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# Building Social Capital in the Global Security Context: A Study at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies

Eliza Maria Markley
*Kennesaw State University*, emarkley@kenneaw.edu

# BUILDING SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE GLOBAL SECURITY CONTEXT

# A STUDY AT THE GEORGE C. MARSHALL EUROPEAN CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

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ELIZA MARIA MARKLEY

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*For my brother, Calin Colhon*

*and*

*For Nick Pratt*

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## ABSTRACT

Existing literature features no academic research on social capital in the security environment. However, social capital is relevant for the current global security context because it has the capability of building cooperation based on trust and shared values. This project defines social capital in the global security context as the social and professional networks - based on shared experience, norms and values, and mutual trust - that facilitate cooperation of security professionals for future benefits. This research explores how, whether and the extent to which international education at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (MC) develops social capital among international security professionals. Using qualitative and quantitative methods, this study found that international education and shared experiences at the MC 1) foster social and professional networks that are used as capital to increase inter-agency and international cooperation; 2) facilitate the development of interpersonal and category-based trust; 3) contribute to participants' awareness of and adherence to democratic values and norms; 4) increase intercultural communication and competence and 5) result in the application of acquired values, norms, and practices in the home countries of participants.

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## INTRODUCTION

Today security challenges take many forms. They vary from nuclear threats and internal conflicts to water wars, drug, human, or arms trafficking, terrorism, and cyber-crime, nationalism, regional instability, international migration, economic collapse, and climate change, just to name a few. These challenges are multifaceted, complex and dynamic, partly because of the "ever changing mix and number of actors involved and the pace with which the strategic and operational environments change" (Franke & Dorff, 2012, p. 1).

Many security experts agree that the new global security architecture requires greater coherence between security, governance, and development policies, and enhanced cooperation and coordination among governmental agencies at the local, regional, and international levels. The political, security, cultural, social, and economic sectors are so highly interwoven in the current international context, that failure of cooperation in one sphere may result in failures in all others. Consequently, no single country, actor or agency can ensure its national security outside of the evolving multidimensional and multilevel cooperation paradigm.

If multifaceted cooperation is necessary to address the current security challenges, how can this strategy be implemented? In civil societies, Putnam (1995) claims that existence and high levels of stock of social capital, i.e., networks based on shared norms

and trust, increase cooperation. Following his argument, building social capital may become of central importance in developing effective security cooperation. The next two sections examine the global security environment in more detail and the concept of social capital. It will also describe the connection between the two.

## I. New Security Threats and Their Approaches

The end of the Cold War raised hopes for peace and a united world. However, the fall of communism was shortly followed by the conflicts in Bosnia that engulfed the entire former Yugoslavia and the Balkan region. Other security threats such as Somalia, Rwanda, September 11, the Arab Spring, concerns about proliferation of nuclear weapons, asymmetric conflict, terrorism, and a global economic collapse demonstrated that global security environment had dramatically changed. During the Cold War, the concepts of security were mostly defined in military terms and concerned primarily with the national security of the territorial state. However, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, security could no longer be understood as isolated from politics, economics, society, environment, minority groups, religion, history or demographics.

Reactions of the international community to these complex security threats, experience has demonstrated, were conducted largely in an ad hoc manner. This involved most often recreating necessary tools and strategies more or less from scratch with each crisis (U.S. Department of State, 2009), and even led to failed or publicly denounced operations. A question naturally arises: Why were old processes and structures used to meet the threats of the Cold War no longer adequate? Several factors explain this.

First, the role and power of nation states in the global arena have decreased (Gartner & Hyde-Price, 2001). In the current international security context, nation states

are threatened not by external military dangers, as during the Cold War, but by internal ethno-national tensions, asymmetric threats, or forces of economic globalization. In addition, as the September 11 attacks have shown, the capability of being the protective barrier to ward off threats is no longer a trusted attribute of nation states. Even more, the sovereignty of the nation state is no longer sacrosanct, as the international community has passed the responsibility to protect (R2P) individual citizens whose security is no longer ensured by the state.

Second, non-state actors have acquired a more important role in international politics. As Jessica Mathews (2003) argued, the end of the Cold War brought a redistribution of power among states, markets, and civil societies. She claims that a power shift from state to non-state actors is taking place. On the one side, non-state actors contribute to increased cooperation and agency through civil society, transnational organizations and interest groups. On the other side, however, non-state actors engage in illegal activities through the formation of terrorist networks and criminal organizations. The actions of these groups are not only extremely violent, but they create a key security problem in identifying and locating the enemy. Who is the aggressing group when, most of the times, the combatant and noncombatant forces are blended together? Moreover, from where do these groups operate, when they rely on very flexible and dynamic cross-border networks?

