple injunction to elect congressmen who understand the value." (*Winks in Dudden and Dynes, 1987, p. 44*). Those outsiders who take a critical approach are thus disregarded by programme insiders. They just don't 'get it' and likely never will, according to this view.

Some advocates suggest that we shouldn't attempt to quantify the experience's effects and speak instead of a generalised faith that we should have in the value of this practice. At a symposium marking the twentieth anniversary of the Fulbright Program, Herman B. Wells described this faith in relation to questions of evaluation. "Our inability to 'prove' the value of educational exchange suggests an important point: how much we must depend in these efforts on our *faith* in the inherent worth of educational ties that link together the people of many countries around the world. Far from diminishing the stature of the Fulbright Program, this reliance on *faith in the efficacy of educational exchange* elevates the entire matter. It is a tribute rather than a criticism to observe that the basic rationale of international educational cannot be computerized." (italics as in original, Wells in Michie, 1967, p. 28). Thus, the Fulbright Program's advocates have turned the argument around, using the very lack of evidence of effectiveness as proof that it is a worthwhile endeavour. This puts would-be critics of the programme in the awkward position of arguing against faith. Understandably, few scholars have chosen to challenge the faith of the educational exchange community and question the Fulbright Program's effectiveness.

There have been many attempts to assess the impacts of the Fulbright Program, both on its individual participants and on their home and host nations. The original legislation for the programme made no provision for evaluation, but during the early years there was a great deal of interest in its impacts, as administrators and observers tried to understand the new exchange programme. Its purpose was not well understood, making any attempt to judge its effectiveness difficult. Early studies often took on a somewhat defensive tone as they argued that the programme was effective. When findings did not support the programme's effectiveness, this was explained away. "Although the effect does not appear to be brilliant," one study concludes, "it may in fact be a maximum expectable effect, and therefore a reasonably successful realization of a limited potential." (Riegel, 1953, p. 327). Researchers sometimes pointed to their research method as the reason that the expected increase in

understanding hadn't been supported by the findings, while still insisting that it was there. "A mail survey among Americans is not the ideal instrument for measuring the extent to which international understanding and good-will have been increased, but the vast extent of international contact and correspondence which has developed, the books and articles written and lectures delivered, the interest stimulated in international activities, and the assistance given to other Americans going abroad indicate that the program does indeed have an effect in the desired direction." (Mendelsohn and Orenstein, 1955, p. 407). On the whole, these early evaluations seemed eager to demonstrate that the fledgling programme was worthy of broad popular and financial support.

Among the earliest of the evaluation studies was a review of U.S. exchange-of-persons programmes in 1953. The Cultural Contacts Project selected Belgian alumni as a case study, due to the long history of exchanges between the U.S. and Belgium under the Belgian-American Educational Foundation, funded by aid surpluses after the First World War. In the study, a number of personal and professional impact areas were assessed, including the grantees' attitudes towards the United States, the prominence achieved by participants in their respective careers, and the self-reported usefulness of their experience. The study was exclusively interested in the individual grantee and used their reported experiences to measure the effectiveness of the programme. Their findings suggested that, at least in the case of Belgium, personal and professional successes could not be directly linked to the exchange experience. "Former grantees are, on the whole, successful in their vocations and well provided with social capital, but little evidence can be found to support the thesis that the exchange experience was the crucial or even a major determinant of the course of their lives." (Riegel, 1953, p. 327).

Another early assessment by Niefeld and Mendelsohn (1954) examined America's educational exchange activities that fall under the Smith-Mundt Act. The study consisted of a survey of administrators at participating institutions across the United States. While they

were nearly unanimous in their praise for the programme, the authors admit that these individuals' views have limited use as evidence of the programme's effectiveness. "At best, the majority of these opinions are based primarily on intelligent observations rather than on systematic evaluation. The empirical problem of testing the effectiveness of the educational program in 'creating international understanding and friendship for the United States' remains." (Niefeld and Mendelsohn, 1954, p. 37). This statement could be applied to other studies which rely on participants' testimonies for evidence, as well. The positive assessments of the Fulbright Program are often simply a collection of positive individual assessments of the grantee experience.

The first study to assess the Fulbright Program exclusively was a survey by Mendelsohn and Orenstein (1955). The post-sojourn questionnaire employed in this study considered the effects of the programme on both the individual grantee and on his or her community upon returning home. This concern with the home community is unusual in these evaluative studies, but it touches upon a vital aspect of assessing the Fulbright Program's overall effectiveness. Impacts in the home community offer an example of the multiplier effect in practice. Mendelsohn and Orenstein found that teacher grantees had organised international pen-pals for their students through contacts that they had made in the host country (Mendelsohn and Orenstein, 1955, pp. 405-406). The teachers passed their cultural knowledge on to their students with this pen-pal initiative. For each individual teacher grantee, then, we can see influence reaching out to a classroom of twenty or more students. This example offers a compelling argument for the multiplier effect of the Fulbright Program, in the case of the teacher exchange grant category.

The 1961 Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act included provisions for annual reports and established the U.S. Advisory Commission on International and Cultural Affairs to carry out an evaluative study of American exchange diplomacy activities. The study consisted of interviews with several thousand exchange participants, as well as

testimonies from U.S. ambassadors, foreign service officers, and educational leaders. The resulting report, *A Beacon of Hope: The Exchange-of-Persons Program*, found a broad consensus on the programme's success. "Testimony is overwhelming from all sources that the program as a whole is effective. The evidence is also conclusive that the program has proved itself an essential and valuable part of America's total international effort." (Gardner, 1963, p. 1). Recommendations for improvements to the programme included the preferential selection of candidates from outside of elite institutions, the improved scrutiny of cultural affairs officers, and an increase in funding. Despite the report's positive assessment of the programme, efforts to increase exchange activities over the following years went unfunded and the Fulbright Program faced significant budget cuts. In 1969-70, grants for Americans dropped from 1,600 to 650, a decline of sixty percent, while the number of foreign grantees was reduced by thirty percent, from 4,000 to 2,800 (Young, 1969, p. 4). These cuts demonstrate the limitations of evaluative reports. Their recommendations are not always adhered to in the face of budget reductions.

When the U.S. International Communication Agency assumed the responsibility of educational and cultural exchanges, they undertook an evaluation to assess the current state of American exchange diplomacy. Amongst their findings was the observation that grantees were not consistently asked for evaluation reports at the end of their experience, and that resulting reports were not consistently used across the different country programmes. There appears to have been a number of problems with the process of evaluation in the report's findings. "The contracting agencies generally spotcheck the evaluation report for problems dealing with their procedural processes. They were not asked to analyze the reports for program or administrative improvements or identification of common problems. In addition, there was no verification to ascertain that all grantees submitted their reports...ICA officials do not believe that the reports provide sufficient, meaningful information to require any

thorough analysis in view of their limited staff resources.” (Staats, 1979, p. 44). This begs the question, why should grantees complete reports if they are not going to be used?

Many evaluations have focused on the Fulbright Program’s activities in specific regions or countries. Narrowing the scope of the study enables researchers to examine specific cases in-depth. Sunal and Sunal (1991) conducted a survey of returned American Fulbright senior scholars who had carried out their grants in African countries. Their study assessed impacts such as the number of publications which had resulted from the scholars’ Fulbright experience, the professional skills they had learned abroad, and the perceived benefits to the grantees’ home institutions. By limiting the scope of the study to this single grant category and regional case study, Sunal and Sunal were able to gain a great deal of in-depth qualitative and quantitative data from their manageable number of survey respondents. Similarly, a study on Turkish Fulbright participants was conducted by Demir, Aksu and Paykoç (2000). Their survey covered the academic and extra-curricular activities during the sojourn, the lasting effects of the experience on participants’ careers, and grantees’ overall satisfaction with the experience. There is a distinct emphasis on the programme’s responsiveness to local needs. “Our findings indicate that one of the main objectives of the Fulbright Education Committee, to promote the development of Turkish universities and colleges, was largely actualized.” (Demir, Aksu and Paykoç, 2000, p. 109). This suggests an important point about the programme’s binational structure. Country-specific needs can influence the objectives, and therefore also the effectiveness, of individual country programmes. Case study research methods are particularly useful for examining the Fulbright Program, in which so much is dependent upon its binational character.

In terms of research design, the vast majority of studies have consisted of surveying and interviewing grantees. Other groups, such as host institution contacts, programme administrators or members of the grantee’s social network, have rarely been utilised in evaluative research. The justification for focusing on the grantee in an evaluative research is

because grantees have exclusive first-hand knowledge of the exchange experience. They are also relatively accessible subjects, because binational commissions and alumni associations retain the contact information of former participants. Exchange alumni are often eager to discuss their experiences. Past surveys of Fulbrighters have seen high questionnaire response rates, from 86% (Mendelsohn and Orenstein, 1955) to 70% (Burn, 1982). At the student grantee level, study abroad participants also have a great deal in common with each other in terms of demographics, being roughly the same age and educational attainment level, which can enhance the generalisability of a study's findings. There are a number of challenges inherent in the exclusive focus on grantees, however. Their anecdotal evidence to support claims of the Fulbright Program's effectiveness is determined by their own judgment and may be of limited use in scientifically rigorous studies.

Participants' testimonies of their experiences are by nature subjective and highly personal. Alumni are understandably grateful for their grants, and can be expected to express this when speaking about their experiences. One of the earliest studies of Fulbright grantees observed this in a series of interviews. "The investigator must keep in mind the obvious gratification and gratitude of persons who have been selected for honorific, subsidized foreign travel." (Riegel, 1953, p. 321). It is entirely reasonable for grant recipients to colour their experiences with this gratitude in their interview statements. For the researcher, however, it means that their testimony must be considered in light of this gratitude and not necessarily taken at face value. Education scholar Dieter Breitenbach queried the impact of feelings of indebtedness on such findings, asking "Was it really the effectiveness of the programme that was being measured or, to some extent, the politeness of the grantees?" (Breitenbach in Eide, 1970, p. 87). Examples of what I call a 'politeness bias' are common in the literature. Favourable testimonies that claim the experience was 'life-changing' are reported as findings in many studies. In a 2005 U.S. State Department-sponsored evaluation of the Visiting Fulbright Student Program, a South African students superlative praise is

quoted: “Fulbright is the most wonderful thing that could ever happen in my life.” (SRI, 2005b, p. 16). American grantees express similar sentiments. The U.S. Fulbright Student report from the same year includes the following quote from a grantee to New Zealand: “The Fulbright experience was a magical, enriching, life-changing experience for me.” (SRI, 2005a, p. 8). These views may certainly be true for the students who express them, of course, but they do not offer proof that the programme is effective in achieving its aims. They are highly subjective, revealing perhaps more about the personality of the student than about the experience offered by the programme.

The quality of respondents’ answers depends to a large extent on the quality of the questions asked. Many evaluators in previous studies have asked satisfaction-level questions, simple questions that ask for yes-or-no responses rather than evaluation-level questions, which demand more complex answers. In the section regarding overall effects of the Fulbright grant, a recent evaluation asked American grantees to rate whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “1) Fulbright experiences were valuable; 2) Alumni are proud to have been Fulbright students.” (ibid., p. 8). The response was nearly unanimously favourable: 99% of respondents agreed that their experiences were valuable and that they were proud to have been Fulbright students. These are examples of satisfaction-level questions, because they do not invite elaborate responses or permit follow-up questioning. In what ways were their experiences valuable? What was the most valuable aspect? Answers to such questions would greatly enhance the study’s findings.

Researchers have also identified a semantics problem that can arise during some grantees’ post-sojourn interviews. Speaking formally with researchers can lead participants to aggrandise their experiences and broaden the definition of the ‘cultural’ to include a wide variety of activities. In his study of foreign Fulbright students in the United States, Riegel found that students and researchers tended to overstate certain aspects of the exchange experience when questioned by researchers. “It is interesting to note that interrogations often

revealed that ‘personal cultural enrichment’ can be translated as meaning good times with friends, and American hospitality and recreation, including Broadway shows, high-speed travel in automobiles, cocktail parties, and girls. This suggests a semantics difficulty in most evaluation studies, as both investigators and respondents are inclined to use a much more ponderous and pretentious vocabulary than the nature of the experience seems to warrant.” (Riegel, 1953, pp.324-325). The participants chose to label these experiences with more elevated language than they likely would have used outside of the evaluation context. The researchers also encouraged this language, as they asked for evidence of ‘personal cultural enrichment’. A more open-ended approach, asking them about their experiences more generally, would likely have produced responses that used a more colloquial and less pretentious vocabulary.

Researchers assessing the ‘effectiveness’ of the Fulbright Program face the difficult task of determining what constitutes effectiveness. Measuring effectiveness requires clear goals against which outcomes can be judged. This is made difficult by the fact that the Fulbright Program’s goals are unclear and vaguely defined. The programme’s stated goal is to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other nations (*Public Law 87-256*). The term ‘mutual understanding’ is not elaborated upon, however, and evaluators are left to define it for the purposes of their own studies. This problem has been cited by education scholars as a challenge that arises in the evaluation of scholarship programmes. “The more lofty and abstract the mission (e.g. increasing international understanding), the more difficult it is to evaluate what was accomplished by the recipients or the program in general.” (Ilchman, Ilchman and Tolar, 2004, p. 10).

