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WINTER 2012



# CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

PD Magazine

Issue 7, Winter 2012



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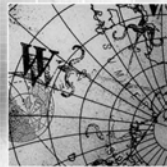
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# FROM THE EDITORS

Issue 7, Winter 2012

Welcome to the seventh issue of *Public Diplomacy Magazine*. When we selected *citizen diplomacy* as our topic, our first task was to pin down exactly what it was; and we discovered that the definitions are as diverse as the people who are engaged in the business of reaching out across borders. Is citizen diplomacy by definition a private enterprise that supplements government efforts? Is it implemented by individuals but underwritten by nations? Is every tourist, in the final analysis, an ambassador?

We decided to paint citizen diplomacy with a broad brush, and the articles in this issue reflect a wide spectrum of viewpoints. Some authors chronicle the pursuit itself, while others focus on the tools citizen diplomats can use as they engage internationally. In our “Trends and Developments” section, **Ann Schodde**, President and CEO of the U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy, issues a call for global citizenship. **Sherry Lee Mueller** and **Mark W. Rebstock** of the National Council for International Visitors draw a distinction between spontaneous and intentional citizen diplomacy and offer a blueprint for organizations working internationally. **Karen Showalter** opens our “Perspectives” section with a stirring “First Person” account of her experience in Niger as a Peace Corps volunteer and how it informs her leadership of “Americans for Informed Democracy.” **Michael Macy** draws a fascinating distinction between situational and relational cultures, a must read for anyone who engages in either citizen diplomacy or a more traditional form of diplomacy. **Cari Guittard** and **Kevin Langley** discuss how to harness the entrepreneurial spirit globally, and **Carlos Zubieta** traces the history of citizen diplomacy in Mexico and Latin America.

In our first “Case Study,” physicist **Zia Mian**, who directs the Project on Peace and Security in South Asia at Princeton University’s Program on Science and Global Security, describes the aggressive efforts of activists to ameliorate the volatile conflict between India and Pakistan. **John Ferguson** of American Voices argues that American art forms can be excellent vehicles for “cultural engagement.”; **Jennifer Chang** offers an exclusive “At Post” interview with Ha Tae-kyung of Open Radio for North Korea about the sometimes dangerous push to engage the citizens of one of the world’s most closed societies; and Senior Editor **Anna Dawson** talks with Raul Pachecho, vocalist and guitarist for Ozomatli, about the Los Angeles-based band’s improbable experience as cultural ambassadors under the aegis of the U.S. Department of State. Staff Editor **Jennifer Green** reviews *The Boy Who Harnessed the Wind*, William Kamkwamba’s riveting first person account of his efforts to bring electricity to his village in Malawi; Staff Editor **Sulagna Misra** casts a critical eye on Fareed Zakaria’s treatise on globalization, *The Post-American World, Release 2.0*; and Web Editor **David Mandel** offers a fascinating glimpse into one aspect of urbanization in his review of *Aerotropolis: the Way We’ll Live Next*. Finally, **Christa Dowling** explores the role of women in public diplomacy in her anthem, “Why Women are Winning.”

As this issue demonstrates, definitions of citizen diplomacy may differ, but there is no disagreement that engaging internationally is an essential component of citizenship in our globalized world. In the words of the vintage Apple commercial, “the people who are crazy enough to think they can change the world, are the ones who do.”

Sincerely,

Jerry Edling  
Editor-in-Chief

Senior Editors

Anna Dawson  
Molly Krasnodebska

Jennifer Grover  
Aparajitha Vadlamannati



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# TRENDS & DEVELOPMENTS

## Citizen Diplomacy: Building a Nation of Global Citizen Diplomats

**ANN OLSEN SCHODDE**

Over the past decade numerous reports and recommendations have been made regarding needed changes in America's foreign policy; as this election year comes and goes, there will no doubt be more. During the same period of time, although somewhat unnoticed but no less important, there have also been a series of meetings and reports on what role Americans can or should play in foreign relations. These meetings involved selected groups of international experts hosted by the Johnson and Gilman Foundations and more than 10,000 leaders of U.S. international NGOs, universities, local governments and businesses who participated in community based summits on citizen involvement in foreign affairs in over 70 U.S. cities. In February of 2007, a U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy (USCCD) was formally established in Des Moines, Iowa. In November, in collaboration with the U.S. Department of State, Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, the USCCD held a U.S. Summit on Global Citizen Diplomacy attended by leaders of more than 650 U.S. international citizen diplomacy, primarily volunteer organizations involving participants from 39 states and 41 countries.

All these efforts strongly endorsed the concept that citizen engagement in international relations is indeed an important element of how our country defines itself to the rest of the world and is critically important to our economic well being as well as national security. The result is that today U.S. leaders in academia, business, and the international non-profit world are more frequently using the term citizen diplomacy and referring to it as an important component of U.S. relations with the world. What is citizen diplomacy? What is the difference between citizen diplomacy and public diplomacy? Who is a citizen diplomat? Why is citizen diplomacy important as a critical component of how the U.S. interacts with the world? What are

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the 21st century challenges that must be addressed to make citizen diplomacy a more significant part of our country's international agenda?

Since its founding, the USCCD has defined **citizen diplomacy** as, *"the engagement of individual citizens in programs and activities primarily in the voluntary, private sector that increase cross-cultural understanding and knowledge between people from different cultures and countries, leading to a greater mutual respect."* Furthermore, the USCCD maintains it is every American's right if not his or her responsibility to be a citizen diplomat of the highest order for our communities, states, country and the world. USCCD defines **public diplomacy** as, *"promotion of positive and credible perceptions of a country generally and of a country's foreign policy specifically through activities and programs carried out **primarily** under the auspices of the federal government."*

As Ursula Oaks, Senior staff at the Association of International Educators states, "Citizen diplomats listen to others with compassion and an open mind; learn about history, culture and ways of life and thinking different from their own; respect peoples' rights to views and approaches other than their own; explore other cultures and places with curiosity and openness; act to understand, engage, and work with people from around the world; and embrace a role as someone who can connect and make a positive difference in the global community." In so doing, Americans are not only citizen diplomats, they are global citizen diplomats. Why is being a citizen diplomat important? Because, as a nation, it is in our own self interest. Americans understand we live in a world that is exploding with information, completely interconnected and interdependent; trends that will only increase. However, what we do not yet fully comprehend is that in the 21st century the very nature of our responsibilities as a citizen need to include being globally literate. If, as a society striving to compete in an interconnected world, we are ignorant of the world around us, we threaten our very economic competitiveness and national security.

Fifty-five years ago on September 11, 1956, at the Red Cross building in Washington, D.C., President Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke to a gathering of American leaders in business, the arts, education, religion, sports and humanitarian aid, including the Boy Scouts, National Council of Churches, Chair of the Board of American Express, chief executive officers of General Electric and General Mills, and the President of the Motion Picture Producers Association. **"If we want peace," he said, " 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."**

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In that simple statement, Eisenhower, a military leader of WWII, shared his deep personal commitment to the power and importance of citizen engagement in foreign affairs. He strongly believed government alone could not be responsible for our standing in the world and that Americans as citizens needed to reach out to the world and, in mutual respect, share their ideas, values and beliefs with others especially those who were not like them. The 1950s were a different time and our country faced different threats than we face today. Nonetheless, Eisenhower's message is no less appropriate for our 21st century world.

That day-long meeting resulted in the founding of Sister Cities International, Project Hope, People to People, and the Business Council for International Understanding, among several other non-profit international groups. They still exist today, faithful to Eisenhower's message. In the ensuing years other Presidents shared Eisenhower's views and acted on their personal commitment to citizen to citizen international service and engagement. President Kennedy founded the Peace Corps. President Carter, the Friendship Force, and later Habitat for Humanity. President Reagan founded the Points of Light Foundation and President Clinton, in his post presidential years, established the Clinton Global Initiative. President Obama and Secretary Hillary Clinton have both openly stated their commitment to citizen diplomacy in numerous speeches including the President's famous speech in Cairo.

Today there are an estimated 8,000 non-governmental U.S. based organizations providing opportunities for Americans, primarily as volunteers to be involved in international programs and services in a wide range of sectors, including amateur sports, K-12 school programs, university study abroad and exchange programs, volunteer youth organizations, community based exchanges such as Rotary International, Sister Cities, and Partners of the Americas, performing and visual arts organizations and others that address the environment and global health. The nature of these activities includes study and educational travel abroad and partner school programs, opportunities to study foreign languages, host international guests and volunteer humanitarian aid and technical assistance. These opportunities are primarily voluntary in nature, available to Americans of all ages and backgrounds and take place both abroad and at home.

The United States is the only country in the world with such a wide variety of citizen diplomacy oriented organizations that provide so many options for citizens to be internationally engaged. They are an invaluable and unique resource for our country as we face the challenges of a highly competitive, interdependent world. By participating in them Americans have endless opportunities to

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become globally literate and active global citizen diplomats. However, these organizations receive relatively little national attention from the media, most lack any substantial funding or are endowed, and most are totally dependent on limited private sector contributions, competitive grants through foundations or corporations or limited government support.

Given the breadth of opportunities, how many Americans are actually engaged today as citizen diplomats? How many of us attempt to learn a foreign language, much less become fluent in another tongue? How many of us possess a passport, host international students, visit with international guests in our communities, offer our services and talents to those less fortunate in another country or participate in an international exchange program? A sampling of statistics gathered from the Hudson Institute, the Institute for International Education, the recent U.S. census, and research at Washington University, does not reflect a society that is striving to become a nation of citizen diplomats and building a globally competent society.

For example there are 308 million Americans but only 0.27% volunteer abroad and 0.1% volunteer in international organizations at home. 22% have passports, but only 9% speak a second language. Fewer than 1% will ever meet any of the 3 billion people who survive on less than \$2.00 a day. 1.3%, or 270,000 American college students, studied abroad in 2009-10, compared to 1.27 million Chinese students. Only 3000 U.S. high school students studied abroad that same year. Less than 1% of the federal budget supports educational and cultural exchange programs, and only 5% of all private sector charitable giving supports international programs and services

There are more startling statistics on the low level of knowledge our K-12 students have about the world. However, these numbers alone indicate that our country faces a serious challenge if we are to truly become a nation of citizen diplomats, globally competent and ready to compete in a complex, globally connected and interdependent world. These problems are not unique to our country but the United States falls behind most nations when comparing ourselves to these same categories. Yet the United States still remains a country that is viewed by many people throughout the world as a country they envy and admire. Although not true in all countries of the world, how many times have those of us who travel abroad or hosted an international guest, heard our international companions say, "I do not agree with your government but I love Americans." **We need to appreciate that the most powerful asset our country has is its people.** As comforting as these comments may be, if we are not cognizant as a society of the need for all of us to be more globally literate and understand the



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power of citizen engagement as a resource to promote world peace, this admiration will eventually vanish.

What are the 21st century challenges for the U.S. in fostering greater national recognition and understanding of the importance of citizen diplomacy, increasing the number of Americans who participate in the many opportunities available for citizen diplomacy and building a nation that embraces the concept of global citizenship? The longing for a world without conflict is universal. Although our military and official government-to-government relationships are critical to our national security, they will never be the sole solutions to building a more peaceful world. Citizen engagement in the unique infrastructure of U.S. organizations that involve Americans as citizen diplomats is a powerful tool our country should aggressively support to achieve world peace. Why? Because people to people engagement addresses the root causes of unrest that breed war and terrorism long before guns and bombs or formal diplomatic negotiations are necessary.

Citizen diplomacy, implemented in cooperation and partnership with people of other nations, builds wells for villages in Africa, helps young entrepreneurs start businesses in South America, assists young women in Pakistan to attend school, shares homes and hospitality with foreign visitors, contributes to eradicating polio, AIDS and malaria world-wide, exchanges artists, musicians, entertainers, and sports teams with other countries and welcomes international students to study at our schools and universities. This kind of activity is well documented with stories that save lives and build long lasting personal relationships and international good will all over the world. But as the statistics bear out, there are not enough Americans engaged and too few Americans of all ages are taking action to be more globally literate.

A major campaign is needed to create a national movement that raises the consciousness and changes the mind-set of our society so that the responsibility of being a global citizen diplomat is part of our national culture. We must build this movement in spite of a society that is embroiled in a troubled economy with high unemployment, Congressional stalemate and an all-time high budget deficit. These are concerns that are driving our country toward isolationism at the peril of a stronger and more competitive country in the future. The Coca-Cola Foundation understands the importance of this issue and granted \$100,000 to the USCCD to launch a national campaign to double the number of citizen diplomats by 2020. But more support is needed to make any serious impact to increase the number of Americans engaged as global citizen diplomats and virtually change the mindset of our country toward a new definition of what it means to be an American citizen in a global world.

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Second, the United States can take pride in housing the world's largest number of international NGOs providing services and programs to several diverse sectors. But the work these organizations are doing cannot make the total impact needed to share our culture in the arts, education and sports, aggressively diminish the spread world-wide of disease, work against the denial of human rights, help develop civil societies, assist less developed nations in providing greater access to education for women or fight contamination of the environment when less than one percent of the U.S. federal budget and only five per cent of private sector giving supports citizen driven international activity. This must change through advocacy efforts from the organizations themselves and through grass roots advocacy both at the state and federal level in spite of a troubled economy. Our country is losing out on the most inexpensive opportunity to guarantee our standing as a world leader and make significant contributions to the saving of the planet.

Another challenge is that while U.S. international organizations are doing extraordinary work with diminishing funds, they tend to work separately rather than take advantage of combining their resources or work across sectors. Greater collaboration and cooperation between and among U.S. international NGOs is needed, a major reason for the formation of the U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy. Although in its formative years, the USCCD is evolving into a U.S. Association for Citizen Diplomacy, an umbrella organization that promotes, educates and honors the work of citizen diplomacy and the organizations that enable Americans to participate as citizen diplomats while encouraging and supporting collaboration and more efficient use of resources.

Both the U.S. Department of State and USAID attempt to utilize important resources that international non-profits can offer to address numerous training, educational, technical assistance and humanitarian needs around the world. However, all too few of the some 8,000 or even the 1800 organizations that are either vetted or being vetted for placement on the U.S. Center website are actually engaged in federally funded programs. Most of the federal support granted to U.S. non-profits are given to a small number of typically large, well staffed D.C. based contractors or NGOs. A larger pool of talent and expertise is overlooked. There are several reasons why. In most instances the government agencies are simply not aware of the vast resources available, the process of applying for federal grants is overwhelming for smaller organizations and there is a lack of confidence that smaller non-profits are able to deliver quality programs or services.

More recently, the U.S. Department of State has begun to recognize the value of the well organized and vetted NGOs currently

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on the USCCD website. Several Department of State offices have reached out to USCCD to provide them with greater access to these organizations. While this collaboration is in the very early stages of being developed, the USCCD is working hard to make sure that the government is more aware of the underutilized U.S. international NGOs that are ready and willing to provide excellent services and programs at extremely reasonable costs. Due to extensive use of volunteer professionals rather than highly paid consultants, the fees charged to the government are extremely cost effective. Given major budget cuts at both State and USAID, it behooves the government to reach out to a largely neglected resource of talent and expertise.

Last, no one country today, including the U.S. with its 8,000 NGOs, can by itself, even with increased financial resources, meet the global challenges we all face together as a human race. A recent survey and report by the British Council concluded that while there are numerous regional coalitions of various cultural, educational and volunteer service organizations particularly in Europe and Asia, the U.S. has been absent. The U.S. has not been well represented with other broad based, national cultural, educational and humanitarian coalitions that have already formed to collaborate and leverage their resources. There is also growing recognition that the non-profit world of educational and cultural organizations in the U.S. and world-wide must work more closely in partnership with business and governments both within their own countries and on an international level.