Third, globalization occurs on all fronts and has also affected the nature of threats (Kennedy, 2012; Boon, Huq, & Lovelace, 2012). In this sense, localized threats are no longer locally containable and are now potentially dangerous to global security and stability. Ethnic conflicts, terrorism, and a new generation of global challenges such as

climate change, energy security, migration, and new technologies are more and more interconnected and are affecting the entire international system of security.

The current international security environment and its new types of threats explain why the new security system necessitates an integrated and collaborative effort in foreign and security policy. Gartner and Hyde-Price (2001) claim that this system needs to promote cooperation among members, facilitate communication, and provide information. Additionally, cooperation ought to be supported by common principles, norms, and rules among the members. Such a security system based on cooperation and common norms, the scholars argue, would constrain aggressive behavior and provide a basis for collective action, conflict prevention, crisis management, and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

According to Brown (2003), because security threats are interconnected, the security policies should be multifaceted, often involving a combination of military, political, economic, and diplomatic elements. It is beyond the capability of one actor or nation, even a superpower, to tackle the new security challenges on its own. National leaders who try to deal with these issues unilaterally will fail and national interests will suffer (Brown, 2004). Therefore, multilateralism is a principle of security policy that becomes a necessity, not an option. To meet the new interconnected security challenges, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton proposed strengthening civilian instruments of national security and enhancing whole-of-government capabilities. She explained:

> Leading through civilian power saves lives and money. With the right tools, training, and leadership, our diplomats and development experts can defuse crises before they explode and create new opportunities for economic growth. We can

> find new partners to share burdens and new solutions to problems that might otherwise require military action. And where we must work side by side with our military partners […] we can be the partners that our military needs and deserves. (Clinton, 2010)

Similar to the whole of government approach at the national level, Gartner and Hyde-Price (2001) advanced the concept of global governance. The collective management of common problems at the international level, global governance has been seen as a solution to address the global security challenges since World War II. However, the post-Cold War dynamic and interconnected security dangers require that this cooperation among agencies be stronger than ever. As Boon et al. (2012) argued, global challenges require global solutions.

Security challenges are not only interconnected and dynamic, but also appear to be orchestrated by networks of actors who operate freely across national boundaries (Comfort, 2005). Therefore, Comfort (2005) claims that an institutional approach based on formalized administrative hierarchies is ineffective to counter the stateless and dynamic networked threats of organized crime. According to Alberts, Garstka, Hayes, and Signori (2001), these security threats and counter-threats need to be understood from the perspective of an interacting complex system operating on multiple levels in many locations. For these reasons, Comfort (2005) claimed that building networks of organizations, based on interoperability[1] and common values, are more flexible and robust strategies to approach new security challenges than the standard practices of exerting control through hierarchical structures.

[1] Interoperability is understood as the ability of two or more agencies to exchange information where and when is needed.

[2] The U.S. Secretary of Defense Cheney stated in Brussels in 1992 that NATO need to lend more assistance

For strong global governance to occur, the international community needs to rely on common norms and values, predictable behavior based on reciprocity, and mutually agreed upon tools to address threats (Gartner & Hyden-Price, 2001). In this sense, Gartner and Hyden-Price (2012) revived the concept of the security community (Deutsch, 1957) — a community of nations based on shared values and norms — to enable global governance and international cooperation among nations and security actors. As Nye (2004) considered, in today's architecture of global security, it is less important how many enemies one actor annihilates. What is important is how many allies it grows. Consequently, Nye proposes the term soft power to describe the ability of actors to obtain what they want through attraction rather than coercion and payments. This ability results from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. As Colin Powell explained (Nye, 2004) while World War II was won by hard power, the implementation of the Marshall Plan that followed was an example of soft power.

Constructing a new security system, a community of sorts, based on cooperation, networks and shared values, appears to be a stringent requirement to address the dynamic and flexible security challenges of today. This new system needs to integrate and engage states as well as non-state actors that ought to pursue national and international cross-agency cooperation, formation of networks, and fostering of shared values, norms, and procedures. As described in the next section, these are the elements of social capital.

## II. Social Capital and the New Security Threats

Putnam (1995) defined "social networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" as social capital (p. 67). "Social

capital," Francis Fukuyama (2002) explained, "is what permits individuals to band together to defend their interests and organize to support collective needs" (p. 26). Although social capital is a new term, the idea of social capital is not new. The social integration theory of Durkheim (1951), for instance, contends that cooperation is a result of socialization into shared norms (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). Similarly, Weber's research on protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism identifies that social networks are an instrument for facilitating entrepreneurial activities and economic development (Trigilia, 2001).