If we do not have a clear vision of what the Fulbright Program is meant to accomplish, then it is nearly impossible to judge its accomplishments. James M. Davis, former Vice President for Foreign Student Programs of the IIE, suggested that this lack of clarity presents a barrier to evaluation. “I suppose it is hard to have follow-up studies,

utilization of foreign training studies, studies of attitude change, because we are not really quite sure what we are after...Perhaps it is so broad in terms of objectives, or our motives are so disparate, that we can't mount an evaluative study." (Davis in Michie, 1967, p. 71). The mission of the programme needs to be clear in order to measure programme outcomes against it. Without clearly defined goals, one cannot assess whether goals have been met.

The Fulbright Difference

A 1993 collection of Fulbright grantee essays, *The Fulbright Difference*, used grantee reflections to explore the difference that the grant had made in the lives of its recipients. The volume describes personal and professional impacts, however, that could result from other forms of international living experience, and which are not necessarily limited to the Fulbright Program. Fulbright grantees are a small subsection of the international flow of students, researchers, lecturers and other educational travellers. Visiting Fulbright students constitute less than one percent of the total number of international students in the United States each year (FSB, 2009; IIE, 2012). What are the experiences of the many others who are involved in international education, the non-Fulbright academic sojourners? How do they differ from that of Fulbright grantees? By comparing and contrasting their experience with that of the Fulbright grantee, we can better understand the Fulbright grantee experience and its lasting impacts.

The most obvious difference in the experience of Fulbrighters is the financial support of the Fulbright grant itself. As discussed in chapter four, the amount and scope of the grant has changed over time, but most grants cover travel, living expenses, and in the case of students, tuition fees. Some participants have argued that it does not provide enough, that this prevents some eligible candidates from applying. Richard Kostelanetz, a Fulbrighter at the University of London in 1964-65, claimed that Fulbright grants were insufficient. "The biggest threat facing the Fulbright scholar is lack of money. He simply does not receive enough to subsist, even alone; and those with families or those assigned to cities with higher

standards of living are further disadvantaged, because they receive no supplements for their greater burden.” (*Kostelanetz, 1966, p. 725*). For grantees with dependents, the level of support may be too low to make a Fulbright year feasible.

Yet despite complaints about insufficient funding, it is important to recognise that most other international students and scholars receive no such financial support. Most are self-funded, relying on loans, savings or family resources to cover tuition and living expenses. Amongst international students in the U.S. during the 2009-2010 academic year, 63% were self-funded. In many countries, their student visa status prohibits or limits their employment, which further increases the financial challenge of overseas study. Fulbright grantees are also given practical support with their finances, as one student explained, “There’s a lot of handholding from Fulbright, too, like they set up my bank account for me and took care of the housing arrangements with the university before I got here.” (Appendix A, p. 280). Other international students might have difficulty making such arrangements on arrival, particularly in cases where a language barrier exists.

Another important difference between Fulbright grantees and other international scholars is the question of access. The Fulbright status can facilitate research access for grant holders. For American grantee Douglas Ramage, his 1991 Fulbright doctoral dissertation research award gave him access to essential resources and people. “The grant was to study the role of democracy, nationalism and Islam in Indonesia...Everyone told me that I would never get permission from the Indonesian government to study that. But it was the respect for the Fulbright Program that reassured that government and led to my research permit.” (FSB, 2010, p. 48). The cache of the Fulbright Program enabled Ramage to research his potentially controversial topic. Upon arriving in the country, Ramage found that his grantee status continued to play an important role, giving him access to resources that might not be available otherwise. “As a Fulbrighter, I could literally go anywhere and see anyone. For two full years, I spent countless hours, days and weeks with figures like Abdurrahman Wahid

(‘Gus Dur’) who, in 1999, would become democratic Indonesia’s first President.” (ibid.). Not only did the Fulbright grantee status help Ramage to obtain his research permit, but it also gave him an unusual degree of access to elites.

Another striking example of access came from one of my interviews. The Fulbright student explained to me that his assigned personal mentor was the Vice Chancellor of the University, a former Fulbright grantee and member of the US-UK Fulbright Commission. While most international students would never meet the Vice Chancellor, this grantee told me that “he took me to dinner and a show in town” (Appendix A, p. 280). Socialising with the head of the University is certainly not part of the typical study abroad experience. This anecdote supports the notion that the Fulbright Program is an elite experience, bringing international elites together both professionally and socially.

Conclusion

Fulbright grantees are selected on the basis of merit, and sent to or from the U.S. as unofficial representatives of their native countries. During their time abroad, they may experience culture shock as they adjust to new surroundings, but they soon establish themselves at work and in their communities. In terms of culture learning and adaptation, the experience can be as immersive as one decides to make it. Some grantees, like the Dietemanns, Robin Winks, Sylvia Plath or Derek Bok marry partners whom they have met during the Fulbright grant period—perhaps the ultimate illustration of ‘going native.’ The administration does not aim for full assimilation, but rather that grantees might simply return to their home countries with a better appreciation of the host country and its people.

In practice, the impacts of studying or teaching abroad as a Fulbright grantee may not be so very different from those felt by people who had studied or worked overseas by other means. International living can reasonably be expected to change one’s worldview and influence one’s career choices. The elite nature of the Fulbright Program, I would argue, is

the difference between the Fulbright experience and any other academic sojourn. As one student described her motivation to apply to the Fulbright Program, “I liked the idea of doing research abroad instead of just spending a semester abroad partying.” (Appendix A, p. 282). The Fulbright may be taken more seriously than a junior year or semester abroad, and more respected on one’s curriculum vitae. The programme’s prestigious reputation is, arguably, ‘the Fulbright difference.’

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Introduction

This study has examined the role of the Fulbright Program within American public diplomacy and the context of U.S. foreign policy. By placing the history of the programme within the context of global politics, the study has identified connections between significant events in America's foreign relations and the educational exchange activities of the Fulbright Program. This study has shown that educational and cultural exchanges have, in most participating countries, supported America's long-term foreign policy goals. Despite its avowedly apolitical nature, the Fulbright Program can be seen to contribute to American foreign policy objectives. During the Cold War, the programme offered an opportunity for foreign grantees to observe the American way of life first-hand, and for American grantees to dispel stereotypes overseas. More recently, Fulbright grantees have played a similar role in the post-9/11 era by building networks between scholars in the Arab and Muslim world and scholars in the United States.

The study has brought the history of the Fulbright Program up to date, charting its development beyond the Cold War and into the twenty-first century. While previous studies have focused primarily on the first two decades of the exchange program, this study acknowledges the substantial changes that have taken place more recently. During the Cold War era, the Fulbright Program and American public diplomacy activities were directed towards a singular, long-term objective. The ideological struggle with Communism dominated America's foreign policy agenda for more than four decades. Much of the existing literature links the Fulbright Program, and public diplomacy activities in general, to this objective. This approach neglects more recent developments, such as the Fulbright Program's role in newly independent states after the end of the Cold War, or in the Muslim and Arab

world after 9/11. The present study has addressed these knowledge gaps and contributed to our understanding of the Fulbright Program's more recent activities.

This chapter will summarise the study's findings and address the research questions set out in the introductory chapter. The discussion of findings identifies the original contributions of this study to our understanding of the Fulbright Program, American public diplomacy, and the field of public diplomacy as a whole. It applies the theoretical framework to this history and determines whether the expectations that guide exchange diplomacy practices are fulfilled by the Fulbright Program. It responds to the four research questions, connecting them to the findings of archival research and interviews. The policy relevance of the findings will be explored, and the chapter will close with a discussion of future research directions.

The Fulbright Program and American Public Diplomacy

The archival material has revealed a number of patterns emerging from the history of the Fulbright Program. There has been a discernable ebb and flow of enthusiasm for public diplomacy and exchange diplomacy amongst American policymakers and U.S. Presidents. Interestingly, support is not partisan in nature. On the left, we can see that some Democrats like Johnson have cut the programme, while Kennedy, Carter and Obama have actively promoted it. On the right, Republicans like Eisenhower, Reagan and George W. Bush have supported exchanges and explicitly linked them with America's foreign policy agenda, while Nixon and Ford took little interest in educational and cultural exchanges. The archives have also shown that U.S. officials are not necessarily more supportive of the exchange programme during war time, as has been argued about public diplomacy activities more generally.

Turning to the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two, the study has assessed the extent to which the assumptions behind exchange diplomacy practices have been fulfilled by the Fulbright Program. The analysis of the archival material and interviews suggest that

the exchange programme, in practice, does not always meet the expectations outlined by its theoretical framework. Contact often fails to meet the conditions for reduction of prejudice, participants selected on the basis of merit are not always opinion leaders, and public opinion impacts on foreign policy are, ultimately, difficult to discern and quantify.

The contact hypothesis is widely accepted in the public diplomacy literature, both explicitly and implicitly. Nancy Snow's study of the Fulbright Program tested the contact hypothesis and found that foreign Fulbright students do indeed act as cultural mediators during their sojourns (Snow, 1992). Most studies do not cite Allport's hypothesis, but refer instead to similar ideas and accept the contact hypothesis implicitly. They express an assumption that contact will reduce prejudices and stereotyping. This study has found that the rhetoric linking contact with increased understanding is ever-present throughout the Fulbright Program's publicity materials, annual reports, evaluation studies and other relevant works.

“By bringing carefully selected groups of foreign citizens into personal contact with our citizens and their way of life, the educational exchange program has done much to convey the truth about the U.S. to the leaders and future leaders of the other nations of the world and, through them, to their peoples.” (*BFS, 1959*).

“A fundamental purpose of the educational exchange program under the Fulbright-Hays Act is to increase mutual understanding through direct contact between the people of the United States and the people of other countries.” (*BFS, 1968a*).

Senator Fulbright's speeches about the exchange programme employ similar rhetoric, expressing his conviction that contact leads to mutual understanding between people of different backgrounds. Though it is rarely explained in Allport's terms, the contact hypothesis is commonly used to justify educational exchange activities.

One vital element that is often disregarded in the exchange diplomacy literature, however, is the matter of contact conditions. In order for a contact scenario to effectively reduce prejudice and improve relations between the two participating groups, they must meet a number of conditions. Groups must be of an equal status in the contact scenario; it must be sanctioned by institutions; it should encourage the perception of common interests; and contact should occur in the pursuit of a common goal (Allport, 1954, p. 281). These conditions have been further explored and supported by the psychology literature (Macrae et al., 1996; Stangor et al., 1996; Langer et al., 1985). This study has demonstrated that Allport's conditions are rarely met in the Fulbright Program exchange scenario, and do not constitute part of the programme design.

The condition of equal status contact may be met for Fulbright student grantees interacting with peers, or for Fulbright scholars or lecturers interacting with colleagues. It does not apply to student-teacher interaction, however, and this is a common scenario for Fulbright grantees. A survey of visiting Fulbright grantees found that 84% had contact with host school faculty after the grant period (SRI, 2005b, p. 33). The contact scenario is sanctioned by home and host country institutions under the Fulbright Program; this condition can be said to be met. The criteria of common interests and common goals, however, are more difficult to judge in the case of the Fulbright Program. Grantees primarily carry out independent research, which suggests that this condition is not being met. Extra-curricular activities, such as volunteering or playing sports, may offer more opportunities for this condition to be met in a contact scenario. These are not, however, part of the exchange programme's design. Administrators, in summary, do not organise opportunities for contact which meets the conditions described by the contact hypothesis.

The opinion leader concept, known as the multiplier effect in the exchange diplomacy literature, is also nearly universally accepted. It has been used to justify the emphasis on elite participation. Elites will go on to become opinion leaders, it is argued, and will be well-

placed to share their cultural knowledge with others in the target society. Opinion leaders are no longer only politicians and activists. Technological advancements in communications mean that anyone with access to the web can share opinions with global audiences. This development has important implications for the opinion leader concept and its role in American public diplomacy. Giles Scott-Smith uses the example of a Saudi blogger who participated in the U.S. State Department's International Visitor Leadership Program to illustrate the changing identity of the opinion leader (Scott-Smith, 2008, p. 191). Bloggers and social media users who have many subscribers are able to share their views with large, complex networks. In a technologically advanced communications environment, highly-networked individuals are the new opinion leaders.

In terms of the Fulbright Program, the opinion leader concept has been used to justify the programme's emphasis on elite participation. As discussed in chapter six, the programme is inherently elite, because postgraduate education and international travel are traditionally elite activities. When elites or future elites engage with each other in Fulbright Program activities, it is expected that they will become opinion leaders in later life. Of course, it is important to recognise that they will likely only be opinion leaders in their own fields. As most Fulbright alumni go on to pursue academic careers, their circle of influence in terms of public opinion will likely remain relatively small. Some critics of the Fulbright Program have questioned the suitability of academics for this purpose. "If the Fulbright Program considers itself an adjunct of diplomacy, it should select red-cheeked fraternity presidents rather than scholars." (*Kostelanetz, 1966, p. 725*). This prompts an important question: are academics suited to the task of citizen diplomacy? To put it diplomatically, academics are not known for being gregarious people. In addition to their personal qualities, Fulbright grantees also pursue demanding research projects during their sojourn and spend a great deal of time working in offices and laboratories (Appendix A). This leaves little time for the types of social activities

that create mutual understanding, activities which the ‘red-cheeked fraternity presidents’ would not only pursue, but actively organise.