As a result, the U.S Center for Citizen Diplomacy has joined with the British Council and other leaders of non-profit international organizations, business and government from throughout the world to explore the potential of forming an **International Alliance for Global Citizenship**. While the concept is in its formative stage, the goal is to begin a truly worldwide international movement for global citizenship dedicated to addressing the critical issues facing the planet in the next 20 years and beyond. Although primarily led by civil society organizations such an alliance would recognize, as Carne Ross states in his book The Independent Diplomat that “the private corporate sector, civil society, and governments must all act in concert together in order to be effective in bringing about change that is good for all of the earth.”

In summary, **in order to build a nation of global citizen diplomats**, our country needs to embrace a national campaign to raise the consciousness of the American public about the importance of citizen diplomacy, organize a national advocacy effort to urge greater financial support from both the public and private sectors, promote the value of collaboration among U.S. organizations for more efficient use of scarce resources; encourage the U.S.

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government to better utilize the vast NGO resources available to them to address international needs, and join the international stage with other nations also committed to citizen diplomacy in concert with business and governments throughout the world.

Parag Khanna, in his book *How to Run the World* states, “We must load new software in to our global networks called mega diplomacy which requires a jazzy dance among coalitions of ministries, companies, churches, foundations, universities, activists and other willful enterprising individuals who cooperate to achieve specific goals. Mega diplomacy is about creating unity across communities to manage our collective space.” Perhaps this is the 21st century version of Eisenhower’s words, 55 years ago.

The primary mission of the U.S Center is to educate Americans about the importance of being engaged “global” citizen diplomats and promote the numerous ways to do this not only as individuals but through some 8,000 organizations that are part of Khanna’s jazzy dance. Mega diplomacy may well be the next step we must take in full partnership with business and governments throughout the world to effectively manage and solve the 21st century challenges facing our collective space. Hopefully we can accomplish this in less than fifty-five years. I am confident we will.

*Ann Olsen Schodde is the President and CEO of the U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy, based in Des Moines, Iowa. Throughout her career, Schodde has held various leadership and consulting positions with higher education and international non-profit organizations, as well as more than 21 private foundations, professional associations and government agencies. She has worked with embassy staff from over 60 countries. She holds a double major degree in Political Science and Speech from the University of Wisconsin and a M.Ed. from Cornell University.*



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# IN PRACTICE

## The Impact and Practice of Citizen Diplomacy

**SHERRY LEE MUELLER, PH.D.  
and MARK REBSTOCK**

### Introduction

- Thanks to citizen diplomacy, the executive director of the Malaysian Medical Relief Society helped establish incident command systems in preparation for natural disasters based on systems she had seen firsthand in Miami, Florida.
- Thanks to citizen diplomacy, the founder of an NGO in Uzbekistan is using child-size, multicultural puppets that portray children with disabilities developed by the PACER Center in Minneapolis, MN to foster acceptance and overcome misconceptions among Uzbek schoolchildren about people with disabilities.
- Thanks to citizen diplomacy, a breast cancer surgeon in Kosovo regularly consults with doctors via video-conference calls to the Moffit Cancer Center in Tampa, FL, changing the lives of cancer patients in the Balkans.
- And thanks to citizen diplomacy, a former Czech democracy activist turned Presidential advisor, gained the foreign policy and Transatlantic understanding that led him to be a strong pro-American voice in Czech foreign affairs and to champion the Czech Republic's joining NATO.

Former President Bill Clinton described the results of citizen diplomacy as follows in welcoming participants to the Arkansas Summit on Citizen Diplomacy in a letter dated November 6, 2011:

Although the concept of citizen diplomacy is straightforward, the results can be profound. By encouraging and empowering individuals to shape and

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strengthen foreign relations “one handshake at a time,” the Arkansas Council for International Visitors (ACIV) creates a powerful network of engaged individuals from around the world.

The Arkansas Council for International Visitors is one of many organizations that practice citizen diplomacy throughout the United States. The National Council for International Visitors (NCIV), Friendship Force International, Sister Cities, People to People, and Rotary are a few of the best known organizations that engage in citizen diplomacy.

For the purposes of this article the authors will focus primarily on members of the National Council for International Visitors (NCIV), a dynamic nationwide network of citizen diplomats. The mission of NCIV, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, is to promote excellence in citizen diplomacy. In 2011, NCIV concluded a two-year 50th Anniversary observance with citizen diplomacy always at the core of its activities. The 50th Anniversary publication is entitled One Handshake at a Time: NCIV’s Half Century of Leadership in Citizen Diplomacy.

### **Conceptual Framework**

NCIV members believe that building constructive relationships over time is the overarching goal of citizen diplomacy. Citizen diplomacy is the concept that the individual citizen has the responsibility to help shape U.S. foreign relations, as NCIV members often phrase it, “one handshake at a time.” There are two types of citizen diplomacy.

**1) Spontaneous Citizen Diplomacy** - those opportunities each of us has to affect others’ perceptions of the United States as we go about our daily activities.

For example:

- A USC student befriends a foreign student sitting next to him in class;
- A business representative researches the customs of the country where she is hoping to close a deal - aware that her actions affect others’ willingness to buy U.S. products and services, travel to U.S. tourist destinations, or send their children to U.S. colleges and universities;
- A passerby hears a foreign language on a main street corner and sees a couple looking puzzled and poring over a map. She offers to give directions. It may be a small gesture,

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but it makes a big impression. It is just such cumulative gestures that the city of Philadelphia is encouraging in its quest to become “the friendliest city in America.”

**2) Intentional Citizen Diplomacy** - When individuals deliberately choose to participate - as guest or host - in international exchange programs designed to build positive relationships, they are engaging in intentional citizen diplomacy. Often they do this through various organizations, ranging from the Institute of International Education (IIE) to World Learning, from Youth for Understanding to the Peace Corps. The [International Exchange Locator](#), compiled in 2011 by the Alliance for International Educational and Cultural Exchange and funded by the U.S. Department of State, is a comprehensive directory of private organizations and government agencies in the field.

### **NCIV and the IVLP as a Case Study**

Many intentional citizen diplomats become part of the NCIV network. They organize professional programs, cultural activities, and home visits for foreign leaders participating in the U.S. Department of State International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) and other exchanges. NCIV, a network of individual members, program agencies, and more than 90 community organizations throughout the United States, serves as the private sector partner to the U.S. Department of State and handles the day-to-day implementation of the IVLP. U.S. embassies and consulates select the emerging leaders to participate in the IVLP because these leaders daily make decisions affecting U.S. interests. If a member of parliament from the United Kingdom, an NGO leader from Brazil, a journalist from Egypt or a trade ministry official from China is invited for a three-week trip to various U.S. communities, it is NCIV members who organize their U.S. experiences in Denver or Dallas, Seattle or Syracuse. They do so with the aim of connecting these leaders to their professional counterparts in the United States. Dialogues range from environmentalists exchanging water conservation strategies to journalists discussing the fundamental principles of freedom of the press.

Another goal is to have these distinguished visitors get “beyond the headlines” and help them develop a more realistic and nuanced understanding and appreciation for the history, heritage, democratic institutions, and fundamental values of the United States.

### **The Need for Training**

The more than 90 community organizations in the NCIV network are comprised of 230 paid staff and literally tens of thousands of

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volunteers. Burdick and Lederer, in their book The Ugly American, wrote, "Average Americans in their natural state are the best ambassadors a country can have." Despite the fact that this book was written 53 years ago it deserves to be read and contains lessons that are still relevant. While everyone has the potential to be an effective citizen diplomat, training is needed. NCIV is a professional association that provides members with information, training at national and regional conferences, grants, and site visits. There are also other mechanisms to provide networking opportunities and the sharing of best practices.

### **Citizen Diplomacy at the Tipping Point**

For a variety of reasons, the term citizen diplomacy is more widely used now than at any time since President Eisenhower hosted the White House Summit on Citizen Diplomacy in 1956. NCIV played an essential role in convening the heads of sister organizations at the first Wingspread Conference on Citizen Diplomacy, hosted by the Johnson Foundation March 24 - 26, 2004. Out of that grew three National Summits on Citizen Diplomacy. The first National Summit coincided with a Sister Cities Conference in 2006, the second with the NCIV National Conference in 2008, the third was convened November 16 - 19 2010, by the U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy headquartered in Des Moines. Since its founding in 2006, the Center has worked diligently to increase awareness of citizen diplomacy, to recognize outstanding citizen diplomats, and to encourage all Americans to embrace their responsibility as citizen diplomats.

Citizen diplomacy is by definition a grassroots endeavor. One of the most significant results of this effort to propel the citizen diplomacy movement to the "tipping point" is the community summits on citizen diplomacy held throughout the United States. To illustrate, NCIV has allocated almost \$150,000 in privately raised dollars to give seed grants to 34 community member organizations to organize a total of 54 summits to date. These grants enable NCIV members to take the lead in convening the leaders of other organizations and agencies with international missions in their communities. The goal is to coordinate and generate synergy among these efforts as well as to recruit new volunteers, recognize the efforts of exceptional citizen diplomats, and attract new public and private funding to the field.

### **Highlights of recent summits include:**

- 1) The Albuquerque Council for International Visitors (ACIV) in cooperation with the University of New Mexico organized events spanning two days that included an opening session focusing on the impact of the Fulbright Program and featuring Fulbright alumni.



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This session was hosted by the Isleta Pueblo. Plenary speaker Cari Guittard, focused on corporate citizen diplomacy – the stake business has in building strong international relationships.

- 2) The Community Summit in Little Rock, Arkansas began with a Parade of Nations and opening plenary at the spectacular Clinton Presidential Center. A variety of sessions were held. Skip Rutherford, Dean of the Clinton School of Public Service, shared the projects on which his students, whom he described as citizen diplomats, work around the world. A panel of NGO leaders, including representatives from Heifer International, World Services for the Blind, and Partners of the Americas, described their outreach and possible ways to work together to raise their profiles and coordinate their efforts. A panel of representatives of international companies explained why they chose to locate in the state of Arkansas.
- 3) The Arizona Council for International Visitors (AZCIV) hosted a stellar "Celebration of Citizen Diplomacy - Arizona on the Global Stage" at the new Musical Instrument Museum in Phoenix. Girl Scouts led the pledge of allegiance and Kyle Moyer described AZCIV work with the IVLP. Featured speaker Republican Congressman Ben Quayle was most articulate about Arizona's need to reach out to the rest of the world.

### Lessons for Practitioners

The authors' extensive experience working with NCIV members has produced some key lessons for practitioners of citizen diplomacy. These lessons are for leaders of organizations dedicated to citizen diplomacy and for citizen diplomats in charge of planning international exchange programs for foreign participants.

Lessons for U.S. Organizations

- 1) **For some organizations engaged in federally funded international exchange programs, advocacy with the U.S. Congress must be a top priority.** The NCIV network has become an active domestic constituency for the IVLP and for Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) exchanges in general. Published in 2008 by Jossey-Bass, *Forces for Good* is an excellent book on nonprofit management. The methodology mirrors that of the Jim Collins' *From Good to Great*. Authors Heather Grant and Leslie Crutchfield discuss the six characteristics of highly successful nonprofits. One key characteristic is engaging in advocacy. Wise NGO leaders realize it is not enough to deliver quality services; you must also influence the public policies affecting your field. Although Department of State exchange

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programs have enjoyed bipartisan support and the ECA budget for international educational and cultural programs has increased, the United States devotes a relatively miniscule amount to these vital programs: \$600 million in FY 2011.

NCIV's annual Breakfast on the Hill, collaboration with the Alliance, advocacy training at National and Regional Conferences and ongoing relationship building with members of Congress and their staffers (especially at the state and district levels) are vital components of NCIV advocacy efforts. Many sister organizations engage in similar activities.

- 2) Outreach to alumni should be considered an integral component of exchange programs. In the case of the IVLP, maintaining good relationships with alumni enables our diplomats to elicit cooperation from other nations on topics ranging from trade agreements to the prevention of epidemics.** The State Department started its Office of Alumni Affairs in 2004 and employs 1 Foreign Service Officer, 5 civil servants, and 6 contractors. There are approximately 90 Alumni Coordinators at posts around the world working on alumni engagement.

Since 2003 one of the signature events at the annual NCIV National Conference has been an IVLP Alumni Luncheon. With travel funded privately (first United Airlines and then Carlson Companies), various alumni have described the impact of their U.S. experiences. They include a Yemeni NGO leader with long-standing ties to Minot, North Dakota, a Japanese journalist, and a Czech presidential advisor. Willem Post, the TV commentator on US Presidential elections in The Netherlands, was the first speaker. Willem was so impressed by the volunteerism of the NCIV network that he worked with the Mayor to found The Hague Hospitality Center for Foreign Media and Visitors, modeled after NCIV member organizations.

Willem was instrumental in working with the U.S. Embassy to establish the IVLP Alumni Association, and that launch coincided with a self-funded "NCIV Visits" trip to The Netherlands. In September there was an "NCIV Visits France" trip, thanks to our Embassy in Paris and the *Cercle Jefferson*, an IVLP Alumni Association that boasts more than 500 members. Their directory is a veritable Who's Who of French leaders. The NCIV trip to Paris was planned to coincide with the 10th Anniversary of the *Cercle Jefferson* and included memorable events at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Hotel du Talleyrand, the splendid palace the U.S. Embassy purchased to host such special occasions.

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As part of the commemoration of NCIV's 50th Anniversary, the U.S. Department of State sponsored 18 distinguished alumni of the IVLP for a special "Gold Star tour" that enabled them to participate in NCIV's 50th anniversary national conference and to revisit a key community that was a part of their original trip. Alice Nkom from Cameroon is a fine example. As an IVLP participant in 2003, she learned about The Oregon Bus Project, a volunteer-driven, nonprofit organization, founded to foster meaningful political dialogue. After her IVLP experience, Alice started a version of this project called "Get on the Bus" and registered more than 300,000 voters in her country. When she returned to Portland in February of 2011, she told her hosts that she has been born twice – once in Cameroon, her birth home, and once in Portland as a citizen activist.

- 3) Peter Drucker, the management guru who spent the last years of his life focused on the nonprofit sector, which he called the "social sector," once said "partner or die."** His comment underscores that the success of an organization should be judged at least in part by the power and scope of partnerships forged. To illustrate, NCIV's overarching 50th Anniversary goal was building multigenerational leadership at the local and national levels. The aim is not to pass the torch to a new generation but rather to get people of each generation to take leadership roles and to work together in recruiting young people.

NCIV's ongoing partnership with Girl Scouts of the USA is an excellent example. Conversations between Director of Global Action for the Girl Scouts and NCIV led to a proposal to the U.S. Department of State's Office of International Visitors that there be a Multi-Regional IVL Project for Girl Scout and Girl Guide administrators from around the world. The State Department embraced the idea. In November of 2011, 23 visitors from around the world participated in a project that culminated in the Centennial Celebration of the Girl Scouts of the USA in Houston. The officials at Girl Scout headquarters in New York said this project strengthened the movement worldwide in addition to being life-transforming experiences for the participants. Now NCIV members who host Summits on citizen diplomacy are asked to involve the Girl Scouts as well as members of Congress in these local assemblies of leaders representing organizations with international missions.

### **Seven Questions for Practitioners**

Assessing the outcomes of educational experiences is always

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complicated. The evaluation process itself is a product of cultural assumptions. Nonetheless there are seven questions that citizen diplomats (paid or voluntary) should ask to ascertain if they are practicing citizen diplomacy in a responsible way that maximizes positive impact for guest and host.

**1. Does program participation preserve or enhance the credibility of the participant in his or her own country?**

There is a critical, though often unappreciated, need to be concerned with preserving the credibility of an exchange program participant. Program administrators must do everything possible to assure that a participant does not suffer unnecessarily when he returns home because he accepted an invitation and funding from the U.S. Government or merely because he participated in an exchange program that brought him to the United States.