More recently, Bourdieu (1980) explained social capital as the aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to the possession of a network. He claims that members of a network are advantaged (compared to non-members), because they have access to the resources (knowledge, information, relationships and connections, economic capital, etc.) possessed by other members of the network. Moreover, network social relationships have resources embedded into them (Fukuyama, 1997). These resources are the informal values and norms shared among the members of a group that permit individuals' cooperation. Social capital therefore resides not in individuals but in their relationships with other actors (Adler and Kwon, 2002).

Research finds that social capital has various benefits. It improves collective trust, cooperation, and social cohesion (Penard & Poussing, 2010). It is positively associated with economic growth, international trade, macroeconomic stability, political and civic involvement, crime prevention, and health and happiness (Beugelsdijk & Schaik, 2005; Fukuyama, 1997; Knack & Keefer, 1997).

Social capital in the security context consists of networks of cross-agency and international security cooperation based on shared values, norms, and trust. Building on Comfort's (2005) argument, one can assert that the success of multinational security strategies addressing the many current and complex challenges relies increasingly on the social capital fostered among security agencies. In an era when security no longer stops at the water's edge, international security will increasingly depend on good relations and close cooperation between actual and potential security allies based on shared values, norms, and procedures.

How does social capital develop? It has been argued that international education programs in the military context function as agents of socialization and infusers of democratic values. Participants in these programs "learn our way of war, but they also learn our philosophies of civil military relations" (Economist 2011, 65). Consequently, the goal of international education goes beyond military training (Cope, 1995; Gheciu, 2005). It aims to expose military and civilian personnel from different countries to the values and norms of Western democracy, human rights, and the rule of law (Gheciu, 2005), while building a network of national security experts worldwide (Kennedy, 1998). Therefore, previous research has looked to international education as a transmitter of democratic values and norms and a facilitator of professional networking in the global security context. However, sociological, military, and political science literature features no empirical research on the development of social capital in the context of international security.

**1. Purpose of the Research**

Therefore, this study establishes the academic understanding of social capital in the global security context and explores whether, how, and the extent to which international education of security professionals develops social capital and contributes to the building of an effective, collaborative security community. Social capital in the global security context is understood as the social and professional networks — based on shared experience, norms and values, and mutual trust — that facilitate cooperation of security professionals for future benefits. This research employs a case study conducted at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (GCMC) located in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany.

The Marshall Center (MC), founded in 1993, is a U.S. Department of Defense and German Defense Ministry security and defense institute. Its mission aims "to create a more stable security environment by advancing democratic institutions and relationships, especially in the field of defense; promoting active and peaceful security cooperation; and enhancing enduring partnerships among the nations of North America, Europe, and Eurasia" (www.marshallcenter.org). Since its inception, the Marshall Center has provided international education specific to the field of security policy to civilian and military personnel from almost 140 countries.

The Marshall Center provides an ideal setting to examine the effects of international security policy education on the building of social capital in the global security area. It has a large international representation of security professionals and aims to develop shared values and norms and enduring partnerships. As a result, the study addresses more specific research questions: Does the Marshall Center education and experience foster social and professional networks among international security

professionals? If so, how are these networks utilized? Do they facilitate cooperation and does GCMC shared experiences foster trust among its participants? Finally, does international security policy education at the Marshall Center build shared values, practices, and norms among security professionals from around the globe?

**2. Organization of the Study**

This dissertation is organized in nine chapters. Following the introduction, in Chapter 2, the study examines the concept of social capital and looks at its historical evolution in the fields of social science and economics. Due to its multiple definitions as well as the specific security context, this chapter delineates an operational definition of social capital in the global security context. It is social and professional networks — based on shared experiences, norms and values, and mutual trust — that facilitate the cooperation of security professionals for future benefits. More specifically, the chapter examines the three indicators — networks, trust, and norms — as they pertain to the context of international security, and lay the theoretical ground for the analysis of findings.

