

THE ROLE OF SCHOLARSHIPS IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTIVITIES:
EXAMPLES OF FULBRIGHT AND CHEVENING SCHOLARSHIPS

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF SCHOLARSHIPS IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTIVITIES: EXAMPLES OF FULBRIGHT AND CHEVENING SCHOLARSHIPS

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States rest on public diplomacy efforts to showcase their assets, create positive image in the eyes of foreign publics and gain support for their domestic or foreign policies. Public diplomacy efforts include transmitting messages to foreign publics, forging dialogue channels and engaging with people. This study examines the role of student exchange programs and scholarships in public diplomacy activities focusing on how states benefit from public diplomacy tools to strengthen their soft power in short and long term. Student exchange programs and scholarships are considered significant tools that states use to achieve long-term results in the field of public diplomacy. With an aim of understanding the role of scholarships role in public diplomacy, the research will focus on whether the Fulbright Scholarship of the United States of America and the Chevening Scholarship of the United Kingdom contribute to public diplomacy of the mentioned countries.

Keywords: Public Diplomacy, Fulbright, Chevening

ÖZ

BURS PROGRAMLARININ KAMU DİPLOMASİSİ FAALİYETLERİNDEKİ ROLÜ: FULBRIGHT VE CHEVENING BURSLARI ÖRNEKLERİ

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Devletler, sahip oldukları değerleri sergileme, yabancı kamuoyu nezdinde olumlu imaj oluşturma ve iç/dış politikalarına destek sağlama amacıyla kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinden faydalanmaktadır. Yabancı kamuoylarına mesaj iletme, etkileşimde bulunma ve diyalog kanalları kurma, kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri kapsamına girmektedir. Bu çalışma, günümüz bilgi çağında devletlerin yumuşak güçlerini geliştirmek amacıyla kamu diplomasisi araçlarından nasıl yararlandığını ve bu kapsamda öğrenci değişim programlarının kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerindeki rolünü araştırmaktadır. Öğrenci değişim programları ve burslar, devletlerin kamu diplomasisi alanında uzun vadeli sonuçlar elde etme amacıyla yararlandığı bir araçtır. Bursların kamu diplomasisindeki rolünün anlaşılması amacıyla bu araştırma, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Fulbright Bursu ve İngiltere'nin Chevening Bursu'nun belirtilen ülkelerin kamu diplomasisine katkı sağlayıp sağlamadığına odaklanacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamu Diplomasisi, Fulbright, Chevening

To my niece Zeynep Sare

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I would like to extend my thanks to my family who supported me in every way possible. I would like to thank my dear mother Günay Sevinç, my father Hasan Sevinç, my sister Gizem Şahin and my brother Berkay Sevinç for all their support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFS	American Field Service
ACPD	Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy
BBG	Broadcasting Board of Governors
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCI	Community College Initiative Program
CICs	Coalition Information Centres
ECA	Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
FCDO	Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office
FLTA	Foreign Language Teaching Assistant Program
FCO SAS	FCO Scholarships and Awards Scheme
GPA	Bureau of Global Public Affairs
IVLP	International Visitor Leadership Program
OSU	Oregon State University
PDSB	Public Diplomacy Strategy Board
USIA	United States Information Agency
VOA	Voice of America
YES	Kennedy Lugar Youth Exchange and Study

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In today's world, states conduct their foreign policies in complex social and political environments where they face challenges to advance their goals and sphere of influence. The need to engage with foreign publics in line with the foreign policy objectives remains significant for many states.

This work examines the role of the United States and the United Kingdom's scholarships in public diplomacy activities and their impact in the short and long term. Nick Cull highlights that "public diplomacy is an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public."¹ The public diplomacy activities are generally defined as efforts by states to present their ideas, values, perspectives to the people of other nations. Even though it is not always given priority, with emerging crisis or conflicts, states may turn to public diplomacy to shape the perception of publics.

The concept of public diplomacy is at the center of this research. Aiming to understand the use of educational exchanges and scholarships as public diplomacy tools, Fulbright and Chevening scholarships are examined. The reason why these two scholarships are chosen is that they both have been presented as the flagship programs in their respective countries and have been conducted for a long period of time. Fulbright is an exchange program while Chevening is a scholarship program, yet the two programs have similar objectives which are part of the public diplomacy activities of the US and the UK. These objectives include creating mutual understanding, promoting the country's positive image, and enabling cultural exchange.

¹ Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* (Figuera Press, 2009) p.12.

The differences and similarities of these two programs are also discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Throughout the years, the institutional structure and the concept of public diplomacy have undergone changes both in the US and the UK. Even though the two countries have different structures and history on the field of public diplomacy, in and of itself scholarships are considered essential for both countries' public diplomacy efforts to engage with foreign publics.

The Fulbright exchange program is managed by the division under the US Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Chevening program is managed by Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO). Both programs explain their missions in their official websites; it is highlighted that their role aims at long term objectives such as advancing foreign policy goals or supporting the country's foreign policy objectives.² The programs are believed to be an investment in people who might be future politicians, opinion leaders or public figures³. This research attempts to find out how these objectives play out and what impact these scholarships creates within the scope of public diplomacy. To examine the role of scholarships in public diplomacy activities, interviews are conducted with Fulbright and Chevening alumni from Türkiye.

1.1. Scope and Objective

This research discusses whether the scholarships Fulbright and Chevening contribute to the public diplomacy efforts of the US and the UK. The scholarships managed by the US Department of State and the UK's FCDO are discussed in detail to understand their efforts for public diplomacy such as enhancing ties with other nations and creating mutual understanding.

² "About," Fulbright Turkey. Accessed July 25, 2022. <https://fulbright.org.tr/about>.

³ "Who Can Apply," Chevening. Accessed July 28, 2022. <https://www.chevening.org/scholarships/who-can-apply/>.

The research focuses on the concept of public diplomacy efforts in the US and the UK and its development in both countries throughout the years. The aim of the work is not to provide a whole historical story of the public diplomacy in the US and the UK, but to discuss the role of scholarships in public diplomacy efforts.

The question that will be discussed in this research is as follows;

- Do scholarships, namely Fulbright and Chevening, contribute to the public diplomacy efforts of the US and the UK and why are these scholarships are considered significant?

1.2. Methodology

Case study method is applied as research method. Yin explains that case studies “are preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon with some real-life context.”⁴ To provide insight into the public diplomacy efforts of each country and the structure of public diplomacy institutions, the official statements by the Foreign Ministers, the Department of State and FCDO’s official reports and remarks, the statements of the official institutions that manage scholarships are examined.

With an aim of discussing the role of scholarships namely Fulbright and Chevening in public diplomacy efforts, interviews with the alumni from Türkiye are conducted. The interviewees’ comments are discussed under two categories, “familiarity with the country” and “sense of community”, to further examine the role of scholarships and their impact as public diplomacy instruments. Under these two themes, public diplomacy’s reflections such as promoting a culture, correcting misconceptions, engaging with people, forging new ties are investigated. For this research, the necessary permissions from the Human Subjects Ethics Committee (HSEC) of the Middle East Technical University has been granted on 4, August 2022.

⁴ Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Sage Publications, 2003) p.1.

1.2.1. Selection of the Sample Group

Within the scope of the research 20 interviews in total were conducted. 10 interviewees from each scholarship, Chevening and Fulbright, answered questions aiming at understanding the role of scholarship programs in public diplomacy activities. The interviews are conducted with Turkish recipients of the scholarships.

The reason for selecting Turkish scholars as sample group is essential for the essence of the research. Türkiye has deep-rooted historical and political ties with both countries which have been reflected into the public diplomacy efforts as well.

Fulbright program has been providing scholarships to Turkish students since 1950. The process was initiated by Senator Fulbright's visit to Istanbul in 1948.⁵ The Turkish American Educational Exchange Agreement was signed on December 28th, 1949, and the agreement was approved by Turkish Grand National Assembly on March 13th, 1950. In relation to the ties between Türkiye and the US, it is stressed on the website of the US Department of State that "It is in our interest to keep Turkey anchored to the Euro-Atlantic community."⁶ The historical and economic ties reflect that Türkiye and the US are engaging with each other in line with their strategic goals. Therefore, it is considered that dynamic nature of the ties between US and Türkiye presents a good sample for investigating the public diplomacy efforts applied by the respective country.

A NATO ally, Türkiye also has active relations with the UK. On bilateral ties between the two countries, FCDO underlines that "We are committed to a long term, mutually beneficial, commercial partnership with Turkey, built on our shared understanding of the real benefits that such a partnership will bring to our two countries."⁷ Since both

⁵ "Our Commission's 65th Anniversary Documentary," FulbrightTurkey, July 4, 2017, 51:00, YouTube video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nn_iRvRXBU.

⁶ "U.S. Relations With Turkey," U.S. Department of State, Accessed November 23, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/countries-areas/turkey/>.

⁷ "Turkey and the UK," GOV.UK. Accessed November 20, 2022. <https://www.gov.uk/world/turkey/news>.

countries are engaging with each other on various issues, the public diplomacy efforts are also dynamic between the two countries and they provide a significant example to investigate the scope of the public diplomacy field as seen in the case of Türkiye. Therefore, examining the examples of the UK and the US which have long experience in the field of public diplomacy is believed to be worthy.

1.2.2. Sampling Technique

Snowball sampling technique is used for the interviews conducted with Fulbright and Chevening scholars. In this sampling technique, one sample enables the contact with other samples which have the same features required for the study.

During the period of the research, interviewees helped introducing the research to their networks such as alumni network groups of Chevening and Fulbright aiming to reflect their ideas on the scholarships so that their views are presented. Reaching to the alumni gained pace when the scholars asked their friends from the program indicating that the networks that were established remain alive. Social media networks such as LinkedIn also helped reaching out to scholars, as they specifically included in their bios that they were Fulbright/Chevening scholars.

1.2.3. Interviews

For the research a face-to-face interview in Istanbul, Türkiye was conducted with Nicholas J. Cull, Professor of Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California. Cull's contribution to the field of public diplomacy is essential. Therefore, it is believed that the evaluations of Cull deeply contribute to the discussion of this research. In the interview, Cull commented on the role of educational scholarships in public diplomacy activities. He elaborated on the impact of scholarship programs.

An interview with Executive Director of the Turkish Fulbright Commission Prof. Ersel Aydınli was also conducted to shed light into the program's activities in Türkiye.

To discuss the experience of Turkish scholars, 20 interviews in total (12 male, 8 female) were conducted as part of the study. The topic of the questions asked to the

scholars were; change over perceptions, interest in the daily agenda of the respective country, plans and projects about enhancing ties, developing networks and sense of community, public diplomacy activities conducted by the program.

The list of interviews and the interview questions are presented in appendices. In the interviews, the interviewees gave detailed information about their experiences, the scope of the Fulbright and Chevening program, the events and seminars organized by the programs, the programs' efforts to keep the network alive, their overall ideas on the scholarships, the role these programs played in their careers and lives. As the interviews gave detailed information about the contribution of the programs to their perspectives of the countries, scholarships' role as public diplomacy tools were investigated.

1.2.4. The Limitations

The questions of the interviews were focusing on understanding how the US and the UK's scholarship programs are designed and whether the programs support public diplomacies of the US and the UK. It should be noted that this research focuses on the unique experiences of the Turkish scholars. The programs' impact and perception may differ in other parts of the world. Therefore, this study is limited to the countries' public diplomacy efforts in Türkiye and might not reflect overall role of the programs in the world.

1.3. Organization of the Thesis

This research consists of five chapters, namely, Introduction, the Educational Scholarships, the US Public Diplomacy Efforts and the Role of Fulbright Scholarship, the British Public Diplomacy Efforts and the Role of Chevening Scholarship and Conclusion.

In the introduction, the aim of the research is explained in detail. The research question and the scope of the study are presented. It is highlighted that the research focuses on

the Fulbright and Chevening scholarships. The methodology used is explained to set the basis for the discussion for the research. Information about the interview questions is presented and their objectives are explained. In the introduction chapter, the key concept of the research, public diplomacy, is discussed. The terminology relevant to the topic such as soft power is also explained in the introduction chapter.

In the following chapters, the concept of public diplomacy in the US and the UK and its relation to the scholarship programs are explained. Information on the scholarships, Fulbright and Chevening, is presented, and the historical background of the concept in the respective countries is also discussed.

The interviews conducted with the alumni are discussed in the related chapters to give insight about the role of the scholarship programs from the Turkish scholars' point of view. The views of the alumni contributed to understand the perception of the program by the scholars. Through the interviews short and long-term impact of the program is investigated. Based on the experience of the alumni, the public diplomacy features of the Fulbright and Chevening program are discussed.

In the conclusion of each chapter, the relation between public diplomacy and educational scholarships is highlighted. The research focused on in which ways the scholarship programs are supporting the respective countries within the framework of public diplomacy. It is underlined that the respective countries invest in the educational scholarships assuming they contribute to their public diplomacy efforts. The interviews indicated that the scholarships support public diplomacy efforts of the US and the UK and have the potential to support foreign policy objectives of the countries in the long run. The short-term impact of the program is seen in the form of public diplomacy while the long-term impact must be investigated in future studies. It is underlined in the research that the scholarships enabled the US and the UK to engage with foreign publics, introduce their culture, support their academic and intellectual activities which are clear efforts for supporting the respective countries' public diplomacies. This research, based on the interviews with 20 Turkish scholars, indicated that it is difficult to see the programs' immediate or direct results for

supporting the foreign policies of the US and the UK. Yet, it is stressed that from the official statements of the programs, there has been a clear intent to invest in future leaders and politicians in line with the aim of supporting foreign policy objectives of the countries. It is indicated that there is a possibility for achieving this objective, however, the immediate and short-term results of the scholarships are clearly related to public diplomacy activities.

1.4. The Concepts of Soft Power and Public Diplomacy

1.4.1. Soft Power

As the main concept that is focused on this research is public diplomacy, it is considered necessary to discuss related concepts as well to present a holistic approach to the study.

The concept of power has been subject to evolving interpretations as the global developments shape the world politics and our perception of it. The concept of soft power was first introduced by Joseph Nye, who highlights that states do not always have to use hard power to obtain the results they want. He says, “a country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries -admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness- want to follow it.”⁸ While hard power uses inducements and threats, soft power shapes the preferences of people without coercing them. Nye explains that “The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority.)”⁹ The definition of Nye presented a more detailed approach to the understanding of power in world politics. He highlighted that with the use of soft power states may diversify their traditional

⁸ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p.5.

⁹ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.11.

tools at their disposal such as economic power and military power to attain their objectives and produce impact.

As Nye underlines, the foreign and domestic policies pursued by countries shape their soft power. It should be noted that particular policies might ruffle feathers in some countries while they might be appreciated by publics of other countries.¹⁰ It is not always possible to appeal to various publics at one time. According to the soft power concept of Nye, a country does not need to resort to economic threats or military power in order to receive the outcomes it wants.

From the perspective of Nye, if a country proclaims that it upholds values such as democracy and human rights it needs to take steps in line with these values. If these values are not practiced, it would not produce any soft power. Furthermore, when publics perceive contradiction between the actions and rhetoric of a country, naturally, its image would be negatively affected.¹¹ Nye highlights that “Perceived hypocrisy is particularly corrosive of power that is based on the proclaimed values. Those who scorn or despise us for hypocrisy are less likely to want to help us achieve our policy objectives.”¹² To be able to speak of an effective soft power, the policies of a country need to be perceived as coherent and sincere by the foreign publics. As it is not always possible to see the immediate results created by the soft power, scholars have debates about how to gauge its impact. When hard power is used, for instance a military operation, or economic sanctions, the results would be expected to be more apparent.

In relation to the issue of soft power, there are some indexes that aim to evaluate the soft power produced by the countries. The indexes aim to gauge the impact of the countries’ efforts; however, it is not possible to claim that they produce unquestionable truth. They attempt to analyze the soft power efforts’ impact in the world. For instance,

¹⁰ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p. 55.

¹¹ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.55.

¹² Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.55.

the Good Country Index was developed by Simon Anholt in 2014. On the website of the index, it is highlighted that “The idea of the Good Country Index is simple: to measure what each country on earth contributes to the common good of humanity, and what it takes away, relative to its size.”¹³ The index has several categories including science and technology, culture, international peace and security, world order, planet and climate change, prosperity and equality, health, and wellbeing. Each category has sub-categories through which data is evaluated. To summarize, the index focuses on countries’ external impact on the world and whether their contributions are deemed essential. According to the data provided by the latest version of the index, Sweden ranks first while the US ranks 46th and the UK 14th.¹⁴

The science and technology category has also sub-categories of international students, journal exports, international publications, novel prizes and patent. In the sub-category of the international students, the number of foreign students studying in the country, relative to the size of the economy is assessed.¹⁵ This indicates that a country’s hosting of foreign students is considered as part of its soft power efforts.

In relation to the difference between the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy, it can be said that soft power refers to the states’ general ability to attract and influence the others, while public diplomacy efforts are more about a determined objective rather than the generalized aim of creating influence.¹⁶ Public diplomacy efforts aim at achieving concrete result which might contribute to strengthening a country’s soft power. It can be said that public diplomacy is objective-oriented form of soft power.¹⁷

¹³ “About the Good Country Index.” Good Country. Accessed July 22, 2022. <https://www.goodcountry.org/index/about-the-index/>.

¹⁴ “The Good Country Index.” Good Country. Accessed July 22, 2022. <https://index.goodcountry.org>.

¹⁵ “The Good Country Index.”

¹⁶ Haluk Karadağ, (2012) *Bir Dış Politika Tekniği Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi: Karar Verme Süreci Üzerine Etkisi*, Doctoral Dissertation, Gazi Üniversitesi, p. 30.

¹⁷ Haluk Karadağ, *Uluslararası İlişkilerde Yeni Bir Boyut, Kamu Diplomasisi* (Nobel, 2022), p. 56.

The perspective set by Nye, points out that states may achieve their goals without using hard power; the key in this concept is the willingness or consent of the public; they are attracted and willing to support the respective country.¹⁸

1.4.2. Public Diplomacy

States engage in public diplomacy activities and attempt to attract foreign publics. Official communication with foreign publics is not a new phenomenon. Countries that favor to create a positive image in the eyes of the foreigners, have used different tools at their disposal to shape the others' opinions of them. For example, with the First World War, states used numerous ways to shape the public opinion. These efforts were often defined as "propaganda" which has had a negative connotation.¹⁹ The terms such as propaganda and public diplomacy have often been confused with one another, therefore clarifying their definitions would be useful. Propaganda aims at persuading publics and shape their opinions, but it does not involve engagement. The propagandist just conveys his or her messages, without an attempt to form a meaningful relation. In his famous work, *Propaganda*, Jacques Ellul, highlights that "Propaganda tries to surround men by all possible routes, in the realm of feelings as well as ideas, by playing on his will or on his needs through his conscious and his unconscious, assailing him in both his private and his public life."²⁰ As the definition indicates, the propaganda involves manipulation of the ideas or feelings of the targeted audience. The propagandist might distort facts and mislead the people.

However, public diplomacy, a significant instrument of soft power, has a more positive perception. Melissen highlights that the term public diplomacy was believed to be coined by Edmund Gullion, Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in the

¹⁸ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p. 7.

¹⁹ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda, The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. (Vintage Books, 1973), p. 11.

²⁰ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda*, p. 11.

mid 1960s and it later became associated mostly with the US.²¹ During the Cold War years, the states used public diplomacy to a certain level in order to shape foreign public opinion.

André Munro says, “Public diplomacy includes all official efforts to convince targeted sectors of foreign opinion to support or tolerate a government’s strategic objective.”²² He examines public diplomacy under two categories. The first one is branding, in which the government seeks to create a positive image for itself without a particular policy objective. The second type of public diplomacy refers to the efforts aimed at yielding rapid results. Furthermore, for the purposes of political advocacy it is attempted to gain the support of foreign publics regarding a specific policy of a country.²³

Mark Leonard’s explanation of the term “public diplomacy” is also significant to comprehend the concept. Leonard stresses that “public diplomacy is about building relationships: understanding the needs of other countries, cultures and peoples; communicating our points of view; correcting misperceptions; looking for areas where we can find common cause.”²⁴ Leonard’s remarks highlight that public diplomacy is not only explaining a country’s policies to other publics so that they approve them, but it also refers to the efforts to build a meaningful relationship by genuinely engaging with them.

Commenting on the difference between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy, Cull says that “traditional diplomacy is international actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with another international actor; public

²¹ Jan Melissen, “The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice,” in *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, ed. Jan Melissen (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.6.

²² André Munro, Public Diplomacy. Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-diplomacy>.

²³ André Munro, Public Diplomacy.

²⁴ Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy* (Foreign Policy Centre, 2002), p.8.

diplomacy is an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public."²⁵ He also underlines that there has been key shifts in practices of public diplomacy; NGOs have become more prominent, actors use global technologies which have expanded reach of the news spheres, and people-to-people contact for mutual enlightenment has been given more significance.²⁶ Cull's points indicate that the concept of public diplomacy has been taking new forms with new developments.

For instance, in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the US, the country placed greater importance to its public diplomacy activities with an aim of delivering the US' messages to the wider world. As the anti-Americanism was rising around the world following the US' response to the 9/11, the question of "Why do they hate us so much?" was a discussion topic in the US.²⁷

In a report titled "Changing Minds Winning Peace" that was presented to the US House of Representatives' Committee on Appropriations by the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab World and Muslim World in October 2003, it was stated that "Public diplomacy is the promotion of the national interest by informing, engaging, and influencing people around the world. Public diplomacy helped win the Cold War, and it has the potential to help win the war on terror."²⁸ The statement highlights that, the public diplomacy efforts are deemed useful for supporting foreign policy objectives of the US. Aside from the US, many other countries in Europe and

²⁵ Nicholas Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* p.12.