The final element of the framework is the assumed influence of public opinion on foreign policy. This is a highly contested topic in political theory. Of the three assumptions that make up this theoretical framework, it is the most difficult to measure, to prove or disprove. Realists, such as Hans Morgenthau, argue that people are more concerned with domestic issues than they are with foreign policy issues (Holsti, 1992). Domestic policy matters, such as the state of the economy and the unemployment rate, are considered more salient than foreign policy matters. Moreover, realists argue that because people are not inclined to become adequately informed about foreign affairs, their views on foreign affairs are based on emotion rather than reason. These emotional responses can unnecessarily restrain policy-makers, according to the realist school of thought. Liberal thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, on the other hand, argue that democracies are inherently more peaceful because the ‘dove’ public can constrain ‘hawk’ policy-makers (ibid.). Of course, democratic states do not always listen to ‘dove’ public opinion when determining foreign policy matters, as the case of the Iraq War demonstrates. 15 February 2003 saw the largest anti-war protest in British history, as only 26% of the public approved of Prime Minister Tony Blair’s handling of Iraq (Gordon and Shapiro, 2004, p. 144). Despite the protests and opinion polls, British armed forces participated in the invasion of Baghdad just a few weeks later.

In terms of the Fulbright Program, this study has found little evidence to support the impact of exchanges on public opinion and foreign policy matters. In its discussion of the global political context in which the programme operates, however, this study has noted substantial changes that support this assumption. For much of the Fulbright Program’s history, more of the world’s population lived under authoritarian governments than in democracies. Today, the reverse is true. A recent study has found that only 37.1% of the world’s population live under authoritarian regimes, and China’s population alone accounts

for half of this figure (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2013, p. 2). In the six decades since the founding of the Fulbright Program, waves of democratisation have taken place around the world (Huntington, 1991). The impact of public opinion on policy-making has become stronger as more countries have become democratic.

Looking to the research questions outlined in the introductory chapter, this study has offered a multifaceted response in its history and analysis of the Fulbright Program. The first question considers the overall role of Fulbright exchanges in American public diplomacy and foreign policy since the end of the Second World War. The archival material has shown that the role of the exchange programme has changed over time, in accordance with the prevailing attitudes of officials towards public diplomacy and with America's foreign policy agenda. In its first two decades of exchanges, the Fulbright Program was closely tied to America's long-term foreign policy objectives. In post-war Europe, the programme served as an academic adjunct to the Marshall Plan, while in Japan, they mended relations. After a peak of expansion and funding in the mid-1960s, however, a distinct drift away from this foreign policy connection can be observed. Much of the rhetoric promotes educational exchange for its own sake, rather than for its potential contribution to America's foreign policy objectives. The academic prestige of the Fulbright brand began to take precedence in the 1980s and 1990s, with this trend particularly accelerating after the end of the Cold War.

The second research question asks what the funding history of the Fulbright Program reveals about its purpose and practices. The archival material shows that Fulbright Program administrators have been adaptable and resilient in their near-constant search for funding. The initial funding by surplus war property has been acknowledged to be seed money, the minimal resources required to establish the exchange programme and encourage further investment by other actors, both public and private, foreign and domestic. Creative funding sources, such as agricultural surplus exports and Finland's American loan repayments, enabled the exchange programme to continue and expand in the 1950s. As the programme

grew, partner nations began to contribute on an increasingly equal basis with the United States. Congressional appropriations are still vital, however, as they provide a foundation upon which private and foreign funding sources can build.

Looking to the Fulbright Program's place in Washington, D.C., the third question asks how the exchange programme's development has been influenced by the bureaucratic structure of American public diplomacy. The twentieth century saw multiple shifts and reorganisations, and many public diplomacy advocates feared ill effects of bureaucratic restructuring on America's activities in the field. The archives have shown, however, that these shifts had little impact on the Fulbright Program's development. Senator Fulbright and other exchange advocates feared that the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs would be ruined by coexisting alongside propaganda activities in the US Information Agency (Johnson and Colligan, 1965, p. 72). Yet when the two activities were combined, these fears did not come to fruition. Since 1978, the exchange programme has been conducted by the same agency responsible for overseas information activities, under three different bureaucratic configurations: the US International Communication Agency, the US Information Agency and the US State Department. The Fulbright Program has, if anything, become significantly larger and more entrenched during this period. While it is true that American public diplomacy in general did decline in the 1990s, the Fulbright Program actually expanded during this decade. Moreover, my interview with Hoyt Purvis, Foreign Scholarship Board member from 1993 to 2003, showed that the attitude of the Board was decidedly positive and optimistic about the 1999 restructuring. Board members were well-connected with the Clinton administration and managed to maintain the profile of the Fulbright Program. The archival material and interviews suggest that the bureaucratic structure of American public diplomacy has had little bearing on the development of the Fulbright Program, and that individual advocates have played a more significant role.

The fourth and final research question considers how the Fulbright grantee experience fulfils the objectives of American public diplomacy. The archival material contains limited evidence to support grantee fulfilment of these objectives. Administrators and programme evaluators have used grantee testimonies to demonstrate the programme's effectiveness. Coming from presumably grateful grant recipients, this anecdotal evidence carries inherently favourable biases. The archival material and interviews in this study suggest that the grantee experience has grown increasingly focused on the academic aspirations of individual grantees, rather than the grantees' potential contributions to international mutual understanding and goodwill. This perceived shift has important implications for the purpose of the Fulbright Program. Is it meant to be a competitive, merit-based award for academic excellence? If academic prestige is the new focus for grantees, how does the Fulbright Program contribute to the objectives of American public diplomacy?

The Future of the Fulbright Program

As this study has shown, the Fulbright Program and the context in which it operates have both changed a great deal over the past six decades. In 1946, the world had just emerged from a state of total war for the second time in thirty years. The U.S. economy was in the midst of a post-war boom and an American consumer culture emerged. The twenty-first century provides a markedly different context, in terms of international politics, economics, culture and technology. Educational exchanges with the five BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) may become the Fulbright Program's priority in the future. We also now face global, borderless challenges such as climate change and food security, and the Fulbright Program may be used to seek solutions through international collaborative research. How have recent exchange initiatives reached out to the BRICS countries and addressed new global challenges?

The rise of China has been arguably the most significant geopolitical change in the post-Cold War era. In the past two decades, China's higher education system has become

increasingly internationalised. Once primarily sending its students to the West and losing many to the 'brain drain' phenomenon, China is now both a sender and receiver of students (Gürüz, 2011). China has been an important target for American public diplomacy since the origins of the practice, as this study has shown, and it remains a vital partner in educational and cultural exchange today.

The Obama administration and the Chinese government have made educational and cultural exchange an important part of US-Chinese relations, notably with the 2009 launch of the 100,000 Strong Initiative. The stated goals of the 100,000 Strong Initiative are "to increase dramatically the number, and diversity the composition, of American students studying in China as a means to enhance people-to-people ties between our two nations." (U.S. Department of State, 2012). Underserved and minority students are underrepresented in study abroad programmes, and particularly in China. The initiative has been supported by a wide range of organisations and corporate donors, including the Ford Foundation, Americans Promoting Study Abroad, Bank of China, Microsoft, Motorola Mobility Foundation, Deloitte and Hilton Worldwide (*ibid.*). A private non-profit organisation, the 100,000 Strong Foundation, has been created to continue the work of the initiative, making this an interesting example of state-private cooperation. There is still a great deal more work to be done: according to the Foundation's website, there are twelve times more Chinese students studying in the U.S. than Americans studying in China (100,000 Strong Foundation, 2014).

In recent years, Brazil has become another significant rising power in international politics. As is the case with China, Brazil and other Latin American countries have long been recognised as important targets of American public diplomacy. In 2011, following the successful establishment of the China exchange initiative, the Obama administration introduced a Latin American programme, 100,000 Strong in the Americas. The goals of this initiative are similar to its Chinese counterpart, but on a regional scale. "The purpose of

100,000 Strong is to foster region-wide prosperity through greater international exchange of students, who are our future leaders and innovators. Increasing understanding in the Western Hemisphere and building closer people-to-people ties will help the State Department work together with the people of the Western Hemisphere to address common challenges including citizen security, economic opportunity, social inclusion, and environmental sustainability.” (U.S. Department of State, 2012).

The concept of “common challenges” has been applied to other educational and cultural exchange activities under the Obama administration. The Fulbright Nexus Program brings together multidisciplinary scholars to address globally shared challenges. According to a statement from Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs official Alina L. Romanowski, the Nexus Program facilitates the collaboration necessary to face such international challenges. “The [Obama] administration and the Secretary [of State Hillary Clinton] see that there are global issues, and the solutions to these global issues, whether it's health or energy or climate change or food security, require creative collaboration and partnerships... We need to create the environment and bring these folks together.” (Wilhelm, 2010).

Looking to the future, we may be entering another period in which the programme reverts to a more global, holistic approach. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, Washington policy-makers, State Department officials and Fulbright Program administrators emphasised the importance of engagement with the Arab and Muslim world. Grants for the Near East and South Asia were increased, but this approach was temporary. Exchanges with these regions are higher than they were in the pre-9/11 era, but they remain a relatively small percentage of the global total. During the 2000-01 academic year, exchanges with the Near East and South Asia accounted for 8.5% of all Fulbright grants (FSB, 2000). In the 2011-2012 academic year, they made up 17% of the total (FSB, 2011). While this doubling is significant, this is a small percentage of the total grants for an area of strategic importance in American foreign policy. Exchanges with Europe, by comparison, constitute 35% of the

world total (ibid.). These figures suggest that the priorities and applications of Fulbright Program activities are not strictly tied to American foreign policy concerns.

Today, exchanges emphasise the importance of international cooperation, of bringing the world's intellectual and technological resources together to confront global challenges. This turn away from emphasising particular areas of the world does not mean that the United States is not using exchanges strategically. Indeed, former Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs referred to exchanges in such terms. "We have prioritized international study because we understand that this is not just a 'nice to have' addition to our foreign policy, it is a strategic necessity." (McHale, 2011). In her speech to the Education USA forum, she links international study to America's geopolitical, economic and scientific interests. Rather than being valued for its contribution to a single strategically important foreign policy matter, educational exchange is valued for the range of impacts that are thought to result from genuine engagement. The Fulbright Program has come full circle, in this sense. After periods of fighting Communism and terrorism, it has returned to the post-Second World War model which sought genuine engagement and promoted international peace and development.

Policy Recommendations

The findings of this study are highly relevant for policy-making in the areas of educational and cultural exchange diplomacy. As the Fulbright Program approaches its 70th anniversary, questions of its purpose and nature need to be revisited. Policy-makers can learn a great deal from the history of the Fulbright Program, and thereby avoid repetition of past mistakes. This study has highlighted a number of discrepancies between the theoretical basis and the empirically observed practice of educational exchange. What measures can be taken by Fulbright Program administrators to increase effectiveness and improve programme outcomes?

Policy-makers should work with academics and programme alumni to construct a clear statement of programme objectives. This study has noted several problems arising from a lack of clear objectives. Former grantees have reported feeling uncertain whether they were expected to act as scholars or as diplomats abroad (*Kostelanetz, 1966*). Other alumni have admitted to being motivated primarily by their own professional ambitions rather than any notion of building international understanding (Snow in Snow and Taylor, p. 237). As a merit-based competitive scholarship programme, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Fulbright Program has become associated with academic prestige rather than exchange diplomacy. As State Department officials like Thomas Farrell have noted, however, this was not the intended purpose of the Fulbright Program (Lipka, 2004). The programme needs a clear statement of its purpose that defines the responsibilities of grantees and articulates the programme's role in America's international relations.

A clear statement of purpose would also greatly improve programme evaluation. In order to determine the effectiveness of the Fulbright Program, evaluators must first have a clear set of objectives against which they can measure programme outcomes. This study has found that most existing evaluative studies have been limited in the scope and depth of their inquiry. Grantee satisfaction has often been equated with programme effectiveness. The anecdotal evidence of alumni, however, has been shown to suffer from inherent biases and inaccuracies. More concrete objectives could include quantifiable measures of impact, such as the number of public speaking engagements a grantee had undertaken during and after the sojourn. Public talks and audience sizes offer evidence of the multiplier effect, as they show that cultural knowledge gains are being shared with others in the home and host societies. Objectives could also include contact scenarios that meet Allport's conditions for the reduction of prejudice. Facilitating contact opportunities in which grantees interact with host nationals on an equal basis and in pursuit of common goals would likely improve contact outcomes.

In order to guarantee the Fulbright Program's continued relevance, this new statement of purpose should link the exchange programme's objectives to global concerns. The programme's existing objectives, as outlined in the 1961 Fulbright-Hays Act, emphasise the ideals of mutual understanding, peace and cooperation (*Public Law 87-256*). This statement uses vague language and does not offer guiding principles for the administrators or participants of the programme. They also reflect, to some extent, the context in which they were written. Contact between individuals of foreign nations has become common in today's interconnected world. Globalisation and Americanisation have spread American culture throughout much of the world, rendering attempts to share American culture with foreign publics somewhat redundant. The advent of the World Wide Web and social media in particular, has made learning about foreign cultures a much more accessible activity than it has ever been. In this new context of global interconnectedness, the Fulbright Program's legislative goal 'to increase mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and the peoples of other nations' seems outmoded.