Chapter 3 presents a historical overview of the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany from its inception in 1993 to 2013. The chapter analyzes the geopolitical context that led to the development of this unique German-American partnership, its mission and objectives, as well as ISPE as conceptualized through its courses. The chapter reviews all curricular programs organized by the Marshall Center, focusing on their type of audience, objectives, and structure. Most importantly, the chapter aims to evaluate the level of flexibility and

promptitude in adjusting these programs to the rapidly changing geopolitical environment that characterizes today's global security environment.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology of this research. It weighs the advantages and disadvantages of utilizing the case study approach and justifies the selection of the Marshall Center for this research. This chapter also describes the mixed methods used to assess the development of social capital in the area of global security. It presents the initial hypotheses and describes the operationalization of variables. Additionally, the chapter discusses issues of sampling, data collection and limitations of the research.

Chapter 5 looks at the forming of social and professional networks at the Marshall Center and examines networking as a social process. The analysis shows that evolving patterns of interactions among MC participants and alumni lead to the formation of networks as social structures. Engendering shared norms such as reciprocity, these social structures are charged with utility and become a resource investment and social capital of GCMC alumni. Utilizing GCMC networks increases inter-agency and international cooperation, shortens the red tape phenomenon, provides professional expertise or assistance in foreign countries, and plays the role of icebreaker in negotiations.

Chapter 6 explores whether the Marshall Center education and shared experiences contribute to fostering trust among its participants and alumni. The results indicate that first, shared experiences, involvement in sports, sufficient time to interact with colleagues, and respective countries government selections of the MC participants contribute to establishing relationships based on trust. Second, this trust is extended to non-specific MC graduates (never met personally before) facilitating the foundation of category-based trust. This finding is particularly important for developing social capital

in the security context where alumni need to cooperate with other alumni whom they have never met. The presence of trust positively affects the speed, nature, and quality of the cooperative process.

Chapter 7 investigates the emergence of shared norms and values because of participants' experience at the Marshall Center. It discusses the extent to which alumni report perceived awareness and adherence to cooperative values and norms, emphasizing the main patterns as resulted from the interview data. They are perceptions of increased tolerance, ability to listen and to debunk biases and stereotypes, appreciation for interest-based type of negotiation and for giving back. This chapter also analyzes respondents' perceptions of their own self-conceptions, professional outlook, and intercultural competence.

Chapter 8 assesses whether and how the Marshall Center alumni carry and adjust the Center's values and norms to their home country environment. It addresses the questions, "who are the agents of change and what determines alumni to be agents of change?" By being agents of change, MC alumni challenged old norms, principles, and philosophies of security in their countries, and implemented new ones aligned with the principles of liberal democracy. The analysis showed that alumni who involve themselves in professional networks exhibit an increased level of interpersonal trust and reported that acquiring personal values from their GCMC experience have higher chances to be agents of change.

The concluding chapter presents the main findings of the dissertation and discusses theoretical and methodological contributions. It examines the limitations of the study and proposes further research.

# CHAPTER 2

# LITERATURE REVIEW: SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE GLOBAL SECURITY CONTEXT

*"The change of a country starts with the change of one person…and I hope one day I can help my country change."* – Ahmed (Afghanistan, PTSS)

In their volume, "Uniting against terror," Cortright and Lopez (2007) emphasized the role of international cooperation and shared values in fighting against what is considered the major global threat of our time — terrorism. They contend that an individual nation's decisions and acts that don't take into account the will of other nations lead to isolation and vulnerability. On the contrary, integrating a nation's power and values — both at home and abroad — lead to safer and stronger nations and world.

International cooperation has never been recognized as more important for the global security context than after September 11. To illustrate, in 55 years of existence up until 2001, the Security Council issued a handful of resolutions condemning terrorist attacks (Nesi, 2006). However, in the four years after the September 11 attacks, it adopted almost twenty resolutions related mostly to the necessity of international response in addressing terrorism. These resolutions focused on creating a network of cooperation, common understandings, and shared values that would lead to certain conduct of states in their struggle against terrorism. According to scholars such as

Putnam (1995) and Fukuyama (2002) these are precisely components of social capital that facilitate both the emergence of shared values and the strengthening of cooperation.

## I. What Is Social Capital?

### 1. The history of social capital

Social capital has attracted much attention from several disciplines, such as sociology, economics, anthropology, and political science, in recent years. However, the concept of social capital is not new, although the term is; its roots lie in the eighteenth and nineteenth century works of de Tocqueville, Mill, Toennies, Durkheim, Weber, Rousseau, and Simmel (Bankston and Zhou 2002; Putnam 2000; Portes 1998; Trigilia 2001). For instance, Bankston and Zhou (2002) considered that elements of social capital, such as social bonding through norms, originated in the classical Durkheimian social integration theory which states that cooperation is a result of socialization into shared norms (Durkheim 1951).