²⁶ Nicholas Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* p.12.

²⁷ Kristof, Nicholas D. (2002, January 15). Why Do They Hate Us. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/01/15/opinion/why-do-they-hate-us.html>.

²⁸ *Changing Minds, Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for US Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World*, prepared by the United States Department of State (2003). <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/24882.pdf>.

Asia resort to public diplomacy for promoting their cultures and values.²⁹ For instance Europe derives soft power with its “attractive culture” and “domestic policies.”³⁰

Today’s digital world and recent technologies prompt states to understand and adapt to the changes in order to navigate their strategies for public diplomacy. It is seen that the new technological developments may present both challenges and opportunities for states to conduct their public diplomacy activities. In the face of challenges posed by the technological developments to the public diplomacy efforts such as disinformation and manipulation some officials point out that educational exchanges may play a role in building resilience.³¹

As the number of internet users has increased in the last decade, social media has become a platform for users to share content on various topics. World leaders, international organizations, government institutions have started to actively use these platforms to share their messages with the world in real time. The world leaders have been able to share their messages at any time and without needing another medium. In a commentary, Nye stresses that it is crucial to invest in public diplomacy considering the conditions of today’s world. He says, “In today’s world sometimes it is the side with the best story that wins and that ability to get that story out, to be able to explain things to affect people’s minds is crucial...When we look at the information age that we are in and how it’s been burgeoning with this extraordinary growth of the internet and cyber activities you can see that more people have information than ever before, and that means that the ability to reach those people through public diplomacy becomes even more important.”³²

²⁹ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.73.

³⁰ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.80.

³¹ “Exchange Professionals and the Value of Public Diplomacy.” U.S. Department of State, December 1, 2020. <https://2017-2021.state.gov/exchange-professionals-and-the-value-of-public-diplomacy/index.html>.

³² “Joseph Nye on the Future of Soft Power and Public Diplomacy”, USC Annenberg, published on June 7, 2019, YouTube video, 04:40, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q75uTqz5XS4>.

Commenting on public diplomacy activities on social media, Anholt says “It’s effectively made it free for countries to raise their profiles. Previously if you wanted the world to know about extraordinary stuff you are doing you would have bought medium to tell them, and it is very expensive to buy medium.”³³ He highlights that the states may use the platforms for free for creating positive images of themselves and adds that if countries feel the need to spend money to get their message out there is something wrong in what they are saying and doing. Anholt, points out that to a certain level politics now are being conducted on Twitter. Even though politicians and diplomats were previously able to send slightly different messages to their domestic and international audiences, it is not possible in today’s global information age.³⁴

While previously states used to be the dominant actors that transmit information to the publics, thanks to the technology, various actors may easily reach out to audiences sending their messages. Nye says, “Technological advances have led to a dramatic reduction in the cost of processing and transmitting information. The result is an explosion of information, one that produced a “paradox of plenty.” Plenty of information leads to scarcity- of attention. Attention rather than information becomes the scarce resource, and those who can distinguish valuable information from background clutter gain power.”³⁵ The comment of Nye indicates that he places responsibility on the shoulders of the audience to distinguish between information and useless content.

As experts and academics point out, the role of internet in shaping states’ public diplomacy activities in the information age is critical. Furthermore, states aiming at achieving success in their communication with foreign publics pay heed to the recent

³³ Simon Anholt, *Digital Disruption: New Technologies and the Balance of Soft Power*, People, Places, Power, Podcast, 20:27, <https://soundcloud.com/user-971215203>.

³⁴ Simon Anholt, *Digital Disruption: New Technologies and the Balance of Soft Power*

³⁵ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p.106.

developments in technology. Today, it is argued that new challenges exacerbated with the growth of internet such as disinformation and misinformation may undermine public diplomacy efforts of a state.

In relation to the issue, US public diplomacy veteran Rick Ruth stated in an interview that “The biggest challenge today to public diplomacy is how global discourse is poisoned by misinformation and disinformation. Authenticity is an antidote. Exchanges can strongly counter this kind of information manipulation through the development of resilient, informed human networks.”³⁶ Ruth suggests that the people-to-people ties that are formed through educational exchanges are effective tools for mitigating the malign activities caused by disinformation campaigns. Ruth assumes that educational exchanges create mutual understanding and thus people become more resilient to the manipulative contents. Arguing that the future of public diplomacy would be about competing for influence, Ruth says “There are active and organized state and non-state actors that seek to exert malign influence on other countries. Exchanges are the most effective means to promote American values – they create networks of like-minded men and women who share values and are willing to make common cause with us.”³⁷ The statements of the US public diplomacy veteran highlights that the US government considers that the educational exchanges help to counter misconceptions.

Cull highlights that the components of public diplomacy are listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange, and international broadcasting. These elements comprise the core of public diplomacy activities of states. Cull explains that listening refers to an actor’s efforts to understand the international environment by collecting data about foreign publics’ opinions with an aim of shaping its public diplomacy

³⁶ “Exchange Professionals and the Value of Public Diplomacy,” U.S. Department of State, August 28, 2018. <https://2017-2021.state.gov/exchange-professionals-and-the-value-of-public-diplomacy/index.html>.

³⁷ “Exchange Professionals and the Value of Public Diplomacy,” U.S. Department of State.

accordingly.³⁸ Advocacy is about a state's promoting a particular policy through communication activities. This reflects the state's stance toward a specific issue. Cultural diplomacy may be defined as a state's attempt to promote its cultural values and its success to the foreign publics.³⁹ Cull points out that France is highly investing in cultural diplomacy and has created an international network of schools to "maintain its prestige and influence."⁴⁰ Exchange diplomacy, one of the elements of public diplomacy, refers to a state's sending of its citizens to overseas and accepting people from other countries for the purposes of education or cultural activities. The exchanges are expected to yield results that would strengthen "mutuality." Finally, international broadcasting refers to states' efforts to engage with foreign publics through the use of radio, television and internet technologies. The states' use of international broadcasting enables sharing information and cultural achievements with wide audiences.⁴¹

³⁸ Cull, p.18.

³⁹ Cull, p.19.

⁴⁰ Cull, p.19.

⁴¹ Cull, p.19.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS

Public diplomacy efforts include engaging with foreign publics and forging dialogue. Educational scholarships are naturally considered as part of states' public diplomacy activities. Scholarship programs provide numerous opportunities for students such as gaining experience academically, meeting foreign students and improving language skills.

In an interview conducted face-to-face with Cull, he stated that “Through exchanges you not only transfer ideas, but you build relationships. The strength of exchanges is that they create relationships and help people see how similar they are to one another and create permanent community links.”⁴²

Cull also underlined that the scholarship programs need to focus on the structure of the scholars' experiences since they are expected to yield positive results regarding the public diplomacy goals. “Educational scholarship gives you a chance to have a policy voice in who accesses your education and who gets to know your country. Within the educational scholarship you also get to structure the experience; you can make sure that people have an orientation to the country and are monitored,” Cull stated.⁴³

In the interview, Cull highlighted that the educational scholarships are relevant today, yet he added that “we should always be thinking about, can we make it better, can we keep it as relevant as possible to our policy goals? ... Keeping scholarships relevant is a sensible policy task.” Cull pointed out that regarding the fields of study, states may

⁴² Interview with Nick J. Cull, 2022.

⁴³ Interview with Nick J. Cull, 2022.

focus on particular areas in line with the current global problems such as environmental problems.

Cull stressed that the scholarships provide opportunity for people to have first-hand information about a country. He indicated that as the scholars go back to their home countries, they convey their ideas and experiences to a wider public. “There is a tremendous difference between whether you are a person who has just read about a country or whether you’ve been to the country. What a scholarship can do is that it can make your voice much more credible when you go back to where you’re from,” Cull said and underlined that the scholars are considered credible sources since they had the experience of living in that country.⁴⁴

In the interview, Cull also discussed the significance of the length of a scholarship since it might affect a person’s perception of the country. By explaining the W-curve, Cull pointed out that as a person goes to another country, he/she experiences various feelings and his/her ideas over the country change during the period of the scholarship. “W-curve measures culture shock. With educational scholarships, people cross frontiers and get into the realm of culture shock. When you go to a new country you experience honeymoon phase, for a month everything is absolutely fantastic, you love all the stimulation, and everything makes sense at your head. From about one month to three months, negative feelings start to fit in; about three months the negative feelings peak and you feel very alienated and confused about the country that you are in, the new information starts to seem contradictory; then you go through a kind of recovery and your experience gets positive again, you either stay in the country or you go back to your home society in which case you experience reverse culture shock where you might be alienated from your own country as well,” Cull explained stressing that “in educational scholarships the length of time can be a tremendously important factor.”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Interview with Nick J. Cull, 2022.

⁴⁵ Interview with Nick J. Cull, 2022.

In relation to the issue, Giles Scott-Smith highlights that the exchanges, “however educational and “apolitical” they may be presented, inescapably operate within the broader political environment of international affairs. Even the most politically neutral of exchanges, such as those between high schools, have either political intent behind their creation or are promoted for the purpose of developing cross-border relations that can subsequently lead to political outcomes, such as a reduction in conflict.”⁴⁶ He points out that even though political aspect of the scholarship programs is not presented directly for ensuring the credibility of the programs, at the end of the day they might function to advance policy goals within the framework of the public diplomacy efforts. However, he stresses that there is no way of predicting how the scholarship program would have an impact on the individual. Furthermore, Scott-Smith says that if the political goals of an exchange are sensed directly, they might undermine overall impact and credibility of the program.⁴⁷

The experience of an exchange student might be considered to be unique and personal. Event though, the organizers of the program expect to achieve similar results within the framework of the scholarship program, there might be unexpected results as well. Since the exchange students have different characters, cultural background, and opinions, their experience in the host country might be different from each other. It is not possible to predict how the exchange program would have an influence on the individuals.

In his book titled “International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?”, Iain Wilson put a spotlight on the issue whether the educational exchanges present political and diplomatic benefits to the host country.⁴⁸ Wilson conducts interviews with some students who participated in the exchange

⁴⁶ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy” in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, ed. Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor (New York, Routledge, 2019), p. 50.

⁴⁷ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy” p.52.

⁴⁸ Iain Wilson, *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2014) p.2.

program and attempt to understand how their attitudes were shaped. Wilson, highlights that the exchange programs' tasks or objectives might be determined according to the agenda of the governments. He says, "Even though scholarship programs may be set up for other reasons, many officials tasked with managing them seem to have accepted that they were set up to nurture sympathetic opinion leaders."⁴⁹

To give example of programs that are explicit about their pursuit of political objectives, Wilson points out to the Fulbright's Polish Commission's remarks on post-Soviet states; that underlines that its "main aim is to become part of the process of creating in these countries a new intellectual, political and economic elite—open to Western values, and willing and able to work for democracy, market economy and civil society."⁵⁰

Wilson highlights that governments, especially during the times of crisis or ongoing conflicts, tend to make use of tools at their disposal. Thus, their political motivations might also be reflected into the educational exchanges as well. As seen in the case of Fulbright's Poland Commission, it was aimed to create a group of elites in the post-Soviet states who were open to the values of the US.

Furthermore, Wilson says that Fulbright's requirement from participants to spend two years in their home countries in the aftermath of the program indicates their desire to see Fulbrighters taking on leadership roles at their home.⁵¹ As Wilson explains how states shape their scope of educational scholarships, he gives the example of British government's Chevening scholarships saying that "they are very open about their focus on strategically important countries."⁵² He underlines that the scholarships were

⁴⁹ Iain Wilson, *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?* p.5.

⁵⁰ Iain Wilson, *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?* p.13.

⁵¹ Iain Wilson, *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?* p.17.

⁵² Iain Wilson, *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?* p.16.

closely tied to the diplomatic agendas. He points out that the scope of the educational scholarships might be shaped according to the strategic priorities of the countries.

States' foreign policy priorities shape their public diplomacy strategies. Sometimes states focus more on engaging with foreign publics to transmit information or their key messages, while sometimes the public diplomacy efforts are deemed nonessential by governments. It must be noted that the public diplomacy activities take different forms during different administrations. As the concept itself continues to change, states' perception of public diplomacy and their strategies evolve too.

Scott-Smith explains that exchanges are two-way form of public diplomacy that enables exchanging different opinions and initiating dialogue. It does not resemble to propaganda which manipulates information to get a desired result. Commenting on the potential success of the exchange program, Scott-Smith says that the educational scholarships will have the greatest impact if it provides opportunities that the participant can use for their own personal or professional benefit afterwards.⁵³ It is significant how the participants would use their experience in their home country. If the program helps participants to build up on their experience, build bridges between host and home country, pursue the career they desire and become someone who could create impact in their society, it can be said that the program would fulfill its public diplomacy goals.⁵⁴

“For optimum impact, what needs to be created is a wider community or institution that can engage with and encompass the changed outlook of the former participant, so that they can continue to share and develop their new-found perspective,” Scott-Smith underlines.⁵⁵ It is significant to maintain ties after the participants return to their homes. As the participants gained new experiences, a new understanding toward a country, made new connections, it would be beneficial to maintain the relationship for

⁵³ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy” p.53

⁵⁴ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy” p.53

⁵⁵ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy” p.54.

future. Scott-Smith suggests that former participants are great source for the advertisement of the exchange program.⁵⁶ The participants would use their experience to encourage other students to participate in the program and give essential information to people who are interested in studying abroad. It is also highlighted that the exchange programs maintain an alumni network to keep in touch with the former participants. These networks allow scholarship programs' directors to observe participants' future career developments. They also bring together people who share experience of studying in a foreign country. In the long-term, "a community of people unite around a common cultural affinity."⁵⁷ The scholarship programs create a community that is familiar with the host country's culture, traditions, and foreign policies and as a result these former participants may contribute to further development of ties between the two countries.

On the website of United States' Department of State, the concept of "citizen diplomat" is introduced and individuals are encouraged to become a part of international relations. "Citizen Diplomacy is the concept that the individual has the right to help shape U.S. foreign relations "one handshake at a time", says the website.⁵⁸ It is highlighted that students, teachers, artists, humanitarians, and adventurers might become citizen diplomats to stimulate mutually beneficial dialogue with the rest of the world.⁵⁹

The concept encourages young people to learn new languages, travel abroad and represent their nation via using modern technologies such as social media. On the website it is also stated that students participating in the exchange programs can become "student diplomats."⁶⁰ It shows that US does not constrain the activities of

⁵⁶ Giles Scott-Smith, "Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy" p.54.

⁵⁷ Giles Scott-Smith, "Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy" p.55.

⁵⁸ "You are a Diplomat - National Museum of American Diplomacy." U.S. Department of State, January 26, 2021. <https://diplomacy.state.gov/discover-diplomacy/you-are-a-diplomat/>.

⁵⁹ "You are a Diplomat - National Museum of American Diplomacy."

⁶⁰ "You are a Diplomat - National Museum of American Diplomacy."

diplomacy only to the Department of State; it seeks participation of ordinary individuals in the world of diplomacy.

Through educational exchanges, states aim to enhance public diplomacy efforts. As seen with the concept of “citizen diplomats” and “future opinion leaders” states indicate that they make an investment by earmarking budgets for the exchange programs and assign further objectives than contributing to the academic studies. In their remarks, officials hint at the political and diplomatic expectations from the exchanges. These expectations are reflected in the states’ public diplomacy efforts. As the participants of the scholarship programs, the scholars are the main subject yet the impact of the scholarships in public diplomacy can be reflected into the wider society.

2.1. Conclusion

This chapter discusses the exchanges and scholarships’ use as public diplomacy tools. The scholarships function as public diplomacy tools since they provide opportunity for people to cross frontiers, expose to new cultures, and have ideas about the country’s socio-cultural aspects. It is stressed that countries benefit from these scholarships to promote their policies or assets. Since the programs are often structured, countries’ priorities may be reflected into the programs. The scholarships enable building ties with foreign publics, yet as Cull stressed in his interview, countries should pay heed to efforts to maintain those ties.

CHAPTER 3

THE US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY EFFORTS AND THE ROLE OF FULBRIGHT SCHOLARSHIP

The states' public diplomacy efforts are directly shaped by their foreign policies. To be more concise, the foreign policies pursued by states have great impact on their soft power. It should be noted that a state cannot wield soft power on a foreign audience that is highly critical of its specific foreign policies.⁶¹

States, as discussed before, have long been involved in efforts to engage with foreign publics particularly during periods when they were prompted to transmit their messages or ideologies. It would not be possible to discuss all the historical developments of public diplomacy here, as the focus of the research is the educational exchanges and scholarships. Yet, providing information on the significant turning points in the field is necessary to comprehend the evolution of the concept.

Discussing the history of international exchanges, Rick Ruth, former Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, points out that “Exchanges are borne out of conflict, need, persecution, discord, trouble of all kinds and very importantly out of the resolve of the tough-minded men and women of good will to do something about that, to take some step, however modest and incremental, but nonetheless that is in the direction of preventing conflict, reducing misunderstanding and hatred addressing the needs in the world, somehow working towards that higher goal.”⁶² Ruth's statements aim to explain *raison d'être* of exchanges stressing that they have been saddled with tasks to reach higher goals. Ruth

⁶¹ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*, p.13.

⁶² Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”, United States Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, May 25, 2022, YouTube video, 25:48, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yY34luODPQg&t=494s>.

gives the example of high school exchange program, the American Field Service (AFS). The AFS was composed of Americans who volunteered to serve at hospitals and drive ambulances in France during the World War I. Ruth explains that the volunteers were affected by the carnage of the war and decided to mitigate the outcomes resulted because of conflicts.⁶³ Thus they created high school exchange; envisioning that bringing young people together would enable them to understand each other more. The AFS's volunteer work on the field during the war turned into a program for high school students between the ages of 16-18, as 52 high school students from 10 countries were hosted in the United States in 1947. On the website of the AFS, it is highlighted that "AFS enables people to act as responsible global citizens working for peace and understanding in a diverse world. It acknowledges that peace is a dynamic concept threatened by injustice, inequity, and intolerance."⁶⁴ Ruth points out that the AFS program served its purpose during the period.⁶⁵

Ruth added that World War II also gave the US two of its flagship programs. During the late 1930s, the US was concerned about "growing fascist influence" in Latin America and the State Department worked with the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs, Nelson Rockefeller.⁶⁶ They brought thought leaders from Latin America to the US aiming to show them the US' way of thinking and its values, which was the beginning of the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP).⁶⁷

On the program's modern website today, it is underlined that "Through short-term visits to the United States, current and emerging foreign leaders in a variety of fields experience this country firsthand and cultivate lasting relationships with their

⁶³ Rick Ruth, "A History of Exchanges"

⁶⁴ "About AFS-USA | AFS-USA." Accessed July 23, 2022. <https://www.afsusa.org/about-afs/>.

⁶⁵ Rick Ruth, "A History of Exchanges"

⁶⁶ Rick Ruth, "A History of Exchanges"

⁶⁷ Rick Ruth, "A History of Exchanges"

American counterparts.”⁶⁸ It is stated that more than 200,000 international visitors participated in the program and more than 500 current or former Chiefs of State or Heads of Government were participant of IVLP.⁶⁹ It must be noted that there is no application for the program, the participants are nominated by the US. Commenting on the IVLP, Cull stated in the face-to-face interview that “it is an engineered international honeymoon where you go for a short period and every moment of your day is curated. They choose the people; they target the people who are already successful. Many well-known people in the world have received one of these scholarships.”⁷⁰

In relation to the creation of the Fulbright exchanges, Ruth states that “A senator from Arkansas J. William Fulbright, was like those ambulance drivers in World War I contemplating colossal global devastation of World War II, particularly the American use of nuclear weapons against Japan at the conclusion of the war and once again was asking that is there anything that we can do to work towards preventing this kind of violence again.”⁷¹ As Ruth highlighted in his remarks, as a result of wars and conflicts, the foundations of significant exchange programs were laid with the belief that these programs would facilitate mutual understanding and serve the purpose of building peace.

“President Eisenhower, elected in 1952 was the most seminal figure in the history of public diplomacy and exchanges,” says Ruth.⁷² Eisenhower, who said ‘just as war begin in the mind of men, so does peace’, decided to put various institutions and

⁶⁸ “International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP),” U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Accessed July 16, 2022. <https://exchanges.state.gov/non-us/program/international-visitor-leadership-program-ivlp>.

⁶⁹ “International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP)”

⁷⁰ Interview with Nicholas J. Cull, 2022.

⁷¹ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

⁷² Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

organization conducting public diplomacy efforts under a single roof as he desired to strengthen the idea of peace in the minds of people.⁷³

In the post-war era, the US aimed to conduct its efforts of broadcasting and transmitting information under an organized structure. Then President Eisenhower established the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953.⁷⁴ Senator Fulbright firmly believed that for the credibility of the exchange programs they must be kept separate from activities that were freely called propaganda during that period. Fulbright argued that the step would jeopardize the exchanges and he persuaded the President to keep the programs separate.⁷⁵

The USIA which operated between 1953 to 1999 was the central institution that conducted US' public diplomacy activities.⁷⁶ The USIA constituted a significant part of the US' Cold War strategy. The USIA's works ranged from the broadcasting via radio station Voice of America (VOA) to creating wartime cultural centers and libraries.⁷⁷ The agency was responsible for conducting all efforts which then fell under the term *propaganda* to transmit information. The USIA also monitored the public opinion around the world as some analysts worked for the agency.