Today, problems in international relations are often not due to a lack of understanding; rather, the most pressing concerns are borderless issues such as climate change, food security, social unrest, the decay of cities and pandemic disease. These topics, among others, are the subject of the Fulbright Program's Nexus initiative. This is a promising direction for the Fulbright Program that ensures public funds are spent on research with a global impact. Directing the Fulbright Program towards common problems would also enhance the binational character of the programme. Cost-sharing would be easier to justify to foreign contributors, who make up an increasingly large percentage of the programme's total funding.

In an era that increasingly demands evidence-based policy, the testimonies of satisfied grantees will no longer be sufficient to justify the programme. The exchange programme needs clearer objectives that outline what is expected from grantees and which also contribute

in some way to global challenges. The Fulbright Program must adapt, as it has so often in the past, to maintain its relevance.

Further Research Directions

In closing, the findings of this study suggest a number of potential future research directions. This history of the Fulbright Program has highlighted the importance of alumni involvement. It has argued that American exchange alumni play an essential role, acting as a domestic constituency for the Fulbright Program. During times of budget crisis or bureaucratic reorganisation, they have been shown to come to the programme's defence. When the Reagan administration proposed dramatic cuts to the public diplomacy budget in 1981, and again when the Clinton administration restructured public diplomacy activities, Fulbright alumni lobbied Congress to support America's educational and cultural exchange programme. Alumni have also been shown to support the programme in other ways, from volunteering on screening committees and interview panels to helping with the orientation of new Fulbright grantees in the U.S. and overseas. Some alumni devote their careers to public diplomacy, such as Richard D. Arndt and Lois Roth. President Obama has appointed several Fulbright alumni to the Foreign Scholarship Board, including Mark Brzezinski, Christie Gilson, and Gabrielle Giffords. Most previous studies of the Fulbright Program have used alumni surveys to measure the effectiveness of the programme, but they generally quantify professional activities, such as the number of papers that the alumnus has published. There are a number of potential research projects regarding exchange alumni that look beyond career achievements, from examining their lobbying activities to discerning the predictive factors of alumni involvement. In terms of archival sources for such projects, the University of Arkansas holds the papers of the Fulbright Program's Alumni Association from its establishment in 1976 to 2004.

In the field of international education studies, there has been relatively little work on the concept of education as a form of cultural imperialism. Set forth by Martin Carnoy in

Education as Cultural Imperialism, this approach to international education studies asserts that “The spread of schooling was carried out in the context of imperialism and colonialism—in the spread of mercantilism and capitalism—and it cannot in its present form and purpose be separated from that context.” (Carnoy, 1974, p. 15). In much of the literature on international development, the global spread of education seems to be universally regarded as a positive, progressive phenomenon. This approach challenges that view by acknowledging the connection between education and the legacies of colonialism. The United States, it has been argued, has acted as a ‘cultural imperialist’ in the projection of its culture to overseas audiences (Rosenberg, 1982; Kennedy and Lucas, 2005). Future research on American exchange diplomacy could explore the extent to which, and the conditions under which, educational and cultural exchanges can act as a form of cultural imperialism.

In addition to this history of the Fulbright Program, there are many other aspects of the history of educational exchanges which merit further academic study. They have been used outside of the U.S. for aims that are not connected with public diplomacy. The European Union’s educational exchange initiative, ERASMUS, offers a particularly interesting case. Established in 1987, it is part of a project to create a common European identity amongst the European Union’s twenty-eight member states. Recent studies have found compelling evidence that studying abroad through the ERASMUS scheme can influence participants’ attitudes towards Europe (Sigalas, 2010; Mitchell, 2012). The programme operates on a much larger scale than other exchange schemes; more students participate in ERASMUS each year than participated in the Fulbright Program in its first sixty years (Ilchman in Kiehl, 2006). The programme is still relatively young, however, and the European Union is continuing to expand in both breadth and depth. Both of these factors suggest that further research on the effects of ERASMUS participation is merited.

In the case of the United States, another interesting route of enquiry would be to examine the role played by heritage organisations in the establishment and support of

educational exchanges. The American-Scandinavian Foundation, for example, initiated educational and cultural exchanges some forty years before the Fulbright Program was established in Scandinavian countries (Blanck, 2008). It created an infrastructure that later exchange programmes built upon in the U.S. and Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland. Public and private exchange activities, including Fulbright Program, benefitted from these long-standing institutional relationships. Japan-America Societies, likewise, are focused on building people-to-people relations between the two countries. The first society was established in 1957 by the Japanese Embassy in Washington, DC; today, there are thirty-five across the United States (Japan-America Society, 2014). Heritage organisations are overlooked in the public diplomacy literature, but they are worthy of further academic attention. In the United States, a country primarily made up of immigrants, the ties between Americans and their nations of heritage are fascinating. These organisations encourage second-, third-, and further generation Americans to maintain cultural and linguistic ties with the countries of their ancestors. If the assumptions regarding the relationship between cultural knowledge and foreign policy are correct, this should have important implications for public attitudes towards U.S. foreign policy matters.

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Appendix A

Randall Bennett Woods Interview

28 January 2013, 10:30am-11:30am in-person interview

Professor of US diplomatic history at University of Arkansas. Author of *Fulbright: a Biography* and *J. William Fulbright, Vietnam and the Search for a Cold War Foreign Policy*.

Molly Bettie: [off recording, introductions and summary of project: my primary research questions are 1) what has driven the evolution of the Fulbright Program over time and 2) how does the Fulbright Program fit within US public diplomacy?]

Randall Woods: Well, Fulbright introduced the bill just after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, you know. He was an internationalist, he was trained in Britain by a person who wrote on Wilson and the League of Nations, and his mentor and Fulbright agreed that that was a terrific mistake and that if the US had participated in the League of Nations, that that could have prevented the Second World War and contained aggression.

Fulbright was a lawyer and he was initially attracted by the whole concept of international law and government...very much a Wilsonian like that, in that respect. And so, initially, you know he co-sponsored the Fulbright-Connally resolution which put Congress on record as supporting a UN.

And initially that's what he put his energy into, was supporting the resuscitation of the League of Nations. But after the San Francisco conference, as things evolved, it became clear that the Security Council was going to dominate the organization, that it was going to be just a kind of mask for great power politics, and so he became disillusioned, so he looked for another way to prevent war.

And of course he was influenced by his stay in Oxford, and in his telling of it, that he was just an utter provincial and his exposure to Oxford and the larger world changed him, and he believed that that experience...if you could get the leadership of the major countries to have that experience, then it'd break down cultural barriers and create understanding, it would undermine nationalism and xenophobia.

He initially envisioned the exchange program as a kind of laboratory for future world leaders who would study abroad, become enlightened, and get to know each other. So, like Kissinger's international seminar at Harvard, as it later became.

Now, he had a hard time getting money for the program, and isolationism was reviving in this country. He used sales from foreign lend-lease, but that quickly wasn't sufficient and so he was going to have to get appropriation from Congress. And so he, early in the fifties, he sold it as a Cold War policy, you know, 'we're on a struggle with Communism on every front—military, cultural'--and he was a Cold Warrior, he supported the Marshall Plan and Truman doctrine. But in order to get funds from Congress, particularly as this was in the heyday of McCarthy.

MB: Yeah

RW: And so, you know, he sold it as a...he talked about it in the same breath as USIA and Voice of America, that it was part of our cultural offensive to sell freedom. Structurally it came under cultural affairs in the State Department. By that time, McCarthy had put one of his people in charge of that Division and so they began to run security checks and this infuriated Fulbright, just infuriated him and so he sort of went to war on his own program when it was in the State Department. You know, after 1955 he just completely rejected the notion of selling it as an anti-Communist tool, overtly. He was afraid it had been co-opted by the hard right and he wanted to prevent that.

Fulbright was an elitist, his mother was an Anglophile elitist and he wouldn't admit it but he was an elitist. So initially he saw the program as really confined to the Atlantic community, and maybe Japan, you know, the great powers. And I talked to some of the directors, they said they had a hard time selling him on—well, she went to him and said, "We've got to establish programs with Brazil," and he said, "Well, why would you want to have a program with Brazil?" Because Brazil wasn't a player, you know. But he loved to contact students and he loved visiting foreign programs. And you know, by the sixties he was hardcore student exchange. It was the student experience, all about the student experience. And the more the better, the more diverse...You know, Fulbright was a segregationist to begin with. He changed--they don't like me here much 'cause I say that...

MB: (laughs) well, it's true...

RW: It is true, but they don't like that. I've made a lot of enemies in Arkansas. But his views changed dramatically. Like so many white middle-class Southerners like my parents, he was radicalized by the civil rights movement. His racism had more to do with class than it did with color. If he was dealing with the elite of Ghana or Kenya or India, skin color didn't matter. If you were educated and part of the elite, you were acceptable to him, so it wasn't race prejudice as much as class prejudice. But he even moved away from that. Part of that

was driven by [the fact that] he's a very middle class conventional person, and in terms of his views on foreign affairs, he was friends with Acheson and Kennan and Chip Bohlen and those people.

But after his opposition to the US intervention in the Dominican Republic, which is where he really fell out with Johnson, and then his opposition to the war in Vietnam, he came under constant attack from hawks, from conservatives, from representatives of the military-industrial complex.

So by 1967, this guy wore 3-piece suits and you know, was a Rhodes scholar--his books looked like they were being published by New Left Press, you know?

MB: Absolutely

RW: You know, *The Price of Empire*—so he's indicting the military-industrial complex. He couldn't stand the radical counterculture, just couldn't stand it, but he became radicalized as a result of his opposition to the war. Well, that fed into his viewing the program as student-oriented and bottom-up, if you see what I'm saying.

MB: That definitely feeds into the idea of the strategic use of students, whether students are supposed to be ambassadors or if it's just educational exchange for the sake of it, for the sake of education.

RW: For him, it was for the sake of it. He was adamantly opposed...He saw it as liberal arts. Late in life I think he came to accept—he wouldn't do business, but he'd do technology, but still...

MB: That's so important for the development side, too, as a form of aid for developing countries, helping their higher education institutions.

RW: Well he was a big supporter of foreign aid. He would support aid particularly in education, he just didn't want it to be part of the exchange program. It's elite, focused on arts and sciences, you know. He was perhaps the most important defender of foreign aid in the Senate and in his position as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. So he was doing battle continuously with opponents of foreign aid.

MB: Another area that I've looked into is the promotion of American studies as a field, and how the Fulbright Program contributed to that. Was that something that he was interested in promoting?

RW: No, he was, well...he wanted people to travel. The American studies program...he believed that there was no substitute for living in the other culture. So if you wanted to learn

about America he wanted you to come to America. If you wanted to learn about China he wanted you to go to China not go to Columbia University and learn about China.

MB: Yeah, I think it came from later years in USIA, of ‘Telling America’s Story to the World’—that that idea was creeping into the program.

RW: All of the people that I’ve known that were associated with the Fulbright Program are addicted to foreign travel, they live for it, just live for it—they’re addicted to it. And most Fulbrighters are that way.

MB: I’ve seen several cases of grantees holding multiple Fulbrights.

RW: That’s right. There’s no question that it’s a life-changing experience. And I don’t think there’s any question about the beneficial impact of foreign experience—in language, in culture, there’s just no substitute for it. So I think he was right. But he was very much a visionary—that’s not part of the American tradition. You know, I teach courses in American foreign policy, and so much of foreign policy is projection of American values and culture on other countries, and the reaction to that projection, rather than through any real knowledge.

You know, in Vietnam, until late 1966 there weren’t ten Americans in Vietnam who could speak Vietnamese.

MB: Oh no!

RW: Now that changed, but you know...He was a fairly unemotional man. He could get wound up, he could get angry or indignant but he wasn’t a particularly sentimental man. But he was sentimental about the program. It was his passion. He’d become unbalanced in defending it.

Understandably, the last 25 years of his life was one triumphal tour after another. He’d go to these countries and they’d treat him like royalty. (laughs)

MB: That is one thing I wanted to ask, about his activities after leaving the Senate...

RW: Well, that’s all he did. (laughs) This anniversary of that and that anniversary of this—he was God. He was the deity of the Fulbright Program.

Now, the other thing is, I had a Senior Scholar short-term grant to Argentina in Buenos Aires and they had their celebration of their program. These folks, the Cultural Attachés wouldn’t have much to do if they weren’t overseeing the Fulbright Program. And there is a community of Fulbrighters in these foreign countries that exercise considerable influence on Argentine-American relations or Brazilian-American relations. They move in circles...The head of the Fulbright Commission, Norma González, is a powerful lady. She’s included, not in decision-

making, but in terms of images, and she goes to all the cultural events, she knows people, she knows the decision-makers. There was a new American ambassador and the Argentine Foreign Secretary and the US Ambassador treated her as if she were Fulbright. So they're powerful...In terms of soft diplomacy, the Fulbright community is unique.

MB: And I suppose, the smaller the country, the more important they are?

RW: I think so. After the first fifteen years it was...I don't know whether they had a quota system or not, but it's hard to get a Fulbright to England.

MB: Yeah, it's very competitive. Western Europe in general is very competitive.