Mueller first became aware of the importance of this credibility factor while researching the impact of participation in the U.S. Department of State-sponsored Asian and Pacific Student Leader Project. That study, conducted during the latter years of the Vietnam War, showed that some of the project alumni had lost their positions of leadership in student organizations due to the close association with the United States that their participation in the project represented.

A concern for a participant's credibility acknowledges that the impact of an exchange experience is affected in a major way by the participant's post-program experience. The extent to which program administrators take this into account directly influences program quality. For example, it may be important to caution certain visitors from the Middle East about speaking with reporters (and to caution local hosts to avoid scheduling interviews without consultation or to avoid reporting a visit on Facebook). A photo or misquoted remark could have dire consequences. In contrast, another visitor might be well-served by some press coverage. A concern for quality must reflect a genuine interest in a participant's long-term welfare and a desire, insofar as is possible, to augment rather than diminish his influence in his home country.

**2. Is continuity built into the program?**

Given the goal of establishing ongoing communication between exchange program participants and host country citizens, it is necessary to design programs so that participants are exposed to the same people more than once and have opportunities to develop genuine and continuing relationships with their hosts. Building continuity into a program may take many forms. It may



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mean arranging for a member of the family that hosted a short-term international visitor for dinner to accompany the visitor to the airport. Perhaps it includes an introductory session on a specific professional issue conducted by the same expert who later handles a subsequent session to help visitors synthesize their experiences or is available to talk informally at a reception. It may mean arranging a series of meetings for a foreign student with the same class of students at the local high school or the same group at a local civic organization. It may include finding a responsible host family for a visiting scholar. The use of new social media tools, such as Facebook, LinkedIn and Skype, holds great potential for supporting the continued relationship-building and continuity that can flow from person-to-person international exchange.

### **3. Is reciprocity built into the program?**

The need to build reciprocity into a program is often emphasized but particularly difficult to implement. Not surprisingly, research has shown that active, contributing exchange participants learn more, develop more self-esteem, and return home more satisfied than passive, uninvolved participants. A genuine concern with quality suggests that program planners must deliberately organize programs that provide opportunities for authentic participation and involvement on the part of the foreign scholars and visitors. Perhaps the most frequently used method of building reciprocity into a program is to arrange for the visitor to teach a class at a local university, college, or high school. The best alternative is to have the visitor meet with the same class on several occasions during whatever period of time is available. International exchange programs can also offer opportunities for public speaking, community volunteering and media interviews to build in reciprocity. Providing the visitor with an appropriate forum in an educational institution, a civic organization, or other settings is essential.

For example, the Institute of International Education has planned programs for State Department visitors that have given them opportunities to join their U.S. counterparts on panels and to teach classes on the campuses they visited. The visitors are generally delighted with opportunities to share their professional expertise and cultural perspectives. The fact that Americans demonstrate their genuine appreciation of the visitors by listening and treating them as valued colleagues goes a long way toward building lasting relationships and identifying areas of fruitful cooperation. The donor-recipient relationship, characteristic of

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some exchange programs, has inherent limitations. True quality is dependent on the host's ability to transform that relationship into one of collegial "give and take" and to structure the program as a series of mutual learning opportunities for both participants and hosts.

**4. What does the administration of the program teach the participant?**

The way exchange programs are administered is inevitably a reflection of the host culture and teaches participants more about that culture and its values than even the most persuasive speaker could. Participants learn much more about our democratic institutions, who we are as a people and what we value by the way the program is administered than they do from any expert we may recruit to interact with them. The British scholar Giles Scott Smith, author of *Networks of Empire*, reported on his extensive research on the impact of the IVLP participation on European leaders, noting that it is the freedom of movement and exposure to diverse points of view that truly impressed these visitors. The fact that day-to-day responsibility for the design and implementation of his program is in the hands of staff at a private program agency emphasizes the value the United States places on the private sector and its primary role in society better than a political science professor could explain in the most eloquent of lectures.

**5. Is the professional component of the program substantive and appropriate?**

The professional content in most exchange programs is the core of the program and must reflect careful conceptualization and internal coherence. This is true whether the program participant is a student, scholar or short-term visitor. Decisions regarding course of study, degrees to be attained and the short term professional experiences of visitors or trainees are critically important.

The professional dimension of the program should balance "state of the art" activities with those that are genuinely relevant and have a catalytic effect on the thinking of the participant. For example, it may be important for international visitors to the United States in the field of higher education to visit a "name" university for protocol reasons or to be exposed to the most advanced or elaborate project of its kind in the country; but a visit to an excellent community college may be much more professionally productive, offering more in-depth discussions and more promising opportunities for future collaboration. While

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planning the professional program, organizers must continually consider what resources are appropriate for a given individual or group of exchangees and relevant to the needs and priorities in their home countries.

**6. Is the cultural component of the program stimulating and appropriate?**

Do the cultural/social activities planned for exchange program participants enable them to develop a better understanding of the history and heritage of the host country? Do these activities enable them to interact with host country citizens in ways that puncture rather than reinforce common stereotypes about that country that the foreign participant may have acquired from the media and other sources? For example, it can be argued that U.S. Government-sponsored exchange programs should include visits to historic sights with knowledgeable Americans to dispel the myth that Americans are only "me-now" oriented, with little regard even for their own, much less anyone else's, history and cultural heritage. Programs should include visits to national parks and other places of natural beauty to demonstrate to participants that U.S. citizens appreciate and conserve these resources. There should be meaningful contact with Americans in their homes. Most IVLP alumni judge "home hospitality" to be the most significant part of their U.S. experiences. In sum, the cultural aspect of the program should deliberately underscore the common humanity and shared aspirations of host and participant.

**7. Have logistics been carefully planned?**

The impact of the most substantive professional meeting or stimulating cultural activity can be diluted if the participant is preoccupied, wondering how to acquire a phone card, buy a winter coat, open an appropriate bank account or have a piece of luggage repaired. Planners must allocate sufficient time and provide detailed information and assistance so that participants can handle these mundane tasks promptly and with ease. Time for interpretation, rest, and picture-taking must be calculated. Organizers of quality exchange programs envision the entire educational experience that is being planned without losing sight of the myriad of minute details that must be taken into account if the program is to be implemented with maximum effectiveness and minimum participant anxiety.

It is often those events that no one can orchestrate that have the biggest impact on a participant, such as a conversation with a friendly cab driver or the chance meeting with a kind and

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interested professor. Program administrators must acknowledge their limits and recognize that the country and culture they are representing and attempting to explain will, to a large extent, speak for themselves. Is time allowed for serendipity?

Firsthand encounters with citizen diplomats trump grim headlines and stereotypical sound bites. An Albany volunteer offered this description of his family's experience hosting a delegation from Uganda. He captured the impact of citizen diplomacy:

These visits are worth gold to US public diplomacy. Not only do they allow for visitors to meet their peers in the United States (and hopefully remain in touch with many of them) and gather important professionally relevant information they can take home, the IVLP is also an important way for Americans to meet people from parts of the world they are unlikely to visit themselves. The US population remains woefully uninformed about international affairs and this has serious implications for foreign policy and funding for foreign assistance—as well as the ability of Americans to appreciate and participate in globalization. The IVLP makes these issues less a matter for *The New York Times* and more a conversation over a dinner table, a small meeting in an office, and a friendship begins that might last for decades. Yes, high-level diplomacy has its place and it requires trained professionals to carry it out. But it must be buttressed by the engagement of non-professionals who can meet and exchange views in informal settings that defuse the intense politics that often dominate official meetings. US foreign policy cannot live on Track II diplomacy alone, but it also can't live without it. As the conversations over my dinner table last week proved, serious issues can be addressed in informal venues and all involved are the better for it. Citizen diplomacy is good for diplomacy—and for the citizens who engage in it. This is quiet and unheralded work but it deserves the continued (and increased) support of the US government.

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*Sherry Lee Mueller*

*The board of the National Council for International Visitors (NCIV) gave Sherry the title President Emeritus when she retired in 2011 after 16 years at the helm of this professional association of citizen diplomats. She provided leadership for the field as well as NCIV. Her various publications include the book on international careers Working World coauthored by Mark Overmann and published by Georgetown University Press. She will be once again teaching at the School of International Service at American University fall 2012.*

*Mark W. Rebstock*

*Mark W. Rebstock joined the National Council for International Visitors (NCIV) in August 2005, and currently serves as NCIV's Interim President. Previously, he served as NCIV's Vice President.*





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# FIRST PERSON

## Evolution of a Global Citizen: From Peace Corps to Facebook

**KAREN SHOWALTER**

Niger. “Wow – great!” I responded. Niger. Where the heck is Niger? That’s what I asked myself as I hung up the phone with the Peace Corps recruiter and bounded upstairs to check my world map. I found it located in Africa, west of Mali and north of Nigeria.

In spite of all of the Peace Corps propaganda I’d so readily absorbed, at that moment I couldn’t have imagined how central Niger would become to my worldview just a few short months later or how fundamentally my three-year Peace Corps service would shape my life’s path.

My life as a Peace Corps Volunteer in the small village of Ngamde was, in some ways, the stereotypical Peace Corps experience. I really did live in a mud house, with a thatched grass roof. The women really did wear bright colors, and there were certainly lots of kids ready for a photograph.

But I also lived in a village where my women friends spent hours a day pulling water from a 30-meter deep well. In my third year we discovered that the well was the likely source of an uncommon strain of hepatitis, which I and many others in my village had contracted.

It was a village in which few families managed to grow enough food to last the year. I worked the millet and corn fields with my friends, discussing new seed varieties and crop rotation techniques. (I was a “soil conservation volunteer.”) Yet it was never enough, and many of my male friends left for seasonal jobs in Ghana shortly after the harvest. They sold fabric on the streets or worked in the gold mines near Kumasi. They would come back before the next planting season, often without much more than a new set of clothes for everyone in the family; but they’d earned enough to feed themselves during those months, which was something.

It was also a place where health care and education were hard to come by. We campaigned for funds for a local school in my third year, which we built from millet stalks in the field behind my house; but the closest health clinic was 18km away, a painfully long distance

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for a woman in childbirth to travel by oxcart in the deep sand . When a snake bit the granddaughter of my best friend, I had to send for a neighboring volunteer to drive her to the clinic on his motorcycle. After dropping the girl at the clinic, he had to continue on another 20km to find medicine at a pharmacy in the next town. The girl survived, but there were so many who were afflicted with similarly treatable conditions who did not.

When I think about citizen diplomacy, I think of these kinds of personal connections. I think about how important it is to just know each other. I had the tremendous opportunity to share my culture and values in constant, informal and personal ways. This, I believe, is the foundation for everything.

My experience also awakened my sense of common humanity. I grew not just aware, but enraged, that people just like me suffered from lack of clean water, or medicine, or opportunity. This sensitivity has in turn shaped how I engage with the world and how I believe the United States should engage on the global stage.

At a time when it's easy to feel as if the world, if not our own government, is breaking apart, I take comfort in the fact that opportunities to know others are even more accessible than when I left for the Peace Corps more than ten years ago. I like to think that today we are all much more easily positioned to act as citizen diplomats.

Today's students are members of the most global generation yet. They don't just connect by traveling and studying abroad, although it's estimated that more than 250,000 study abroad each year. They meet people online. They read blogs, share status updates, and tweet. The Pew Research Center reports that in February 2010, 75% of so-called "millennials" had profiles on social networking sites, compared to 30% of baby boomers and 6% of adults ages 65 and over.

Inherent to social networking is sharing your story and your experience. It's talking with teachers and friends, commenting on news and trends, spreading information and ideas, exposing our many interests and likes and, yes, getting to know others. We can't deny the value of physical interaction, but we similarly can't ignore the power of the online space in building relationships, whether to replace or complement face-to-face experiences; nor can we deny its role in inspiring action, from the Arab Spring to Occupy Wall Street to the response to Hurricane Katrina.

I'm not the first to comment on the power of social media, of course; but I'll go a step further to propose that it positions us to act as not only as citizen diplomats but also as global citizens who identify with our common humanity and challenges. We're not only interacting on a one-time basis; we're building ongoing relationships

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that extend beyond our travel, study or course. We are not only exchanging information, we are debating our common existence.

We are furthermore crafting a vision for a new world built by people like us, inherently challenging the traditional powers of states and corporations. Not only do we have the power to support peers overseas or share information about civil rights abuses; we have the space and the obligation to challenge many of the very tenets framing our world. Concepts like justice, transparency and participation are being fundamentally reshaped by our conversations and actions. Consider the impact of Julian Assange's releasing US government documents online or of Wael Ghonim encouraging his fellow Egyptians to stand up and speak out against their government. No longer do states hold exclusive power over these concepts. Certainly there are as many effective practices we can reinforce as there are concepts that need reshaping.

I think back to my time in Niger and how it might have been different if I had served today. I personally would have been able to connect with more Nigeriennes online as well as with my family and friends at home. I would also have been able to connect my friends in Niger with my friends at home, creating waves of relationships that extended way beyond me; and I hope I would have inspired conversation and action among all of these people about the clear commonalities we share and the challenges facing us all. The personal, continuous conversation would have been something powerful. My ability to do any or all of this isn't lost, but it's not quite as easy to create in retrospect.

Today, as I lead Americans for Informed Democracy, a national network of 40,000+ young people talking about and taking action around US global engagement, I am constantly reminded of the power of this moment. We use the best of social media to connect with peers, build relationships and take action. And by doing so, we are debating what kind of world we want to build.

I suppose every generation feels a certain sense of urgency - the belief that their moment in time is the most critical yet. Let us, therefore, continue to embrace how we use the newfound sense of connection and global citizenship. However you slice it, our moment could not be more urgent.

*Karen Showalter is Executive Director of Americans for Informed Democracy. She previously managed Oxfam International's Health and Education For All campaign in Mali, West Africa, where she supported the advocacy work of national organizations and founded*

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*the “Espace de Plaidoyer” activist network. She has also worked with Netcentric Campaigns, where she analyzed and supported activist networks working on the 2008 US presidential election and women’s and environment issues; the Bank Information Center, a World Bank watchdog; and IFIwatchnet, an online community of activists concerned with the international financial institutions.*



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# PERSPECTIVES

## Two Cultural Types: Situational and Relational

**MICHAEL MACY**

In analyzing cross-cultural communications I have noticed that there are two systems of culture that, despite some areas of overlap, remain distinct. I have adopted the terms “situational and relational” to identify these two cultural types.

One of the most difficult gaps to bridge in cross-cultural communications is the chasm between situational and relational cultures. In a situational culture, actions are the most important thing. In a relational culture, the defining factor is who you are. In other words, cross-cultural communication has to bridge the gap between what you know and who you know. This gap is rarely recognized; but it is a major factor in how people see themselves, how they experience others and the way relationships are structured.

Understanding the difference between the two kinds of societies is essential as they become more intertwined. The attempt by countries that largely have situational societies to develop a central government in Afghanistan, a highly relational culture, is one of the most dramatic examples of the clash of systems. Afghanistan needs to move away from being a strictly relational society or else there is little chance that corruption will ever end and that power will ever be held by entities other than families and tribes. It was well said of President Hamid Karzai’s difficulties in establishing a national government in Afghanistan and multiple allegations of corruption that “Karzai is not incompetent. He is acting according to his own priorities - his family, his tribe, his nation, in that order”.

That was Joe Klein, quoting an unnamed Western diplomat in “Time” magazine, but the same could be said for many other societies, East or West. Situationalism and relationalism are not strictly geographic in nature, nor are they Western or Eastern habits or predilections. Italy is a case in point. Its economic stagnation is a result of its business culture, which is largely defined by deep-seated mistrust of anyone who isn’t part of the immediate family. (David

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Segal, NY Times, July 31, 2010.)