On September 11, 1956, then President Eisenhower established White House Conference on the "People to People Program" which directly focused on exchanges between people from diverse countries and cultures to build an international understanding.⁷⁸ In relation to the People-to-People Program, Eisenhower said, "If we

⁷³ Rick Ruth, "A History of Exchanges"

⁷⁴ Nicholas J. Cull, *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency: American Public Diplomacy 1989-2001* (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2012), p.2.

⁷⁵ Rick Ruth, "A History of Exchanges"

⁷⁶ Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.103.

⁷⁷ Nicholas J. Cull, *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency: American Public Diplomacy 1989-2001* p.2.

⁷⁸ "People-to-People Program." People-to-People Program | Eisenhower Presidential Library. Accessed July 24, 2022. <http://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/research/online-documents/people-people-program>.

are going to take advantage of the assumption that all people want peace, then the problem is for people to get together and to leap governments -- if necessary to evade governments -- to work out not one method but thousands of methods by which people can gradually learn a little bit more of each other.”⁷⁹ The program was comprised of committees on various fields chaired by people from all walks of life. In the Conference on the People-to-People Program, Eisenhower asked questions like how to dispel ignorance and how to strengthen friendship.⁸⁰

During the Cold War period, the US highly invested in its public diplomacy efforts ranging from broadcasting to cultural centers. In different parts of the world, the US aimed to reach out to its target audience through arts and culture activities and exchanges; yet with the end of the Cold War the US’ public diplomacy efforts saw a drastic decline.⁸¹ However, the terrorist attacks on the US on September 11, 2001, urged the US government to take steps to enhance its public diplomacy efforts. The attacks raised questions on future steps by the government.

Rick Ruth, former Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, states that considering the US’ experience in exchanges for post-Soviet states like the Future Leaders Exchange Program, he suggested creating a FLEX style program for the Arab and Muslim world.⁸² Kennedy Lugar Youth Exchange and Study (YES) was established by the US Congress in 2002 in response to 9/11.⁸³ The program which is still active today, provides scholarships for high school students from Muslim World to live and study in the US for an academic year. On the exchange program’s website, it is stated, “YES students serve as “youth ambassadors” of their

⁷⁹ “People-to-People Program.”

⁸⁰ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

⁸¹ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

⁸² Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

⁸³ “About the YES Program,” AFS USA, Accessed July 24,2022. <https://www.afsusa.org/yes-turkey/#afs-nav-english>.

home country, promoting mutual understanding by forming lasting relationships with their host families and communities.”⁸⁴

As a response to the 9/11, the US resorted to public diplomacy activities once again. The creation of YES as a direct response to the terrorist attacks, indicates that the US attempted to use exchanges as public diplomacy tools to advance its foreign policy objectives. In the aftermath of the crisis, the US did not create an exchange program for its value in and of itself but to support its foreign policy goals such as engaging with foreign publics to forge trust.⁸⁵ These foreign policy goals also shape the agenda for the scope of the exchanges.

Commenting on the issue, Ruth highlights that “Exchanges are a natural expression of the American character,” and adds that “what we do with exchanges, is we show, we do not tell, we do not peach, we do not dictate.”⁸⁶ He highlights that as participants of exchanges have firsthand experience, they arrive at their own conclusions which are enduring. Pointing to the longevity of the US’ exchange programs, Ruth says “these are enduring institutions because they respond to a genuine need.”⁸⁷

It should be noted that some of the flagship exchange programs of the US were created in the backdrop of wars. The creators of the exchanges believed in the possibility of building resilience against conflicts assuming the exchange programs would provide mutual understanding and eliminate enmities. The longevity of the programs might also hint that their purpose of existence is still relevant today. It should be noted that the states invest in these programs financially, therefore the programs are expected to fit for the purpose to maintain their existence.

⁸⁴ “About the YES Program”

⁸⁵ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

⁸⁶ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

⁸⁷ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

3.1. 9/11 Impact on Public Opinion

The developments in international relations shape the foreign policies of states and in order to advance the foreign policy objectives public diplomacy efforts are deemed necessary to reach out to publics. Significant developments from World Wars to 9/11 urged the US governments to focus on public diplomacy activities to inform publics and explain their policies. According to the nature of the developments, the priority given to the different public diplomacy tools changed.

Nye highlights that “The image of the United States and its attractiveness to others is a composite of many different ideas and attitudes. It depends in part on culture, in part on domestic policies and values and in part on the substance, tactics, and style of our foreign policies.”⁸⁸ If an audience is critical of foreign policies of a state, it would be highly difficult to change their ideas completely. The state may try to explain the reasons behind of its certain policies to reduce the negative impact on its image. Therefore, the foreign policies of a state during the times of war or crisis have impact on its image. The foreign audiences keep track of the states’ management of the crisis and if they sense poor management such as violation of human rights, the attractiveness of that state in the eyes of the public declines.

This was the case for the US following its invasion of Iraq in 2003. The September 11 attacks constituted a turning point for the US’ public diplomacy activities. Following the attacks, the US started to investigate its perception in the wider world. Politicians, academics, and journalists discussed the US’ image in the world and how people view its policies. These heated debates prompted changes in the US government’s public diplomacy efforts. The US started to invest more in its public diplomacy activities aiming to tell its story to the world and eliminate misperceptions about the US.

While the US was enhancing its public diplomacy activities, the Iraq War deeply undermined the US’ image in the world. It will not be wrong to say that the invasion’s negative impact on the US’ image still lingers in the Muslim and the whole world. In

⁸⁸ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.68.

the Islamic world, the invasion was met with high criticism. Nye highlights that “In Europe polls showed that the way the United States went about the Iraq War had dissipated the outflow of sympathy and goodwill that had followed the September 11 events.”⁸⁹ He adds that even though the United States had impressive resources, it could not prevent the sharp decline of its attractiveness in 2003.”⁹⁰ The statement of Nye highlights that in public diplomacy activities the money that is being spent does not guarantee reaching the objectives. It is true that the US allocated large amount of budget for its public diplomacy activities in the aftermath of its invasion of Iraq, yet anti-Americanism during those years reached its top.

Following the attacks, the US accelerated its public diplomacy efforts as the politicians attempted to get the US’s message out. Secretary of State Colin Powell nominated Charlotte Beers as Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs since she was lauded as the most powerful woman in advertising. Commenting on his nomination of Beers, Powell stated that “There is nothing wrong with getting somebody who knows how to sell something...We are selling a product. We need someone who can rebrand American foreign policy, rebrand diplomacy.”⁹¹ The statements of the Secretary of State indicated that during that time the US officials believed that the “marketing” of US’ image would create a positive impact on people’s attitudes toward the United States.

In an article titled “From Uncle Ben's to Uncle Sam”, it is stressed that rebranding America is not an easy advertising task. The question whether there is consensus on American identity needs to be addressed. The article highlighted that “September 11th turned the job of improving America's image into a highly sensitive political post, requiring diplomacy and knowledge, particularly of the Middle East.”⁹² Shortly after

⁸⁹ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.29.

⁹⁰ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.35.

⁹¹ “From Uncle Ben's to Uncle Sam,” *The Economist*, February 21, 2002, <https://www.economist.com/business/2002/02/21/from-uncle-bens-to-uncle-sam>.

⁹² “From Uncle Ben's to Uncle Sam,” *The Economist*

the September 11 attacks, Beers directed “Shared Values Initiative” which aimed to sell the idea that Muslim people live happily in the US. The first phase of the Shared Values Initiative campaign included five mini-documentaries for television, radio and print. Through these short documentaries “shared values” messages were conveyed to the targeted Muslim countries. The video messages were specifically designed to run during Ramadan.⁹³ The efforts indicate that the US was attempting to give message of “similarity” between the US public and Muslims. However, foreign policy of the US was considered to be the root cause for anti-Americanism in the world.

In relation to the US’ image in the world following the attack, Pew Research highlights “America won a measure of global sympathy after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001...Surveys conducted after the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 found further declines. Positive views of the United States declined in 26 of the 33 countries where the question was posed in both 2002 and 2007.”⁹⁴ The US public’s support for the war also decreased in the following years. According to the Pew Research, while during the first month of the Iraq War, 71% of the US public said the U.S. made the right decision to go to war in Iraq; in 2018, just 43% said it was the right decision.⁹⁵

While the US received sympathy because of the attacks, its following steps were not appreciated by many people in other countries. As another research by Pew shows, some people’s trust in US policies were damaged as they believe the following US foreign policies used the September 11 attacks as a “pretext.” According to the Pew, “In the 2004 Pew Global Attitudes survey, more than half of Jordanians and Pakistanis,

⁹³ “U.S. Reaches Out to Muslim World with Shared Values Initiative,” January 16, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20111018222857/http://www.america.gov/st/washfile-english/2003/January/20030116185938skaufman%40pd.state.gov0.3441126.html>.

⁹⁴ “Global Public Opinion in the Bush Years (2001-2008),” Pew Research Center, December 18, 2008, <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2008/12/18/global-public-opinion-in-the-bush-years-2001-2008/>.

⁹⁵ Oliphant, J. Baxter,” The Iraq War Continues to Divide the U.S. Public, 15 Years After it Began,” Pew Research Center, March 19, 2008, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/03/19/iraq-war-continues-to-divide-u-s-public-15-years-after-it-began/>.

as well as 40% or more of French and Germans – said that the war on terrorism was a smokescreen for a campaign against unfriendly Muslim governments.”⁹⁶

The developments after the September 11 attacks posed unprecedented challenges to the US. The diplomats and politicians found themselves facing difficult tasks to both manage the impact of a military war in Iraq and its global image in the world.

In a report titled “Changing Minds Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World” by the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World published in 2003, it is highlighted that “At a critical time in our nation’s history, the apparatus of public diplomacy has proven inadequate, especially in the Arab and Muslim world. The fault lies not with the dedicated men and women at the State Department and elsewhere who practice public diplomacy on America’s behalf around the world, but with a system that has become outmoded, lacking both strategic direction and resources.”⁹⁷ The statement shows that Advisory Group believed that the traditional public diplomacy efforts were failing in the face of global challenges. In the report, the group also acknowledges that resentment to the US caused by policies such as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Iraq.⁹⁸ The Advisory Group made several recommendations to shape the future of US’ public diplomacy. The group called on for a dramatic increase in funding of public diplomacy activities; a presidential directive to the government agencies stressing the significance of public diplomacy activities, increasing the number of professional staff who could speak local languages, underlining the importance of information technologies using more resources for internet and other communication technologies. In its report, the Advisory Group comes up with a new project; “A major new initiative, the American Knowledge Library, should be launched. It involves translating

⁹⁶ “Global Public Opinion in the Bush Years (2001-2008),” Pew Research Center, December 18, 2008, <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2008/12/18/global-public-opinion-in-the-bush-years-2001-2008/>.

⁹⁷ *Changing Minds Winning Peace*.

⁹⁸ *Changing Minds Winning Peace*

thousands of the best American books in many fields of education into local languages and making them available to libraries, American Studies centers, universities, and American Corners.”⁹⁹

The Advisory Group’s report also highlighted that broadcasting played a significant role in the history of U.S. public diplomacy. It was stressed that the Voice of America (VOA) was launched in 1942 with an aim of informing the world about the American policies and interests by radio.¹⁰⁰ The report adds, “In 1999, Congress passed legislation to bring all government-sponsored international broadcasting services under the authority of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), which describes itself as an “independent, autonomous agency.”¹⁰¹

The report highlights that within the framework of US public diplomacy efforts, various steps taken to reach out to foreign publics in various languages. For example, Radio Sawa was launched in 2002 aiming to replace VOA’s Arabic service. Radio Sawa was used for objectives of attracting youthful audience and informing them about the US values and interests.¹⁰²

It should be noted that during the period, the US was attempting to chart a way forward after the attacks while its global image plummeted. Many asked whether the public diplomacy officials were tasked with defending the “indefensible.” The incidents in Abu Gharib prison had further damaged the US’s image. Referring to the incident in their article, Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter highlight that “The photographs became iconic reminders of everything that was wrong with the U.S. policy in Iraq.”¹⁰³

⁹⁹ *Changing Minds Winning Peace.*

¹⁰⁰ *Changing Minds Winning Peace*

¹⁰¹ *Changing Minds Winning Peace*

¹⁰² *Changing Minds Winning Peace*

¹⁰³ Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter, “Credibility and Public Diplomacy,” in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* ed. Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor (Routledge, New York, 2009), p.160.

Abu Gharib prison also indicated that public diplomacy efforts to build trust between people and enhance understanding might be destroyed in a very short period of time by the actions of the actors. Gass and Seiter stress that those who desire to be considered credible in their public diplomacy need to present an audience-centered approach.¹⁰⁴ This implies that it was significant for the US to comprehend the traumatic impact of the Abu Gharib on the Muslim world and focusing on steps that would help to recover its image and credibility.

3.2. Legacy of Deep-rooted Problems

The historical developments in the US history, and the US governments' policies have shaped the US' global image. In today's global world, significant developments in the US continue to shape the foreign public's perception of the country. Foreign policies of the US on critical issues such as climate change, racism, equality is followed by the international audience.

One of the domestic issues that had serious impact on the US' soft power was racial segregation. Nye stresses that "in the 1950s racial segregation at home undercut American soft power in Africa."¹⁰⁵ The US has long been struggling with the issue of racism and racial inequality. Racial inequalities clearly cast a shadow on the US' international image as it describes itself as a country of freedom. Statements of former Secretary of State Dean Rusk before the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee in 1963 highlight this issue; he underlines that "As the matters stand, however, racial discrimination, here at home has important effects on our foreign relations. This is not because such discrimination is unique to the United States. Discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national or tribal origin may be found in many countries. But the United States is widely regarded as the home of democracy and the leader of the

¹⁰⁴ Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter, "Credibility and Public Diplomacy" p.162.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.13.

struggle for freedom, for human rights and human dignity.”¹⁰⁶ Rusk points out that racial discrimination at home conflicts with the US’ values and undermines the US credibility in foreign states.

The crisis management and domestic policies that are pursued are essential for a country’s perception in the global arena. The foreign audiences’ perception would be eventually affected by “inconsistent” policies. For example, the killing of George Floyd, a 46-year-old African American by a police officer in 2020 prompted international criticism and exacerbated debates over racial equalities. The domestic debates over the incident were also reflected in the foreign media. The US was criticized by rival states regarding its discourse over “equality.” For instance, in an editorial published at China’s People’s Daily newspaper, the situation in the United States described as “vivid demonstration of American double standards.”¹⁰⁷ This indicates that states pay close attention to the developments in rival states, and they draw attention to the topics that might seem conflicting with the discourse used by their rivals.

3.3. The US Public Diplomacy Today

The United States’ public diplomacy efforts are conducted today by the Department of State’s Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. The Under Secretary says its offices and bureaus advance national interest by seeking to engage, inform, and understand the perspective of foreign audiences.”¹⁰⁸ The Under Secretary has; Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA), Bureau of Global Public

¹⁰⁶ Cameron Thomas-Shah, “How Embracing Rights Movements Enhances Public Diplomacy And U.S. Foreign Policy,” USC Center on Public Diplomacy, August 6, 2021. <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/how-embracing-rights-movements-enhances-public-diplomacy-and-us-foreign-policy>.

¹⁰⁷ Ken Dilanian, “China, Russia and Iran Using State Media to Attack U.S. Over George Floyd Killing,” NBC News, June 3, 2020. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/china-russia-iran-using-state-media-attack-u-s-over-n1223591>.

¹⁰⁸ “Our History,” U.S. Department of State, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Accessed 26 July, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/>.

Affairs (GPA), Expo Unit, Global Engagement Center, Office of Policy, Planning and Resources, U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.¹⁰⁹

The bureaus and offices focus on different aspects of public diplomacy activities. The structural organization within the Department of State highlights the US' experience on the field of public diplomacy. The divisions help compartmentalize different tasks aiming to conduct public diplomacy activities in an organized and transparent way. For instance, the ECA “designs and implements educational, professional, and cultural exchange and other programs that create and sustain the mutual understanding with other countries necessary to advancing United States foreign policy goals.”¹¹⁰ The focus of ECA is to ensure that the educational and cultural programs that will contribute to the overall public diplomacy efforts are being conducted without facing problems. The ECA and other bureaus and offices evaluate the results following the public diplomacy efforts, in an aim to determine whether the steps taken produce any impact on foreign publics.

Bureau of Global Public Affairs (GPA) aims to communicate US foreign policy priorities to the audiences in an effective way.¹¹¹ The bureau has also divisions that work on different media fields. For instance, GPA's Office of International Media Engagement engages directly with foreign audiences through traditional and social media via their six Regional Media Hubs. These hubs are located at Africa, Asia Pacific, London, Brussels, Dubai and the Americas.

While the Expo Unit manages US' participation in international exhibitions; addressing foreign state and non-state propaganda and disinformation is stated as

¹⁰⁹ “Our History,” U.S. Department of State, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs

¹¹⁰ “Our Mission,” U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Accessed July 23, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/bureau-of-educational-and-cultural-affairs/>.

¹¹¹ “Our Mission,” U.S. Department of State Bureau of Global Public Affairs, Accessed July 23, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/bureau-of-global-public-affairs/>.

mission of Global Engagement Center.¹¹² The division analyzes efforts of disinformation and manipulation to present a coordinated response. On the website, reports prepared by the Global Engagement Center are presented.¹¹³

The Office of Policy, Planning, and Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs focuses on long term strategic planning and performance measurement capability for public diplomacy.¹¹⁴ It advises on the allocation of resources for the public diplomacy efforts. The US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (ACPD) has been evaluating the public diplomacy efforts of the US Department of State since 1948 by conducting research.¹¹⁵ The ACPD, prepares detailed reports assessing the public diplomacy activities and present these reports to the President, Secretary of State, and Congress.¹¹⁶

Even though it is difficult to gauge the impact of public diplomacy efforts, the reports prepared in detail by the US Department of State provide an understanding of US' approach and its steps for enhancing public diplomacy efforts. The reports give information about each public diplomacy work, its objectives, results, and budgets. The reports indicate that the public is informed about the spending regarding the public diplomacy activities in a transparent way.

¹¹² "Our Mission," U.S. Department of State, Expo Unit, Accessed July 23, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/expo-unit/>.

¹¹³ "Global Engagement Center Releases" US Department of State. Accessed July 25, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-archive/global-engagement-center/>

¹¹⁴ "Our Mission," U.S. Department of State, Office of Policy, Planning, and Resources, Accessed July 23, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/office-of-policy-planning-and-resources-r-ppr/>.

¹¹⁵ "Our Mission," U.S. Department of State, U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, Accessed July 24, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/united-states-advisory-commission-on-public-diplomacy/>.

¹¹⁶ "Reports – U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy" US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. <https://www.state.gov/reports-u-s-advisory-commission-on-public-diplomacy/>.

In a recent report of the US State Department titled, “Engaging Americans Through Public Diplomacy”, it is stated that the Department of State has a responsibility to explain US’ policies and activities to global audiences, and to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries.¹¹⁷ It is stressed that with the implementation of the exchanges, the US has welcomed high numbers of students and the programs fostered relationships between foreign publics and the US.

The report also highlights that United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 defines the objectives of public diplomacy as “promoting a better understanding of the United States in other countries, as well as increasing mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries.”¹¹⁸ The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (aka the Fulbright-Hays Act) puts a highlight on increasing mutual understanding by means of educational and cultural exchanges, the report says. In relation to the US’ public diplomacy efforts, it is stated “For decades we have sought to engage honestly with foreign publics. We do not engage in manipulation, deceit, and disinformation. And we seek to hold others and countries accountable that do so.”¹¹⁹ The Department of State puts an emphasis on “mutual understanding” and “dialogue” between US citizens and foreign publics. It also acknowledges the threats such as manipulation and disinformation in the face of public diplomacy efforts.

3.4. The US Public Diplomacy and Impact of Fulbright Program

The US’ Fulbright Program which celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2021 is the country’s flagship international exchange program. Since it aims to prevent future

¹¹⁷ *Exploring U.S. Public Diplomacy’s Domestic Dimensions: Purviews, Publics, and Policies* prepared by U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy and CPD, April 2022, p.3. https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/ACPD-PDDD_Report_04-25-22_FINAL-WEB_508.pdf.

¹¹⁸ *Exploring U.S. Public Diplomacy’s Domestic Dimensions: Purviews*, p.3.

¹¹⁹ *Exploring U.S. Public Diplomacy’s Domestic Dimensions: Purviews*, p.4.

conflicts and build bridges between foreign nations through cultural and educational exchanges, the legislation proposed by Senator J. William Fulbright established the program in 1946.¹²⁰ In his famous remarks on the program, Senator Fulbright says “Fostering these – leadership, learning and empathy between cultures – was and remains the purpose of the international scholarship program that I was privileged to sponsor in the U.S. Senate over forty years ago. It is 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. I believed in that possibility when I began. I still do.”¹²¹

The Fulbright program ensued as Senator Fulbright proposed using revenues obtained from the sale of war surplus materials overseas to fund educational exchanges. US Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange’s report prepared in 1949 with the title of “First Semiannual Report of All Educational Exchange Activities Carried on From July 1 to December 31, 1948” was presented to the US Congress. The report highlights that the “Through enactment of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402) on January 27, 1948, the Congress carefully and deliberately determined that a program of educational exchange shall become an essential part of the conduct of this Nation's foreign affairs.”¹²² As the educational exchanges were consolidated during the 1940s, the exchanges were expected to pave the way for progress. It was highlighted in the report that “Continued exchange of experience, ideas, and persons between this country and others is a condition of our future progress and of theirs.”¹²³

¹²⁰ “About,” Fulbright Turkey.