RW: Very competitive...but if you want to go to Botswana, no problem. So, ironically, as the Cold War evolved, the Fulbright Programs in the developing world which became the cockpit of the Cold War...Now, I haven't investigated this, but I think you could see how, in Angola or Tunisia, how important that would be.

I found out in Vietnam, that one of the most powerful institutions there was the Boy Scouts.

MB: Oh wow, that's great!

RW: I think half of the members of the North Vietnamese politburo and two-thirds of the South Vietnamese military were Boy Scouts. There's this kind of ethos there, you know...

MB: Right, survivalist?

RW: [nods] The Boy Scouts in a certain context are extremely conventional and pro-establishment, but in other contexts they can be very subversive.

MB: Absolutely. Let's see what other areas we haven't talked about...Another thing about his post-Senate activities, Did he have any involvement in fundraising—does his reputation give the program the prestige it needs to draw funds from donors?

RW: Sure, yeah, he was a willing instrument to the program here but particularly abroad. I went to Germany, I was the keynote talk there at the 50th Anniversary of the German program, and it's hard to overestimate...He would come and they would bring him out. They would, you know...But I must tell you, the Fulbright Program is still a poor program. Fulbrighters don't have any money. We try to raise funds for the college here, and they just don't have any money. They're not plugged into people who have money. Very unsuccessful fundraisers. Because, I think, they don't want to condescend to spend their time with people who make money. But you don't see even Warren Buffett or Bill Gates...And part of the problem is they're arrogant. Fulbright people are very, kind of...and this is ironic, given Fulbright's views of barrier-breaking and international homogenization. Fulbrighters are very

elitist. They're part of this sorority or fraternity, and you're not. And you don't understand, and you never will unless you've had the Fulbright experience.

So people who have a lot of money who have not had the Fulbright experience, they're put off. It's off-putting.

MB: I think that's one of the things with it being a prestigious award, that people look at the academic prestige and think it doesn't need any money. Similarly, why would you donate to the Nobel Foundation—the public might think it's endowed.

RW: Yeah. It would've been better if the Fulbright Program had been established by Carnegie or Mellon, rather than by Fulbright. They [Fulbright family] were big stuff around here, but they didn't have any money.

I was in Clare College in Cambridge, and that's been endowed by the Mellon family, because Andrew Mellon's son spent a year there.

Now, I didn't do anything with the cultural program after the early 60's. By that time, my focus was more foreign policy, Vietnam, and his ongoing battle in the anti-war movement so I haven't done much. You know more about the program after the sixties than I do.

MB: Well, the early years are the years where I think he's most involved, directly, in the program.

RW: Well, I'm not sure if that's true, I think he stayed active in the program. I just didn't study his role after the mid-1960's, so there may be a lot there that I don't know about. Have you looked at his papers at all?

MB: I'm still on the BFS papers, but I plan to, yeah. It's been slow-going because I've found some useful things.

RW: Found some stuff? Well, that's good!

MB: Let's see if there was anything else...Basically, I was most interested in his view on whether students could be used strategically, and it sounds like that changed over time?

RW: It did change, but even when, you know, I interviewed him extensively in '88, I guess, and he still was very proud...He could tell you every foreign minister who was a graduate of the Fulbright Program. He was interested in student exchange, but he was also very proud of the power aspect.

MB: I'm working on a section about the elite alumni, how the alumni feed back into the program, whether it's through fundraising or volunteering to serve on selection committees—these activities that alumni do to keep the program going.

RW: I don't know how closely he monitored selections to the Board of Foreign Scholarships. He was appalled of course, when the Republicans...you know...there were certain board members that he was just appalled. I was overseas...I can't remember which Bush administration, but the folks that were there, the cultural attachés that I encountered were anti-intellectual, and actually, almost opponents of the Fulbright Program.

MB: I've noticed some of the appointees, people who were friends of George W. Bush back in Texas, friends, colleagues, fellow businesspeople, his mother's Chief of Staff was one of the appointees—so that's another thing I want to look at, how the make-up of the BFS changed.

RW: And that appalled him. He believed that the board ought to be mainly scholars and veterans of the exchange program. But he didn't see any way around presidential appointment. And his attitude was the program's a hell of a lot stronger than they are, I mean, it's gonna survive. But he wasn't really sure about that. He was always worried that the program was going to become a victim to the far right, you know. [laughs]

In the 70's and 80's, the Committee on Present Danger, they weren't interested in international exchange. And ironically, Fulbright became a Rusophile, in sort of his New Left reaction to this criticism. He became just a kind of fan of...he loved the Bolshoi ballet. He would make speeches to the notion that it might be a Communist society, but culturally Russia's so much more advanced and developed than the United States. Which, you can imagine how that was received.

MB: That wouldn't go over well! I remember a quote of his, that it didn't matter whether a country was Communist or Capitalist, if they're keeping themselves to themselves, let them be.

RW: That's right. In many ways, quite naïve. He was basically an academic whose mother wanted to send him to Congress. He believed that you could solve any problem, resolve any situation through education. Drove his colleagues in Congress crazy because he would lecture. He was sort of unwilling to admit the efficacy of prejudice and unreason in public debate. Sort of ivory-towerish.

Now, you know he developed a reputation as an anti-Semitic? He was an anathema to pro-Israeli folks, particularly here—not so much in Israel, but here. And of course the pro-Israeli

folks here are holier than the Pope—folks in Israel kinda make fun of them. They helped defeat him in '74. In '72 he endorsed a Land for Peace deal. He wanted the US to guarantee Israeli borders that were pre-'67 Israeli borders. He was an anathema. And he held hearings on the Jewish lobby, and he tried to get the Zionist organizations in this country to register as agents of a foreign government.

MB: Wow!

RW: Yeah...Now, I don't think that, given the disproportionate presence of Jewish folks in intellectual communities and intelligentsia, I don't think that those folks...how shall I explain it...In Israel, you have the Likud and the Labor, you have the orthodox, the confrontational people and you have the Labor people at the founding of Israel who want a secular society, who want coexistence. Most Jewish intellectuals are of that variety, they're not Likud. It's the American Jews who are not intellectual, the business people or tradespeople—you see what I'm saying? [MB nods]

Certainly, I never saw any Jewish backlash against him within the intellectual community at all, not at all. And he was close to a lot of Jewish intellectuals. So it was purely external to the program.

MB: I think, to be fair, the definition of being anti-Semitic can quite different in the States than it is abroad—in the States, you know, if you suggest a two-state solution...

RW: If you say 'Jewish' [laughs]. Now, I got in big trouble, I raised some questions about the first Gulf War. I went down to Central Arkansas to the library and I thought they were going to lynch me. They thought that I was, sort of, an academic reincarnation of Fulbright—who they consider anti-Semitic.

MB: Because you've associated yourself with him? Right, that's why I wanted to read some of your other works, the biography on Johnson, I read that one.

RW: Well, at the Johnson library, they held me at arms' length for two years, because they figured I was going to do a hatchet-job on Johnson because I'd done Fulbright. Now, they love me, they think I'm wonderful.

[End of interview]

Hoyt Purvis Interview

28 January 2013, 3:30pm-4:30pm in-person interview

Professor of Journalism at University of Arkansas since 1982. Former Press Secretary and Special Assistant to Senator Fulbright and Foreign and Defense Policy Advisor to Senator Robert Byrd. Served on Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board 1993-2003. Founded Fulbright Institute of International Relations at University of Arkansas.

Molly Bettie: In the time that you were on the Board of Foreign Scholarships—so it was 1993-2003?

Hoyt Purvis: Right.

MB: I'd read that you knew Clinton when he was in Senator Fulbright's office and then years later, he appointed you to the Board of Foreign Scholarships?

HP: That was really nice, the way that all worked out. Bill Clinton was a student at Georgetown, working in Senator Fulbright's office when he was a student, and that's when I got to know Clinton. Then it turned out very nicely that when he was elected President, he appointed me to the Fulbright Board, so that's very nice the way that turned out.

MB: Just going through your time on the Board chronologically, in the early 90's there was the post-Cold War shaking up of public diplomacy structures, and questioning whether it was relevant anymore. How would you make the case for it still being relevant?

HP: Well, yeah, you're right, I think there was certainly a period there where some people were questioning the whole area of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and educational exchange. But I think first of all, I would readily concede that part of the Fulbright emphasis had been...well, there was certainly a relationship between the Fulbright Program and the Cold War era. But I never personally saw the exchange program as primarily Cold War-oriented. Certainly that was a part of the broader picture. So just to establish that fact...

And so, yes, it's true I think that there was kind of an uncertainty, what's the rationale for an exchange program of this scope when we're beyond the Cold War?

Well, to me, there was never any question—there was ample rationale. That is, the basic goals of mutual understanding, of giving people an opportunity to develop a perspective from another country, to learn to understand and appreciate other cultures, other societies—those are the things, I mean, really go back and look at the case that Senator Fulbright had made from the beginning of the program. That's what it was. And those goals didn't diminish, in fact, in my view, in some ways they became even more important than ever because we were

in a situation where we weren't sort of limited by the Cold War. And so I saw this as a time when we could really make some very important steps ahead.

Again, I would come back to the point that, to say that 'Ok, the Cold War is over, then the Fulbright Program is over', to me that would have been so far from what I had always understood the Fulbright Program to be, and the potential that the program had. So, I never really thought that we needed to reinvent ourselves, so to speak. It's not to say that areas of emphasis didn't change, but you know, you had the opportunity to begin to move ahead...well, with China, for example, which had been out of the picture, more or less, since 1949—to a limited degree in the 70's and 80's, when things were re-opening.

But anyhow, I thought it was very short-sighted for anybody to jump to the conclusion that, ok, the Cold War's over, now we can forget about these other things. Some people certainly have that view, but I never bought it for a second.

MB: And I think Senator Fulbright wouldn't have [Purvis : definitely]. One thing, in Nancy Snow's work, she talks about her time at USIA in 93-95 era, and she talks about how international business became an issue that was prioritized during that time. Do you think the Fulbright exchanges had any sort of link with this international business focus?

HP: I'm not sure exactly where you're going with that. One thing that comes to my mind, there was certainly a squeeze on funding. There was a belief that came from somewhere within the USIA or wherever it might have been, the notion that something like the Fulbright Program should turn more to corporate support, particularly for programs in other countries. And so...because prior to that time, there had been very little funding for Fulbright, whether from this country or abroad, that was not from governments, universities or foundations. And so there was certainly a push from some quarters to get more corporate funding to help continue the program. I don't know if that responds to what you're asking?

MB: No, that's fine, just to clarify, Nancy Snow's example was that, when NAFTA was signed, that Fulbright exchanges with Mexico were increased. She links the two events, and I just wondered if you felt that that was the case?

HP: I'm trying to think about any...Particularly with Mexico, there was an increased level of exchange with Mexico and some of that, I guess, there was some corporate involvement, some foundation involvement. And I suppose, at least, indirectly, that might well have been a result of NAFTA. And I will say this, there was...I hadn't really thought about it to be honest, but there was, beginning with that time, with both Canada and Mexico, there was more activity from the partner countries. And there was more involvement from the business sector

than there had ever been before. Maybe that all ties in together. It's not something I really had ever thought about that much, so...

MB: Ok, I thought that might be the case. So, in the late nineties, the time of the USIA closing down, I wanted to ask how the Board of Foreign Scholarships reacted to that.

HP: Well, it's kind of interesting, because as you may know, Fulbright himself had never been keen on USIA and having the program based in USIA. It, as you know, started out in the State Department and when the USIA was created, the Fulbright Program in effect was moved into USIA, then the agency was renamed ICA under Carter and then eventually went back to USIA.

Fulbright was never happy with that arrangement because he felt that it could imply, or people could infer, kind of a propaganda connotation there. And particularly, when the ICA came along, too many people had fun playing with the initials there [laughs]. So with that background, the USIA...I think that whole decision was probably not the most well thought-out decision in the history of American government. It was kind of one of those--again this is just my own perspective--it was kind of one of those decisions that sounded like a way of solving some other problems but without really making things necessarily better. Although again, I would say I'm certainly quite comfortable having the Fulbright Program in the State Department and I think that probably is where it belongs. And again, I'm not sure how much of this you know and I'm just speaking from my own perspective.

The concern of the Board and I think at that point, we had what, in my view, was a very good board and the members, most of them were people who were very committed to the Fulbright Program. The concern was that, in the process of this government reorganization, that the Fulbright Program was going to be shuffled around and stuck somewhere and not have very much of a profile, and not really have anybody to speak up for the Fulbright Program under the reorganization. So the Board's concern was to see that the Fulbright Program did have a home, and did have, potentially at least, a little bit of clout within a very big government department. But it appeared that that was not necessarily going to happen.