No society is strictly situational or relational, but each can be placed on a continuum between the extremes. For example, Saudi Arabia is close to a purely relational society. There, what is important is a person's relationship to the royal family. Professional titles provide little real information; what is important is the person's closeness to the royal family and corresponding relationship to power. Given that Saudi Arabia's wealth was not created by any particular effort and is more an accident of geology, individual wealth, too, is not necessarily the result of ability but is rather bestowed on a person on account of membership of, or access to, the royal family. What a Saudi man does may or may not be inconsequential. A man with one - or several - important corporate titles may have very little influence and may not even be particularly wealthy. Indeed, in Saudi Arabia, the converse may also be true. People with seemingly inconsequential titles may actually have tremendous influence and wealth as result of their relationship to the royal family or because they are close to an influential royal family member. This is not to say that Saudis with ability are not successful; it is just that ability is not as important an element of success in Riyadh as in a less relational society.

In the Western example, Italy's relational business culture is thought to be a hangover from its past, which had little to do with being a nation and everything to do with being part of a clan until well after World War II. Even today, most Italians live less than a mile or two from their parents and most entrepreneurs' primary goal is not growth so much as keeping the business in the family. This is why Italian companies prefer to remain artisanal rather than masters of the universe. "The prevailing management style in this country is built around loyalty, not performance," said Tito Boeri, scientific director at Fondazione Rodolfo De Benedetti, who has written about Italy's dynastic capitalism.

In Saudi Arabia, many essential jobs are performed by non-Saudis, but they rarely have any real influence. A Pakistani physician in Riyadh once explained to me that even though he had been the personal doctor to many important members of the royal family and worked there most of his adult life, he would not want to stay in Saudi Arabia after he retired because he could not buy property and had few, if any, Saudi friends. He had no relationship with any Saudis nor would he expect these to develop no matter how long he stayed.

One element of a relational society is that the culture defines the relationships that are recognized. If a relationship is not recognized, it is generally not held to exist. This helps explain the Arab folk saying: "Me against my brother; me and my brother against our father; my family against my cousins and the clan; the

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clan against the tribe; the tribe against the world.”

The quote is generally taken literally. There is no mechanism for bestowing familial status on outsiders. You are either born a brother, a cousin or clansman or you are not. There is not a great deal of room for changing one’s status in a relational society, except by developing a relationship with the ruling elite, but there are limits there too. For instance, one can never – except by marriage – become a member of the ruling family; at best, one can become a well-rewarded retainer.

Close to the other end of the spectrum are immigrant societies such as Canada, the U.S. and Australia, where people are first be asked “What do you do?” as opposed to “Who is your father?” Relational societies usually inquire about a stranger’s origins and antecedents, or in a more colloquial way “Who are you from home?”

In a situational society, titles are usually pretty accurate indicators of what people do, along with their income and societal position. Success in a situational society is more the result of performance and less on account of relationships, though, of course, no society can ever be entirely situational. This is why there is the English expression: “It is not what you know, but who you know.” Even so, it is important to note the wording, “who you know” rather than “who you’re related to.”

It is difficult have successful cross-cultural communications between relational and situational cultures for a number of reasons. Most of us are unaware of the way our culture determines how we experience the world and particularly the way it structures our relationships. Most are convinced that what we believe is universal or at least superior to other value systems and consequently, when we meet people from other cultures we may expect them to be foundationally like us. I have often heard comments such as “They may dress differently, speak another language and cook different foods, but everybody loves their families, believes in their country and we all share a basic sense of right and wrong.” This is just not true, especially across the situational-relational spectrum. In reality, people do not relate to their families in the same way; not everyone has identical allegiance to his or her country, and right and wrong can have very different meanings from place to place.

Indians, for instance, often criticize Americans for neglecting their parents: How could you let them live in a retirement home? But Americans are puzzled, if not appalled, at the thought of arranged marriages: How could you let your family pick your spouse? The different value systems merely mean that most Americans would not want to live with their children and most Indians trust the people who know them best, i.e. their parents and families, to find them a suitable life partner. In India, maintaining familial relations is often

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more important than individual happiness. Even the concept of individualization is relatively new in Indian culture and restricted to a small but growing middle class.

In a relational society, family is more important than any connection with society at large. It is a moral imperative that one does everything one can for the family. This translates into acceptance of what a situational society would describe as corruption. In a relational society every position needs to be exploited to obtain maximum benefit for the family. A policeman takes money in lieu of the traffic ticket he was meant to write in order to better provide for his family, a judge accepts money to delay a case in order to send his children to a better school and politicians charge for access in order to build a bigger and better home. Those who pay up understand the motivation and support the system because they know they would do the same if they had influence to sell. Dissonance is created when someone from outside the system enters it. From the outside, bribery and corruption seem immoral, but for those within the system it is immoral not to take advantage of their position of influence because the relational society requires everyone to do everything possible for one's family.

The lack of community disapproval means that even though there may be some protests about corruption in a relational system, little is actually done about it. This is why a society may be said to have a 'cultural' acceptance of corruption. India is a case in point. The argument that corruption is a by-product of poverty is challenged by the high levels of corruption among wealthy Indians. There are instances of the wealthiest taking the most from the system, including senior Indian politicians whose assets are publicly self-acknowledged to be wildly disproportionate to their earnings as political executives.

The distinction between the two systems helps one to understand the continuing existence of large black markets in predominantly relational societies, estimated to be 25% of GNP in Italy and 50% in India. In a relational system, one pays for access and for the establishment and maintenance of relationships in order to accomplish things. This requires a fairly large amount of unregistered cash, coupled with a lack of identification with government institutions, which sustains a large black market. Politicians in these systems are in office for the good of their families and relations and are unlikely to support any reforms that would limit family incomes.

One argument to justify corruption in countries like India is that it is a residual effect of colonialism: people do not identify with an occupying government and develop a coping mechanism that includes non-compliance with laws made by the colonial government. The colonial experience certainly contributes to corruption but only

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in the sense that foreign occupation only strengthened familial ties because people did not expect their interests to be provided for by a government that is not indigenous. But relational structures are not created by colonialism. They usually predate occupation and continue past the colonial period.

When people from a situational society begin to interact with a relational society they are often flatteringly adopted into families and addressed as “brother”, “uncle”, “auntie”, etc. The adoptee may consider this a great honor, but for the adopting family it may all too often be no more than a necessity because relational societies require some semblance of a familial relationship to be established in order to conduct business. Interestingly, the expectations of both parties are very different, with the adopting family expecting the adoptee to feel obliged to do whatever they can for their new family: obtain visas, deal exclusively with the ‘family’ in business, pay school tuition and provide gifts, for example. If there is an income disparity, which is often the case, the adopting family may expect the adoptee to help equalize earnings.

Each system provides certain benefits and imposes costs on its members. Relational societies provide security for families. This means that individuals are generally provided for as long as the family can support them. It also means families find it harder than in situational societies to develop capital. In many relational societies, family boundaries are very porous. There is no end to the demands made on family resources. For example, I once asked a West African retiree from an international development organization if he was comfortable with his pension. He said that it would more than adequate if he were not constantly asked to provide for nieces, nephews, cousins, and a seemingly limitless number of relatives in need of school fees, clothing, books, food, etc. He said he was always on the edge of destitution but the demands could not be refused. To do so would be to go against the family, which was simply unimaginable.

The security provided by families can be fairly essential in societies where governments rarely provide basic services and clan links are necessary for physical or economic security. Afghanistan, historically, has never known a strong central government capable of providing services or developing a national infrastructure. This means that each family is left to provide for its own. That is why one still sees walled family compounds, the boundaries of which are patrolled by armed family members throughout the night.

Dependence on family resources defines public morality. One example is the acceptance of corruption as discussed above. Another is compliance or non-compliance with tax laws. Most people complain about taxes, but in situational societies there is



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a relatively high level of compliance. Any resistance to levels of taxation or anything else is usually done by attempting to change the law through legitimate political process. In a relational society, in which families are dependent on their own resources, taxes are not only disliked, but the individual is obliged to do everything possible to avoid paying them in order to conserve family resources. The result is not only a low level of tax compliance but also a low level of tax enforcement. Malta in the late 1990s had few people declaring themselves high net worth individuals, but its harbors were chock-full of locally registered yachts.

Another key difference between these two kinds of societies is the culture of shame and guilt. In relational societies, shame is the great motivator. A family is justified in any action that is perceived as protecting the family honor. Parents will kill children, brothers their sisters and cousins their cousins if they are deemed to have brought dishonor on the family. Honor killings are rarely prosecuted because they are considered justified in some way, even if in technical violation of the law. Most honor “codes” are unwritten, which results in them being more rigid than if they had been codified because they are perceived as ancient and unchanging. This phenomenon was detailed by Daniel Boorstin in *The Americans: The Democratic Experience*, in which he describes the honor code of the antebellum American South, “The rules of the Code of Honor, too, being habitual, could not be really be taught or learned, much less comprehended in the pages of a book...they had to be inherited, or absorbed from the atmosphere.” (The Americans, The National Experience; Daniel J. Boorstin, Vintage February 12, 1967, ISBN-10: 0394703588) And being unwritten, honor codes are very difficult to change. This is another cause of misunderstanding between relational and situational societies.

This is why customary behavior even survives major shifts in cultural foundations. A community’s religious faith may change, but if it remains a relational system, traditional behavior easily survives the transition. One example of this is the continuing use of daughters to pay debts in some Central Asian communities. This has survived centuries after those communities converted to Islam, which condemns such behavior. The carrying over of traditional behavior into modern political systems helps explain the continuation of ‘honor’ killings among *Jat* communities in Northern India. Families may kill their children for marrying within the same *gotra* or sub-caste even though there is no sanguinity.

According to cultural anthropologist Ruth Benedict, shame is a violation of cultural or social values while feelings of guilt arise from violations of one’s internal values. Thus, it is possible to feel ashamed

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of a thought or behavior that no one knows about and to feel guilty about actions that gain the approval of others. Fossum and Mason say in their book *Facing Shame* that "while guilt is a painful feeling of regret and responsibility for one's actions, shame is a painful feeling about oneself as a person." (Fossum, Merle A.; Mason, Marilyn J. (1986), *Facing Shame: Families in Recovery*, W.W. Norton, p. 5, ISBN 0-393-30581-3) Following this line of reasoning, Psychiatrist Judith Lewis Herman concludes that "shame is an acutely self-conscious state in which the self is 'split,' imagining the self in the eyes of the other; by contrast, in guilt the self is unified." [Herman, Judith Lewis (2007), "Shattered Shame States and their Repair", The John Bowlby Memorial Lecture.]

This is one of the apparent paradoxes when comparing relational societies with situational societies. Relational societies are often held out as providing greater stability for its members, while situational societies are seen as alienating. This is contradicted by situational societies providing more support for the development of deeper individual confidence and greater ability to adapt to change, which counters alienation. There is also a sense that relational societies are less selfish because of their focus on family and community but this may be yet another paradox because these cultures insist on members complying with societal norms, at times on pain of death. This places tremendous pressure on people, inhibits creativity and the development of individual talent. Ultimately, this kind of pressure is alienating and inhibiting and can lead to the disintegration of a society, particularly when faced with change.

The difference between the two societies also presents serious challenges for the practice of public diplomacy. In many ways it is a similar challenge to that of communicating between different languages. In order to communicate, it is necessary to translate one perspective into a very different world view. This is even the case when the two parties speak the same language but mean different things even while making the same sounds. It gets much more difficult when a language difference is added to the process.

Concepts like freedom, human rights, and democracy can have different meanings, and even if there is a common understanding of the meaning of a term, different societies may place very different values on it. For example, stability may be of much greater value than democracy or freedom of expression in one society, such that no matter how often it is exhorted or pressured to accept a more democratic system or grant greater freedom of speech it will resist it if has the perception that either change may result in instability. This resistance is likely to be misunderstood by a society that cherishes democracy or freedom of expression. A society that holds familial integrity as more important than compliance with national laws will

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be confused by foreign negative reactions to violence committed in the name of preserving the family in apparent violation of local law.

Communicating across these kinds of societal barriers takes a clear understanding of both sides. This is true in the choice of cultural presentation. In a country where dance is mostly seen as a vehicle for the preservation of cultural symbols and ritual, free-form improvisational dance is likely to be misunderstood if not reviled. A revered sports figure from one country will be a poor spokesperson in another country in which the sport is rarely played and barely understood. An exchange program for young women entrepreneurs from rural backgrounds targeted at a country that expects women to begin a family before a business is almost sure to fail. These may seem to be painfully obvious misjudgments, but I have seen examples of almost all of them and their poor results. The right cultural tool has to be used to transmit the right message to the target audience.

This is why it is important to understand a country's position on the situational/relational continuum when developing strategic and long-term plans. A relational society would require programs that promote the development of a relationship with members of the target audience. In relational countries, cultural centers and libraries are extremely important, not so much because of the information that is disseminated but because they provide a welcoming experience. This is why the comfort and hospitality of the library is as important as what is found on the shelves. It is also important that young people are encouraged to use the library, as it establishes a relationship that will continue to affect how the sponsoring country is viewed through the rest of the student's life. These are the considerations when a foreign embassy from a situational society considers establishing, or funding a successful cultural center in a relational society. It needs to be welcoming, comfortable and offer a wide variety of programs. It needs to be hospitable, but according to the parameters defined by the host country. If every event in the host country includes food and drink, every event hosted by a cultural center representing a situational society needs to offer something like that as part of each event. It does not have to be the local food and drink; in fact, it may be better if a foreign cultural center offers visitor a taste of the sponsoring country.

Exchange programs are an essential part of public diplomacy programs, but how they are conducted and whom they target varies depending on the type of culture for which the program is meant. Exchange programs designed for a relational society should recruit young participants: student leaders, academic high-achievers, the elite of tomorrow. The content of the program is no more important than opportunities for home stays, attendance and traditional

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cultural events, (rodeos, church suppers, high school musicals, 4th of July celebrations) that provide the experience of inclusion, being part of a family/community. That's why visits to small towns and neighborhoods with a distinct identity are so important to the success of those programs. Exchange programs for a more situational audience require more focus on subject matter in order to match people up with hosts who have similar professional and educational backgrounds. These programs can be targeted to older participants because they define themselves by their profession and will be more influenced by encounters with people with whom they share a definition.

Even the choice of media to deliver the message is influenced by a culture being situational or relational. The print media are more effective in a culture that encourages brand loyalty - a relationship - with one's paper. And even though print may have limited reach when compared to television, the credibility of print in the eyes of loyal readers probably overcomes that limit. Radio is more useful in relational societies because it has an element of intimacy. In this century, social media offer new ways to establish relationships, and for that reason, the use of tools such as Facebook and Twitter is particularly effective in relational societies. A point to note, though, for communicating with situational cultures is that topic-specific blogs are more useful because they are content oriented rather than emotive.

Relational societies targeting public diplomacy programs at situational societies should be aware of the importance of building ties to institutions, not just individuals. For example, it is important to build ties to universities rather than individual faculty. Individuals may change focus or even professions, but universities continue to teach and research the same subjects regardless of who is on the staff. The same is true for think tanks and even government. Members of parliaments and constituent assemblies come and go, but the institutions remain. The distinction is also important to be aware of when advocating for a change in policy. In a situational society it is more likely that an institution will make the decision; i.e., the system determines the decision and there is less flexibility, the rules determine the outcome. In a relational society there is often more room for individual decisions. The outcome is more dependent on the decider than the applicable rules. That is why relational societies' members are less likely to accept no as an answer to a request and will keep working their way up the chain of seniority, believing that if they just ask the highest person they will achieve the result that they want. Generally, a situational society member will accept no as an answer, even if a yes might have been possible had they asked someone senior.