¹²¹ “About,” Fulbright Turkey.

¹²² *First Semiannual Report of All Educational Exchange Activities*, US Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, February 4, 1949, p.4. <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/1st-annual-report-ACEE.pdf>.

¹²³ *First Semiannual Report of All Educational Exchange Activities*, p.3.

The United States' educational exchange programs were expanded with the Fulbright Hays Act of 1961 and in 1973, the program was extended to the Soviet Union as well. 78,000 Fulbright grantees from 110 countries went to the US between the years 1948 and 1975.¹²⁴

The preamble of the Fulbright–Hays Act of 1961 states as follows:

“The purpose of this chapter 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.”¹²⁵

The statement of Fulbright - Hays Act of 1961 underlines the significance of educational and cultural exchange in enhancing mutual understanding and creating friendly ties between the states. In his speech titled “International Education and the Hope for a Better World”, William Fulbright explains the founding of the exchange program and its long-term objectives.¹²⁶ Fulbright points out that in the aftermath of the two world wars, the use of education as a tool to build bridges for mutual understanding would contribute to the international peace. It must be noted that during

¹²⁴ Ludovic Tournès and Giles Scott-Smith, *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and Transnational Circulation in the Modern World*, (Berghahn, 2018), p.15.

¹²⁵ “Mutual Educational And Cultural Exchange Program,” Accessed July 19, 2022. <https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title22/chapter33&edition=prelim>.

¹²⁶ J. William Fulbright, “International Education and the Hope For A Better World,” University Libraries Digital Collections, transcript of the speech delivered on February 22, 1967. <https://digitalcollections.uark.edu/digital/collection/Fulbright/id/147>.

this period, the threat of nuclear weapons was on top of the world's political agenda. Fulbright believed that education could contribute to the international peace as it would allow people to exchange views and build relationships. He says, "I believed in 1946, and I believe now that the gradual broadening of international understanding through education may be an important factor, perhaps decisive factor, in preventing a global catastrophe which would destroy civilization as we know it."¹²⁷

Fulbright stresses that as the world was facing global threats following the world wars, international education would increase the dialogue between the countries, and this would enable them to create a mutual understanding. The statements of Fulbright show that the Fulbright program was established on ambitious objectives aiming at strengthening the international peace. In his speech, Fulbright says that in the international world order states big or small, can play various roles. He emphasizes that the educational exchanges may help small countries to enhance their long-term influence on the world stage. He says, "Many of those who participate in exchange programs become leaders in their countries, and almost all are destined to be among the more articulate and influential members of their societies. Educational exchange is a way in which all countries, small as well as large can plant the seeds of ideas and influence each other's societies."¹²⁸

It can be said that the Fulbright program is designed to invest in people who are expected to become influential figures and create a positive impact. Fulbright was himself an exchange student. He was awarded a Rhodes scholarship and spent three years as a student at Oxford. He highlights in his speech that his experience at Oxford "opened new vistas of learning."¹²⁹ Fulbright's personal story about educational exchange in another country had a positive impact on him as he believed that the exchange programs could play a significant role in raising awareness and developing

¹²⁷ J. William Fulbright, "International Education and the Hope For A Better World" p.29.

¹²⁸ J. William Fulbright, "International Education and the Hope For A Better World" p.21.

¹²⁹ J. William Fulbright, "International Education and the Hope For A Better World" p.27.

a feeling of common humanity. Fulbright highlights that “the greatest power of educational exchange is the power to convert nations into people”¹³⁰ In his speech, Fulbright even argued that if the bonds of understanding had existed before the world wars might not occurred.¹³¹

According to the view of Fulbright, educational exchanges are not only programs that are designed to contribute academic life of the students but also useful tools for building mutual understanding and contributing to the world peace. Fulbright also underlines that the international education “cannot be treated as a propaganda program designed to ‘improve the image’ of a country.”¹³² Fulbright’s statement indicates that he opted for using the educational programs to produce long-term results that would enhance dialogue and contribute to the international peace. He stresses that the educational programs could not be used to shape countries’ images and pursue short-term objectives.

Fulbright’s perspective towards the US’ foreign policy is significant to comprehend his approach towards the US’ public diplomacy efforts, particularly the educational scholarships. In an article titled “The Meaning of Educational Exchange: The Nationalist Exceptionalism of Fulbright’s Liberal Internationalism” Sam Lebovic explains the mindset of Fulbright and how it shaped his perspective of educational exchange. Lebovic says that “Fulbright’s criticism of American foreign policy was balanced by his articulation of an alternative vision of liberal internationalism...The Arkansan sketched a vision of an international order based not on violence and conflict but on peace, tolerance, free exchange, and mutual understanding.”¹³³ As Lebovic

¹³⁰ J. William Fulbright, “International Education and the Hope For A Better World” p.38.

¹³¹ J. William Fulbright, “International Education and the Hope For A Better World” p.28.

¹³² J. William Fulbright, “International Education and the Hope For A Better World” p.39.

¹³³ Sam Lebovic, “The Meaning of Educational Exchange: The Nationalist Exceptionalism of Fulbright’s Liberal Internationalism” in *The Legacy of J. William Fulbright: Policy, Power and Ideology* ed. Alessandro Brogi, Giles Scott-Smith, David J. Snyder. (The University Press of Kentucky, 2019) p.136.

explains, Fulbright's perspective for educational exchange was built on his vision of international order. The ideals such as empathy and mutual understanding were part of Fulbright's wider view on the international world order.

Fulbright explains his version of liberal internationalism in his book; he particularly states that the US has responsibility to act to protect its vital interests abroad, yet this does not mean the US is expected to take on the role of world's policeman.¹³⁴

Fulbright adds, "I believe that a man's principal business, in foreign policy as in domestic policy and in his daily life, is to keep his own house in order, to make life a little more satisfying, and a little more serene in the brief time that is allotted him."¹³⁵

Fulbright highlights that the US' foreign policy must first and foremost focus on the country's needs and interests. As Fulbright openly criticized US' foreign policies, particularly in Vietnam, his namesake program was affected in the process. Then President Johnson's administration cut funding for the program.¹³⁶ The Fulbright program was not immune to the changing atmosphere of domestic policies and budget cuts were unavoidable when administrations' priorities changed.

In relation to Fulbright's views on the world politics and the educational scholarships, Lebovic, underlines that "Educational exchange would redound to the benefit of America; mutual understanding presumed that the world would come to a collective understanding and appreciation of American values."¹³⁷ According to the view of Fulbright, mutual understanding would ensue from the exchanges and the people of other nations would be able to understand the US and its policies.

¹³⁴ J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power* p.130.

¹³⁵ J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power* p.255.

¹³⁶ Molly Bettie, "Fulbright Women in the Global Intellectual Elite" in *The Legacy of J. William Fulbright: Policy, Power and Ideology* ed. Alessandro Brogi, Giles Scott-Smith, David J. Snyder. (The University Press of Kentucky, 2019) p.190.

¹³⁷ Sam Lebovic, "The Meaning of Educational Exchange p.143.

It is explained that Senator Fulbright's vision on the educational scholarship which bears his name targeted to promote world peace by supporting mutual understanding. Yet, the aims and function of the educational scholarship program were subjected to change as different administrations had other expectations from the exchanges.

The Fulbright program awards approximately 8,000 grants annually; it is noted that more than 400,000 students, researchers, and teachers from over 160 countries have participated in the program since its inception.¹³⁸ In the program's official website it is highlighted that "Fulbrighters" come from a wide range of "socioeconomic, ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds" and they help promote mutual understanding.¹³⁹ Among the Fulbright alumni are 41 heads of state, 61 Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, 89 Pulitzer Prize Recipients. It is highlighted that the primary source of the funding for the Fulbright Program is an annual appropriation made by the U.S. Congress to the U.S. Department of State. Some direct and indirect support are provided by governments that participate in the program, host institutions and corporations.¹⁴⁰ Rishi Sunak, who became the Prime Minister of the UK was a Fulbright scholar in 2005. Other examples include Mahamadou Ouhoumoudou, Niger's Prime Minister; Alexander De Croo, Belgium's Prime Minister; Francisco Sagasti, Peru's former President.

"When you ask American diplomats what they think is an important part of public diplomacy, they would very often say Fulbright is the most important thing," Cull stated in the interview.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ "Frequently Asked Questions | Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs." U.S. Department of State. Accessed July 12, 2022. <https://eca.state.gov/fulbright/frequently-asked-questions>.

¹³⁹ "Exchange Professionals and the Value of Public Diplomacy"

¹⁴⁰ "Frequently Asked Questions | Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs." U.S. Department of State.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Nicholas J. Cull, 2022.

In the 2020 annual report of Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, the region that was provided the highest number of scholarships was Europe.¹⁴² Western Hemisphere and East Asia and Pacific regions were the following regions. The 2022 report was not available on the website of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Table I: Grants to Foreign Nationals, FFSB 2020 Annual Report

GRANTS TO FOREIGN NATIONALS							
FISCAL YEAR 2019–2020							
GRANT TYPE	AFRICA	EAST ASIA & PACIFIC	EUROPE	NEAR EAST ASIA	SOUTH & CENTRAL ASIA	WESTERN HEMISPHERE	TOTAL
Students	242	589	1,005	382	431	863	3,512
Research Scholars	47	183	336	62	72	12	712
Lecturing Scholars	6	10	55	57	19	126	273
Teacher Exchange	43	35	75	18	36	27	234
Seminars	-	35	-	-	13	-	48
Hubert H. Humphrey Program	33	24	24	12	32	24	149
TOTAL	371	876	1,495	531	603	1,052	4,928

In a panel organized by the Heritage Organization in 2019, Matthew Lussenhop from Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs highlighted that “In an increasingly digital world, meaningful real-world interaction, people-to-people interaction are more important than ever.”¹⁴³ While the world that we live in becomes more digital and human-to-human interactions decrease, the educational exchanges seem to be effective in creating concrete bonds. He also added that ECA’s programs are effective since they create “networks of like-minded alumni around the world.” Lussenhop stressed that the programs are best thought of as investment in people around the world who

¹⁴² “2020 Annual Report of Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board.” Accessed September 22, 2022. https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/fulbrightar_2020_web.pdf.

¹⁴³ “Public Diplomacy in the Trump Administration” The Heritage Foundation, September 30, 2019, YouTube video, 1:01:12 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2wXDIvTN5Q&t=1806s>.

would later become “key allies” of the US. He underlines that one of the sayings in the ECA is that “we move people to move ideas to move policy.”¹⁴⁴ This statement highlights the core objectives of the educational exchanges from the perspective of the US during the President Trump’s administration. The statement of Lussenhop highlights that the US does not consider these programs as merely academic programs focusing on education of foreign students; it expects these programs to enhance US’ foreign policies and its ties with other countries.

The government officials and diplomats often share posts promoting the educational scholarships. For instance, former US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo celebrates in a tweet the success of a Fulbright Alumni from Pakistan, who led from the front in the fight against Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) as a doctor.¹⁴⁵ The officials’ statements on the Fulbright are also significant for the promotion of the program.

In his message for the 75th anniversary of Fulbright scholarship, the US Secretary of State, Antony Blinken stressed that “The power of personal connection that this program makes is just as important as ever. The members of the Fulbright community are changemakers. They care deeply about the problems facing our world today.”¹⁴⁶ The remarks of the US Secretary of State indicate that today the Fulbright scholarship is highly respected, and the alumni of the program are assumed to have a role in managing the challenges faced in today’s world.

The Fulbright Program creates a community of alumni who had first-hand observation of the US’ culture. The US Department of State considers the program as an investment since they believe the alumni of the program might be able to create a

¹⁴⁴ “Public Diplomacy in the Trump Administration” The Heritage Foundation.

¹⁴⁵ Pompeo, Mike. Twitter Post. March 27, 2020. https://twitter.com/SecPompeo/status/1243538627889696771?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1243538627889696771%7Ctwgr%5Ecd1d211a7aba5c063d950c522ef4080834c1dbac%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.24newshd.tv%2F28-Mar-2020%2Fpompeo-praises-pakistani-fulbright-alumnus-for-efforts-to-fight-covid-19.

¹⁴⁶ “A Message from the U.S. Secretary of State.” The Fulbright Program 75th Anniversary, December 1, 2021. <https://fulbright75.org/a-message-from-the-u-s-secretary-of-state/>.

positive impact on bilateral ties. When the official statements are reviewed it can be said that the Fulbright Program is a public diplomacy activity which aims at achieving long-term objectives such as providing essential experience to the students about the US; considering that these students might be “political figures”, or “student diplomats” in the future.

The grants provided to Turkish people include; Master’s Grant, Ph.D. Grant, Visiting Scholar Grant, Fulbright post-doctoral program, Scholar in Residence Program, Ph.D. Dissertation Research Grant, Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA) Program, Fulbright Teaching Excellence and Achievement Program, Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program, Community College Initiative (CCI) Program.¹⁴⁷

In relation to the impact of Fulbright, Cull agreed that the scholarship supports public diplomacy efforts of the US. He underlined that “It supports positive cultural relations rather than advocacy manipulation. You use the scholarship to create relationships over the long term, you do not use it to sell a particular agenda in the short term. It is very effective (in the long term); it is the most effective tool that we have in public diplomacy.”¹⁴⁸

As part of the research, Executive Director of the Turkish Fulbright Commission Ersel Aydınli was interviewed with an aim of understanding the Commission’s perspective on the relation between public diplomacy and exchange programs. Aydınli provided information on the Fulbright’s activities in Türkiye.

Evaluating the scholarships and exchange programs’ role in public diplomacy, Aydınli said that “Many states financially invest in cultural and educational exchanges assuming that they would contribute to their likeability. Since states earmark fund for

¹⁴⁷ “Grants for Turkish Republic Citizens”, Fulbright Turkey, Accessed November 12, 2022. <https://fulbright.org.tr/grants-for-turkish-republic-citizens>.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Nicholas J. Cull, 2022.

these programs, they also present the benefits of the program to the domestic public aiming to sustain these programs.”

Pointing to the longevity of the programs, Aydınli underlined that the contributions of the programs might be considered significant by the states. He explains that “public diplomacy paves the way for establishing ties and therefore, in practice, they may bring about new perspectives to conflicts or problems. Thanks to the relations ensued from the exchanges, the ties between the countries never rupture when they are tested.”

Commenting on the Fulbright Program in Türkiye, Aydınli highlighted that the program has never been halted and it continued to function since its inception which indicates that both countries attached importance to maintaining the program. He added that Fulbright provides scholarships to students from various fields which distinguishes the program from many others.

Aydınli said that with the exchange program, Turkish and American students can experience lifestyle and the culture in these countries. “When the scholars get back to home, they say their perceptions have changed and they develop mutual understanding,” Aydınli added. In relation to the exchange programs’ role in supporting foreign policy priorities, Aydınli commented that the programs may contribute to these objectives, yet this can be observed in the long term.

3.4.1. The Evaluations of the Alumni

The students who participated in the Fulbright program shared their opinions about the scheme, its perceived impact, and their personal experiences. The names of the recipients are withheld. In the following part, the comments of ten interviewees are shared regarding the related topics. The interviews with the former students are discussed under the categories of “familiarity with the country” and “sense of community.” The interviews indicate personal views of grantees and shed light into the program’s role as public diplomacy instrument.

Familiarity with the Country

As a result of the interviews with ten Turkish people who received Fulbright scholarships, it is seen that their experience enabled them to have a deeper understanding of the country's socio-cultural aspect. The interviews indicated that the experience of living in the US, in some cases reinforced positive views, and in others caused the recipients to have negative views on specific issues.

The interviewees have highlighted that their experience provided with them more information about the US, its socio-cultural life, and its foreign policies. Even though they had information about the US and its foreign policies beforehand, the participants acknowledged that living in the US for a period was a valuable experience to get to know the country.

In relation to the issue, interviewee I, stated that “In my opinion, Fulbright is a public diplomacy tool, but it has had different effects on each grantee. Sometimes without being in a place, you have different prejudices about that place, you have prejudices in the political sense. Being in their shoes causes you to understand their mentality and develop a kind of empathy. This may be true for the person who is there, even for the most apolitical purpose.”

Interviewee II commented on the same issue, saying that “Both at the beginning of the program and during the program, orientations on the political and social life of the US are given within the scope of Fulbright program. In the orientation program that we attended before we went to the US, all kinds of detailed information such as the political order of the USA, the form of government, the duties of the president, the senate, the relationship between them, were conveyed to us.” The interviewee II highlighted that program organized various seminars in different states aiming to bring together Fulbright scholars and give information about the history, social, cultural, and political structure of the USA. The interviewee added that they were provided information on specific issues including the history of racism in detail which enabled them to have better understanding of the issue. As the Fulbright program organizes

events in different states, the interviewee II stated that they had the chance to see different socio-cultural aspects of American culture. The interviewee II highlights that “In terms of public diplomacy, Fulbright is actually one of the most effective and oldest tools in the hands of the USA.”

Interviewee IX, who was part of the FLTA program stated that there were must courses that she had to take as part of the program. She explained that these must courses were about American culture and history. The interviewee added that she learned new things as a result of these must courses. Interviewee IX also added that as part of the program they were expected to plan cultural events where they make presentation over cultural aspects of their home countries. She said that at an event she presented information about Türkiye’s gastronomy. This example indicates that the structure of the program urges exchanges between different cultures. The recipients of the scholarship experience life in the US and have information about the country’s history and culture in structured classes while they also share their own cultural values with others via events.

Interviewee V, who both received Fulbright and Chevening scholarship highlighted that in meetings held in various states during the program, the scholars were introduced to the cultural codes in the US. “Some values such as volunteering were promoted in these events and scholars were encouraged to participate in volunteering efforts. Characteristic traits attributed to the American identity such as being outgoing were also highlighted, the reason I remember it well is that I am an introvert and I found that interesting,” he added.

As the students become exposed to all aspects of life in the country, their views about specific issues might change or be reinforced. For example, the interviewee I stated that his opinions have changed both negatively and positively. “Let me start with the negative one first. There is a social justice problem in the USA. I've been to the USA before for conferences, but this was the first time I've had the chance to live for such a long time. I see that there is a serious social justice problem and I realized that it is such a structural problem.

Positively, I thought that the US was the best country in the field of education, and in this sense, my opinion was strengthened. I think it is ahead of European countries, it has great academic freedom... I saw that a master's student can make a very defiant critique of a professor's work, and the professor doesn't personalize it. In this sense, I see that there is a good culture of academic discussion.”

Answering a question whether they continue to read the news about the US and its foreign policies, all the interviewees said they show interest in the news related to the US. The interviewees pointed out that they continue to read and learn about the US.

It can be said that the experiences of Fulbright scholarship recipients might differ from each other, yet they all have turned back to Türkiye with more understanding of socio-cultural aspects of the US. It may be stated that the US continues to use its Fulbright program to reflect its social, cultural, and historical values as part of its public diplomacy efforts. The events organized by the Fulbright program also helped students to have more information about the country and its cultural codes.

The statements of the interviewees indicate that the program contributes to the country's public diplomacy by reflecting its values and cultural aspects to foreign students. However, based on the experiences of the interviewees, it is not possible to make a general assumption saying that the Fulbright scholarship alone create advocacy for foreign policies of the US.

For instance, interviewee I, explained that “Established in the 1950s, Fulbright aimed to fund qualified individuals who can maintain their sympathy for the country when they assume certain roles in their home countries in the following years after they witnessed the American ideals and American lifestyle. Over the years, the order of the world has changed, the cold war ended. In the context of my own experience, I did not have such a mission. It was more of an academic experience for me. I do not have a direct contribution to the relations between the two countries neither, nor do I have such a purpose or agenda.”

The Interviewee III said that “It was interesting for someone in the 1950s to go to the US and experience the American way of life, and it was only possible with the program, but today, after the 2000s, we all live like America. Today, I see it (Fulbright) more as an academic institution. If you ask whether the US creates a group of supporters for itself, I’d say no.”

Answering the question whether the scholarship program contributed to their understanding of the foreign policy activities of the US, Interviewee I, highlighted that without being in the country, the foundation of the foreign policy could be understood by doing academic research and readings, yet he added that his experience of living in the US gave him perspective on various issues. “In the United States, the rise of China is a very serious foreign policy agenda. It caused me to read more about this topic. Therefore, I can say that I understand the decisions taken regarding China better after I spent a year living there,” he added. The comment of the recipient highlights that the experience of living in the US within the scope of the scholarship enabled him to understand the political priorities of the US and its stance regarding specific issues.

Some interviewees (4 of them) mentioned that as part of the program they were given J1 visas to enter the country and added that this might be considered as setback since there might be people who would like to look for future opportunities (academic, work related) in the US. Interviewee X, who is a senior manager highlighted that some of the scholars would like to further their information and skills in their respective fields. Yet they added that since it is an exchange program it is understandable that the scholars are expected to return to their home countries to make contributions based on their experiences.