I think I can speak for all the people who were on the board at that time, we couldn't see that anybody was really looking out for the interest of the Fulbright Program. Madeleine Albright was Secretary of State, and Madeleine was an old friend, we'd worked together in the Senate when I worked for Robert Byrd and she was with the Carter administration and Brzezinski. But we were afraid that Madeleine, the Secretary, that she had so many other concerns to deal with in that reorganization process that Fulbright was not on her priority list. And again, I

have very high regard for Madeleine Albright but that was the way we saw it. The Board made a couple of efforts to try to communicate with people involved in this process, and it didn't seem like we were really going anywhere. Under the circumstances, what alternative did we have but to turn to the President. There were of course some of us on the Board who knew the President well. Lee Williams, I don't know if you know who I'm talking about or not, but Lee Williams was a member of the Board, appointed by Clinton. Lee had been Senator Fulbright's administrative assistant. It was Lee Williams who hired Bill Clinton to work in Fulbright's office. I don't know if you know the famous story about when Bill Clinton had contacted Fulbright's office about getting a job. He needed a job while he was going to school in Georgetown, and some prominent people in Arkansas had contacted Lee on behalf of Clinton, to say, you know, this is a fine young man and he needs a job, and so Lee Williams talked to Clinton and he said there were two part-time jobs that were open. One was this job and one was this job, and basically it was a messenger-type job, and Clinton said 'Well, that's great, can I take both of them?' [laughs] And that's what he wound up doing; he took both of the part-time jobs. So, that's by way of background to give you some of the connection there.

So, several of us communicated to the President and let him know, we wanted to make sure that somehow, someway that the Fulbright Program was protected and had a certain profile within this reorganized State Department. I think that then the President spoke to the Secretary of State and that it got worked out, at least to some degree, that was generally satisfactory. Also along the way, the Board met with Patrick Kennedy, who was Assistant Secretary for Administration, he's still there, I believe. In fact, if I'm not mistaken, he was one of the people who was testifying about Benghazi. Also, one of the key people here was Tom Pickering.

Well, Tom had been a Fulbright scholar, I believe he was a Fulbrighter to New Zealand. Tom had been ambassador to Russia and some other positions...At that time, he was undersecretary. Anyway, Tom Pickering was somebody who was well-placed in the State Department and the Board went over to the State Department and met with Ambassador Pickering and enlisted his assistance to help look after the Fulbright Program.

I'll tell you something interesting about Pickering and talking about Fulbright--This past spring I went over to Oxford for the Fulbright Distinguished Lecture, which you know, Pembroke College where Fulbright was a Rhodes Scholar. They have this annual lecture--in fact there are several different lectures in Britain. Tom Pickering was the Fulbright

Distinguished Lecturer and I was visiting with him a little bit while I was there and we were reminiscing about what I've just been talking about there.

In the final analysis, of course, as far as I'm concerned the Fulbright Program should always have a high profile and visibility and clout and all those things. At least, I think, we managed to do something to keep the program...because there was a real concern that the Fulbright Program, with all of this reorganization, was going to kind of get pushed into a corner somewhere and that certainly was not what we wanted to happen.

MB: Absolutely. There have been a lot of these recurring crisis moments...

HP: There have, yes. We went through, again, talking about the mid-nineties after the Gingrich Congress came in there were real concerns about the future of the program financially. And that coincided with that same period of talking about raising funds through the corporate world for the Fulbright Program around the world.

I've often thought that had Clinton not been President at that time, on the one hand, you could say that to some extent he had his hands tied because he was bound to hold down government spending, etc. but on the other hand, I think that if Clinton hadn't been President, that the program might have run on really hard times because of the pressure that was there to eliminate programs and cut back spending, etc. I'm not suggesting the program was going to be done away with but at the same time, it was a time of real pressure.

MB: Do you think the alumni association and these organizations of teachers, are they very involved in lobbying?

HP: Yeah, and I myself was involved with the Fulbright Association for awhile, and I think by and large the Fulbright Association and some of the other groups have been effective in building grassroots support and have done a pretty good job of helping to keep support up in Congress. And that again was something that, when I was on the Board, we tried to really encourage. There's a fine line there between working in the government even as a Board, but there was certainly no reason why the Fulbright Association couldn't become more active in supporting the Program and building support in Congress and increasing knowledge and awareness of what the program's all about. And I think that that had been going on, on a sort of haphazard basis for quite awhile.

One of the things that we discovered was that most Fulbright alumni, of course many of them were academics, had not really been called upon to rally on behalf of the program. A lot of them were quite willing to do that if they were asked, you know. They hadn't really thought about it that much. I think that was a program that the program had, it really had not done

enough to foster that kind of continuing involvement by people who had been the beneficiaries of the grants. So I think that certainly improved significantly during the time that I was there and during the time that I was involved with the Fulbright Association.

You know, it was always frustrating to the Board to find out that there were very few records that anybody could put their hands on about former Fulbrighters, and of course, you may know about this, I don't know if you've encountered any of this in the archives, you may see some of it. One of the problems is, particularly with academics, and so many of the Fulbright grantees from this country as well as others had been people who went into academic careers or people who were already in academic careers, but as you know, a lot of times those are people who move around. It was really quite surprising to learn that there was not a lot of good information how to contact former Fulbrighters. Now, significant progress was made in that regard, but for most of the program's history very little had been done to keep tabs on former Fulbrighters.

MB: Yes, I've seen some of the early directories, but it would be just a directory of grantees from France, you know, just country-specific. And one thing I haven't found in the archives is anything about publicity or marketing—I get the impression that they don't seem to advertise?

HP: There again, the nature of being a government program imposes some real restrictions on what you can do. But at the same time I think a lot more could have been done [laughs] than was. Of course, you could say, well, all the money is intended for grants and for administration of grants, and we can't spend money for other purposes. Which I think is a valid argument, except that I still think a lot more could have been done without spending a lot of money. And there again I think the Fulbright Association and some other university groups around the country and around the world, they began to do a lot more on that but for many years, I think, very little was done.

I'm sure you've heard this a million times, 'cause I've heard it ten million times, and that is, the Fulbright Program is better known outside the US than it is inside the US. And that's pretty much the case, particularly if you look at Japan for example, although I think it's probably levelled off a little bit. I was actually visited recently by a retired Japanese professor who was travelling around the country visiting places that he had known when he was a Fulbrighter, and he was still telling me that the prestige of the Fulbright Program in Japan is still remarkably high. There's a real cache associated with Fulbright.

I was very fortunate that during the time I was Chair of the Board it was the fiftieth anniversary of the Fulbright Program, so we did do a lot of special activities that year and lots of programs around the country and around the world, which did get some publicity for the program. And I think it helped a lot but I think if you wanted to offer a critique of the Fulbright Program over the years, I would say that a definite shortcoming has been a consistent marketing and PR effort. There's certainly been times, and recognition of the many distinguished people who were Fulbrighters who have gone on to great things--and that's good, that's what you want. But I think a certain amount of that is owed to the fact that, as a government program there are limitations on what you can do with publicity.

MB: I've noticed that today, they're on Twitter and Facebook, and that's sort of democratising, isn't it, getting everyone to see it and raising awareness?

HP: Yeah, and I think there are certainly people over the years who've been innovative and effective at communicating, but still, compared to what might have been done or perhaps should have been done, it hasn't been that effective.

MB: My last chronological issue is 9/11, I've been looking at the Annual Report of 2001 and the response of the Fulbright Program—an increase in funding and grants to the Middle East, you know. So I wanted to know about your impressions on the Board?

HP: It's not something I've thought about too much recently, but it's funny, because the other day I was going through some old computer files and email and I came across something from '97. We had a Board retreat and talked about priorities. I could probably dig it out and send you a copy, it might be of interest. Anyhow, it was interesting because we were talking about the importance of doing more in certain regions of the world and shifting priorities. Part of the problem, as I think you'll understand, is that the largest Fulbright Programs were Japan, Germany, Spain, and going a little bit further back, UK, France, etc. But the Germans and the Japanese were also putting lots of money in, and part of that dilemma is that you don't want to diminish that, but at the same time, from our perspective, we needed to be focused on some other areas in the world and putting resources into that.

Now, about 9/11, I don't know if you're aware of this or not, but the Fulbright Scholarship Board was in session on the morning of 9/11. I guess Alan Schechter was Chairman of the Board then and of course, these are things you remember very vividly because of the overall significance of what was happening. There we were meeting, we were actually at the old USIA building which is just a few blocks southwest of the Capitol. The night before we'd had a social gathering and some of the members of the Board were rotating off the Board. We

met at something like 8:30 in the morning, and we were up on the top floor of the building. We started hearing a lot of hubbub out in the hall and somebody got up and closed the door. And I remember Lee Williams who I mentioned earlier lived in Northern Virginia, and he came in a little late, and he was kind of giving some hand signals like something was going on. But Alan was sitting at the head of the table there, I was sitting to his right but I could see out in the hallway...Alan was determined to keep that meeting going [laughs]. Suddenly we're hearing not just a few sirens in the streets but lots and lots, I mean, this is not normal stuff, you know? Things just got more and more...there was obviously something happening, so I finally got Alan's attention and said, 'Can we stop for a minute and see if we can figure out what's going on?' By that time, Lee stood up and said 'Yeah, something hit the World Trade Center and there's other things going on.' And then about that time, the intercom in the building comes on and says 'Please evacuate the building, there's an emergency and take the stairs, blah blah blah.' We finally work our way down to the first floor and they had some TVs so we could see what was happening. At that time, our plan was, we didn't realize how serious this was, and we were just going to, there's a hotel right down the street and we were just going to reconvene at the hotel and continue our meeting. Well, within a few minutes it became obvious that we weren't going to continue our meeting.

Of course, I was living here at the time, so I was stuck in DC for the rest of the week. So, that was certainly a memorable time. And just an added thing, when the Oklahoma City bombing occurred, it turned out that happened to be a time that the Executive Committee of the Board was meeting in Washington. They put the building on lockdown, 'cause it was a Federal building, they didn't know...We were in a meeting in a small room, smaller than this, and we didn't really know what was going on. I'm rambling on, but this is bringing back a lot of memories, things I haven't thought about.

That night, I was flying back to Fayetteville, when we still had the old airport down here, and interestingly enough, there was a connecting flight in Nashville. So I flew from DC to Nashville and Nashville to Fayetteville—or at least, I was supposed to. Well, it was a very stormy night, so when we got to Nashville we were delayed quite a bit and finally took off for Fayetteville. When we got close to Fayetteville, it was one of those fairly small planes, bouncing all around and the pilot said 'We're not going to be able to land in Fayetteville, we're going to go either to Wichita or Springfield.' Great. So anyhow, we landed in Springfield, Missouri, and it was about one o'clock in the morning and it was a small airport, so everything was closed down.

There was a full contingent of us going to Fayetteville. As you probably know, there's a lot of people who come to Wal-Mart, business people, you know. So amazingly enough, the flights are almost always full in and out of Fayetteville. So anyhow, there we are at the airport, as it happens in a case like that you make your own little group of people. There were three other people and there was a guy who said he thought he could get a rental car and drive to Fayetteville—the rental car offices were closed, but apparently this guy had some clout. He got on the phone and this guy came and opened it up and rented us a car. They were sending a bus to take us to Fayetteville, but it was going to take a couple of hours to get to Springfield—so anyhow, this guy rented a car. I'm trying to make this story short, but maybe you'll appreciate it...

MB: No, that's fine! [laughs]

HP: So there are four of us in the car, and we're driving toward Fayetteville. We get up into one of these little small towns. Suddenly we notice that there are police cars all around us and we're being pulled over. So here we are, at three o'clock in the morning in a small town in Missouri, driving a rental car with Georgia license plates on it, the driver of the car has a Connecticut drivers license, there's a woman in the back with a Massachusetts license, I had an Arkansas drivers licence and I can't remember what the other guy had. Well, they had, as it turns out, there were rumors that the guy...whoever the guy was who did that bombing...

MB: McVeigh, right

HP: Right, Timothy McVeigh. There were rumors he'd been seen in that area. So they were stopping any kind of suspicious car. We sat there for a good half an hour while they radioed around and checked. They had us blocked in, front back and on the side. I guess they were trying to make a get-away. Anyhow, that didn't really have anything to do with anything, but it made me remember [laughs] that story.

But after 9/11, obviously within the government, of course, that was the Bush administration, and by that time, probably about a third of the Board members were Bush appointees. They were all really good people, I think his administration appointed good people and they tried very hard, and succeeded in keeping the Fulbright Program viable. And of course one of the things that was emphasized was trying to be able to communicate better with the Islamic world. This would be a nice little wrap-up to the story--just five weeks ago today, sitting around this very table, a Fulbright scholar from Afghanistan defended his Masters thesis here and has now gone back to Afghanistan.

As the Bush administration and the public diplomacy people became more involved they tried to get the Fulbright Program more of a presence in Iraq and some other things. I think, for the most part, they were as successful as they can be under the circumstances.

MB: In the public diplomacy literature, there's such an emphasis on Charlotte Beers and Karen Hughes and the advertising-style campaigns, the Shared Values campaign that failed in the Middle East. There's just not as much material on educational exchanges and other activities.

HP: I think you're absolutely right, Charlotte Beers was somebody who was an incredibly able person, in her business, knew advertising as well as anybody, but that didn't translate into what really needed to be done, and particularly in something like educational and cultural exchange. They failed to appreciate what really might be done. Part of that, I think, in fairness to her and to others there, their intentions were very good but these things don't necessarily transfer that easily from one realm to another. Unfortunately, it didn't work out for her.

At the same time, there were a lot of career people who have made incredible contributions to the Fulbright Program and really provided continuity. Even if you have a good Scholarship Board, you're always going to have some new people, people who are not well-steeped in the Program. I had the advantage, not having served on the Board, having been in one way or another certainly familiar with and connected with the Fulbright Program for many, many years.