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Of course, no country is purely situational or relational. It is a given that all cultures change, and as a result they often move along that continuum, becoming more or less one or the other. Knowing where a culture lies between the two extremes can be immensely useful for both strategic and tactical public diplomacy planning. It should never be the only consideration, but it is an important one. If ignored, the situational-relational dissonance could result in ineffectual programs, or even counter productive ones.

*The writer is a diplomat who has served in many of the countries mentioned. The views expressed in this article are personal.*



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# Harnessing the Power of Entrepreneurs Globally

**KEVIN LANGLEY and  
CARI E. GUITTARD**

## **Istanbul, Turkey - December 2011**

They came from thousands of miles away on buses, planes, and cars. Hundreds of entrepreneurs, some as far as Syria and Palestine, traveled all day and through the night. Many came with no support, no money, and no resources, just a dream. On the surface, this mix of countries, cultures and geopolitical differences could have been a recipe for disaster. Their collective hope and passion for starting or continuing their own businesses and building economic prosperity brought them together. From every socio-economic background and culture, they came together to share, encourage, and inspire: men and women of all ages. The scene was one of mutual understanding and connection that was instant and palpable, fueled by an indescribable energy, excitement and optimism. They shared horrific stories of loss and overcoming hardship. One entrepreneur from Kosovo lost over 400 friends and family members in the war, yet he is still fighting the battle to bring economic opportunity to help his country fully rebuild. Another entrepreneur shared his passion for making educational toys for local schools and expressed his need for seed funding to purchase a laser cutter to expand the effort. Though there is no metric for measuring the inspiration and resultant actions that occur after gatherings of this magnitude, the power was evident. When entrepreneurs come together, magic happens. They are redefining soft power at a time when their collective efforts could not be more sorely needed around the world.

## **The Enlightened Entrepreneurial Mind**

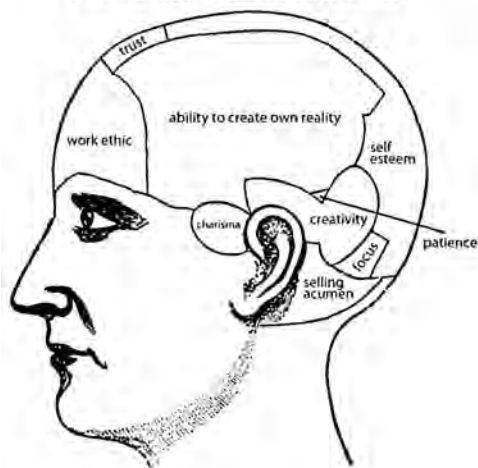
Though there are varying definitions of what constitutes a successful entrepreneur, the skill sets and mindset have striking similarities and patterns. A colleague who teaches entrepreneurship at Stanford recently shared that on the first day of class, he asks the students to raise their hands if they consider themselves an optimist. Those who don't raise their hands are advised that entrepreneurship

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may not be the best career direction. By and large, successful entrepreneurs are unapologetic and enduring optimists. Interestingly, colleagues who teach diplomacy report that many of their students – most of whom aspire to Foreign Service and senior government posts – are most often self-identified pessimists. Is there any wonder then how entrepreneurs are able to succeed in environments where traditional diplomacy has failed? Entrepreneurs routinely welcome challenges, develop solutions, and find a way to move forward even under the most severe constraints. They are known for finding common ground and are, perhaps, the most powerful and successful problem solvers in the world.

Whether it was the economic downturn, lack of job opportunities, a fascination with Steve Jobs and other iconic entrepreneurs, or some combination thereof – at some point in the last decade it became cool to want to be an entrepreneur. Go to any major city anywhere in the world and you’ll find countless forums and classrooms featuring entrepreneurs. People now aspire to innovate and create on a scale unlike generations before. A Kauffman poll from last fall revealed that more than half of the millennial generation – those ages 18 to 34 – want to start a business or have already started one.<sup>1</sup> Millennials aren’t the only ones. Vivek Wadwa, noted scholar and serial entrepreneur, shared some of his related

Phrenology of an Entrepreneur



research in a Washington Post blog, “[We] learned that the average and median age of successful founders was 39. Twice as many founders were older than 50 as were younger than 25. And there were twice as many over 60 as under 20.”<sup>2</sup> Building off this work, Kauffman research found that the average age of U.S. entrepreneurs is actually rising, with the highest rate of entrepreneurial activity shifting to the 55-64 age group. Thankfully the entrepreneurial mind has no age limit or expiration date.

Though there may be many more entrepreneurs surfacing globally, the entrepreneurial mind, to most, is an enigma. To work with and partner with entrepreneurs successfully, one needs to understand

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1 [http://www.kauffman.org/Section.aspx?id=Research\\_And\\_Policy](http://www.kauffman.org/Section.aspx?id=Research_And_Policy)

2 [http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/on-innovations/the-case-for-old-entrepreneurs/2011/12/02/gIQAuJ3KO\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/on-innovations/the-case-for-old-entrepreneurs/2011/12/02/gIQAuJ3KO_story.html)

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and appreciate how they think. To get inside an entrepreneur's brain and to work with and among entrepreneurs is an exercise in extreme patience, endurance and creativity; but it is one that pays off. Fill a room with entrepreneurs who have never met and they will have an immediate kinship, a mutual understanding.

Entrepreneurs don't think or operate like most people. Spend a few days surrounded by entrepreneurs and the following qualities instantly become apparent. They are:

- High energy with an insatiable curiosity
- Eternal optimists who know how to sell
- People who fundamentally think differently.
- Risk-takers who know how to get things done under severe constraints
- Extremely adaptable

Known for their innovative and creative abilities, many entrepreneurs are turning that focus inward and have been seeking deeper purpose and meaning for their work. Entrepreneurs at every stage are evolving and progressively seeking innovative ways to bring business solutions to pressing social needs. Increasingly, entrepreneurs in every region of the world consider themselves *enlightened entrepreneurs*, a growing breed focused on doing good, while doing well. A new sector has developed under the notion of social entrepreneurship that is changing and challenging traditional funding and development models. Social enterprise is a rising sector in Europe in particular, already representing 10% of all European businesses and employing over 11 million paid employees.<sup>3</sup> Latin America will host the **Social World Enterprise Forum** in Rio de Janeiro for the first time in October, 2012 focusing on supporting social entrepreneurs in emerging economies. It speaks volumes that Ashoka: Innovators for the Public - one of the first NGOs focused on supporting social entrepreneurship which began in 1980 with a meager budget and tiny staff - now has programs in over 60 countries, with 2000 fellows and a budget just over \$30 million.<sup>4</sup> The *enlightened entrepreneurial* mindset has worked its way into the DNA of the next generation of entrepreneurs and with careful stewardship it will have an impact for decades to come.

### **A Tri-Sector Approach to Global Engagement -- An Entrepreneurship Revolution Takes Root**

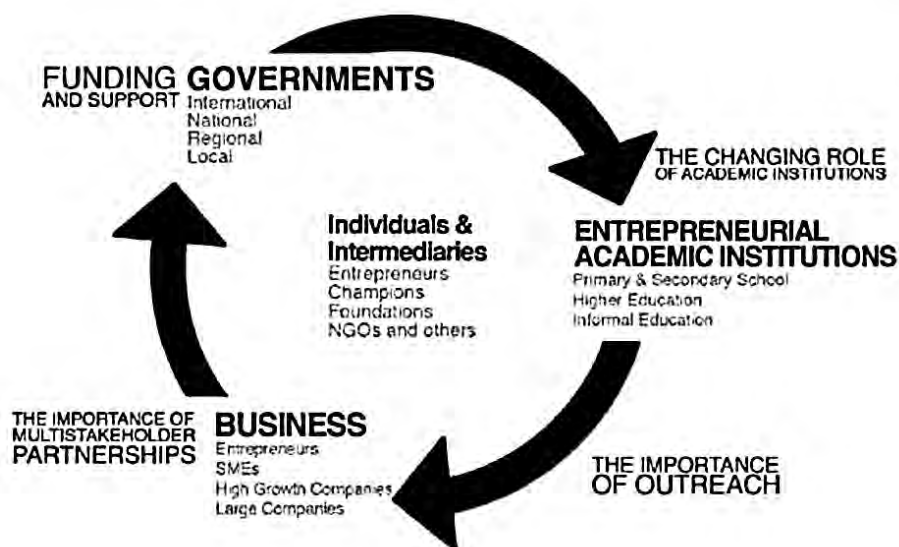
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3 <http://www.focus-fen.net/index.php?id=n265765>

4 <http://www.ashoka.org/facts>

As the numbers of enlightened entrepreneurs progressively grow, they are starting to see the power and benefit of banding together and engaging public, private, and NGO partners in a tri-sector approach to global engagement. Along with this new approach, a fresh entrepreneurship-focused narrative is emerging on the global stage that will fundamentally shift how we view job creation, competitiveness, and economic growth for generations to come. Leading, successful entrepreneurs are now regularly speaking out, driving a global conversation in which governments, NGOs and the private sector are engaged in a dialogue on how best to support and sustain entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial eco-system.

As global unemployment rates remain high, uncertainty becomes the norm and access to funding is increasingly restricted, tri-sector engagement in supporting entrepreneurship efforts is vital for our collective economic security. This new form of global engagement is beginning to bear fruit. Encouraging and supporting entrepreneurs at every stage in such a difficult economic climate is the first primary challenge. Giving them opportunities to learn from and be inspired by experienced entrepreneurs is essential. Leading entrepreneurship NGOs are providing more and more of these opportunities as well as leading the way in capturing and measuring best practices and developing practical tools, mentorship, and targeted training programs. One example of this targeted development is EO's Accelerator<sup>5</sup>, a high-impact, proprietary curriculum developed by entrepreneurs for entrepreneurs which focuses on four key issues faced by first-stage entrepreneurs: *strategic planning, sales*



<sup>5</sup> <http://accelerator.eonetwork.org/Pages/Default.aspx>

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and marketing, human resources and finance. Accelerator gives practical tools, knowledge, and skills so entrepreneurs can grow their businesses to more than \$1 million (US) in annual revenue.

Additionally, every year, EO champions the **Global Student Entrepreneur Awards (GSEA)**<sup>6</sup>, an international competition for thousands of high school, college and graduate students who have founded and are operating revenue-generating businesses. In mid-November every year, Kauffman supports **Global Entrepreneurship Week (GEW)**<sup>7</sup> which last year was recognized in 123 countries. GEW involves over 25,000 partner organizations which host 40,000+ events in a week-long celebration to drive awareness of entrepreneurship.

While there is much debate on the role of governments in supporting and encouraging entrepreneurship and innovation, there is little doubt that they should be at the table principally to ensure favorable policy environments, create supportive infrastructure and purposeful educational resources. At the G20 in France last November, the **G20 Youth Entrepreneurship Alliance (G20 YEA)** held a **G20 Youth Entrepreneurship Summit (G20 YES)** with over 400 young student entrepreneur delegates to draw attention to key areas governments should support and engage with entrepreneurs. Additionally, consulting firms Ernst & Young and McKinsey & Company, in partnership with NGOs in the G20 countries, issued ground-breaking research on youth entrepreneurship and youth unemployment at the summit that illustrated new strategies for supporting and fostering the development of young business owners, who comprise a core foundational element of the entrepreneurial ecosystem.

The *Ernst & Young Entrepreneurship Barometer: A Call to Action for G20 Governments* had several key insights which now allow the tracking and measuring of the long-term impact of the recommendations of the G20 YES. It will be repeated for Mexico's G20 YES Summit in 2012. Some of the key findings of the G20 countries surveyed include:

- Entrepreneurship is a key driver of economic growth
- Governments play a crucial role
- Measurement frameworks are necessary to foster and strengthen entrepreneurial eco-systems
- Targeted education and training for entrepreneurs is sorely lacking and needs to be offered across more disciplines at every level of development

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6 <http://www.eonetwork.org/press/pressreleaselibrary/Pages/South-African-Social-Entrepreneur-Takes-Top-Spot-at-the-Global-Student-Entrepreneur-Awards.aspx>

7 <http://www.unleashingideas.org/>

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Additionally, E&Y outlines how critical self-confidence is to long term success; and even though the United States prides itself on historically being a breeding ground for entrepreneurs, Canada, ironically, was the only G20 country ranked high on the self-confidence index. The connection between job creation and entrepreneurship is real and often misunderstood. In the US, according to Wadhwa's research, entrepreneurial businesses:

**Represent more than 99.7% of all employers;**  
**Provide 70% to 80% of the net new jobs annually;**  
**Employee roughly 130 million U.S. workers.**

The result of the 2011 G20 YES Summit was an "Entrepreneurs' Declaration" submitted to the G20 leaders, based on the Summit's founding principles. The G20 YES delegations identified more than 200 best practices successfully implemented by governments, associations and by the private sector that can remove obstacles to entrepreneurship and strengthen the three pillars which are critical for boosting entrepreneurship success: **fertile "ecosystems", specific financing vehicles for each stage of development and an entrepreneurial risk-taking culture.**

At the end of the day the conversation is really about job creation and building economic prosperity. Entrepreneurs understand this better than anyone else because they are the ones generating growth and offering job opportunities. According to the **EO Global Entrepreneurial Indicator**,<sup>8</sup> which tracks leading entrepreneurs around the world, there is cause for optimism. In June, 2011, 62% of entrepreneurs globally reported profit increases, and projections for the first quarter of 2012 see 78% anticipating profit growth and 68% anticipating new hiring. Supporting and empowering high-growth, high-potential entrepreneurs, and giving them tools to succeed more quickly, will be critical in job creation and creating economic stability long-term.

### **Entrepreneurs at the Front Lines of Diplomacy**

A sea change is underway. There is an emergence of an attitudinal change in how people think about entrepreneurship and how it affects the quality of life globally. In the past the sole focus has been on attracting investment, but now there is a conversational shift to a focus on how to engage leading entrepreneurs who can be catalysts in creating sustainable economic opportunities in the form of local jobs and products and services in the new global

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.entrepreneurindicator.com/#>



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economy, thereby creating a lasting effect.

From summits and international forums with opinion leaders to recognition at the G20, entrepreneurs are now at the front lines of diplomacy. They are the new currency of global engagement, breathing life into stale conversations and policies surrounding the global economic crisis and creating new ways in which we look at encouraging youth development and education. Though government bailouts, tax incentives and corporate consolidations dominate the headlines, entrepreneurs may be the last best hope for a global recovery. The U.S. military, for example, sees a direct link tying security and stability to enabling prosperity. It has been developing strategies to seed and support entrepreneurship. The countries that get it right and do everything they can to encourage, support and, where appropriate, get out of the way of aspiring and leading entrepreneurs are the ones that will reap the security and economic benefits long-term.

25 years ago EO hosted Steve Jobs as a speaker for one of its first events. Back then he was challenging everyone to “think different”. It is extraordinary what one entrepreneur was able to create in a lifetime. Imagine what thousands, even millions of entrepreneurs like Steve Jobs could create if given the chance.

#### **FOR MORE INFORMATION**

- Entrepreneurs Organization (EO):  
<http://www.eonetwork.org/Pages/welcome.aspx>
- EO Entrepreneurial Global Entrepreneurial Indicator:  
<http://www.entrepreneurindicator.com/>
- E&Y Entrepreneurial Barometer:  
<http://www.ey.com/GL/en/Issues/Business-environment/G20-Entrepreneurship-Barometer-2011>
- Kauffman Foundation: <http://www.kauffman.org/>
- Global Entrepreneurship Week: <http://unleashingideas.org/>
- Global Youth Entrepreneurship Alliance:  
<http://www.yealeaders.org/>

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*Cari Guittard is Senior Associate, Global Strategic Partners and Adjunct Faculty at the USC Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism and Hult International Business School, Dubai. From 2003 until 2010 she served as Executive Director of Business for Diplomatic Action.*

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# The Citizen Diplomacy in Latin America and Mexico at the Dawn of the 21st Century

**CARLOS HEREDIA ZUBIETA**

## **Executive Summary**

This article presents a historical overview of the concept of Citizen Diplomacy and its practice in Latin America and Mexico and a projection of its future prospects. From the experience of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the author reflects on the scope and limits of the incidence of civil society organizations in the political and social transformations, both internally and in its global dimension.