Sense of Community

In relation to the networks established by educational scholarships, Cull highlighted in the interview that “Creating an exchange is like creating a network like stretching a cable from one country to another country that you can communicate along that cable. If you did it physically you would not just set it and forget it. You would understand

that once constructed, the cable has to be repaired and revisited.” Cull stated that it would be a waste of resources if the networks established were not maintained.

All the participants in the interviews acknowledged that the Fulbright program continues its efforts to keep in touch with its network. The interviewees said that the program has an e-mail list and occasionally organizes events to bring the alumni together. Yet, the recipients’ willingness is an important factor affecting the efforts for maintaining ties with the alumni. Some of the alumni highlighted that the efforts by the program might be enhanced to strengthen the ties between the people who participated in the program.

Interviewee II says that he attended a reception organized by the US Consulate General in Istanbul which matched Fulbright alumni with younger students from other programs. He added that they would act as mentors to those students and attempt to help them regarding their academic studies and careers. He highlighted programs like this reinforce the sense of community among alumni and they are aimed at strengthening ties. Interviewee I also underlined that identity of being a Fulbrighter persists through the years. Interviewee X stressed that the Fulbright program needs to engage more in efforts to strengthen the network ties.

3.5. Conclusion

In the aftermath of the global wars, the scholarships have been accepted as useful to transmit information, build ties, promote American values, and create mutual understanding. The main assumption of the use of educational scholarships as public diplomacy tool is that the recipients of the scholarship would have first-hand experience of living in the US; they would be exposed to American values and culture, they would understand the foreign policies pursued by the US, they would opt for contributing to the efforts to enhance bilateral ties.

Even though the underlying reasons for countries’ need for public diplomacy efforts changes, it is seen that the scholarships, namely Fulbright in the case of the US, remains significant for engaging with foreign publics. The research highlights that

Fulbright which was born out of experiences of conflicts and had objectives such as contributing to the peace, is still considered to be a prestigious scholarship today and promoted by government officials as an essential asset of the US. It is observed that officials including diplomats, are directly involved in the process of promoting the programs. The emphasis is often put on the terms of “mutual understanding”.

The interviews with Fulbright alumni indicated that the experiences of the recipients are unique as their ideas on various issues might change both positively and negatively depending on their experiences.

As a result of the interviews, it can be said that the Fulbright program is considered as a prestigious program which create respect for the recipients both in the US and in their home countries. The interviewees all said that their experiences in the US enabled them to have a better understanding of the socio-cultural aspects of the US.

The interviewees acknowledged that the Fulbright program organized events and seminars to give information about issues regarding American history, culture, and politics, which highlights program’s deliberate efforts as public diplomacy instrument.

Within the framework of the scholarship, the recipients are given orientations, seminars, and classes to further their knowledge about the country. For instance, in the case of FLTA program, the recipients are obliged to take some classes related to American culture and history. This highlights that the program functions as public diplomacy tool. Recipients are provided information; they got familiar with the country and the program exerts efforts to maintain ties with the people.

It can be said that the alumni’s first-hand experience in the US created familiarity with the country’s assets and enabled an understanding for the alumni. While the US government officials state that it aims to prompt support for its foreign policy goals by creating like-minded groups, the interviewees’ comments suggested that this goal might be restricted as they do not necessarily have such motivations.

All the interviewees acknowledged that the program attempts to maintain the relations that are formed, yet it depends on the willingness of each person to participate in the events organized by the alumni network.

Finally, the interviewees' comments point out that the Fulbright exchange program remains important for the public diplomacy efforts of the country.

The interviewees stressed that Fulbright program is considered as a prestigious scholarship both in Türkiye and the US. The program has been maintained since its inception even though the political ties between the two countries have faced numerous challenges. The comments of the interviewees indicate that the scholarship program serves the public diplomacy purposes yet there needs to be further research over the program's impact regarding the long-term foreign policy goals of the US

CHAPTER 4

THE BRITISH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY EFFORTS AND THE ROLE OF CHEVENING SCHOLARSHIP

Prior to discussing the use of educational scholarships as source for public diplomacy efforts by the United Kingdom, it might be necessary to have an insight on the British public diplomacy and the changes it faced throughout the years. However, it would not be possible to analyze the whole history of the British public diplomacy herein since the main purpose is to present an understanding of the British public diplomacy's core objectives and its use. The highlights from the history of British public diplomacy will be discussed to provide a basis for understanding of the concept.

Sources of public diplomacy, organizational structures, priorities of the Foreign and Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), and strategies have all undergone changes.¹⁴⁹ The sources of UK's public diplomacy activities range from media organizations such as BBC to educational and cultural activities conducted by the British Council.

It can be said that the British public diplomacy has transformed today as the perception of the concept was subjected to change as well. The concept of power has been interpreted in different ways by the Foreign Secretaries; some Secretaries focused on image and identity of the UK while some others prioritized strategic communications and campaign models. In his book "British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power", James Pamment explained the articulation of public diplomacy during the terms of different Foreign Secretaries of the FCO and the evolving concept of public diplomacy.¹⁵⁰ To

¹⁴⁹ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence & Digital Disruption*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p.7.

¹⁵⁰ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence & Digital Disruption*, p.7.

understand the perception of the concept of public diplomacy within the UK, examining the different approaches of Foreign Secretaries would be helpful.

According to the articulation of public diplomacy concept by Pamment, it can be observed that public diplomacy efforts were subjected to the change; the necessities of the period, the global challenges such as the rise of terrorism, emerging trends like digitalization all played a significant role in shaping the administrations' priorities.¹⁵¹

Pamment underlines that the story of modern British public diplomacy started in 1995 as FCO created its first website, with an aim of enhancing the relationships between the FCO and opinion leaders as well as public by presenting the FCO Daily Bulletin, transcripts of press releases, official agendas.¹⁵²

He says that a FCO policy document titled Fundamental Expenditure Review (1995) is significant since it used the term public diplomacy for the first time and recommended the inclusion of public diplomacy in corporate objectives of the FCO.¹⁵³ During this period public diplomacy was viewed as an overarching concept that was related to FCO's press and cultural works that were conducted by the BBC World Service and British Council as well.¹⁵⁴

The officials who conduct foreign policies of the UK were also pondering on ways to contribute to understanding of Britain by foreigners and other states. For instance, Former Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook's 'Mission Statement' highlights his office's public diplomacy approach. In 1997, Cook announced Mission Statement which meant

¹⁵¹ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence & Digital Disruption*, p.7.

¹⁵² James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence & Digital Disruption*, p.3.

¹⁵³ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence & Digital Disruption*, p.4.

¹⁵⁴ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence & Digital Disruption*, p.31.

new direction for British foreign policy to be pursued by the FCO. Cook highlighted that the UK's foreign policy should have an ethical dimension; it needs to support democratic rights of other people. In relation to the conduct of foreign policy, he underlined that "Foreign relations must not be limited to contact between politicians. The Labour Government also sets as one of its benchmarks a commitment to foster a people's diplomacy to increase respect, understanding and goodwill for Britain among nations as well as governments. To achieve this aim, we will draw on the British Council and the BBC World Service and will build on the unique advantage for our country of the growing use of English as the language of international communication."¹⁵⁵ Cook puts an emphasis on "people's diplomacy" to reach the objectives of creating goodwill for Britain and gain the respect of the other nations and peoples. The goals set out by Cook fits into the general description of public diplomacy efforts. The Foreign Secretary's mention of British Council and the BBC World Service illustrates the UK government's attempts of using English education as well as media as sources of public diplomacy.

In his speech, Cook stated that "Britain also has a national interest in the promotion of our values and confidence in our identity. That is why the fourth goal of our foreign policy is to secure the respect of other nations for Britain's contribution to keeping the peace of the world and promoting democracy around the world."¹⁵⁶

The significance of promoting British values, gaining respect of other nations, and upholding the British identity were highlighted as objectives of public diplomacy efforts. The remarks of Cook presented insights into the FCO's framework for public diplomacy.

¹⁵⁵ "Robin Cook's Speech on the Government's Ethical Foreign Policy," The Guardian, May 12, 1997. Accessed July 26, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/1997/may/12/indonesia.ethicalforeignpolicy>.

¹⁵⁶ "Robin Cook's Speech on the Government's Ethical Foreign Policy"

4.1. British Council

Since the British Council has been playing significant role in the public diplomacy efforts of the UK, it is necessary to view the organization's historical background. British Council is a public body governed by Royal charter. Founded in 1934, the British Council's first overseas offices were opened in 1938.¹⁵⁷ The original name of the organization was British Committee for Relations with Other Countries. In its annual report of 1940-41, the purpose of the British Council was stated as "to create in a country overseas a basis of friendly knowledge and understanding of the people of this country, of their philosophy and way of life, which will lead to a sympathetic appreciation of British foreign policy, whatever for the moment that policy may be and from whatever political conviction it may spring."¹⁵⁸ Providing an understanding of the British foreign policies and stimulating appreciation towards the steps taken were emphasized as the objectives of the British Council. In 1940, Royal Charter explained the goal of the British Council as "promoting a wider knowledge of [the UK] and the English language abroad and developing closer cultural relations between [the UK] and other countries."¹⁵⁹ British Council had a specific objective of enhancing cultural ties of the UK with foreign countries and presenting wider knowledge of the English language across the globe. The ultimate aims of the British Council could be summarized as building connections between British people and foreign publics through art, culture, and education.¹⁶⁰

4.2. British Broadcasting Corporation

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is the UK's national broadcaster and was established under a Royal Charter. BBC is an independent organization. Founded in

¹⁵⁷ "Our History," British Council. Accessed July 26, 2022. <https://www.britishcouncil.org/about-us/history>.

¹⁵⁸ "Our History," British Council

¹⁵⁹ "Our History," British Council

¹⁶⁰ "Our History," British Council

1922, the BBC continues to play a key role in UK's cultural life. In its annual report published in 2022, it is stressed that the public purposes enshrined in the Royal Charter are at the core of the BBC's activities, saying that "The BBC's mission, as set out in our Royal Charter, is to act in the public interest, serving all audiences through the provision of impartial, high-quality and distinctive output and services which inform, educate and entertain."¹⁶¹ In the report, BBC's aims and its achievements are underlined. One of its aims is stated as "To reflect the United Kingdom, its culture and values to the world."¹⁶² This goal highlights BBC's role as a public diplomacy element. As a broadcasting organization, BBC promotes the UK's values and introduces its way of culture to foreign audiences. Therefore, since its establishments, BBC has been considered significant for the UK's public diplomacy.

4.3. UK Public Diplomacy Response to 9/11

The developments in the international relations, as underlined before, prompted policy makers to realign their public diplomacy efforts and their modus operandi. Some developments had global repercussions urging the states to set out new foreign policy objectives. The developments or crisis sometimes called for more active use of public diplomacy targeting the transmitting of key messages to the foreign publics.

For instance, following the 9/11, then Foreign Secretary Jack Straw required that "all our Posts see public diplomacy as a central task"; upon his request Wilton (2002) and Carter Reviews (2005) were convened with an aim of investigating the functionality of FCO and public diplomacy organizations such as British Council in gaining support of foreign publics for British foreign policy goals.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ BBC Group Annual Report and Accounts 2021/2022, p.16. <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/reports/annualreport/ara-2021-22.pdf>.

¹⁶² BBC Group Annual Report and Accounts 2021/2022, p.159.

¹⁶³ "Our History," British Council.

Pamment points out that in the immediate aftermath of the terror attacks, the BBCWS actively ran news programme that lasted 45 hours, and BBCWS worked to improve its programming in various languages such as Arabic, Pashto and Persian presenting themselves as significant public diplomacy actor.¹⁶⁴

The FCO and other public diplomacy organizations took steps to shed light on the UK's foreign policies. As part of these efforts, Coalition Information Centres (CICs) in Washington, London and Islamabad were established in order to coordinate news flows with coalition partners; a publication titled *Never Again* was also released by the FCO.¹⁶⁵ Then Prime Minister Tony Blair voiced strong support for the US in the battle against terrorism as he pledged that Britain would stand “full square alongside the U.S.”¹⁶⁶ The UK, as a staunch ally of the US, was part of the coalition that invaded Iraq in 2003. In an interview to *Washington Post* published on the 20th anniversary of the attacks, Blair highlights that 9/11 was “an attack... on our way of life, on the values that we represented, on the West, if you like.”¹⁶⁷ Blair has made it clear with his comment that it was not only the US under attack but what the West, including the UK was “representing.”¹⁶⁸ While the administration of Blair strongly believed in the UK's active involvement in the developments in response to the attack, the steps taken during that period also faced domestic and international criticism.

In relation the UK's response to the 9/11, in an essay titled “British Public Diplomacy in the Age of Schisms” by Mark Leonard, Andrew Small and Martin Rose it is stated

¹⁶⁴ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.67.

¹⁶⁵ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.67.

¹⁶⁶ “Reaction From Around the World,” *The New York Times*, September 12, 2001, Accessed July 29, 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/12/us/reaction-from-around-the-world.html>.

¹⁶⁷ “9/11: Twenty Years Later with Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,” *The Washington Post*, September 9, 2021. Accessed July 28, 2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/washington-post-live/2021/09/09/911-twenty-years-later-with-tony-blair-former-prime-minister-great-britain-northern-ireland/>.

¹⁶⁸ “9/11: Twenty Years Later with Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,” *The Washington Post*.

that strategic communication necessitates consistency of actions taken by officials as it is a signifier of genuine commitment to the values and ideas. It is underlined that “Intervening in Iraq and then not intervening to stop a possible genocide in Darfur, for instance, makes it very difficult to maintain a position that Britain is significantly motivated by ‘liberal internationalism’ - and will ensure an even higher degree of skepticism about motives for any future military interventions.”¹⁶⁹ In their remarks Leonard Small and Rose highlight that since the UK’s position during the invasion of Iraq was defending the values the UK stood for, the UK’s preference not to be involved in other conflicts across the world for defending the West’s values, raised criticism over the UK’s policies.

It is also indicated in the essay that “A major international tracking study has found that the UK’s role in the Iraq war is now ‘the most frequent reason given for a negative opinion of the country.’”¹⁷⁰ The war on Iraq and other developments during those years had influenced the views of various publics in certain ways, prompting involving states to accelerate their public diplomacy efforts and inform the world about their foreign policies. In the light of global atmosphere created by the “War on Terror”, the states used public diplomacy to reach out to the foreign publics as a way to clarify the policies they pursue and attain support. For instance, the FCO acknowledged that “Active and professional public diplomacy—projecting the image and values of the UK, explaining our policies, targeting our messages and influencing international debate and decisions—is an increasingly important part of our work.”¹⁷¹

4.4. Promotional Campaigns

Main objectives and principles of the UK’s public diplomacy efforts were also reconfigured in the face of developments. Public Diplomacy Strategy Board (PDSB)

¹⁶⁹ Mark Leonard, Andrew Small with Martin Rose, *British Public Diplomacy in the Age of Schisms*, (The Foreign Policy Centre, 2005), p. 44.
https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/23666/British_Diplomacy_Schisms.pdf.

¹⁷⁰ Mark Leonard, Andrew Small with Martin Rose, *British Public Diplomacy in the Age of Schisms* p.33.

¹⁷¹ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.76.

announced the UK's public diplomacy strategy in 2003. Accordingly, some of the key principles of the Britain's public diplomacy strategy included "working with others, including the business and diaspora communities and NGOs, monitoring implementation and evaluate results, planning ahead, so that major public diplomacy initiatives meet strategic priorities."¹⁷²

The FCO's public diplomacy efforts had taken different forms throughout years as sometimes promotional campaigns were prioritized. For instance, the Think UK initiative held in China between February 2003 and January 2004 was developed since the rise of China as a global actor prompted the FCO to focus on public diplomacy efforts targeting the country.¹⁷³ It was the largest public diplomacy campaign of the UK. The fund for the campaign was obtained from the budgets of FCO and BC; the total fund, excluding the staff costs, was £5.4 million.¹⁷⁴

The Think UK campaign indicates that the officials who conduct the government's foreign policies design their public diplomacy strategies in line with the emerging trends in the international relations. 32 projects constituted the campaign Think UK and nearly 300 events were held by the FCO, BC, UKTI and China-Britain Business Council within the scope of the campaign.¹⁷⁵ Various conferences, business events, media projects, exhibitions were organized under the main 32 projects. These events' focus was to highlight "British innovation, creativity and originality in specific sectors: arts, culture and design."¹⁷⁶ With the events organized assets that are believed to best represent the UK was promoted and highlighted.

¹⁷² James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.83.

¹⁷³ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.88.

¹⁷⁴ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.89.

¹⁷⁵ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.89

¹⁷⁶ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.89

The campaign's target audience was young people aged 16-35 and the projects were planned in Chinese cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Chongqing. The campaign's overall metrics were stated as follows: "2250 print articles, 260 TV and radio reports, 270 online features, around 4.5 million total event participants, access to a 1.6 billion potential television audience, and to a 400 million print media circulation."¹⁷⁷ The campaign's website also received 125,000 unique visitors.

A television series called the UK-China Challenge broadcasted as four parts and featured Chinese and British students' competition to obtain a £20,000 educational grant. When it first run the series received 32.2 million viewers. Pamment highlights that "The Think UK website offered a bilingual calendar of events and received 125,000 unique visitors, while an interactive website featuring games, articles, quizzes and prizes received 2.2 million unique visits."¹⁷⁸

The Think UK campaign held between the years 2003-2004 provides insight into the developing of public diplomacy understanding in the UK. The campaign indicates a 360-degree perspective adapted for promoting of UK in a foreign country. In response to the China's increasing role in the world, the UK designed the campaign with an aim of promoting its own values and create a positive perception of the UK in China's several cities. It is also significant that the campaign's target audience was young people. As part of the campaign's objectives, the values, ideas, productions of the UK were showcased to the young Chinese people. Furthermore, the TV series granting educational grant to competing Chinese and British students indicates the emphasis put on education and young people as they would contribute to the future of ties. The campaign also made use of digital technologies as it created websites and reached online users as well to promote the campaign. Even though it is difficult to gauge the direct result of the campaign on the Chinese people's perception of the UK, the organizers of the campaign paid heed to the evaluation of the Think UK. In a transparent way, the total number of participants in the projects and online viewers

¹⁷⁷ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.90.

¹⁷⁸ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.90.

were presented to show at least that the campaign was promoted, and Chinese people were part of the events. The campaign also reflects the public diplomacy's people-to-people aspect. By holding events on various issues such as culture, arts and business, people were brought together to have first-hand experience and information about the UK.

As the FCO was conducting new public diplomacy efforts on the field, it also continued to assess the overall public diplomacy activities. For instance, in the Carter Review of 2005, the UK's public diplomacy activities were discussed, and some recommendations were presented by Carter. In his review, Carter pointed out that "Government goals are of course wide-ranging, and would need to be clearly articulated, along with key objectives, themes, and action plans as part of an overall strategy, but it is clear that public diplomacy should no longer be defined simply in terms of creating positive perceptions."¹⁷⁹ He stressed that the public diplomacy would not be completely independent from the government's goals. Accordingly, organizations that were funded by the government would expect to receive instructions, support the government's political direction, and avoid pursuing their own public diplomacy strategies.¹⁸⁰

In relation to the issue of government funded organizations, Carter also presented his views on BC. He underlined that as the BC conducts cultural relations aiming at creating mutual understanding with foreign publics, its works fall under the umbrella of public diplomacy and therefore as an organization funded by the government it was expected to function in line with the overall framework set out by the FCO.

Carter stated in his review, "The British Council receives substantial funding from Government, but believes its ability to operate at one remove from government enhances the range of the UK's public diplomacy, particularly for engendering trust and building relationships with groups less likely to respond to conventional

¹⁷⁹ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.98.

¹⁸⁰ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.99.

diplomacy. This may be true, but it is also true that the Foreign Secretary is accountable to Parliament for public diplomacy ... this must be reflected in the arrangements for oversight and powers to scrutinize the Council.”¹⁸¹ In relation to the arguments, BC emphasized that it was able to create an international reputation partly because it had a distance from government, meaning that it was able to engage with people from a broad spectrum thanks to its distance to the government.¹⁸²

The public diplomacy efforts were analyzed and reviewed by the government with an aim of strengthening the functionality of public diplomacy organizations and other tools. The reviews presented to the FCO, analyzed the steps taken by the public diplomacy organizations. This indicates that the FCO was also interested in the concrete impact of its public diplomacy activities. The reviews provided public diplomats assessments about the public diplomacy strategies and whether they would fit into the bigger picture of foreign policy goals.

4.5. Strategic Communication Efforts

During the term of then Foreign Secretary David Miliband (2007-2010), the engagement concept that was pursued for some time evolved more into strategic communication efforts.¹⁸³ Former editor of the Independent, Ian Hargreaves joined Miliband’s team of communications. Hargreaves was in favor of integrating public diplomacy with strategic communications and strengthening digital presence in public diplomacy efforts.¹⁸⁴ Miliband also restructured the Directorate of Communications as he created the Strategic Campaigns unit, a Public Diplomacy unit, a Digital Diplomacy team, a Press Office and Corporate Communication.¹⁸⁵ Miliband was placing

¹⁸¹ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.103.

¹⁸² *Public Diplomacy, Third Report of Session 2005–06*, prepared by House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (London, 2006), p.21.
<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506/cmselect/cmfaff/903/903.pdf>.

¹⁸³ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.136.

¹⁸⁴ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.135.