And there were some of my colleagues, for example Caroline Yang, who had been the Director of the Japanese Fulbright Commission for many years and was a revered figure in the Fulbright world, she was on the Board. And of course, as I mentioned, Lee Williams who knew Fulbright personally better than anybody. I was fortunate to know Fulbright and worked closely with him for a long time, but Lee was there well before I came on the scene.

And we had Birch Bayh, former Senator, and John Culver, former Senator—both just great people who had a very good understanding of the way things work in Washington and the way things work in government. So I think we had an exceptional Board, at least in some respects. But again, those career people are the ones who keep things going from day-to-day. Now, the danger of that is that those people think they're the only ones who know how to do things and the Fulbright Scholarship Board can be a nuisance because they come in and start asking questions and wanting to do things differently. But lots of good people have been

involved in the program over the years and that's been a real key to it—they're people who really care.

The Fulbright Program is not just your sort of normal, bureaucratic program. It's something that people can really get involved in, if they believe in the value of it, and obviously a lot of people have believed in that. That's enabled it to succeed, and sometimes to thrive.

[end]

US to UK Student Interview 1

11 October 2010, 2pm-2:45pm in-person interview

American Fulbright student grantee is pursuing a Master of Science in Sustainability (transport) at a large, urban university in the UK. Last year the student completed an undergraduate degree at a small, rural liberal arts college.

Q: Have you been to the UK before?

A: No, never.

Q: What are your first impressions of the UK in general?

A: Very good, so far. I feel at home here.

Q: So, you're studying transport—how does the UK transportation system compare to the US?

A: There seems to be more of an emphasis on sustainability and environmentalism in the UK.

Q: What are your impressions of your British peers?

A: Good, generally. My programme is mixed, some British and some international, but everybody seems nice so far. I don't get the tight jeans for men, though (laughs).

Q: What do you think of the Fulbright Program's activities?

A: It's been very good—we had orientation down in London and there are a couple of meetings coming up in Cornwall and Scotland. I'm looking forward to those and I'm going on a trip with my transport studies group next summer to Belgium, Holland and Germany, too.

Q: What would you say your purpose is here?

A: I'm interested in sustainability and figuring out how we can apply it in transport policy.

Q: What's your living situation like—are you in uni housing or private?

A: I'm in Leodis [University accommodation near campus].

Q: Where are your housemates from?

A: A mix of countries, really—there's a Canadian, an Australian, an Indian and a Nigerian.

Q: How do you think your experience compares with other international students here?

A: I think it's definitely easier for me as a native speaker of English. There's a lot of handholding from Fulbright, too, like they set up my bank account for me and took care of the housing arrangements with the university before I got here. And they assign you a mentor, and mine's Michael Arthur [the Vice Chancellor of the University]. He was a Fulbrighter [also a member of US-UK Fulbright Commission] and he took me to dinner and a show in town. That's not something that the other international students would get to do (laughs).

Q: And how would you say you're learning about British culture? Do you watch British TV, for instance?

A: No, I mostly watch American stuff, actually, like old episodes of Star Trek on demand. I guess I'm learning about British culture by just walking around—I take walks downtown.

Q: Do you speak any other languages?

A: No.

Q: Have you travelled anywhere else?

A: Not outside the U.S.

Q: While you're here, how are you keeping in touch with people back home?

A: I keep in touch with my mom through e-mail and Skype, and with my friends through Facebook and Skype.

Q: Ok, as a final point, my research is about public diplomacy and the idea that American Fulbrighters are representing the US when they're here. Do you have any comments on that?

A: I guess I'm in favour of it—I think that we do represent America here. But it's not something that was emphasised by the Fulbright orientation or anything.

US to UK Student Interview 2

29 November 2011, 3pm-3:45pm in-person interview

Student is undertaking an MSc in the School of Computing, University of Leeds. Completed undergraduate education in 2009 at Connecticut College, a top producer of Fulbright students for the 2011-2012 year. Extra-curricular interests in Commission biography include violin (award-winning) and water polo.

Q: Why did you decide to do a Fulbright in the UK?

A: I applied to both Marshall and Fulbright. I got rejected by Marshall a couple of weeks after I sent it in, and I didn't hear back from Fulbright for ages. I thought they'd rejected me, too, but then I was asked for an interview. The interview lasted for about 10 minutes, and they told me I'd gotten it right there and then.

Q: Had you ever been to the UK before?

A: No, never.

Q: What's your living situation here in Leeds?

A: I live on Clarendon Road in University accommodation. It's a shared house, mostly international. There are 22 international people and only 2 British housemates. There are some Canadians, but I'm the only American.

Q: Who do you hang out with the most?

A: I don't hang out with any Americans—you're one of the only Americans I've met here, actually. I've joined 2 water polo teams, and I mostly spend my free time with them. I guess I'd say my closest friends are 3 girls from Malaysia, UK and Canada.

Q: The water polo teams sound great.

A: Yeah, I really enjoy it and I've been bringing American strategies over. It's also really the only way I've been able to meet locals. If you had interviewed me at the start of the year, I wouldn't have been able to say much about my impressions of British people because I hadn't met many.

Q: What made you want to do the Fulbright?

A: I don't have a foreign language, but I really wanted to go abroad. I never did a study abroad in undergrad, and I liked the idea of doing research abroad instead of just spending a

semester abroad partying. I wanted to do an MSc, and since my subject is really specific, it led to a professor here at Leeds. I contacted him and he agreed to sponsor me.

Q: What have been your best experiences with Fulbright?

A: They took us to the Ascot Games and we saw the Queen.

Q: What do you expect to get out of the year?

A: I really want to just soak up the culture as much as possible. And I want to pass the MSc—I know that sounds obvious, but only one Masters by research student has ever passed in my department.

Q: Wow, that's a lot of pressure.

A: I know! I'm spending 7 or 8 hours a day in the lab, six days a week. Water polo is pretty much the only social activity I have time for.

Q: As a final thing, how did you spend Bonfire Night and Thanksgiving?

A: On Bonfire Night I went to a fireworks display with friends, and last week for Thanksgiving, Fulbright hosted a dinner in Edinburgh for all of the Fulbrighters in Scotland and the North of England. I was the only one who came up there from England, but it was really great.

Appendix B

Surname, First Name, M.	Occupation/Affiliation	Location	Appointed	Code	Appointing President
Alexander, Mark C.	Prof of Law, Seton Hall University	Newark, NJ	2010	1	Obama
Alisky, Marvin Howard	Prof of Political Science, Arizona State University	Tempe, AZ	1984	1	Reagan
Allen, James E. Jr.	Assistant Secretary for Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Visiting Prof at Princeton	Washington, DC; Princeton, NJ	1970	2	Nixon
Anderson, Hurst Robins	President, American University	Washington, DC	1958	1	Eisenhower
Andrews, John N.	U.S. Veterans Administration	Washington, DC	1948	2	Truman
Anglada, Mario A.	Executive Director, Aspira of America	New York, NY	1980	4	Carter
Antonovich, Michael D.	Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors	Los Angeles, CA	1991	2	GHWBush
Augelli, John P.	Prof of Geography, University of Kansas; University of Illinois	KS; IL	1967	1	Johnson
Ayers, H. Brandt	Publisher, The Anniston Star	Anniston, AL	1980	4	Carter
Barcott, Rye	Special adviser to chairman of Duke Energy	Charlotte, NC	2012	4	Obama
Bayh, Birch	U.S. Senator; Senior Partner of Oppenheimer Wolff Donnelly and Bayh	Washington, DC	1995	2	Clinton
Becker, Jean Loretta	Chief of Staff, former President George H.W. Bush	Texas	2005	2	GWBush
Belli, Lia Triff	None listed	San Francisco, CA	1980	5	Carter
Benson, George Charles Sumner	President, Claremont	California	1956	1	Eisenhower
Berger, Brigitte	Prof of Sociology, Wellesley College	Brookline, MA	1984	1	Reagan
Billington, James H.	Prof of History, Princeton	Princeton, NJ	1971	1	Nixon
Blanding, Sarah Gibson	President, Vassar College	Poughkeepsie, NY	1947	1	Truman
Blitz, Mark N.	Former associate director of USIA	VA	1993	2	GHWBush
Blyley, Katherine G.	President, Keuka College	Keuka Park, NY	1955	1	Eisenhower

Booher, Edward A.	President, McGraw-Hill Book Company	New York, NY	1966	4	Johnson
Bradford, Melvin E.	Prof of English, U of Dallas	Irving, TX	1982	1	Reagan
Bradley, Omar N.	Administrator, Veterans Affairs	Washington, DC	1947	2	Truman
Brode, Robert B.	Prof of Physics, UC Berkeley	Berkeley, CA	1963	1	Kennedy
Brodhead, Richard H.	Dean, Yale College; President, Duke University	New Haven, CT; Durham, NC	2002	1	GWBush
Brownell, Samuel M.	US Commissioner of Education	Washington, DC	1953	2	Eisenhower
Bruininks, Robert H.	President, University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN	2003	1	GWBush
Brzezinski, Mark	Partner, McGuire Woods	Washington, DC	2010	3	Obama
Bull, Bartle	President, Firehouse Magazine	New York, NY	1978	4	Carter
Butler, John Sibley	Prof of Management and Sociology, U of Texas at Austin	Austin, TX	2003	1	GWBush
Caputo, Lisa M.	Managing director, Citigroup Investment Bank	New York, NY	2010	4	Obama
Carl, Beverly May	Prof of Law, Southern Methodist University	Dallas, TX	1980	1	Carter
Carley, John H.	Attorney, Mudge Rose Guthrie and Alexander	New York, NY	1971	3	Nixon
Carmichael, Oliver C.	President, University of Alabama	AL	1954	1	Eisenhower
Castor, Betty	President, University of South Florida	Tampa, FL	2011	1	Obama
Castro-Klaren, Sara	Prof of Hispanic Studies, Johns Hopkins University	Baltimore, MD	1999	1	Clinton
Chan, Shu Park	Prof of Engineering, Santa Clara University	Santa Clara, CA	1991	1	GHWBush
Char, Kenneth F. C.	Vice Chairman and Director, Aloha Airlines	Honolulu, HI	1980	4	Carter
Cheek, James E.	President, Howard University	Washington, DC	1970	1	Nixon
Clapp, Margaret	President, Wellesley College	Wellesley, MA	1951	1	Truman
Clark, Felton G.	President, Southern University	Baton Rouge, LA	1956	1	Eisenhower
Corts, Thomas E.	President Emeritus, Samford University	Birmingham, AL	2005	1	GWBush
Craig, William G.	Headmaster, John Burroughs School	St. Louis, MO	1966	1	Johnson
Cribb, Troy Kenneth Jr.	Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs (and other posts)	Washington, DC	1989	2	Reagan

Cronkhite, Bernice B.	Dean of the Graduate School, Radcliffe College	Cambridge, MA	1955	1	Eisenhower
Culver, John C.	U.S. Senator; Senior Partner of Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin and Kahn	Washington, DC	1999	3	Clinton
Dawkins, Peter Miller	Managing Director of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Inc.	New York, NY	1985	4	Reagan
Deily, Linnet F.	Former US Ambassador to WTO	Houston, TX	2005	4	GWBush
Derthick, Lawrence G.	US Commissioner of Education	Washington, DC	1956	2	Eisenhower
DiMartino, Rita	Consultant	New York, NY	2002	4	GWBush
Dolibois, John E.	VP for Development and Alumni Affairs, Miami University	Oxford, OH	1969	1	Nixon
Donsker, Monroe D.	Professor of Mathematics, NYU	New York, NY	1975	1	Ford
Drachkovitch, Milorad M.	Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution	Stanford, CA	1984	4	Reagan
Driver, William J.	Administrator, Veterans Administration	Washington, DC	1966	2	Johnson
Duggan, Laurence	Director of Institute of International Education	New York, NY	1947	4	Truman
Dunn, Charles W.	Prof of Political Science, Clemson University	Greenville, SC	1987	1	Reagan
Durham, G. Homer	President, Arizona State University and Prof of Political Science	AZ	1964	1	Johnson
Dwinell, Lane	Former Governor, New Hampshire	Lebanon, NH	1971	2	Nixon
Edgar, James W.	Superintendent of Public Instruction of Texas	TX	1951	2	Truman
Edson, Gary R.	CEO PlayPumps Int'l US and CIO and Senior VP, Case Foundation	Washington, DC	2008	4	GWBush
Ellis, Elmer	President, University of Missouri	Columbia, MO	1958	1	Eisenhower
Fahner, Tyrone C.	Partner, Mayer, Brown and Platt	Chicago, IL	1988	3	Reagan
Flournoy, Houston I.	Dean of Public Affairs, USC	Los Angeles, CA	1976	1	Ford
Franklin, John Hope	Professor of American History, University of Chicago	Chicago, IL	1962	1	Kennedy
Fulbright, Harriet Mayor	President, Center for arts in basic curriculum; Widow of Senator Fulbright	Washington, DC	1995	5	Clinton
Gayner, Jeffrey B.	Director of Foreign Policy Studies, Heritage Foundation	Washington, DC	1981	4	Reagan