## **Introduction**

There are many definitions for the term citizen diplomacy. For the purposes of this essay I will define citizen diplomacy as the communication established between citizens or civil society organizations from two or more countries in order to inform public opinion on issues of common concern and to join forces to influence those who formulate and implement policies in their respective countries. I will present to the reader some of the experiences that non-governmental development organizations from Latin America and Mexico have had in the field of citizen diplomacy.

## **Citizen Diplomacy in Latin America**

In this text I refer to the period of historical development in Latin America that began in 1968, following the Latin American Episcopal Conference in Medellín, Colombia, and reaches to the present day. During that period, several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) emerged in order to condemn polarized societies, which were divided between oligarchies and impoverished masses with little hope of upward social mobility.

NGOs rose as a result of the activism of Christian base communities, such as IBASE and INESC in Brazil, CINEP and “National Forum” in Colombia, DESCO and CEPES in Peru, “Sur” in Chile, “Centro Gumilla” in Venezuela, and “Equipo Pueblo” in Mexico, to mention a

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few. These organizations were inspired by the bishops, priests and thinkers who sympathized with Liberation Theology, which teaches the doctrine of the Church in the context of Jesus' liberation of the people from social injustices and poverty. These advocates included Gustavo Gutierrez in Peru, Sergio Mendez Arceo, Samuel Ruiz and Ivan Illich in Mexico, Oscar Romero, Jon Sobrino and Ignacio Ellacuria in El Salvador, Ernesto Cardenal and Xabier Gorostiaga in Nicaragua, Leonidas Proaño in Ecuador, Helder Camara, Leonardo Boff and Peter Casaldáliga in Brazil, and Juan Luis Segundo in Uruguay, among many others. All of them agreed to articulate a vigorous response to poverty engendered by the economic and social injustice across the subcontinent.

However, during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s the Latin American state model was guided by concentrated measures in the economic sphere and authoritarian measures in the political field. The model critics denounced such policies, and they partially attributed them to the so-called Washington Consensus. It is in this precise period when Latin American NGO activism gained meaningful momentum, seeking to express itself in parallel forums at the annual meetings of the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) in Washington; Such activism reached the United States' Congress, the European Union's institutions in Brussels and Strasbourg, and the UN headquarters in New York, Geneva and Vienna.

The activism of Latin American NGOs became more impactful with the development of networks, partnerships and associations with U.S., Canadian and European counterparts. The concept of international cooperation evolved gradually from help, donation and assistance to joint efforts and shared responsibilities with common goals.

### **The case of Mexico.**

In the 1970s, Mexico's political system took in the dissidents of the Southern Cone dictatorships and national liberation movements in Central America; as a result, Mexico's international image was that of a progressive regime. However, Mexico's political dynamics sharply contrasted with the international perception. The brutal repression of the student-working class movement in 1968 and the outright fraud and theft of the presidential election by Carlos Salinas de Gortari in 1988 showed evidence that Mexico's system was far from being democratic and that its institutions did not care for the public interest.

In the early 1990s, some Mexican NGOs had established contact with counterparts in North America and Europe on issues of global economic injustice. This was a result of the international

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campaign "50 Years is Enough," a call to put an end to the World Bank and the IMF.

Moreover, from 1992 to 1993, the simultaneous negotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the Canadian Parliament and the U.S. Congress (in Mexico, Congress was subordinate to the President at the time) gave rise to the deployment of a citizen diplomacy strategy by Mexican civil organizations. This strategy included three areas:

- a) The presence and dissemination of testimonials and critical views on Mexico's economic and political situation in Canadian and American media and before governments, legislators and the public of both countries;
- b) A close monitoring of formal negotiating meetings, and
- c) Building alliances of citizens of the three countries regarding policy alternatives which aimed to crystallize a pact for development and a new social contract in North America.

On January 1, 1994, the emergence of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), in order to make visible the views of indigenous peoples, broke the monolithic and idyllic image that the Mexican regime had of itself. The Zapatistas and several civil organizations concluded that the underlying problem was not the dominance of free trade and protectionism but rather an agreement to advance the interests of the rich and powerful, excluding the ordinary citizens of Mexico, the United States and Canada.

Nevertheless, even after the Zapatista uprising, the ruling institutions in Mexico rejected the dialogue with civil society organizations in the economic and financial management, a field dominated by representatives of the private sector. From 2000, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed some openness and established mechanisms for consultation with civil society organizations about environmental issues and human rights; however financial matters were not included.

### **The role of the social networks and the contrast between the 1990s and today.**

With the advent of the 21st century, information technologies and the proliferation of social networks facilitate the exercise of citizen diplomacy by Mexican CSOs in key areas such as:

- a) Mexican migrants in the U.S.;
- b) The fight against transnational organized crime;
- c) The campaign against climate change towards environmental sustainability;

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d) Cultural diplomacy and the exercise of 'soft power.'

A fundamental premise of citizen diplomacy is that in a globalized world, problems are not meant to be solved with a unilateral approach. Migration, organized crime and climate change are 'intermestic' issues that combine national and international dimensions. Hence the need for cross-border alliances that promotes the involvement of all responsible actors for a solution.

Mexican civil organizations have become increasingly aware of the 'soft power' and the importance of including activists internationally recognized. For example, film celebrities Gael Garcia Bernal and Diego Luna are involved in bi-national campaigns in the US and Mexico to support migrants and combat the trafficking of assault weapons. Similarly, other Mexican activists are linked to global organizations; for example Greenpeace, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and Oxfam in the areas of environmental, migration and economic justice respectively.

## **Conclusions**

In Latin America and Mexico, citizen diplomacy is the result of a collective effort of grassroots organizations, civil society organizations, or social movements. The increasing role of non-state actors marks a structural change in the international legal and diplomatic fields. The development of information technologies tools have enabled a much more fluid communication between partners and a higher incidence in the media elsewhere.

Civic movements in industrialized countries, such as Occupy Wall Street and the *Indignados*, complain that the distribution of power between people, market and state favors the latter to be controlled by the interests of the top 1 percent of the population, which concentrates wealth, income and political power at the expense of the 99 per cent.

The citizens of North and South countries are realizing that their fates are inextricably intertwined, as noted by the civil organizations before mentioned. It is likely, therefore, that citizen diplomacy efforts will increase due to the growing awareness that the economic and social problems of our time are interconnected and require solutions that cross borders in order to reach a global dimension.

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# CASE STUDY

## Citizens Diplomacy for Peace in South Asia

**ZIA MIAN**

**January 2012**

Relations between the governments of Pakistan and India have not been easy in the six decades since the two countries became independent. The two states have argued and threatened each other countless times, fought four wars, poured scarce resources into a ruinous arms race and developed nuclear weapons despite efforts by the international community led by the United States. Over the past two decades a new player has entered the game, with growing numbers of activists in Pakistan and India mobilizing to make the case for peace and cooperation between the two countries.

The emerging South Asian citizens' diplomacy movement brings together a diverse array of groups. The effort now embraces thousands of activists working on peace and justice, women's rights, human rights, and labor rights. It includes teachers and students, journalists, former soldiers, scholars, business people, and retired government officials. They work together to find common ground on issues ranging from national security, cross-border conflict and economy and trade, to development, education, ecology, democracy, and arts and culture. Some of these efforts have been recorded on the South Asia Citizens Web ([www.sacw.net](http://www.sacw.net)).

A key umbrella group is the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy ([www.pipfpd.org](http://www.pipfpd.org)), which began in 1994 as a group of 25 activists and scholars from the two countries meeting together in Lahore, Pakistan. They decided to focus on opposing further India-Pakistan wars, reversing the arms race and promoting a process of South Asian nuclear disarmament.

The organizers recognized that the Forum would have to take a position on the long-running dispute over Kashmir. The struggle over the land and people of this region started at the time of the partition of British India to create the independent states of India

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and Pakistan. The 1948 and 1965 wars over Kashmir left the region divided between the two countries. Reflecting their commitment to deepening democracy as both a process and a goal for resolving conflict in South Asia, the Forum argued that the way forward in Kashmir was to insist on the democratic rights of the people of the region to decide their future peacefully.

There was also a need to combat the growing religious extremism in both countries. Hindu nationalists in India and Islamic nationalists in Pakistan feed national chauvinism and seek to settle the scores of partition. At home these groups promote a narrow view of national identity and social life and undermine the possibility of a plural and tolerant democracy that respects religious minorities.

The Forum saw a path forward in encouraging people to people dialogue across the border, directly challenging the claims of the two governments to be the sole representatives and voices of their people. It organized its first convention in 1995 in New Delhi, bringing together almost a hundred people from each country. Since then the annual convention has alternated between Pakistan and India. In some years this effort has been blocked as respective governments refused to grant visas in time. The joint conventions of the Forum have grown to become the largest regular gatherings of citizens of the two countries. The 8th joint convention of the Forum was held at the end of December 2011 in the Indian city of Allahabad, with over 200 participants from Pakistan.

The meetings are more than an opportunity for activists to meet and argue politics and make a statement. They are a way to cross a physical, political, and emotional border. For many, it is the first venture to the other side and the discovery of common cause. For some older people, it is their first trip back to a place they had left at partition, a chance to renew old friendships. Lives are changed, and hope is renewed.

There has been real progress. Citizen diplomats have become significant players in the domestic politics of both nations. Political leaders, including presidents and prime ministers, now feel obliged to meet delegations of visiting citizens from the other country; and government officials talk of the importance of strengthening people-to-people contact and the need to ease visa restrictions.

Even once-hostile media show signs of change. In January of 2010 the Times of India Group and Pakistan's Jang Group, leading media conglomerates which own major newspapers, magazines and TV channels, joined hands to promote peace and good relations between the two countries. Their vehicle was increased people-to-people interaction through the Aman ki Asha ("Desire for Peace") initiative.

The public mood has shifted. Despite the wars and the hostility

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and the decades of being taught that the other was a mortal enemy, the people of India and Pakistan say they are ready for peace. A December, 2010 poll of people in six major cities in India and in ten cities and 42 villages in Pakistan found that about 70% of respondents in both India and Pakistan said they wanted peace between the two countries, with two-thirds in each country expecting “friendly relations” in their lifetimes. 80% of Pakistanis and Indians polled said people-to-people contact was an effective “instrument of peace,” significantly more than those who said increased trade, tourism and sport could help serve as a path to peace.

Real challenges remain, however. Old habits and powerful vested interests, especially those who profit politically and economically from hostility, resist change and seek to undermine the possibility of peace. The Kashmir issue remains intractable. Pakistan and India continue to prepare and plan for war, with both sides now armed with nuclear weapons. The Indian military has been working on a new doctrine for a massive rapid conventional strike against Pakistan, hoping to keep the fighting below the nuclear threshold. Anticipating such an attack, in 2011 Pakistan tested a short-range nuclear-capable missile for use on the battlefield.

The Pakistan Army’s long-standing support for Islamist militant groups such as the Lashkar-e-Taiba as proxy warriors in a covert war against India remains a major problem. Lashkar-e-Taiba fighters attacked the Indian city of Mumbai in November, 2008, killing nearly 200 people. This attack came two months after an agreement between the two countries to expand bilateral trade dramatically by increasing the number of trade goods by a hundred-fold to almost 2000 and to allow freight trains to move across the border for the first time in five decades. These plans stalled as India demanded a crackdown on the Islamist militants as a condition for further peace talks. It was only in 2011 that formal talks between Pakistan and India resumed.

Sadly, the struggle for peace in South Asia has found few allies outside. For the past decade, the United States and the international community more broadly have not worked hard at promoting peace in the region. In its relations with Pakistan the United States in particular has attached greater importance to the war against the Taliban and al Qaida in Afghanistan and in Pakistan’s Tribal Areas. To this end the U.S. supported General Pervez Musharraf’s military dictatorship until he was forced out by popular pressure in 2008 and generously funded and armed Pakistan’s army. One measure of this support is the \$22 billion in military and economic assistance Pakistan has received from the United States since 2001, of which more than \$14 billion was military assistance and \$7 billion was economic aid of various kinds. It is well known that the Pakistan Army sees its

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real mission as confronting India and protecting its own power and privilege.

The United States also has not pressed India to make peace a priority. It sees in India a rising economy that offers a vast source of cheap labor for American corporations and a market for American goods and a strategic partner to help counter China. The Obama Administration's January 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance observes that the United States is "investing in a long-term strategic partnership with India to support its ability to serve as a regional economic anchor and provider of security in the broader Indian Ocean region." To build this relationship the United States has turned a blind eye to India's nuclear weapons program and seeks to profit from India's rapidly increasing military spending (now the 10th largest in the world) by selling it American weapons. According to the U.S. Congressional Research Service, India is now the world's largest arms importer, with almost \$6 billion worth of arms purchase agreements in 2010.

President Obama has not broken with the Bush Administration's policies towards India and Pakistan even though he seemed to recognize the need to do so. In 2007 then-presidential candidate Obama claimed, "I will encourage dialogue between Pakistan and India to work toward resolving their dispute over Kashmir." There is little to show that this view yet informs policy. A basic reordering of U.S. priorities in South Asia is long overdue. The first principle of U.S. policy in the region should be to do no more harm. This means the U.S. has to stop feeding the fire between India and Pakistan and instead support the grass-roots efforts by the citizens of the two countries to make peace.

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# American Voices Case Study

**JOHN FERGUSON**

As public diplomacy has evolved within the present model of globalized engagement, which includes the increased participation of global civil society and people-to-people connection, the role of citizen diplomacy has taken on increased prominence. With the civic empowerment that the globalized world offers for people-to-people engagement borne out of cultural diplomacy, American Voices has been at the forefront of citizen diplomacy through its work in cross-cultural engagement.

Since 1993, American Voices has been conducting citizen-led cultural diplomacy as a means to foster people-to-people connections. Founded with a focus on bringing American music and culture to the recently independent nations of Central and Eastern Europe, American Voices has expanded its mission towards supporting youth through cultural and educational programs in nations emerging from conflict or isolation. In recognition of its work, the U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy (USCCD) selected American Voices as a “Top Ten Best Practices Organization” in 2010.

Over the years, American Voices has found that the uniquely American art forms that have emerged from the intermingling of our myriad ethnic and folk traditions have been popular mediums for cultural engagement. Country, hip hop, Broadway and jazz are among the best ways we have to communicate the best of what America is as a nation to the rest of the world. We have sought to use cultural diplomacy as bridge to connect global citizenry in a unique sphere of shared cultural meaning through the arts, music, dance and theater.

American Voices’ cultural diplomacy programming provides expertise and support to young musicians, dancers and actors and promotes cultural understanding and communications among people and nations. From Central Asia to Central America and from the Middle East to East Asia, American Voices has taken its unique brand of cultural engagement programs to nations in transition. Through our work creating a public sphere for people-to-people cultural engagement, American Voices has presented concerts, workshops and summer youth performing arts academies in 110 countries on five continents.

Working with both public and private partners and sponsors, American Voices conducts its flagship cultural engagement program,

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the Youth Excellence on Stage (YES) Academy program as a means to further accessibility and understanding of American performing arts and culture. The YES Academy program was launched in 2007 to connect and inspire youth in areas of the world that lack opportunities for cultural exchange and dialogue with the United States.