¹⁸⁵ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.137.

importance to the digital diplomacy, and he encouraged diplomats to use web in an active way.

Pamment points out that during this period, the UK's Ambassador for Multilateral Arms Control and Disarmament in Geneva, John Duncan, became known for his online engagement.¹⁸⁶ In 2007, Duncan started writing a blog which enabled ordinary people to have insight on his daily working life. Pamment underlines that Duncan was talented for explaining complex issues and his efforts of community building was deeply respected.¹⁸⁷

It is interesting that the UK requested the diplomats to be more visible in showing their public diplomacy efforts. The diplomats whose official duty is to conduct foreign policy were expected to make use of all tools at their disposal to create networks and expand the sphere of influence.¹⁸⁸ While the world was becoming more digital, the diplomats and the FCO in general felt the need of adapting to these digital changes and use them to strengthen the strategic agenda. While in traditional diplomacy, the actors such as diplomats were not completely visible, the use of the digital tools expand the space for them to act and influence public. The effective use of digital tools also creates a sense of transparency as the actors inform the public and try to explain some complex issues to them.

The use of digital platforms, creating strategic communication campaigns, planning branding strategies were becoming highly visible in the UK's public diplomacy activities. Another significant effort within this framework was the GREAT campaign which was launched in February 2012.¹⁸⁹ It was aimed to create a simple brand identity which would focus on investment and tourism. In relation to the campaign, David

¹⁸⁶ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.138.

¹⁸⁷ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.138.

¹⁸⁸ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.138.

¹⁸⁹ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.172.

Cameron underlined that the core message was “This campaign is simple. There are so many great things about Britain, and we want to send out the message loud and proud that this is a great place to do business, to invest, to study and to visit.”¹⁹⁰ The campaign’s creative work was conducted by Radley Yeldar. The campaign was based on the formula of X is GREAT Britain; the formula highlighted Britain’s “main pillars”, for instance Sport is GREAT Britain, Countryside is GREAT Britain.¹⁹¹ The pillars determined based on the areas such as culture, heritage and knowledge where the Britain believed it had strength.¹⁹² By using the same slogan for promoting values on different fields, the message defining the Britain as “GREAT” was reinforced with the repeated use of the slogan.

In a report published by Guardian on the GREAT campaign, it was said that “The push marks the first time the UK has been promoted with a single, coordinated brand campaign bringing together partners including VisitBritain, the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, the British Council and UK Trade & Investment.”¹⁹³

Different government institutions of the UK have conducted the campaign and today FCDO continues its public diplomacy efforts under the umbrella of the campaign.

4.6. “Integrated Review” and the UK’s Modern Public Diplomacy

In 2021, the UK government published “Global Britain in a Competitive Age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy”, in which it evaluated the developments in different fields and explained the UK’s future

¹⁹⁰ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.172.

¹⁹¹ James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.175.

¹⁹² James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.175.

¹⁹³ Sweeny, Mark. “Global Ad Campaign To Promote The UK Brings in £1.2bn.” *The Guardian*. June 5, 2015. Accessed July15, 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2015/jun/05/global-ad-campaign-to-promote-the-uk-brings-in-12bn>.

strategies and goals that in the upcoming period.¹⁹⁴ Then Prime Minister Boris Johnson explained the UK's priorities and objectives amid the rising global challenges.

In the Integrated Review, the UK's soft power sources are highlighted, and its public diplomacy efforts are explained in detail. It says soft power "helps to build positive perceptions of the UK, create strong people-to-people links and familiarity with our values through cultural exchange and tourism."¹⁹⁵ It is stressed that today global powers consider cultural projection of their countries as significant part of their foreign policies.¹⁹⁶ Referring to today's challenges to soft power and public diplomacy activities, it is stated in the report that "Our perception of other countries, and therefore their soft power, is also increasingly shaped in the digital space, driven by individuals and non-state actors, including through disinformation."¹⁹⁷ Therefore, the significance of thoughtful investment in soft power sources is underlined.

The Integrated Review highlights the media and culture, sport, education, people-to-people ties as the UK's soft power strengths.¹⁹⁸ The Integrated Review indicates that the media is deemed as essential component of the UK's soft power, saying "The BBC

¹⁹⁴ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*, prepared by the Government of UK, (2021) <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/global-britain-in-a-competitive-age-the-integrated-review-of-security-defence-development-and-foreign-policy/global-britain-in-a-competitive-age-the-integrated-review-of-security-defence-development-and-foreign-policy>.

¹⁹⁵ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*.

¹⁹⁶ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*.

¹⁹⁷ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*.

¹⁹⁸ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*.

is the most trusted broadcaster worldwide; the BBC World Service reaches 468m people every week, in 42 languages.”¹⁹⁹

Accordingly, the report states that nearly 500,000 overseas students studied in the UK in 2019.²⁰⁰ Pointing out to the UK’s efforts in education as a source of soft power, it is reported that “Over 1 in 4 countries around the world has a Head of State or of Government who was educated in the UK.”²⁰¹ The educational scholarships of the UK, namely the Commonwealth, Marshall, and Chevening scholarships are also listed as the country’s soft power strengths in the Integrated Review.

Today British Council’s modern role in public diplomacy efforts is also considered significant. In the BC’s annual report of 2020-21, it is stated that the BC in 2020-21 “connected with 67 million people directly and with 745 million people overall, including online and through our broadcasts and publications.”²⁰² According to the report, the BC promoted studying at UK through the website Study UK which was visited by 5.6 million people.²⁰³ BC Chairman, Stevie Spring also underlined in the report that “Two thirds of people report being more favorable towards the UK and having a greater understanding of the UK and its culture after being in a British Council programme.”²⁰⁴ The remarks indicate the BC’s functions as part of the public diplomacy efforts. Stevie adds that “We help to forge mutual understanding, promote

¹⁹⁹ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

²⁰⁰ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

²⁰¹ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

²⁰² 2020-21 Annual Report and Accounts prepared by British Council, p.6. https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/annualreport_2020-21.pdf.

²⁰³ 2020-21 Annual Report and Accounts. p.4.

²⁰⁴ 2020-21 Annual Report and Accounts p.4.

shared values and build bridges in ways that help enrich people's lives around the world and support the UK's international influence and ambitions."²⁰⁵

This statement shows that the BC, both seeks to provide wider knowledge of the English language to the publics of foreign states and directly conducts public diplomacy activities.

While it is significant to discuss the evolving mindset about the concept of public diplomacy, one also needs to examine up to date trends. A policy insight prepared by the British Council titled "Global Britain: The UK's Soft Power Advantage" highlights that "the British Council's most recent soft power survey of young people's opinions has found that it is the most attractive country in the G20 group of nations."²⁰⁶ Defining the UK as a "soft power superpower" the report also warns that if the UK ends prioritizing soft power, there are other countries eager to take the place of the UK aiming to benefit from the advantages.²⁰⁷ It is highlighted that the scores of the countries who ranked at the top of soft power list were close to each other. Therefore, it is stated that whether the UK would keep its place on top of the list depends how the country would navigate the post-EU and post-COVID future that lies in front of it. The top five countries in the BC's survey ranking attractiveness of G20 countries is as follows; the UK, Canada, Italy, France, and Japan.²⁰⁸ Stressing that perception shapes decisions and behaviors, the report underlines that "cultural and educational exchange plays an important role in positive perceptions of the UK."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ *2020-21 Annual Report and Accounts* p.4.

²⁰⁶ *Global Britain: The UK's Soft Power Advantage* prepared by British Council, p.2. https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/global_britain_the_uks_soft_power_advantage_report.pdf.

²⁰⁷ *Global Britain: The UK's Soft Power Advantage* p.3.

²⁰⁸ *Global Britain: The UK's Soft Power Advantage* p.8.

²⁰⁹ *Global Britain: The UK's Soft Power Advantage* p.2.

4.7. Chevening Scholarship

UK government's Chevening program, which began in 1983, provides scholarship to international students. On its website, the following is stated about the scholarship: "Funded by the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office and partner organizations, we offer individuals who show potential to inspire, inform, and influence positive change the opportunity to study at a UK university to gain a UK educational qualification."²¹⁰ It is highlighted that the program has more than 50,000 alumni.²¹¹

Chevening was previously referred to as the "FCO Scholarships and Awards Scheme" (FCO SAS). Then Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd renamed the program after Chevening House in 1994.²¹²

About the objectives of the educational program, it is stated that "The mission of the Chevening programme is to support UK foreign policy priorities and achieve FCDO objectives by creating lasting positive relationships with future leaders, influencers, and decision-makers."²¹³ The statement summarizes the public diplomacy aspect of the educational exchanges in a clear way as it underlines that the program is used to create a global community of leaders and forge relations with future leaders with an aim of achieving foreign policy objectives of the UK government.

In the Chevening's annual report of 2020-21, it is seen that largest number of scholars studied in the field of Social Sciences.²¹⁴ This indicates that priority is given to social sciences, reflecting the public diplomacy objectives of the scheme.

²¹⁰ "About Chevening," Accessed July 16, 2022. <https://www.chevening.org/about/>.

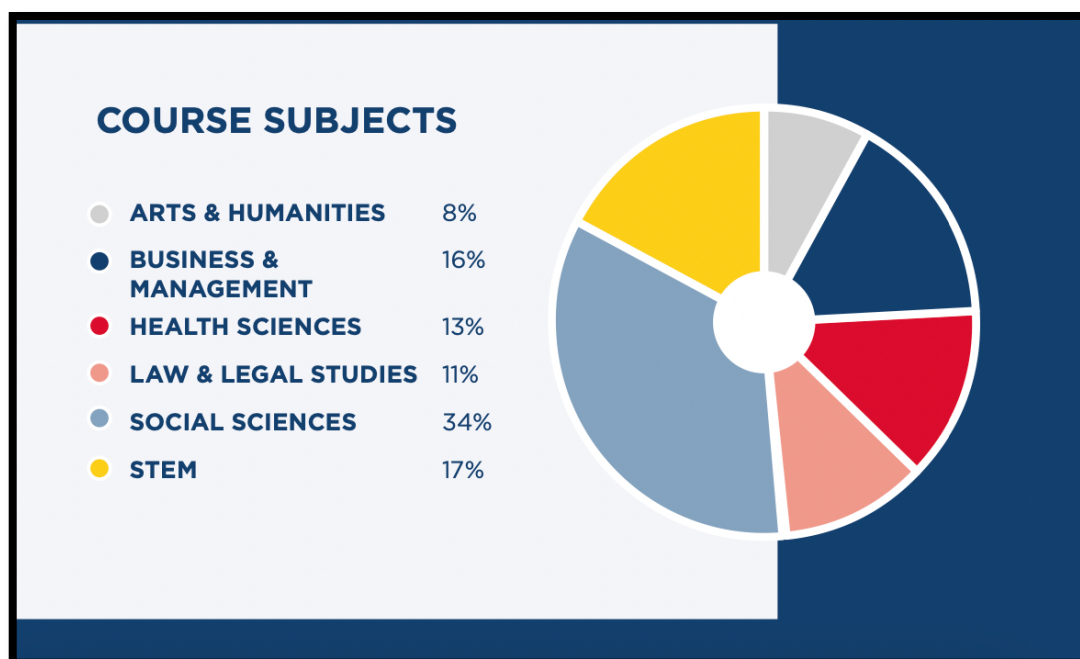
²¹¹ "About Chevening"

²¹² "Timeline," Accessed July 16, 2022. <https://35.chevening.org/35-years-of-impact/timeline/>.

²¹³ "About Chevening"

²¹⁴ Chevening Annual Report 2020-21. Accessed September 23, 2022. <https://www.chevening.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Annual-Report-2021.pdf>.

Table II: Chevening Scholars' Course Subjects, Chevening Annual Report 2020-21



It can be said that like the US' Fulbright program, the Chevening program adopts a similar approach and considers the educational exchange as investment to people who would contribute to create mutual understanding. The program accepts scholars from more than 160 countries, and it requires all scholars “to return to their home country for a period of two years immediately following the completion of their award.”²¹⁵

The Chevening program aims to provide scholars an enriching experience academically and enable them building essential networks for their future careers. The Chevening also has programs for alumni aiming to keep the relations that are formed alive. As stressed at the official site of the program, the networks that are established have critical importance for the success of the scholarship.²¹⁶

It must be noted that the program aims to create larger impact via the individual scholars around the world. The scholars are required to turn back to countries which

²¹⁵ “FAQs,” Accessed July 16, 2022. <https://www.chevening.org/FAQs/>.

²¹⁶ “FAQs”

shows that there is an expectation from them such as making use of their academic, cultural experience in their home countries and delivering impact. For instance, The Chevening Alumni Programme Fund (CAPF) supports the projects conducted in collaboration of alumni.²¹⁷

In the Chevening’s 2020-21 annual report, it is stated that largest numbers of scholar were from Indonesia, Brazil, and Nigeria.²¹⁸ Africa was the region which received highest number of scholarships. Middle East and North Africa followed Africa as 170 people received scholarships.

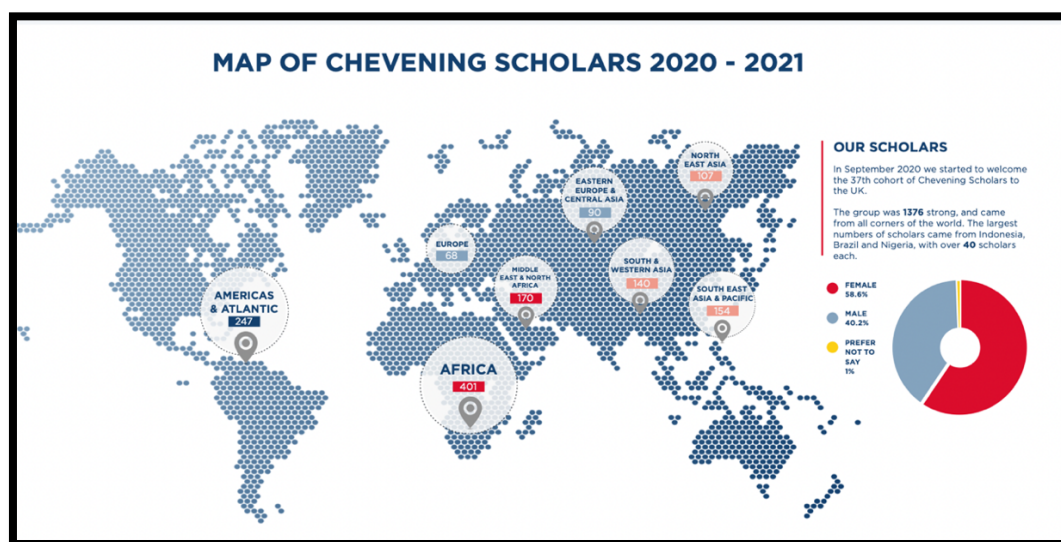


Illustration I: Map of Chevening Scholars, Chevening Annual Report 2020-21

Scholarships are considered as investment by the governments who fund them; they are expected to create a positive impact. As discussed before, the states might desire to obtain various objectives by using scholarships as part of their public diplomacy efforts. When the public diplomacy perceived as essential during certain periods, the

²¹⁷ “FAQs”

²¹⁸ Chevening Annual Report 2020-21. Accessed September 23, 2022. <https://www.chevening.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Annual-Report-2021.pdf>.

funding for educational scholarships might increase while there might be some cuts demanded by the states as well.

The Chevening program defines its participants as “trailblazers”, “risk-takers” and “change-makers”.²¹⁹ These terms highlight that the participants are expected to make a change, create a positive impact. It can be said that by providing scholarships the organizers assume that they invest in the leaders of future, and this would lead to the creation of impact.

The Chevening program which celebrated its 35th anniversary in 2018, created a website to mark the anniversary. On the website, the Chevening grantees share their objectives for the future in a video.²²⁰ The video demonstrates that the participants have concrete objectives for their countries and for the world. The students and scholars across the globe share their projects aiming at making an impact.

For instance, a participant from Syria says in the video that “I will be working on conflict resolution and peace building contributing to the peaceful world we dream about.”²²¹ Another participant from Ghana says that “I want to tackle domestic violence and contribute to the formation of Ghana’s police service.”²²²

On the website, former Chevening scholars’ profiles such as the profile of President of Costa Rica, Carlos Andrés Alvarado Quesada and Botswana’s Minister of Investment, Trade & Industry, Bogolo Kenewendo are presented aiming at showing the success of the program. It must be noted that the success stories are presented with an aim of promoting the program.

²¹⁹ “35 Years of Impact,” Accessed July 20, 2022. <https://35.chevening.org/35-years-of-impact/>.

²²⁰ “The Next 35 Years,” Accessed July 20, 2022. <https://35.chevening.org/the-next-35-years/>.

²²¹ “The Next 35 Years”

²²² “The Next 35 Years”

4.7.1. The Evaluations of the Alumni

In the following part, ten interviews conducted with Chevening scholars are discussed as part of the research's focus on understanding the impact of the scheme in public diplomacy efforts. The names of the recipients are withheld. The interviews with the former students are discussed under the categories of "familiarity with the country" and "sense of community." The interviews indicate personal views of grantees and shed light into the scheme's role as public diplomacy instrument.

Familiarity with the Country

As a result of the interviews, the participants highlighted that the experience of living in the UK provided them with more information about socio-cultural life in the country. The interviewees underlined that they were able to have information about the developments in the UK and public's opinion on them during their stay. The interviews indicate that as a result of their unique experiences, students' ideas have both positively and negatively changed regarding various issues.

Interviewee IV said she developed a tie with the UK by getting know the country within the scope of the scholarship. She said that "I realized that the publics of Türkiye and the UK are more familiar than I thought. I also did not know that London was such a diverse city." She added that as Covid-19 pandemic erupted during the final period of her stay she could not have the chance to travel, yet she said she had better knowledge about the country.

Interviewee III said that as Chevening enabled her to study in the UK and supported her financially she has gained sympathy for the country. Interviewee VI said that thanks to Chevening, the direction of her life has completely changed.

All the interviewees said that they continue to read about the agenda of the UK and acknowledge that their familiarity with the country prompt them to show interest on subjects related to the UK. Interviewee II said she reads about foreign policy, and she shows interests in British news as well. She added that when the Queen died, it was a topic that was talked about at her house.

Answering a question about his experience, Interviewee I, who works at the public sector in Türkiye now, stated that he had more information about the British society. The discussions over Brexit and the role of royalty in the country had surprised him as he had not much information on these subjects before. Commenting on his academic experience in the country, Interviewee I stated that he was surprised as education provided in the UK did not meet his expectations.

Interviewee X, who is an academician, highlighted that it is highly competitive to get into the scholarship program adding that they look for people who has leadership traits. She also stressed that as she lived in the UK and had deeper understanding of the country, she reflects her experiences in the UK into the classes that she teaches at the university.

Interviewee II, who studied international relations, also said that “Migration studies is an important field for me, UK was Eurosceptic at that time, I could understand the reasons for Brexit better, I understood the country better, you understand better when you are there while analyzing the events. Your empathy gets stronger while you are living in that country, your awareness rises.” She highlighted that she witnessed all aspects of life in the UK.

Aside from their experiences of living in the UK, the interviewees commented on their ideas about the background of Chevening scholarship. They acknowledged that the scholarship might have bigger objectives for the long-term, yet they did not feel direct implications of UK’s foreign policy objectives.

Comparing to the Fulbright, the Chevening program’s focus is more on the people who might have assume leadership roles in public or private sectors and directly contribute to the community when they go back to their countries. While Fulbright program has wider spectrum, the Chevening program is focusing more on people who might have leadership roles in their career paths.

Interviewee I said that “I think the aim of the scholarship is to create a contact with people who are predicted to come to a certain point in their home countries in the

future. This is the purpose of the scholarship, this should be the goal when any scholarship is provided, I do not find it strange. You create a network with countries, you choose these people according to certain criteria, you get in touch with them, maybe some of these people become CEOs or bureaucrats in the future. You are with a qualified audience. The number of scholarships given is not small. I think it is a very big investment in terms of a country's politics.”

Stressing that the UK attaches importance to soft power in international relations, Interviewee VI says that the UK would evaluate the cost-benefit analysis of the Chevening program since it spares fund for it, and as it continues to conduct the program it might be deemed useful. The interviewee VI, who works at a Ministry in Türkiye, highlights that “the fact that these scholarships are given by the Foreign Ministries of both the USA and the UK is actually a serious indicator of how important these scholarships are positioned by those countries in terms of public diplomacy.” He also underlined that the networking is linchpin for the Chevening program. The scholar also pointed out that his field of work is related to the international actors including the UK and added that his deep knowledge about the country is an asset in his career.

The statements of the interviewees indicate that the scholars realize the public diplomacy role designed for the program.

Interviewee IV said that regarding the foreign policy objectives, the scholarship provides contribution, but she believes that it is restricted. Interviewee II stated that she did not feel direct policy agenda of the scholarship in her experience, adding that “For example, it is logical to invest in the probability that a 25-year-old recipient will come to a good position at the age of 50. As they have the sources, they can invest in so many people.”

The comments of the interviewees point out that the experience of each student is unique; the scholarship enabled them to experience the life in the UK and get first-hand information about the country. As a public diplomacy effort, it can be said that the scholarship provided students familiarity with the country, contributed to its positive image and enhanced ties between people. Yet even though the students point

out that the scholarship is an investment in people, it is not possible to make a general assumption that the scholarship is considered to yield immediate implications regarding the foreign policy objectives of the UK. It seems that the scholarship's short-term objectives such as promoting the country's assets, presenting a positive image are more visible results whereas its long-term objective to support UK's foreign policy priorities seem more difficult to gauge.