Ghafari, Yousif	Chairman, Ghafari, Inc.	Dearborn, MI	2005	4	GWBush
Giffords, Gabrielle	Former U.S. Representative	Tuscon, AZ	2013	2	Obama
Gilson, Christie	Prof of Education, Moravian College	Bethlehem, PA	2012	1	Obama
Glazer, Nathan	Prof of Education and Sociology, Harvard	Cambridge, MA	1984	1	Reagan
Goldwin, Robert A.	Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	Washington, DC	1977	4	Ford
Grasso, Ella T.	Secretary of the State of Connecticut	Windsor Locks, CT	1961	2	Kennedy
Green, Shirley Moore	Retired, Director of Communications Services for the Attorney General of Texas	Austin, TX	2003	2	GWBush
Gregorian, Vartan	President, Brown University	Providence, RI	1990	1	GHWBush
Guerra-Mondragon, Gabriel	International consulting firm, former Ambassador to Chile	New York, NY	2011	2	Obama
Gulliver, Adelaide Cromwell	Director of Afro-American Studies Program, Boston University	Brookline, MA	1980	1	Carter
Hand, Lloyd N.	Attorney-at-Law	Beverly Hills, CA	1966	3	Johnson
Handlin, Oscar	Professor of American History, Harvard	Cambridge, MA	1961	1	Kennedy
Hargraves, J. Archie	President, Institute for Int'l Development	Raleigh, NC	1974	4	Nixon
Hays, Brooks	Prof of political affairs, Rutgers	NJ	1966	1	Johnson
Healy, Tom	Prof, New York University	New York, NY	2011	1	Obama
Heyer, George Stuart Jr.	Prof of History of Doctrine, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Austin, TX	1992	1	GHWBush
Hofgren, Daniel	Financial Adviser	New York, NY	1959	4	Eisenhower
Horner, Charles E.	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute (neocon foreign policy research institute)	DC	1993	4	GHWBush
Hovde, Frederick L.	President, Purdue University	West Lafayette, IN	1951	1	Truman
Hubbard, Kathryn Fortune	Co-founder, Bridges of Understanding	Indianapolis, IN	2007	4	GWBush
Ihara, Teruo	Prof of Education, University of Hawaii	Honolulu, HI	1966	1	Johnson
Johnson, Charles S.	President, Fisk University	Nashville, TN	1947	1	Truman

Johnson, John Willard	Chairman, Permian Mud Service Inc.	Houston, TX	2001	4	GWBush
Johnson, Walter	Professor of History, University of Chicago	Chicago, IL	1947	1	Truman
Johnson, Wyatt Thomas Jr.	Deputy Press Secretary to President Johnson	Macon, GA	1969	2	Johnson
Jones, Lewis Webster	President, University of Arkansas	Fayetteville, AR	1949	1	Truman
Katzen, Bernard	Attorney, New York City	New York, NY	1970	3	Nixon
Kelfer, Marvin G.	President of Travis Savings and Loan Association	San Antonio, TX	1982	4	Reagan
Keppel, Francis	US Commissioner of Education	Washington, DC	1963	2	Kennedy
Kinder, Jack Allen	Executive Secretary for Missouri State Teachers Association	Columbia, MO	1987	2	Reagan
Kintner, William R.	Director of Foreign Policy Research Institute	Philadelphia, PA	1970	4	Nixon
Lawrence, Ernest Orlando	Prof of Physics, U of California	Berkeley, CA	1947	1	Truman
Lewis, Shelby F.	Prof Emeritus, Clark Atlanta University	Atlanta, GA	2010	1	Obama
Lipset, Seymour Martin	Prof of Government and Social Relations, Harvard	Cambridge, MA	1967	1	Johnson
Lissy, David H.	Department of Health, Education and Welfare	Washington, DC	1974	2	Nixon
Lowitz, Donald S.	Attorney-at-Law; Aaron, Aaron, Schimberg &Hess	Chicago, IL	1971	3	Nixon
Lyons, Thomas T.	Retired, Prof at Phillips Academy	Newburyport, MA	2003	1	GWBush
Mansfield, Harvey C. Jr.	Prof of Government, Harvard	Cambridge, MA	1987	1	Reagan
Marcus, Philip N.	Consultant with Heritage Foundation; President of Institute for Educational Affairs	New York, NY	1987	4	Reagan
Mauk, William H. Jr.	CEO of Penultimate Group Int'l	Miami, FL	1999	4	Clinton
McBride, Anita B.	Former Chief of Staff to First Lady Laura Bush	Washington, DC	2008	2	GWBush
McCallum, Robert D. Jr.	Former U.S. Ambassador to Australia	Washington, DC	2009	2	GWBush
McDonald, Forrest	Prof of History, U of Alabama	Tuscaloosa, AL	1984	1	Reagan
McGrath, Earl James	US Commissioner of Education	Washington, DC	1949	2	Truman
McGuire, Martin P.	Prof of Greek and Latin, Catholic U of America	Washington, DC	1947	1	Truman
McMurrin, Sterling	US Commissioner of Education	Washington, DC	1961	2	Kennedy
Meriwether, James	Prof of English, University of South Carolina	Columbia, SC	1982	1	Reagan

Babcock					
Milione, E. Victor	President of Intercollegiate Studies Institute	Bryn Mawr, PA	1981	4	Reagan
Moore, Roger A.	Harvard Law School	Cambridge, MA	1954	1	Eisenhower
Murphy, Ewell E.	Partner, Baker Botts	Houston, TX	1991	3	GHWBush
Murphy, Victoria McCammon	Director Pan Atlantic Consultants	Portland, ME	1993	4	Clinton
Muse, Martha Twitchell	President and Executive Director, Tinker Foundation	New York, NY	1974	4	Nixon
Nee, Nelson V.	VP for International Services and Studies, US International University	San Diego, CA	1988	1	Reagan
Nelson, Lyle M.	Prof of Communication, Stanford University	Stanford, CA	1971	1	Nixon
Ness, Susan	Founder, Susan Ness Strategies (communications policy)	Bethesda, MD	2011	4	Obama
Niemeyer, Gerhart	Professor Emeritus of Government, Notre Dame University	Notre Dame, IN	1981	1	Reagan
Nuesse, C. Joseph	Dean, Catholic University of America	Washington, DC	1954	1	Eisenhower
Oblinger, James L.	Chancellor, North Carolina State University	Raleigh, NC	2008	1	GWBush
O'Neill, Jan	None listed	Midland, TX	2001	5	GWBush
Osgood, Robert E.	Dean, Johns Hopkins School of Adv Int'l Studies	Washington, DC	1975	1	Ford
O'Shea, M. Lester	Managing Partner of General Western Co.	San Francisco, CA	1987	4	Reagan
Perkins, Huel D.	President, Huel D. Perkins and Associates	Baton Rouge, LA	1999	4	Clinton
Pike, Frederick B.	Prof of Latin American History, University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, PA	1966	1	Johnson
Pipes, Daniel	Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute	Philadelphia, PA	1992	4	GHWBush
Plummer Cobb, Jewel	Prof of Biological Science, Rutgers	New Brunswick, NJ	1978	1	Carter
Powell, Dina Habib	Managing Director, Office of Corporate Engagement, Goldman Sachs	New York, NY	2008	4	GWBush
Purvis, Hoyt	Prof of Journalism and Political Science, U of Arkansas	Fayetteville, AR	1993	1	Clinton
Radock, Michael	VP for University Relations & Development, Prof of	Ann Arbor, MI	1976	1	Ford

	Journalism, U of Michigan				
Riedl, John Orth	Dean of Graduate School and Prof of Philosophy, Marquette University	Milwaukee, WI	1958	1	Eisenhower
Ritcheson, Charles Ray	University Librarian and Dean Provost, UCLA	Los Angeles, CA	1987	1	Reagan
Rivera, Tomas	Executive VP, University of Texas; Chancellor, UC Riverside	El Paso, TX; Riverside, CA	1978	1	Carter
Roach, James R.	Prof of Government, University of Texas	El Paso, TX	1966	1	Johnson
Roehm, A. Wesley	Oak Park and River Forest High School	Oak Park, IL	1962	1	Kennedy
Rose, Robert	Managing Director, Credit Agricole Futures; Managing Director, Bear Stearns	Connecticut	1993	4	Clinton
Rosenblith, Walter A.	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Cambridge, MA	1978	1	Carter
Rostow, Walt W.	Prof of Economics, University of Texas; Advisor to President Johnson	Austin, TX	1969	1	Johnson
Rudolph, Susanne H.	Prof of Political and Social Science, U of Chicago	Chicago, IL	1978	1	Carter
Salisbury, Harrison E.	Writer	New York, NY	1980	5	Carter
Sammartino, Peter	Chancellor, Fairleigh Dickinson University	Rutherford, NJ	1971	1	Nixon
Schechter, Alan	Prof of Political Science, Wellesley College	Wellesley, MA	1995	1	Clinton
Scott, Hugh	Counsel; Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell & Hippel	Washington, DC	1977	3	Ford
Scruggs, Sherman D.	President of Lincoln University	Jefferson City, MO	1954	1	Eisenhower
Seabury, Paul	Prof of Political Science, UC Berkeley	Berkeley, CA	1967	1	Johnson
Sears, John W.	Lawyer	Boston, MA	1991	3	GHWBush
Seidman, L. William	Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies; Former economic advisor, White House	Washington, DC	1977	1	Ford
Siena, Jane Slate	Head of International Relations, Getty Conservation Institute	Washington, DC	1999	4	Clinton
Smith, Elbert B.	Prof of History, University of Maryland	College Park, MD	1978	1	Carter
Smoot, Jean J.	Prof of English, North Carolina State University	Wake Forest, NC	1983	1	Reagan
Smyth, Francis Scott	University of California Medical Center (MD)	San Francisco, CA	1953	1	Eisenhower

		CA			
Spaulding, Francis Trow	NY State Commissioner of Education	New York	1947	2	Truman
Spencer, Samuel R. Jr.	President, Davidson College	Davidson, NC	1980	1	Carter
Spogli, Ronald P.	Founding Partner, Freeman Spogli & Co.	Los Angeles, CA	2002	3	GWBush
Stalnaker, John M.	President, National Merit Scholarship Corporation, former prof of psychology	Evanston, IL	1962	1	Kennedy
Stern, Alfred L.	Associate Director of Domestic Policy Staff, The White House; Prof of Philosophy, Wayne State University	Washington, DC	1978	2	Carter
Storey, Robert G.	President, Southwestern Legal Center	Dallas, TX	1956	3	Eisenhower
Studebaker, John Ward	U.S. Commissioner of Education	Washington, DC	1947	2	Truman
Super, Katherine L.	Deputy Assistant to the President for Appointments and Scheduling	Great Falls, VA	1993	2	GHWBush
Sutton, Francis X	Executive Associate, Ford Foundation	Dobbs Ferry, NY	1962	4	Kennedy
Taylor, Anne Pannell	former President, Sweet Briar College	Easton, MD	1971	1	Nixon
Taylor, George E.	director Far E and Russian Inst, Prof of History, UW	Seattle, WA	1963	1	Kennedy
Terman, Frederick E.	VP and Provost, Stanford University	Stanford, CA	1960	1	Eisenhower
Theberge, James D.	Georgetown University	Washington, DC	1974	1	Nixon
Tonkinson, Margarita B.	Administrator, University of Miami	Miami, FL	1990	1	GHWBush
Trombley, Laura Skandera	President, Pitzer College	Claremont, CA	2012	1	Obama
Turman, James A.	Associate Commissioner of Education for Field Services, Dept of Health, Education and Welfare	Washington, D.C.	1966	2	Johnson
Uhlfelder, Steven	Uhlfelder and Associates, P.A.	Tallahassee, FL	2001	3	GWBush
Valenti, Jack J.	President, Motion Picture Association of America (former aide to Pres Johnson)	Washington, D.C.	1967	4	Johnson
Vermeil, Donald	Principal, Renco Properties, Inc.	Palo Alto, CA	2001	4	GWBush
Wallison, Peter J.	Attorney-at-Law; Rogers & Wells	Washington, DC	1977	3	Ford
Ware, Richard Anderson	President of Earhart Foundation	Ann Arbor, MI	1984	4	Reagan
Weill, Gus	CEO of Gus Weill Public Relations	Baton Rouge,	1997	4	Clinton

		LA			
Whelan, James Robert	Managing Director of CBN News	Washington, DC	1985	4	Reagan
White, Helen Constance	Prof of English, U of Wisconsin	Madison, WI	1947	1	Truman
Wilgus, A. Curtis	University of Florida	Gainesville, FL	1963	1	Kennedy
Wilkie, Philip H.	Attorney at Law	Rushville, Indiana	1953	3	Eisenhower
Williams, Lee	Partner, Public Strategies Washington Inc.	Washington, DC	1993	4	Clinton
Wilson, John	Prof of History, Hillsdale College	Hillsdale, MI	1984	1	Reagan
Wimpers, Duncan	President, Trinity University	San Antonio, TX	1974	1	Nixon
Woodson, Robert L. Sr.	President and CEO, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise	Washington, DC	2002	4	GWBush
Yang, Caroline A. Matano	International Education Consultant	Kailua, HI	1995	4	Clinton
Yao, Esther Lee	Prof at University of Houston at Clear Lake	Houston, TX	1992	1	GHWBush
Zamaria, Rose M.	Director, White House Operations	VA	1993	2	GHWBush