The YES Academy program provides high-quality professional training and performances in some of America's great cultural genres, including Broadway, Jazz, Hip Hop and Classical Orchestra to works to inspire and motivate youth artistically and train future teachers and leaders. Through the Yes Academy program, we are able to offer creative outlets of empowerment to the lives of so many vulnerable youth from countries in transition.

At its core, the YES Academy model is a form of citizen diplomacy based on multicultural artistic collaboration. The YES Academy embraces citizen diplomacy as it brings American teachers and volunteers who are proficient in American genres of music, dance and theater to conduct performance and professional training to countries throughout the Middle East and Asia. These performance academies create valuable people-to-people engagement as it provides training in youth leadership and empowerment through cultural expression.

Moreover, YES Academies have provided teacher training and institutional capacity building for both partners and participants. To further the ability for local participants to train and attain higher proficiency in the various arts, American Voices has used the YES Academy program as platform to donate of hundreds of thousands of dollars of dance, theater and music supplies, music method books and scores and instruments to our project partners in Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Pakistan.

As we have found over the years, the effects of this cross-cultural engagement are mutual. As members of our faculty educate and empower aspiring young performing artists, they are themselves empowered as citizen diplomats. Both teachers and students are shaped and affected by their experiences teaching in places that most Americans only know by headlines. The YES Academy model has proven to be life-changing for both teachers and participants alike. Beyond providing artistic skills, training and opportunities for youth in the Middle East and Asia, YES Academies also affect perceptions of American culture and American citizenry by creating a space in which cultures are shared.

Citizen diplomacy conducted through artistic dialogue remains one of the most powerful and potent ways of dispelling mistrust and transcending political divisions. Through the YES Academy program, American Voices creates a platform for citizen

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diplomacy that provides much-needed expertise and support to aspiring musicians, dancers and actors, as well as enhancing cross-cultural understanding and communication among peoples and nations.

*John Ferguson is the founder of American Voices and serves as its Executive Director. Trained as a classical pianist, John was inspired by his musical cultural exchange tours to create American Voices in the early 1990s in response to the need for quality American cultural programming in Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the opening of the Soviet Union. In the years that followed American Voices expanded its mission to focus on the Middle East and Central and Southeast Asia. In 2011, American Voices was chosen by the U.S. Department of State to administer the American Music Abroad international touring program.*



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# AT POST

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## EXCLUSIVE

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### Q&A with Ha Tae-kyung, Head of Open Radio for North Korea

**JENNIFER CHANG**



Ha Tae-kyung heads Open Radio North Korea (ORNK), a South Korean radio station run by a Seoul-based NGO, ORNK airs news programs about North Korea into the isolated North, where the flow of information is strictly controlled to ensure that North Koreans view their regime favorably. The station aims to teach the North Korean people about their repressive government's true nature. It is one of only a few independent media organizations, including one other radio station and the online newspaper *Daily NK*, run from South Korea on shoestring budgets, to get

potentially destabilizing information into North Korea with the goal of establishing democracy.

Ha was born in South Korea, and jailed twice by the South's authoritarian government for pro-democracy student activism. After his release and South Korea's democratization in 1999, he turned his efforts to democratizing the North and helped to found Open Radio North Korea in 2005. Here is his exclusive interview with "PD" Magazine.

**How did Open Radio for North Korea start, who staffs it, and how is it funded?**

We began Open Radio North Korea about six years ago. Traditionally, South Korea's government had radio programs targeting North Korea, but during the pro-North Korea Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations they were discontinued. So we felt a civic radio station was needed to air programming to the North Koreans who lacked information from the outside world. Concerned South Korean citizens comprise two-thirds of our staff and a third consists of North

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Korean defectors. We get 80 percent of our funding from the U.S.'s National Endowment for Democracy and Reporters Without Borders in the EU. The rest comes from the South Korean government and private donations from South Koreans.

**What programs does ORNK air and how does it get information out of the North?**

Our programming includes a civic participation program consisting of messages sent from South Korean citizens and students to North Korea. We train them to produce the program, which allows them to introduce and convey South Korean culture. We also air language programs that teach basic skills in Chinese and English to get North Koreans to listen to us, as well as news about the North. In addition, we have programs about human rights abuses in North Korea. And on behalf of South Korean members of separated families, we send messages from them to their family members or relatives in the North.

**How does ORNK get information out of North Korea?**

We have an underground network of reporters working for us throughout North Korea who want to let the world know what's really happening there on a daily basis. We can get news and information from inside the North because these reporters are able to communicate with us using Chinese cell phones that only work in the border area between North Korea and China. This newsgathering ability has come to be highly respected by major media organizations worldwide, such as the New York Times. Now, they rarely publish or air news about North Korea without checking their stories first with us or Daily NK, which also has an underground network of North Korean reporters like ours.

**How has North Korea reacted to your organization?**

They treat all information inside North Korea as state secrets and regard anyone who communicates with outsiders on the phone as spies. We know of one case where they publicly executed one person who made phone calls to his family members in South Korea. And sometimes they make public announcements saying they want to, and are going to, kill us. They also threaten us with virus emails very often. They try to hack into our computers by sending us an attachment file that falsely claims to be from an ordinary South Korean citizen who wants to inform us about news on North Korea, but when downloaded, all data in our computers goes to them. They are very smart.

**What is needed to bring democracy to North Korea and the fall of the regime there?**

I think the most necessary element is promoting information flow into North Korea from outside the North. As we can see from the Arab cases, all the protests in the Arab world come from the free flow of information there. So the more information we get into North Korea, the greater the possibility their regime will be destroyed and democracy



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will replace it.

### **How is information getting in and out of North Korea?**

There are three methods by which information is getting into the North. One is radio, the other is via CDs and USBs that enter North Korea through its border with China, and the third is by people talking with each other on Chinese mobile phones. The means by which information gets out of North Korea is usually through such phones. The rate at which information is flowing into and out of the North is speeding up fast because more and more people there can use Chinese cell phones.

### **Scattering leaflets with balloons is a method South Korean citizens use to send information... to North Korea. Who is behind this activity?**

It's done mostly by groups comprised of defectors who've lived in North Korea and know which materials and information sent using the balloons will be most effective. There are two groups. One is headed by Lee Min-bok and funded mainly by South Korean Protestant churches who've asked it to send Christian messages to the North Korean people to evangelize them. The other is Fighters for a Free North Korea, which is led by Park Sang-hak. Little is known about who funds it, but it's definitely not South Korea's government.



Studio control room, Open Radio for North Korea

### **Can you give us a brief history of this balloon activism?**

Starting in 2003, Lee and Park began jabbing at Kim Jong-il's regime by attaching written leaflets to kids' balloons and launching them from South Korea towards the North. Though Lee's claimed to have accounted for most of the balloon-borne leaflets scattered there since then, it's Park's group that's turned into the more assertive balloon-sending enterprise, drawing greater ire from Pyongyang and a bigger share of media attention. For instance, Imjingak, a tourist zone in the city of Paju near the inter-Korean border favored by Park as a balloon launching site, emerged as a potential flash point when North Korea threatened in February to shoot at it if the launchings continued. In March, when South Korean police said the mother of one of the balloon activists had been found slain, activists suspended the launchings. But after police denied a link between the murder and terrorism by the North, they resumed later that month.

Park has continued the launchings at Imjingak until now, despite

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opposition and protest rallies from local residents who fear a North Korean attack, as well as a failed assassination attempt by Pyongyang on Park in September. A North Korean posing as a defector arranged a meeting with Park armed with a poison dart gun disguised as a flashlight and a pen equipped with a poison needle. But a suspicious Park notified authorities and [the North Korean] was charged in October with trying to assassinate Park. South Korea's Unification Ministry has said that in the past, it's asked balloon activists to exercise restraint in consideration of inter-Korean relations, but ever since North Korea attacked a South Korean naval vessel, the Cheonan, in March of 2010, killing 46 sailors, it has not made such requests.

### **How has North Korea reacted to the balloon launches?**

In the North, the balloons differ from the radios airing information from South Korea because they are physically shown to the people. The messages on the radios are not physically discovered by North Korea's soldiers or people; they just secretly listen to the radio programs in their homes. So from the government's point of view, the balloons seem more provocative.

### **What about people and organizations in South Korea?**

How have they responded? Aside from the aforementioned opposition by some South Koreans to the balloon activism, overall, the launches don't seem to get the general public's sympathy in the South. Because in its opinion, the balloons seem to be outdated historical remnants that should be replaced with current, more advanced technologies. Also, the balloon activism leaders' public relations and image making efforts are inadequate, adding further to the public's negative view of the balloon launches.

### **Do you think sending the balloons will help bring about the collapse of North Korea's regime?**

Actually, the North is a kind of Stone Age country when it comes to the media. So I think the balloons may help, but only to a certain extent. From my standpoint, any kind of information that enters North Korea is helpful in toppling its regime, no matter what means are used to get it in. But outside information is not enough to establish democracy there; it's only a starting point. To try to bring about a regime change, there have to be some North Korean people who are brave enough to risk their lives and organize alternative forces within their nation with strategies, goals and even a personal network inside the North's military.

*Jennifer Chang is a journalist who has covered North and South Korea since 1988. She is currently a correspondent for GRNLive in London and was previously a reporter at CBS Radio News, the U.S. network.*

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# Interview with Raul Pacheco of Ozomatli

**ANNA DAWSON**

Los Angeles-based band Ozomatli has been making music for 15 years, entertaining audiences with a unique fusion of different types of world music, including hip hop and salsa, reggae, dancehall, merengue, and jazz. Their music follows the mantra of taking you around the world by taking you around L.A. In 2007, the US State Department invited Ozomatli to be cultural ambassadors to go on a series of government-sponsored tours around the world.

PD Magazine Senior Editor Anna Dawson had the opportunity to talk to Ozomatli vocalist and guitarist Raul Pacheco about the band's experience being citizen diplomats and US cultural ambassadors.

**AD: Thank you for taking the time to talk to talk with USC's "Public Diplomacy" Magazine today. I first want to talk to you about your experience of being U.S. Cultural Ambassadors. How did that experience happen?**

RP: We were asked by someone in PR in DC and they just asked if we wanted to do it. It took us a while to warm to the idea, and we weren't sure what they were asking for; but we felt it was appropriate and we were mainly able to play for a lot of young people in different parts of the world. For us, entertaining together and encouraging young people to pursue music and to find ways to express themselves artistically is important to us. So we took the time to do it. It's very beautiful, and we got to get to places that we probably wouldn't have gotten to on our own.

**AD: Is doing independent touring different than doing government-sponsored touring?**

RP: It is a little different. The biggest difference is that you are going places where you don't necessarily have an audience and interacting with people on a first time basis. It can be a challenge, but I think for us as a group of musicians we don't feel that. We're a live band, and we feel pretty confident that we can get people engaged and appreciate the moment and the music at least. We can break down the barriers to go have

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deeper conversations with these strangers and try to take the moment to think about getting to know people in other parts of the world.

**AD: You guys started touring under the Bush administration. Was that a challenge?**

RP: What I think it was is that we were surprised that they asked us because of our political left leanings, and once we figured out that it wasn't really political and it was more cultural. I think in our situation there are those overtones maybe, but we're not really interacting with or affecting policy. We are mainly playing at orphanages and playing at events. We played events at the World Expo, we played at different events that were sponsored by not only the U.S. embassies but a bunch of embassies in a cultural context. So there has been a lot of that.

**AD: In the countries where you played where you did not have a fan base, how were you received by locals?**

RP: I think that we were received very well. I think one of the reasons why we feel confident in front of people is because we think that as a live band we are engaging, you know, and our music is our base and that transcends language and transcends any kind of perceived ideas and the people become connected to us. We see people dancing and that they're open to sharing their emotion in that kind of way makes us received pretty well.

**AD: In the years that you've done it, have you seen a change in the way that you are received by people?**

RP: People don't necessarily know us. I don't think it's any different, and I think each country is a different situation. When you go to a place like China there is a lot of impressions that they have of America and we find that we are different than what most of those perceptions are. We are not all white for one thing, and the music we play is not all in English. I think that we kind of paint a picture that is a little more realistic and that there a lot of different workings in this country and we are just an example of all that in a city. When we talk about it or are able to engage people about it, similar dynamics in major cities all over the world are seen: where people from different cultures come for work, come to try to make a living, and all those different cultures living amongst one another start to create a certain kind of characteristic on their own. So once they see us as an example of that they can understand that this kind of

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thing is happening all over the world; it becomes a multi-layered experience. Even within countries, because different regions in countries just like here have different histories and different cultural centers. So if you take someone from Texas, if you take someone from Minnesota, someone from New York, it's the same story. Even ourselves we have a tendency to see people as a statistic and not very real. We think that we remind people that what we are doing is not necessarily special or different than what everyone else is doing. We are layering cultures and adding them together, mainly as a means of survival.

**AD: Were there any challenges as a result of your diplomacy efforts?**

RP: I think that some of the big challenges were ourselves and getting over the perceptions of what it would mean to work for the State Department, and we were criticized by some circles for that. Once we figured out what it was we felt that it wouldn't be promoting some kind of U.S. domination. We weren't in those situations, and I don't think that anyone doing that kind of work was dictating policy so it never got to any kind of level or anything that was really that important. Basically it was showcasing an aspect of American culture to some people.

**AD: Did you have any guidelines of what you could or couldn't do?**

RP: Nope, it was pretty much, 'We know who you are and we are giving you faith.' Most of the time the audiences really made it for us. We were received better and had a lot of musical exchanges and people we interacted with. We really wanted to encourage different kinds of artistic expression and the pursuit of that. Here and everywhere else being an artist is not seen as something viable or important and not seen as something receptive but we believe differently and we really encourage others to pursue that.

**AD: I'm sure that there were a lot of language barriers. How did you get over those?**

RP: We had interpreters both ways. And I think that if you want to communicate with someone it's not as hard these days, when we're played music and starts to revolve around that and ended up being a lot of fun. So that is a unique experience and interacting with people you never would. That is something that is on a basic level really exciting.

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**AD: Were there any moments or experiences that really stuck out?**

RP: Sure, I remember playing for a blind school in Myanmar. And not a lot of people get to Burma. It is tiny and just now starting to open up but when we went it was very rare. And what we found is that for any kind of Western band and we found that all the expatriates living there and anyone familiar with any kind of Western music who needed to feel connected and not be homesick.

**AD: You guys say that your music takes you around the world just by taking you around L.A. How does that translate when doing any worldwide tour, with the U.S. or independently?**

RP: I think it is the same thing. We are a strong Latin band, and that's the only reason we still have a career; we get hired because of what we design and are able to have a career because of our live playing. I think that when people see us they feel that power and get wrapped up in the chain of what we can do when we are playing live.

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# BOOK REVIEW

## The Boy Who Harnessed the Wind by William Kamkwamba and Bryan Mealer

**JENNIFER Yael GREEN**

I met William Kamkwamba, the author of *The Boy Who Harnessed the Wind*, when I first moved to Los Angeles two years ago. His book, a story about how he taught himself physics as a young boy and was then able to build a windmill and supply electricity to his village in Malawi, had just been published. He was everywhere: *The Today Show*, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, *Ellen DeGeneres*. And on that night, he was at a book party being thrown in his honor at a home in Beverly Hills.

I was there for work, and it was the kind of very posh party with chandeliers flowering from the ceilings, golden champagne in crystal glasses and a grandiose house with so many rooms that it simply should not be called a *home*. I met William only briefly, and he was the only person at the party who seemed more uncomfortable than me, smiling stiffly when I told him I'd found Malawi beautiful when I was there. I imagine he must have felt very far from home on that evening.

I left the party after only an hour, a yellow paperback copy of his book tucked in my purse. It was later placed on a bookshelf in my bedroom, under a copy of *2001: A Space Odyssey* and a couple of other books I'd been meaning to read. But recently I've been thinking a lot about Africa, and its troubling image problem.