Sense of Community

All the interviewees stated that the Chevening program gets in touch with the alumni via e-mail and occasionally asks them to update their information. However, some of the interviewees highlighted that even though the program organizes events to keep the sense of community alive, their impacts are restricted.

For instance, the Interviewee V, who was a recipient in 2001, stated that she recognizes that there are recent efforts by the Chevening program to bring the alumni together and she tries to join them. Yet she felt that they do not have so much in common, as there are young alumni, and suggested that the events might be structured under relevant themes so that people might find it easier to connect with each other.

Interviewee IV said that she personally engages in efforts to keep the alumni network alive by organizing social events. However, it is seen that the willingness of the alumni to attend the events is the determinant factor in enhancing the relations with the alumni.

Interviewee I said that his relations with people from his term continues and added that "Chevening's main aim is to choose a leader. They do not elect people only based on their grades, but they also consider what they do in social life, what these people add to their country. The people I met are trying to do something in various fields, they are people who have strong social assets. Therefore, there is a sense of togetherness among these people."

Finally, all the interviewees stressed that they felt that the Chevening scholarship was a prestigious program which provided opportunity for themselves to live in another country and experience new things. Some interviewees highlighted that the

scholarship has defining impact on their lives as it would not have been possible to have a master's degree abroad because of financial obstacles. The interviewees underlined that the program assigned them advisors who helped them throughout their term of stay.

4.8. Conclusion

As it was the case for the US, the UK also directly uses scholarships as part of its public diplomacy efforts. The scheme managed by the FCDO reflects the foreign policy priorities of the government and is still considered as relevant tool for the public diplomacy efforts. The scheme is deemed necessary for the efforts for the international image of the country.

The interviews conducted as part of the research indicate that the program enabled the recipients to have first-hand information about the country's socio-cultural aspects. The interviewees underlined that they had a better understanding of the country thanks to their experiences.

The interviewees highlighted that the scheme invests in people who have the potential to become a future leader in their respective fields; they acknowledged that the recipients are promising students that could make an impact. Yet, the interviewees pointed out that achieving the scheme's objective of supporting foreign policy priorities in the long run might be restricted since not all the recipients have such plans. The interviews highlighted that the scheme remains significant public diplomacy tool for the UK government since it creates sympathy and positive image for the country.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This research discussed the role of educational scholarships, namely Fulbright and Chevening, in public diplomacy efforts of the US and the UK. The concept of public diplomacy is explained in detail with an aim of providing an understanding to the states' efforts to engage with foreign publics. It is seen that in the global information age, states continue to exert efforts to engage, inform and influence the foreign actors.

In the research, the background of the US and the UK's public diplomacy efforts and the institutional structures that manage public diplomacy processes are discussed. Public diplomacy efforts include communicating views and correcting misperceptions.²²³ Therefore, engagement with foreign publics is at the center of the public diplomacy activities. The US and the UK have different histories regarding public diplomacy, yet it can be said that both countries have long been engaging with the concept and exert efforts to translate public diplomacy objectives into realities. As the main aim of the research is to discuss educational scholarships' function as public diplomacy tools, the historical background of Fulbright and Chevening scholarships is also discussed.

The Fulbright and Chevening scholarships have different structures yet their objectives in the field of public diplomacy are similar. The Fulbright scholarship program has commissions in respective countries, and it is an exchange program while Chevening is a scholarship program. Both programs require the recipients to return to their home countries when they completed the program. When the historical background of the scholarships is examined, it is seen that the Fulbright and Chevening scholarship programs do not only provide financial support for the academic studies; the programs

²²³ Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy*, p.8.

were built on higher goals. For instance, Senator Fulbright believed that the educational scholarships might help building mutual understanding and contributing to the world peace.²²⁴

The research question of the thesis was whether these scholarship programs contribute to the public diplomacy efforts of the US and the UK. To discuss the issue, official statements regarding the scholarships are examined and interviews with Fulbright and Chevening scholars were conducted. Interview with public diplomacy professor Cull also contributed to the understanding of the role of scholarships in public diplomacy activities. In his comments, Cull highlighted that the length of scholarships is an important factor affecting the opinions of people. He stressed that the scholarship programs enable students to live in other countries and experience different cultures, adding that states consider these programs essential for their public diplomacy efforts.²²⁵ For instance, in the Integrated Review of the UK, the Chevening scholarship was listed as the country's soft power strengths.²²⁶ This indicates that the UK government considers the program as a significant tool which strengthens the UK's soft power.

To discuss whether the Fulbright and Chevening scholarships contribute to the public diplomacy efforts of the mentioned countries, interviews with 20 recipients were conducted. For this research, Türkiye's case was chosen as an example. The reason for this is that both the US and the UK have long-standing ties with Türkiye. The historical ties are also reflected into the public diplomacy efforts of the respective countries. In this research snowball sampling technique was used. Contacts with some interviewees were made through social networking site LinkedIn.

²²⁴ Rick Ruth, "A History of Exchanges"

²²⁵ Interview with Nick J. Cull, 2022.

²²⁶ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

The comments of the interviewees were discussed in detail under the two themes which are “familiarity with the country” and “the sense of community.” The topics of the questions focused on the scholars’ positive and negative experiences about the country, their perception of the country after their experience, their knowledge and familiarity about the socio-cultural aspects of the country, and their views about the strength and weaknesses of the program.

The interviews that were conducted for the research indicated that the experiences of each scholar might be unique yet some similarities regarding their experiences could also be found. As a result of the research, it is highlighted that the US and the UK benefit from scholarships and continue to promote the programs as a way of enhancing mutual understanding and promoting their assets. The scholarship programs highlight their objectives of enhancing mutual understanding, building relationships, and supporting future leaders. As the objectives of the programs are examined, it is understood that the US and the UK aim to yield results in the field of public diplomacy when they provide scholarships to the foreign students.

In the interviews, all the interviewees pointed out that they consider these scholarship programs as prestigious. They underlined that they are respected both in their home countries and in the country they studied. The interviewees highlighted that the scholarship programs contributed to them on various fields such as academic studies, careers, or networks.

The recipients acknowledged that the scholarship programs supported them financially and some added that it would have not been possible for them to study or experience the life in that country if they had not received the scholarship. Interviews indicated that scholarship programs enabled the recipients to have first-hand information about the respective countries. The recipients included people who studied in the fields of international relations and political science. Their comments pointed out that even though they had information on the country prior to their stay, living in that country provided them a wider perspective and understanding over various issues.

As the focus of the research is to understand the contribution of scholarships to the public diplomacy efforts, the structures of the programs are also examined. For instance, the interviewees highlighted that they attended various seminars and events as part of the Fulbright scholarship program. They added that they were given information about the US' culture and history at various events. Some recipients from the FLTA program stated that they were obliged to take classes on American culture or history as part of the program which indicates that the programs aim to inform foreign students about various aspects of the country. All the interviewees also stressed that they continue to read the news about the country where they had studied for a period. Since they spent some time in the country and developed ties there, they have developed particular interest regarding the developments in that country.

The interviewees underlined that they were glad to receive the scholarships. Some interviewees also commented that their views on specific issues have changed negatively. Yet, it is understood as a result of the interviews with 20 recipients that Fulbright and Chevening scholarships contribute to the public diplomacy efforts of the US and the UK since they enable familiarity with the country, build relations and set basis for mutual understanding.

The scholarships' relation with foreign policy objectives is also discussed in the research. For instance, on the website of Chevening scholarship, it is stressed that the program invests in future leaders.²²⁷ It is promoted that prime ministers, presidents and ministers of some countries were former scholars. The program also stresses that Chevening aims to support foreign policy priorities of the UK.²²⁸ Since public diplomacy efforts and the scholarships are managed by the states' foreign ministries, their relation to the foreign policy is visible. Furthermore, the senior officials from the Department of State, and the FCDO promote the scholarship programs and highlight

²²⁷ "About Chevening"

²²⁸ "About Chevening"

their impact. In the research it is also highlighted that the educational scholarships are given significance and promoted by the government officials.

The interviewees commented that they acknowledge that the scholarships may be related to the foreign policy priorities of the states yet, they did not feel that they were designed solely for this purpose. This research underlines that the Fulbright and Chevening scholarship programs contribute to the US and the UK's public diplomacy efforts in the short term. They produce results in the field of public diplomacy. Some of the interviewees were academics, journalists, lawyers. It might be considered that these people also have potential to convey their opinions or experiences to the other people as well. Yet, further research is required to gauge the long-term impact of the scholarships regarding the foreign policy objectives of the mentioned countries and whether they achieve advocacy for particular policies.

It is also discussed in the research that, the longevity of the Fulbright and Chevening scholarship programs might imply that their purpose of existence is still relevant today. Since the countries invest in these programs financially, the programs are expected to produce results that would be welcomed by the domestic public as well.

The research also discusses the developments in the global information space and its impact on the conduct of public diplomacy activities. It is argued by some US officials that the educational scholarships are antidote for correcting misperceptions or malign influence operations.²²⁹ With the widespread use of internet and social media, the states are prompted to keep pace with the developments and redesign their public diplomacy efforts. It might be considered that educational scholarships had created more impact when they were first born. However, it can be said that scholarships are still unique tools of public diplomacy since living in another country and getting first-hand information cannot be replaced by the advances of the internet.

²²⁹ "Exchange Professionals and the Value of Public Diplomacy"

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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04 AĞUSTOS 2022

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Zerrin TORUN

Danışmanlığımı yürüttüğünüz Özgenur Sevinç'in "Öğrenci Değişim Programlarının Kamu Diploması Faaliyetlerindeki Rolü: Fulbright ve Chevening Bursları Örneği" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **0432-ODTÜİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLIŞOY
Başkan

Doç. Dr. İ. Semih AKÇOMAK
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Murat Perit ÇAKIR
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi A. Emre TURGUT
Üye

B. LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Chevening Scholars

Interviewee I, 41, 2018-2019, IT Master's Program

Interviewee II, 44, 2007-2008, EU Politics Master's Program

Interviewee III, 2003-2004, Journalism Master's Program

Interviewee IV, 28, 2019-2020, Public International Law LLM Program

Interviewee V, 2000-2001, Molecular Genetics Master's Program

Interviewee VI, 33, 2021-2022, International Business and Management Master's Program

Interviewee VII, 33, 2022, Middle East Studies Master's Program

Interviewee VIII, 46, 2003-2009, EU Studies Ph.D. Program

Interviewee IX, 27, 2021-2022, International Human Rights Law Economic Relations Master's Program

Interviewee X, 26, 2021-2022 Law Master's Program

Fulbright Scholars

Interviewee I, 37, 2021, International Relations, Post-Doc Program

Interviewee II, 41, 2017-2022, Education and Teaching Psychology Ph.D. Program

Interviewee III, 37, 2017-2018, History, Ph.D. Program

Interviewee IV, 30, 2017-2019, Political Science, Ph.D. Program

Interviewee V, 38, 2012-2013, Security Studies Ph.D. Program

Interviewee VI, 33, 2013-2015, Operations Research Master's Program

Interviewee VII, 2021-2022, Community College Initiative (CCI) Program

Interviewee VIII, 31, 2019-2020, FLTA Program

Interviewee IX, 31, 2022, FLTA Program

Interviewee X, 54, 1992-94, MBA in Finance and Marketing

C. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The questions directed at interviewees who received Fulbright and Chevening scholarships were as follows:

1. Can you give information about yourself? (Age, occupation)
2. Within the scope of the scholarship in which university and field did you study?
3. In which field do you think the Fulbright/Chevening scholarship has contributed most to you?
Academic
Socio-cultural
Career
Networking
4. Is there a difference between your views about the country after your studies under the scholarship?
5. During your study abroad, did any of your thoughts/prejudices regarding the country you visited change?
6. Within the scope of the scholarship program, do you think you have more information about the political and social-cultural structure of this country?
7. Do you think that the scholarship program contributes to your understanding of the foreign policy activities of the country you studied?
8. Do you continue to follow the foreign policy agenda of the country that provided you scholarship?

9. As a student who has benefited from the scholarship program, do you think these programs make concrete contributions to the relations between the countries through the scholars?
10. Do you continue to maintain ties with the people you met during program?
11. Do you think that there is a sense of community among students who participate in educational scholarship programs?
12. Did you work on the development of relations between the two countries? Do you have plans on this?
13. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the scholarship program?

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Günümüzde devletler, dış politika hedeflerini gerçekleştirmek ve etki alanlarını genişletmek amacıyla kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinden faydalanmaktadır. Kamu diplomasisi, devletlerin yumuşak güçlerini kullanarak yabancı kamuoyları ile ilişki kurma, temel politikalarını anlatma ve bunlar için destek sağlama, mesajlarını iletme amacıyla yürüttüğü eylemleri kapsamaktadır.

Dünya Savaşları döneminde, devletlerin yabancı kamuoylarını etkileme ve onların desteğini sağlama amacıyla gerçekleştirdikleri eylemler propaganda terimi ile tanımlanmıştır. Günümüzde ise kamu diplomasisi terimi propaganda teriminin negatif çağrışımlarından uzak olarak, devletlerin ilişki ve diyalog kurma amacıyla yumuşak gücünü kullanması anlamı ile öne çıkmaktadır.

Kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin tarihi, kapsamı ve kurumsallaşması devletler arasında farklılık göstermektedir. Örneğin, ABD ve Birleşik Krallık'ın köklü bir kamu diplomasisi geleneğine sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Bu araştırma, ABD ve İngiltere'nin eğitim bursları olan Fulbright ve Chevening'i bir kamu diplomasisi aracı olarak nasıl kullandıklarını araştırmaktadır. Yıllar içinde hem ABD'de hem de Birleşik Krallık'ta kamu diplomasisinin kurumsal yapısı ve kamu diplomasisi kavramı değişime uğramıştır. İki ülkenin kamu diplomasisi alanında farklı yapıları ve tarihleri olsa da değişim programları her iki ülkenin kamu diplomasisi çabaları için büyük önem arz etmektedir.

Araştırmada, iki farklı bursun tarihi tartışılmış; resmi yetkililerin görüşleri analiz edilmiş ve bu burslardan yararlanan kişilerle mülakatlar gerçekleştirilerek bursların kamu diplomasisi faaliyeti olarak etkilerinin neler olduğu anlaşılacak istenmiştir. Yapılan analizlerde, ABD ve İngiltere'nin resmi kaynaklarının bu burs programlarını önemli bir kamu diplomasisi aracı olarak benimsediği ve dış politika hedeflerini destekleme amacıyla yürüttüğü görülmüştür. Resmî açıklamalarda, bu bursların

özellikle “karşılıklı anlayış”²³⁰ oluşturduğu ve “geleceğin liderlerinin”²³¹ yetiştirildiği vurgusu dikkat çekmektedir. Bu burslar, her iki ülkenin Dışişleri Bakanlıklarının himayelerinde faaliyetlerini sürdürmektedir. Dışişleri Bakanları, diplomatlar bu burslara ilişkin bilgilendirme ve tanıtma faaliyetleri yürütmektedirler.²³² Örneğin, diplomatlar eğitim burslarından faydalanan öğrencilere yönelik olarak etkinlikler düzenlemekte ve onlarla düzenli olarak bir araya gelmektedir.

Bursiyerlerle yapılan mülakatlar, burs programlarının kamu diplomasisi faaliyeti olarak ülkeye yönelik aşinalık kazandırdığını göstermiştir. Bursiyerler, kültürel etkileşim, karşılıklı anlayış gibi kısa vadeli sonuçların etkisini vurgularken, burs programlarını düzenleyen devletlerin “gelecek liderler” yetiştirme, “dış politika önceliklerini destekleme” gibi hedeflerinin uzun vadede gerçekleşme ihtimali olduğuna dikkat çekmiştir.

Eğitim burslarının kamu diplomasisi faaliyeti olarak kullanılmasının temelinde, eğitim bursundan faydalanan öğrencilerin edinecekleri tecrübe ile o ülkeyi daha yakından tanıyacağı, ülkenin politikalarına aşina olacağı, varsa yanlış algılarının düzeleceği ve gelecekte önemli bir liderlik rolü üstlenmesi halinde ilişkilere katkı sunacağı varsayımlarını içermektedir.²³³ İnsanlar arası ilişkilerin ve diyalogun günümüzde kritik öneme sahip olduğu çıkarımında bulunan ABD ve İngiltere bu bursları insanlara yapılan bir yatırım olarak görmektedir.²³⁴ Kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin kesin sonuçlarını ölçmenin zorluğu düşünüldüğünde burs programlarının somut sonuçları tartışılmaktadır. Fakat, bahsedilen hedefler ışığında ABD ve İngiltere bu burs programlarını kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin önemli bir parçası olarak

²³⁰ “Our Mission,” U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

²³¹ “About Chevening”

²³² James, Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy & Soft Power* p.138.

²³³ Iain Wilson, *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?* p.5.

²³⁴ “Public Diplomacy in the Trump Administration” The Heritage Foundation

sürdürmektedir. Bu araştırma, kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin nasıl şekillendiği ve her iki ülkede nasıl kullanıldığı konusunu ele almaktadır.

Her zaman öncelik verilirse de ortaya çıkan kriz veya çatışmalarla birlikte devletler, kamuoylarının algısını şekillendirmek için kamu diplomasisine yönelmektedir. Devletler, kamu diplomasisinin ustaca kullanılmasının dış politika hedeflerini ilerletmeye yardımcı olacağını varsayma eğilimindedir.²³⁵ Çalkantılı dönemlerde, devletler mesajlarını dünyaya iletme ve politikalarını ayrıntılı olarak açıklama ihtiyacı hissettiklerinde, kamu diplomasisi çalışmalarına ayrılan bütçenin genellikle arttığı da gözlemlenmektedir.

Uluslararası ilişkilerde ve küresel bilgi alanında yaşanan gelişmeler, devletleri yabancı toplumlarla ilişki kurmak için daha fazla adım atmaya ve dış politikalarını açıklamak için çaba sarf etmeye sevk etmiştir. Bu çabalar devletlerin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri kapsamındadır. Bu araştırmada, kriz veya çatışma dönemlerinde devletlerin izledikleri politikaları açıklayarak kamuoylarının desteğini alma ihtiyacı hissettikleri için kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerine başvurdukları vurgulanmaktadır.

Bugün içinde yaşadığımız dünya sayısız küresel krizle karşılaşırken sert güç kullanımı artmakta ve yumuşak gücün gerçek etkisi ve kamu diplomasisinin varlık nedeni sorgulanmaktadır. Uzmanlar ve politika yapıcılar genellikle kamu diplomasisi hedeflerini sonuçlara dönüştürmenin ve kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin sonuçlarının ölçülmesinin zorluğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Bununla birlikte, kamu diplomasisinin karşılıklı anlayış oluşturma, diyalogu teşvik etme ve köprüler kurmadaki kilit rolünün önemi de vurgulanmaktadır.

Teknolojideki gelişmeler ve internetin artan rolü bilginin hızlı bir şekilde iletilmesini sağladığından, devletlerin kamu diplomasisini yürütmek için kullandıkları araçlar da değişmektedir. Kamu diplomasisinin değişen konsepti, devletlerin yabancı

²³⁵ "Our Mission," U.S. Department of State Bureau of Global Public Affairs

kamuoylarına ulaşma ihtiyacının farkına vardığını ve hedeflerine ulaşmak için farklı stratejiler üzerinde yoğunlaştıklarını göstermektedir.

Günümüzde kamu diplomasisi üzerine çalışan akademisyenler ve uzmanlar daha çok insandan insana ilişkilerin büyük önem taşıdığına dikkat çekmektedir. Devletlerin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin önemli bir bölümünü oluşturan burs programlarının, uzun vadeli hedeflere ulaşmaya odaklandığı düşünülmektedir.

Devletlerin istedikleri sonuçları elde etmek için her zaman sert güç kullanmak zorunda olmadıklarını savunan yumuşak güç kavramı ilk kez Joseph Nye tarafından ortaya atılmıştır. Sert güç, teşvik ve tehditleri kullanırken, yumuşak güç, insanları zorlamadan tercihlerini şekillendirir. Nye, bir ülkenin yumuşak gücünün öncelikle üç kaynağa dayandığını ifade etmektedir bunlar; kültür, siyasi değerler ve dış politikalarıdır.²³⁶

Devletlerin kamu diplomasisi çabaları doğrudan dış politikalarıyla şekillenmektedir. Devletlerin izledikleri dış politikaların yumuşak güçleri üzerinde büyük etkisi vardır. Örneğin, bir devletin, belirli dış politikalarını son derece eleştirel bir yaklaşımı olan yabancı kamuoyu üzerinde yumuşak güç kullanamayacağı düşünülmektedir.

Devletler, özellikle mesajlarını veya ideolojilerini yabancı halklara iletmek istediği dönemlerde kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinden yararlanmaktadır. Araştırmanın odak noktası eğitim bursları olduğu için, kamu diplomasisinin tüm tarihsel gelişmelerini burada tartışmak mümkün olmayacaktır. Ancak bu alandaki önemli dönüm noktaları hakkında bilgi vermek kavramın dönüşümünü anlamak için gereklidir.

Mark Leonard'ın “kamu diplomasisi” tanımı, kavramın anlaşılması açısından önemlidir. Leonard, “kamu diplomasisi, ilişkiler kurmakla ilgilidir: diğer ülkelerin, kültürlerin ve halkların ihtiyaçlarını anlamak; bakış açılarımızı paylaşmak, yanlış algıları düzeltmek,” ifadelerini kullanmaktadır.²³⁷ Leonard'ın ifadeleri, kamu

²³⁶ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.11.

²³⁷ Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy* (Foreign Policy Centre, 2002), p.8.

diplomasisinin sadece bir ülkenin politikalarını diğer kamuoylarına açıklamak olmadığını, aynı zamanda onlarla gerçekten iletişime geçerek anlamlı bir ilişki kurma çabalarına da atıfta bulunduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

Geleneksel diplomasi ile kamu diplomasisi arasındaki fark hakkında yorum yapan Nicholas Cull, “geleneksel diplomasi, uluslararası aktörün uluslararası çevreyi başka bir uluslararası aktörle ilişki kurarak yönetme girişimidir; kamu diplomasisi, uluslararası bir aktörün, yabancı bir halkla ilişki kurarak uluslararası çevreyi yönetme girişimidir.” ifadelerini kullanmaktadır.²³⁸ Kamu diplomasisi uygulamalarında önemli değişiklikler olduğunun da altını çizen Cull; STK'ların daha belirgin hale geldiğini, karşılıklı fikir alışverişi için insandan insana teması daha fazla önem verildiğini belirtmektedir. Cull'un görüşleri, kamu diplomasisi kavramının yeni gelişmelerle birlikte yeni biçimler aldığını göstermektedir. Cull ile yüz yüze gerçekleştirilen mülakatta, Cull eğitim burslarının önemli kamu diplomasisi araçları olduğuna dikkati çekmiş ve bu burslar kapsamında kurulan bağların sürdürülmesi için devletlerin çaba göstermesi gerektiğini vurgulamıştır.²³⁹ Cull ayrıca programların süresinin de önem arz ettiğini belirterek bursiyerlerin ülkeye yönelik düşünce ve hislerinin değişiklik gösterebileceğini ifade etmiştir.

Uzmanlar ve akademisyenler tarafından tanımlandığı gibi, kamu diplomasisi çabaları, yabancı halklarla ilişki ve diyalog kurmayı kapsamaktadır. Değişim programları öğrencilere akademik olarak deneyim kazanma, yabancı öğrencilerle tanışma ve dil becerilerini geliştirme gibi sayısız fırsat sunmaktadır. Küreselleşen dünyada, giderek daha fazla öğrenci, bir öğrenci olarak deneyimlerini geliştirmek için belirli bir süre yurt dışında okumayı tercih ediyor. Devletler ise yabancı öğrencileri çekmeyi amaçlayan burs programları için kaynak ayırmaktadır. Burs programları genellikle akademik alan kapsamında değerlendirilir. Ancak nihayetinde bir devletin akademik, kültürel ve siyasi varlıklarını geliştirmeyi ve ilişki kurmayı amaçladıkları için kamu

²³⁸ Nicholas Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* p.12.

²³⁹ Interview with Nicholas J. Cull, 2022.

diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin de bir parçası oldukları söylenebilir. Bir değişim veya burs programına katılan öğrenciler sadece akademik deneyim kazanmazlar, aynı zamanda o ülke hakkında interaktif bir şekilde bilgi edinirler.

Giles Scott-Smith kitabında, değişim programlarının “ne kadar eğitimsel ve apolitik” sunulursa sunulurlar, kaçınılmaz olarak uluslararası ilişkilerin daha geniş siyasi ortamında faaliyet gösterdiğinin altını çizmektedir.²⁴⁰ Scott-Smith, liseler arasında gerçekleştirilen değişimler gibi siyasi açıdan en tarafsız olan değişimlerin dahi oluşumlarının arkasında siyasi bir niyet taşıdığını savunmaktadır. Ayrıca Scott-Smith, bir değişimin siyasi hedeflerinin doğrudan algılanması durumunda, programın genel etkisini ve güvenilirliğini baltalayabileceğini söylemektedir.²⁴¹

Bir değişim öğrencisinin deneyiminin benzersiz ve kişisel olduğu kabul edilmektedir. Programı düzenleyenler, değişim programı çerçevesinde benzer sonuçlara ulaşmayı bekleseler de beklenmedik sonuçlar da olabilir. Değişim öğrencileri farklı karakterlere, kültürel geçmişe ve görüşlere sahip olduklarından, ev sahibi ülkedeki deneyimleri birbirinden farklı olacaktır. Değişim programının bireyler üzerinde nasıl bir etki yaratacağını tahmin etmek mümkün değildir. Ev sahibi ülke hakkındaki yanlış anlamaları düzeltecek bir deneyime sahip olabilirler; kişisel deneyimlerine dayanarak ülke hakkındaki görüşlerinin olumsuz etkilenmesi de mümkündür.

ABD'nin yumuşak gücünü yorumlayan Nye, “Birleşik Devletler'in imajı ve diğerleri için çekiciliği, birçok farklı fikir ve tutumun bileşimidir. Kısmen kültüre, kısmen iç politika ve değerlere, kısmen de dış politikamızın özüne, taktiklerine ve tarzına bağlıdır.” ifadelerini kullanmaktadır.²⁴² Kamuoyu bir devletin belirli dış politikalarını eleştiriyorsa, bu kişilerin fikirlerini tamamen değiştirmek oldukça zor olacaktır. Bu durum, devletleri imajları üzerindeki olumsuz etkiyi azaltmak için bazı politikalarının

²⁴⁰ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy”, p. 50.

²⁴¹ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy”, p.52.

²⁴² Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* p.68.

ardındaki nedenleri açıklamaya yönelmektedir. Bir devletin savaş veya kriz dönemlerinde izlediği dış politikalar, imajını büyük ölçüde etkilemektedir. Yabancı kamuoyları, devletlerin kriz yönetimini takip ederek insan hakları ihlali gibi kötü bir yönetim algılamaları durumunda, o devlete yönelik pozitif görüşleri azalmaktadır.

Eğitim bursları devletlerin farklı toplumlarla bağ kurmaları ve karşılıklı anlayış geliştirmeleri için önemli bir kamu diplomasisi aracı olarak değerlendirilmektedir. ABD'nin Fulbright eğitim bursu, savaş dönemlerinin ardından insanlar arasında ilişki kurarak barışa katkı sağlanabileceği düşüncesi üzerine inşa edilmiştir.²⁴³

ABD Dışişleri Bakanı Antony Blinken, Fulbright bursunun 75. yıl dönümü dolayısıyla verdiği mesajda, “Bu programın sağladığı kişisel bağın gücü her zamanki kadar önemli. Fulbright topluluğunun üyeleri fark yaratan kişilerdir. Fulbright bursiyerleri bugün dünyamızın karşı karşıya olduğu sorunları derinden önemsiyorlar.” ifadelerini kullanmıştır.²⁴⁴ ABD Dışişleri Bakanı'nın açıklamaları, bugün Fulbright bursuna büyük önem verildiğini ve program mezunlarının günümüz dünyasında karşılaşılan zorlukların yönetilmesinde rol oynayacağını varsayıldığını gösteriyor.

Fulbright Programı, ABD kültürünü ilk elden gözlemleyen bir mezun topluluğu yaratmaktadır. ABD Dışişleri Bakanlığı, programın mezunlarının ikili ilişkiler üzerinde olumlu bir etki yaratabileceğine inandıkları için programı bir yatırım olarak görmektedir.²⁴⁵ Resmî açıklamalara bakıldığında, Fulbright Programı'nın öğrencilere ABD hakkında temel deneyimler kazandırdığını ve bu öğrencilerin gelecekte “siyasi şahsiyetler” veya “öğrenci diplomatlar” olabileceklerinin düşünüldüğü görülmektedir.

Fulbright bursunun kurucusu J. William Fulbright'ın kendisi bir değişim öğrencisi olarak Rhodes bursuyla Oxford'da üç yıl öğrenim görmüştür. Fulbright, Oxford'daki deneyiminin kendisi için “öğrenmenin yeni ufuklarını açtığını” vurgulamıştır.

²⁴³ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”.

²⁴⁴ “A Message from the U.S. Secretary of State.” The Fulbright Program 75th Anniversary.

²⁴⁵ “Public Diplomacy in the Trump Administration” The Heritage Foundation.

Fulbright'ın başka bir ülkedeki eğitim değişimiyle ilgili kişisel hikayesi, değişim programlarının farkındalık yaratmada ve ortak insanlık duygusu geliştirmede önemli bir rol oynayabileceğine olan inancını desteklemiştir. Fulbright, “eğitimsel değişimin en büyük gücünün, ulusları insanlara dönüştürme gücü olduğunu” vurgulamıştır. Fulbright, eğer karşılıklı anlayış bağları dünya savaşlarından önce var olsaydı, bu savaşların gerçekleşmeyeceğini dahi savunmuştur.

ABD'nin amiral gemisi değişim programlarından bazılarının savaşların arka planında oluşturulduğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Zorlu küresel sorunlar, insanları, devletlerin ortak bir anlayış oluşturmak ve gelecekteki çatışmaları azaltmak için başvurabilecekleri modeller üzerinde düşünmeye sevk etti. Bu değişim programlarının kurucularının, değişim programlarının karşılıklı anlayış sağlayacağını ve düşmanlıkları ortadan kaldıracağını varsayarak, çatışmalara karşı dayanıklılık oluşturma olasılığına inandıklarını göstermektedir. Programların uzun ömürlülüğü, varlık amaçlarının bugün hala geçerli olduğunu sonucuna işaret edebilir.

ABD’li kıdemli kamu diplomasi uzmanı Rick Ruth, kamu diplomasisi tarihindeki önemli gelişmelere dikkat çekerken 1952’de seçilen ABD Başkanı Dwight Eisenhower’ın, kamu diplomasisi ve değişimler tarihindeki en ufuk açıcı isim olduğunu belirtmektedir. Eisenhower’ın “savaş nasıl insanların zihninde başlarsa, barış da aynı şekilde başlar,” sözüne atıfta bulunan Rick, Eisenhower’ın insanların zihninde barış fikrini güçlendirmek amacıyla kamu diplomasisi çalışmalarını yürüten çeşitli kurum ve kuruluşları tek çatı altında topladığını vurgulamıştır. Bunun istisnası Fulbright programı olmuştur; Senatör Fulbright, programın güvenilirliği için o dönemde serbestçe propaganda olarak adlandırılan faaliyetlerden ayrı tutulması gerektiğine inanmaktaydı.

Araştırma sonucunda, ABD örneğinde Fulbright bursunun, ABD'nin kamu diplomasisi çabalarının önemli bir parçası olarak görüldüğü anlaşılmaktadır. Eğitim değişimleri daha çok akademik çalışmalara katkı sağlamak için tasarlanmış programlar olarak anlaşılırken, devletlerin bu programlara daha fazla anlam yükleyebileceği görülmektedir. ABD'nin eğitim değişimlerini desteklemeye yönelik

bu çabaların yanlış anlamaları ortadan kaldıracığını ve ülkenin çekiciliğini artıracığını varsayarak, “aynı fikirde” gruplar oluşturarak dış politika hedeflerine olumlu etki yaratmayı beklediği anlaşılmaktadır.²⁴⁶ Bursiyerlerle yapılan mülakatlar sonucunda ise bursiyerlerin motivasyonlarının her zaman aynı doğrultuda olmadığı görülmüştür. Örneğin, bazı bursiyerler bursu sadece akademik çalışmalarını destekleyen finansal kaynak olarak gördüklerini ifade etmiş, bursun arkasındaki herhangi bir hedefle ilgilenmediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu, bursiyerlerin deneyimlerinin farklılık gösterdiğine işaret etmektedir.

Ülkelerin kamu diplomasisi çabalarına ihtiyaç duymalarının altında yatan nedenler değişse de ABD örneğinde Fulbright olarak adlandırılan eğitim değişimlerinin yabancı halklarla ilişki kurmada önemini koruduğu görülmektedir. Araştırma, çatışma deneyimlerinden doğan ve barışa katkıda bulunmak gibi hedefleri olan Fulbright'ın bugün hala prestijli bir burs olarak kabul edildiğini ve hükümet yetkilileri tarafından ABD'nin vazgeçilmez bir değeri olarak tanıtıldığını belirtmektedir.²⁴⁷ Diplomatlar da dahil olmak üzere yetkililerin programların tanıtılması sürecine doğrudan dahil olduğu görülmektedir. Yetkililerin açıklamaları incelendiğinde, programları ABD dış politikasından bağımsız düşünmenin mümkün olmadığını görülmektedir. Eğitim değişimi, ABD'nin dış politika hedeflerini desteklemek için tamamlayıcı kaynak olarak kullanılmaktadır. Dış politikanın öncelikleri, eğitim değişimlerinin hedeflerini de şekillendirmektedir. Örneğin, ABD Ortadoğu'ya doğrudan müdahil olduğunda, eğitim ve kültür alışverişi de dahil olmak üzere kamu diplomasisi çabaları Orta Doğu'daki kamuoylarına yöneltilmiştir. Küresel savaşların ardından, eğitim değişimleri “bilgi aktarımı, bağlar kurma, Amerikan değerlerini yayma ve karşılıklı anlayış yaratmada faydalı olarak” kabul edilmektedir.

Birleşik Krallık hükümetinin 1983 yılında başlayan Chevening programı, uluslararası öğrencilere burs sağlamaktadır. İnternet sitesinde bursla ilgili olarak şu ifadeler yer

²⁴⁶ Iain Wilson, *International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy?* p.5.

²⁴⁷ Rick Ruth, “A History of Exchanges”

almaktadır: “Dışişleri, İngiliz Milletler Topluluğu ve Kalkınma Ofisi, (FCDO) ve ortak kuruluşlar tarafından finanse edilen, ilham verme, bilgilendirme ve olumlu değişimi etkileme potansiyeli gösteren bireylere bir üniversitede eğitim görme fırsatı sunuyoruz.” ifadelerine yer verilmektedir.²⁴⁸ Programın 50.000'den fazla mezuna sahip olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Chevening daha önce “FCO Bursları ve Ödül Programı” (FCO SAS) olarak adlandırılmaktaydı. Daha sonra Dışişleri Bakanı Douglas Hurd, programın ismini 1994'te Chevening olarak yeniden adlandırdı.²⁴⁹

Eğitim programının hedeflerine ilişkin resmi kaynaklar, “Chevening programının misyonu, İngiltere dış politika önceliklerini desteklemek ve geleceğin liderleri, etkileyicileri ve karar vericileri ile kalıcı olumlu ilişkiler kurarak FCDO hedeflerine ulaşmaktır.” şeklinde belirtilmektedir.²⁵⁰ Açıklama, küresel bir liderler topluluğu oluşturmak ve Birleşik Krallık hükümetinin dış politika hedeflerine ulaşmak amacıyla gelecekteki liderlerle ilişkiler geliştirmek için bu burs programlarından faydalanıldığını göstermekte ve eğitim burslarının kamu diplomasisine etkisini vurgulamaktadır.

Eğitim değişimleri, kamu diplomasisinin temel kaynağı olarak kabul edildiğinden, programları yöneten FCDO, olumlu imaj yaratmaları için bu programları aktif olarak teşvik etmektedir. Yurt dışındaki İngiliz büyükelçileri ve yetkilileri Chevening programını tanıtmakta, hikayelerini dinlemek için mezunlarla bir araya gelmekte ve program hakkında bilgi vermek için gelecek adaylar için etkinlikler düzenlemektedir. Programın işleyişine daha fazla katkı sağlamak için diplomatların sosyal medya üzerinden bilgi paylaştığı da görülmektedir.

Eğitim bursları, onları finanse eden hükümetler tarafından yatırım olarak kabul edilir; olumlu bir etki yaratmaları beklenmektedir. Devletler kamu diplomasisi çabalarının

²⁴⁸ “About Chevening,” Accessed July 16, 2022. <https://www.chevening.org/about/>.

²⁴⁹ “Timeline,” Accessed July 16, 2022. <https://35.chevening.org/35-years-of-impact/timeline/>.

²⁵⁰ “About Chevening”

bir parçası olarak eğitim burslarını kullanarak çeşitli hedeflere ulaşmak isteyebilirler. Kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin önemli görüldüğü dönemlerde eğitim değişimlerinin finansmanı artabilirken, farklı dönemlerde devletlerin talep ettiği bazı kesintiler de olabilir.

Chevening programı, katılımcılarını “öncüler”, “risk alanlar” ve “değişim yaratanlar” olarak tanımlamaktadır.²⁵¹ Bu terimler, katılımcılardan olumlu bir etki yaratmasının beklendiğini vurgulamaktadır. 2018 yılında 35. yılını kutlayan Chevening programı, yıl dönümünü kutlamak için bir web sitesi oluşturmuştur. Web sitesinde, Chevening bursiyerleri geleceğe yönelik hedeflerini bir videoda paylaşmaktadır.²⁵² Video, katılımcıların ülkeleri ve dünya için somut hedefleri olduğunu gösteriyor. Dünyanın dört bir yanındaki öğrenciler ve akademisyenler, bir etki yaratmayı amaçlayan projelerini paylaşmaktadır.

2021 yılında Birleşik Krallık hükümeti, farklı alanlardaki gelişmeleri değerlendirdiği ve İngiltere'nin gelecek stratejilerini ve hedeflerini açıkladığı “Rekabet Çağında Büyük Britanya: Güvenlik, Savunma, Kalkınma ve Dış Politikanın Bütüncül İncelemesi”ni yayımlamış ve dönemin Başbakanı Boris Johnson, artan küresel zorluklar arasında İngiltere'nin önceliklerini ve hedeflerini açıklamıştır.²⁵³

Bütüncül İncelemede, Birleşik Krallık'ın yumuşak güç kaynakları vurgulanmakta ve kamu diplomasisi çabaları ayrıntılı olarak incelenmektedir. Yumuşak gücün “Birleşik Krallık hakkında olumlu algılar oluşturmaya, kültürel değişim ve turizm yoluyla insandan insana güçlü bağlantılar ve değerlerine aşinalık yaratmaya yardımcı olduğu” belirtilmektedir.²⁵⁴ Günümüzde yumuşak güç ve kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerine

²⁵¹ “35 Years of Impact,” Accessed July 20, 2022. <https://35.chevening.org/35-years-of-impact/>.

²⁵² “The Next 35 Years,” Accessed July 20, 2022. <https://35.chevening.org/the-next-35-years/>.

²⁵³ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

²⁵⁴ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

yönelik zorluklara değinilen raporda, “Diđer ölkelere ve dolayısıyla onların yumuřak gücüne iliřkin algımız da bireyler ve devlet dıřı aktörler tarafından yönlendirilen dijital alanda dezenformasyon yoluyla giderek daha fazla řekilleniyor.” ifadelerine yer verilmiřtir.²⁵⁵ Bu nedenle, yumuřak güç kaynaklarına yapılan yatırımın önemi vurgulanmaktadır.

Bütüncül İnceleme, medya ve kültür, spor, eğitim ve insandan insana bađları Birleřik Krallık'ın yumuřak güç güçleri olarak vurgulamaktadır. Buna göre raporda, 2019 yılında İngiltere'de yaklaşık 500.000 uluslararası öđrencinin eğitim gördüğü belirtilmektedir. İngiltere'nin bir yumuřak güç kaynađı olarak eğitim alanındaki çabalarına dikkat çekilerek, “Dünyada 4 ölkeden 1'inden fazla Devlet veya Hükümet Bařkanı'nın Birleřik Krallık'ta eğitim görmüř olduđu” vurgulanmaktadır.²⁵⁶ İngiltere'nin eğitim bursları, yani Commonwealth, Marshall ve Chevening bursları da ölkenin yumuřak güç güçleri olarak listelenmektedir.

Arařtırma kapsamında, kuruldukları tarihten itibaren “karřılıklı anlayıř geliřtirme”, “geleceđin liderlerini yetiřtirme” misyonlarını üstlenen eğitim burslarının ABD ve İngiltere tarafından kamu diplomasi faaliyetleri kapsamında öne çıktıđı görölmüřtür. Devlet yetkilileri ve diplomatlar programların süreçleriyle ilgili konulara doğrudan dahil olmaktadır. ABD ve İngiltere, ölkelerinde ađırladıkları yabancı öđrenci sayılarını kamu diplomasisi faaliyet raporlarında öne çıkarmaktadır. Özellikle, bursiyerlerin gelecekte üstlendikleri önemli roller vurgulanmaktadır. Önemli siyasi rol üstlenen geçmiř bursiyerlerle gerçekteřtirilen röportajlar, burs programlarının tanıtımında kullanılmaktadır. Her ne kadar ilk bakıřta akademik eğitim programları olarak görölse de Fulbright ve Chevening bursları ABD ve İngiltere'nin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin parçası olarak iřlev görmektedir.

²⁵⁵ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

²⁵⁶ *Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.*

Bursiyerler, burs programlarının kamu diplomasisi faaliyeti olarak bulunulan ülkeye yönelik pozitif imaj yaratabildiğini, kültürel etkileşim sağladığını ve ülkenin sosyo-kültürel yapısının anlaşılmasına katkı sunduğunu belirtmiştir. Bursiyerlerin, programların uzun vadeli kritik hedeflere sahip olduklarının bilincinde oldukları görülmüş fakat bazılarının bu burs programlarının doğrudan ve kısa vadede dış politika hedeflerine etki edeceğini düşünmedikleri görülmüştür.

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