There is so much to Africa, but Westerners only ever have a one-dimensional, negative picture of it. Although I have seen a few books by African authors in my local Starbucks or as part of Oprah's book club, the list is still very short. Much of what we read, view or hear is from a Western perspective. I am tired of hearing only of civil war, corruption and disease. On a continent of 53 countries, there are many more stories to hear, and one of my 2012 resolutions is to seek out those African voices, those African stories. I decided



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to start with William Kamkwamba and *The Boy Who Harnessed the Wind*.

This autobiographical tale is about how a curious and bright young Malawian boy who is forced to drop out of school because his family cannot afford to pay his school fees (roughly \$12) focused on building his own windmill to create electricity. When he is not assisting on the family farm, he spends all his time reading weathered old science textbooks in the village library, learning “how things work” so that he can later scour the village for junk to use for windmill parts.

He wants to build the windmill so “...then I could have lights. No more kerosene lamps that burned our eyes and sent us gasping for breath. With a windmill, I could stay awake at night reading instead of going to bed at seven with the rest of Malawi.” With only 2% of Malawi enjoying the luxury of electricity, the windmill would make life easier and more productive for his family and his village. And more than that, Kamkwamba longs to be more than a poor Malawian farmer, more than a man who toils to grow just enough maize to feed his family and possibly buy a new pair of shoes each year.

Kamkwamba's journey is remarkable, showing how perseverance and hard-work can pay off in even the most trying of circumstances. It is the back story, though, that is really powerful: his childhood on a Malawian farm, the strong relationships with his family, his friends and all of the village's characters (the dog, the chief, the traders). He describes the famine that cascaded over the country in 2002, leaving Malawi quiet because “...everywhere the anguish was silent because no one had the energy to cry.” The prose is simple, but the descriptions of “the starving people” and Kamkwamba's own three mouthfuls of food each evening made my own stomach curl painfully, though I've never known that kind of hunger.

Kamkwamba's story is one of anguish and inspiration, much like Africa itself. There is the rooster red earth and the thick stars in the sky, the beautiful and overwhelming ties of family, the dizzying triumph of realizing a dream—all amidst the corruption, cholera and poverty about which we so often hear.

I encourage anyone to read this moving story, and just as I did, learn more about Africa from an African perspective.

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# The Post-American World, Release 2.0

## By Fareed Zakaria

**Reviewed by  
SULAGNA MISRA**

Fareed Zakaria's book, *The Post-American World, Release 2.0*, has an optimistic tone for a future of progress as made possible by globalization. His theme is similar to that of Thomas Friedman, making the case that globalization is enabling countries other than the U.S. to realize their economic as well as political power. Zakaria disassembles the role of the United States as the previously unchallenged superpower for the past few decades, along with the way Western powers have ruled for the past few centuries. He suggests that America's relative dip in recent years will be swiftly alleviated and that it, in fact, gave impetus to other countries to rise. He also says that while other countries are gaining economic power, the U.S. is not necessarily getting a smaller slice of pie. Rather, the pie is growing.

Zakaria looks at how two countries are changing and rising to join (or perhaps even supersede) the United States in the future in terms of economic and political clout: China, in the chapter "The Challenger," and India, in the chapter, "The Ally." One may question these biased monikers, but Zakaria's choices make sense. These are the two most heavily populated countries in the world and the ones with which the U.S. finds itself most deeply entangled—China because of its superpower potential and India because of its status as the largest democracy. Zakaria follows the modernization and non-combative foreign relations of China, and delves into India's region-based government makeup, which has an advantage over China in regards to its more composed attitude towards social unrest and political dissidence.

However, Zakaria tends to sound too optimistic about globalization. The use of positive examples without any caveats builds an unbalanced worldview and allows for a conflation between political, cultural, and economic power. Just because a country increases its GDP does not mean its culture can spread in the same manner. While American culture dominates in the media

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and diplomatically and India's Bollywood has a long reach thanks to its scattered diaspora, Chinese media and culture are less visible and less embraced around the world. Also, Zakaria's hypotheses about the post-American world suggest that political power goes hand in hand with economic power—although not the other way around. He is also quick to note that countries such as North Korea and Venezuela, in their vociferous campaigns against America and in favor of their own, cannot use their politics to foment their economies. He glosses over the political and economic standpoints of certain Middle Eastern nations such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, by suggesting that the lack of inclusion in the global economy marks their political dealings with a lack of power. While he does go into the rise of non-governmental organizations in the political sphere, Zakaria does not look so deeply in the corporate powers at play within these globalized markets.

In the sixth and seventh chapters, Zakaria outlines America's history of power and addresses American concerns about losing it. He outlines America's problems (including a sensationalist media and a debilitated democracy) and makes guidelines for how the United States should comport itself in the new, post-American world.

Zakaria's style in the book is somewhat breezy and general for a topic in which he believes so heartily. The book's claims are not unsupported, but it seems that more research is needed; however, Zakaria's elucidation of a potential post-American world and his theory give new insight into how the world is changing and how America has to change.

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# Aerotropolis: the Way We'll Live Next.

by John D. Kasarda  
and Greg Lindsay.

**Reviewed by  
DAVID MANDEL**

*Aerotropolis: the Way We'll Live Next* is a book about globalization; about how the rise of jet travel changed the meaning of distance and the way cities are built. Ever since the first commercial jet plane took off in the 1960s the world has been taking to the skies faster and faster, going farther and farther, and flying more and more often.

But, jet planes do more than ferry people around—they make our just-in-time world possible. Thanks to the magic of air freight, corporations have perfected the art of international connectivity: the logistics of FedEx and UPS, supply chains of Wal-Mart and 747s of Boeing have combined to dramatically accelerate the speed of business and radically redefine the meaning of distance.

About a quarter of the way through the book, Kasarda's Law of Connectivity is introduced. It states that "Every technology meant to circumvent distances electronically... will only stoke our desire to traverse it ourselves" (112). This can be taken as the central premise of Kasarda's worldview. It has a corollary: "for every message we send... there's a chance it will lead us to meet face-to-face" (112). The implication of this Law is that international air travel will grow because of, not in spite of, the Internet. Thus, the aerotropolis—Kasarda's vision of a city built around an airport.

More specifically, the aerotropolis is a new kind of city—spatially larger, sprawling and orbited around a major international air hub. They have existed in America for a long time—we just did not know it. One prime example is Chicago's O'Hare International Airport (ORD). When it was built, the five-mile corridor of interstate that connected it to downtown was swampy emptiness. Today, "it has more hotel rooms than residents, and more office towers than downtown Kansas City" (46). The city came to the airport. *Aerotropolis* finds the same story in Los Angeles (LAX), Dallas (DFW) and Northern Virginia (IAD).

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The underlying message of the book is that airports bring economic growth, but that development must be managed or else the city will choke off the airport. (Case in point: Heathrow.) Thus, it is not simply enough to build an airport. In order to have a real aerotropolis there must be planning and zoning to efficiently allocate space for the office clusters, cul-de-sacs and malls that make up the aerotropolis.

If there were ever a perfect recipe for an aerotropolis it would be Asia's export-led growth, rising middle class and authoritarian governments. China needs more than 100 new airports. Many are being built in the image of Kasarda's aerotropolis. The Government of South Korea has commissioned New Songdo City, a pre-fab aerotropolis built by and for corporations. New Songdo City will be built on reclaimed land across a brand new bridge from Incheon International Airport, its *raison d'être*. It hopes to become the Hong Kong of Northern Asia—a place for expats who can take day trips to Beijing, Singapore and Tokyo to do their business.

While Asia builds, the West must learn how to manage the airports it already has. LAX and Heathrow have been sabotaged by NIMBYs, and have no room left to grow. Their respective cities, Los Angeles and London, have tried to build new airports elsewhere but have been unsuccessful. And herein lies the aerotropolis' toughest challenge: those who build the airports are not those who use them. Ultimately, this becomes a communication problem: how to explain to various stakeholders—be they governments, corporations, farmers, unions, etc.—what an aerotropolis is and how it will help them.

Kasarda employs a utopian message, a vision of a world that is wholly connected. His aerotropolis is solely a hub in a global web of connectivity; connections that radically alter how we relate to each other: "As aviation increasingly connects the world's people and places, we will simultaneously observe *global homogenization and local diversification*... Fashion, food, entertainment, gadgets, families, and work will diffuse even more rapidly throughout the world, creating strikingly observable commonalities among widely dispersed places while enriching the variety of products and services in those places." (413).

As one reads *Aerotropolis: the Way We'll Live Next* it becomes clear that the main character is a new type of citizen: one who spends the majority of his/her time flying from one country to another—from customer to customer—and only nominally lives anywhere. This is the person for whom an aerotropolis is built. All around the world, those who populate this new international citizenry are living in countries that are not their own, drawn to the opportunities of globalization and international trade, comforted by knowing their homes are only a short flight away. Ultimately, Kasarda is predicting

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that all citizens are becoming citizen diplomats; that the unyielding drive of connectivity will pull more and more people from their countries of birth and place them anywhere within 25 miles of an international airport.





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# ENDNOTES

## Why and How Women are Winning

**CHRISTA DOWLING**

For most of the past century women have been expressing how they wish to live and work. In today's environment women of the 21st Century are half of all U.S. workers and are frequently the primary breadwinners or co-bread-winners. It is a dramatic shift from just a generation ago. It changes how women spend their days and how they think of themselves; it has a ripple effect that reverberates throughout the nation and beyond our borders. It fundamentally changes how we live and work and affects everyone, including families, husbands, companions, employees and colleagues.

American women have been on the forefront of exploring their possibilities. Through education and entrepreneurship, starting their own companies, women are working in a chosen profession, which has given them the power to ask and demand changes. Women have made great strides and are now more likely to be economically responsible for themselves and their families. Indeed women are winning on many fronts, yet there is still a long way to go. This new way of thinking will also demand different actions. The questions often asked are connected to how women see themselves, how they are finding success in their decision-making processes as strong professionals, as partners and leaders. It also demands flexibility and respect from these partners.

Setting goals, expanding a vision, setting boundaries for oneself and others are critical points to achieve. It is essential that men are part of this thought-process and equation. They are part of the solution. It is meaningless to define women's capacity and ability, without considering the resources, financial and humane, to improve their lives and the lives of others in their immediate environment. To recognize a woman's full potential behooves everyone to know what benefits there are for all to reap and enjoy.

It is our responsibility to define these possibilities and own them. Knowledge, perseverance, determination and self-confidence

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are our best asset, built upon education. To gain the ability to have the confidence in competence, judgment, assurance and poise is very much part of success. Self-confidence gives quality to this equation...

The women I spoke to on the subject of their vision, the inherent points they made were the following: learn, be curious, be optimistic, leave fear behind, create connections to people you enjoy working with, be enthusiastic. Learn a new language, learn its culture and history, be curious about art, music, literature, and carve out time for yourself. Treat yourself with respect, if you don't no one else does. Be grateful to people who give you a helping hand. Above all be authentic! And as Shakespeare so wisely said: be true to yourself!

We are living through a period of a powerful and unique transformation; for many people it is very disturbing. *Women's Rights are Human Rights*. No matter where one searches for answers, the American women are on the positive side of this vital equation. We are fortunate to live in an environment of great support through a variety of institutes, seminars are abounded, and networking groups are helping women find their stride.

Women are not stuck in an idealized past; many enjoy the fruit of their labor and follow their dreams with determination. In our free society women are not forced into a loveless marriage as is still the case in many countries in other regions or was the case in past history. We are fortunate to have women in our time we can admire, emulate and learn from. Their accomplishments and visions are an inspiration to all of us.

My research with many women around the globe shows that their needs are similar: Finding a partner, building a life, having children, creating a family and finding a fulfilling occupation are very often the underlying goal. Yet the center of this is always their self-confidence and concern for others, searching for answers and often encouraged by like-minded women and men. Most of them are being encouraged by a parent, teacher or mentor. It is also based on the possibility of an education and breaking down perceptions of a past image. It could mean that women are seen as hard or pushy, if they have entered the working world in competition to their male counterparts. Validation of their core believes is long overdue in all free societies, but particularly in societies where women are serfs. Yes, serfs! It is another word for slavery.

Why are women winning? Women have had a great voice and impact over decisions concerning their lives. They are taken seriously. We have had the opportunity to observe women as world-leaders in the now and the past; women leaders who have reached the zenith of their endeavors have shown courage and fortitude. It is the same goal for women or men to fulfill their responsibilities. Rising above

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the perceived idea women can accomplish much. They neither need to compromise their intelligence nor have their goals trivialized. Women's empowerment depends very much on their ability and on their participation in work that needs to be accomplished and (depends on) believing in themselves.

The impact women have on the world stage is, in its core, the need of all humankind. Each woman represents her respective country as a diplomat, and each one has pride in her nation. At a time when democracy is fought for, more widespread, it appears that dignity has long been at risk, ignored or even eroded. The world is unquestionably in need of better leadership. It does not matter if this leadership arrives with a woman or man. It is only important in its existence and in its clarity of purpose.

Public diplomacy demands that women working or traveling abroad be the best they can be. Each one carries the responsibility and symbolizes the best of individual freedom. Their choice of profession, of speech, of thinking crystallizes all hopes and dreams of women around the world. The goal and common denominator is the rejection of violent ideologies. Public Diplomacy is a constant and demands the commonality of a civilized and respectful form of behavior for the twenty-first-century. The deep-seated belief by women is that they are better diplomats and better negotiators, more patient in defining the needs of mankind in various roles. Believing that the world would be a better place if more women were playing a stronger part in the decision-making process, is a major point.

When women are brought into the male decision-making realm, the tone of the discussions becomes more successful, more polite, geared towards diplomatic solutions rather than hard confrontations. A more civilized tone is used and a more courteous behavior is shown. Men need to be included in this thought process. It enriches all lives. The constant change in our world demands a new dynamic in our thinking.

There are golden rules to make our world a better place. These rules are the beginning of all human exchanges and are universal. They lie in clear communication and action, not in empty promises. We may consider this a time of chaos and hardship; we may also consider this a time of great opportunity and chance to find answers and a way out of this calamity. Guidelines are easy to follow and made to give everyone a solid footing of his or her goals. One has to only ask for them. It is up to the individual to follow these golden rules.

Some of the guidelines are self-explanatory. Some of them demand a positive way of dealing with complex tasks. It helps to behave towards others as one would want to be treated. Communicating thoughts and ideas in a polite, quiet manner or paying attention to

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others' ideas is an important factor in negotiations. Acknowledging not knowing the answer is part of the art of communication. We live in a fast-moving time, communication is instantaneous, yet virtual reality is not real. We need to learn to take the time and respect the other's language and opinions. It is a great asset to find associates who share the value of quality in achievements. .

The answer lies with each one and the decision to take the responsibilities which are presented to her, may even demand reinventing herself to the surprise of her family. In theory that is easily answered but not in everyday life. We live in a free world and are fortunate to be able to make choices in an environment which encourages us to pursue our goals. Yet, we also live in a time of great shifts; it exacerbates the fear of independence, and compounds economic difficulties. This moment in our history requires also a civic response from women and men by building social trust and capital through cultural means. Women all over the world understand and need to further their deep-seated commitment to make it a better world. It is not a one-time thing but a constant reminder of endeavoring to make all lives better. It demands courage and willingness to face the challenges to take on the problems. We need to embrace these challenges and make them our own; no matter where we are in life's pursuit.

Above all having goals, expanding a vision, setting boundaries for oneself and others are critical points to achieve. It is essential that men are part of this equation and part of the solution. It is meaningless to define a woman's worth without considering the compassion, the resources to improve her existence and the lives of others. This is a universal point and is an essential part of our global world.

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