Similarly, Portes (Portes, 1998) noted that the idea of involvement and participation in groups leading to positive consequences for the individual and the community also stems from Durkheim, who emphasized the role of group life to address anomie. Coleman (1988) assessed that social capital originates in works such as Homans' (1958), who recognized that many social interactions can be viewed as exchanges between the parties, with the interaction continuing if the exchange was profitable for those parties. Economists point to the origins of social capital in the classic theories. Trigilia (2001) observed that although Weber did not use the term explicitly, he examined the idea of social networks (in Protestant Churches, for instance) as an

instrument for facilitating entrepreneurial activities and economic development in America.

Most scholars agree that the term social capital was used for the first time in 1916 by Hanifan, a social reformer who associated social capital with the "goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy, and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families" (as cited in Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 227). In 1961, Jacobs mentioned the notion of "irreplaceable social capital" to define the "networks in cities" (Woolcock, 1998). Similarly, without detailing on the concept, Loury (1977) used the term social capital to convey the different access to opportunities through social connections for minority and non-minority youth (as cited in Portes, 1998).

**2. Definitions**

Pierre Bourdieu (1980) provided the first systematic analysis of the concept of social capital. He looked at social capital from a functional perspective and focused on the individuals' benefits resulting from their participation in groups. Neither group membership nor social networks, in Bourdieu's understanding, are a given. On the contrary, they are formed through investment strategies (Portes, 1998). Bourdieu (1985), therefore, defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network." This definition encompasses two dimensions. The first one refers to the network relationships that enable members to gain access to the resources possessed by other members of network, and the second regards the number and quality of those resources (Portes, 1998).

In 1988, Coleman built on Loury's (1977) argument of access to opportunities, and defined social capital as "a variety of entities" that possess a social structure and

facilitates certain actions of actors (Coleman, 1988). Unlike Bourdieu, Coleman did not maintain the distinction between the possessors of social capital (A - who knows B and asks for a resource), the source of social capital (B – who assist with the resource), and the resource itself (Portes, 1998). Portes (1998) claimed that Coleman's "rather vague definition" started the debate over and lead to a proliferation of definitions of social capital (p. 5)

The debate around social capital starts with the very two words, social and capital. If there is a significant level of agreement concerning the "social" element of the definition — since the social structure underlies social capital — Adler and Kwan (2002) genuinely asked these questions: Is it capital in its economic sense? Is it a resource? Social capital is distinct from other types of capital, first because it is located not in actors, but in their relations with other actors (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Second, while an individual can accumulate physical and human capital, social capital can only be acquired through interaction with other people (Chalupnicek, 2010). Third, unlike all other types of capital, social capital does not wear out with use, but rather with disuse (Ostrom, 1999). Finally, its investment cannot be quantified as can economic investment (Solow, 1997)

However, Adler and Kwon (2002) argued that, "social capital falls squarely within the broad and heterogeneous family of resources commonly called capital" (p. 22). First, social capital is an investment from which some flow of benefits can be expected. In other words, "I will do this for you now, in the expectation that you (or perhaps someone else) will return the favor" (Putnam 2000, p. 20). Second, social capital is both "appropriable" and "convertible," because social relations can be used for different

purposes and can be converted to economic or other types of advantage (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Third, similar to other forms of capital, social capital can substitute for or complement other resources; it can improve the efficiency of economic capital by reducing transaction costs (Lazerson, 1995, as cited in Adler & Kwon 2002). Finally, social capital may become a "collective good" which facilitates the actions of individuals within the social structure (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000).

Furthermore, there is no common agreement upon the level of analysis of the concept or the component elements (indicators) of social capital. The next section develops a conceptual framework of social capital based on two dimensions, as shown in the diagram below: the level of analysis and the indicators of social capital.

## 3. Conceptual framework

**3. a. Levels of analysis.** Most often, social capital has been analyzed from two perspectives, as a micro or macro concept. The first perspective focuses on the individuals and their relationships. Individuals use their "sum of resources, actual or virtual" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.119) to pursue their interests. According to this perspective, individuals are *homo oeconomici,* focused on the "capital" invested in other people for future use (Penard & Poussing, 2010). This view of social capital, recognized also as "bridging social capital" (Adler & Kwon, 2000, p. 19) explains differential success of individuals in a competitive environment. The more connections one holds (capital), the more favorable the outcome (benefits).

A second perspective on social capital emphasizes the resources embedded in social networks rather than in the individual, while access to and use of these resources are the domain of actors (Lin, 2001). Social capital, argued Fukuyama (1997), can be

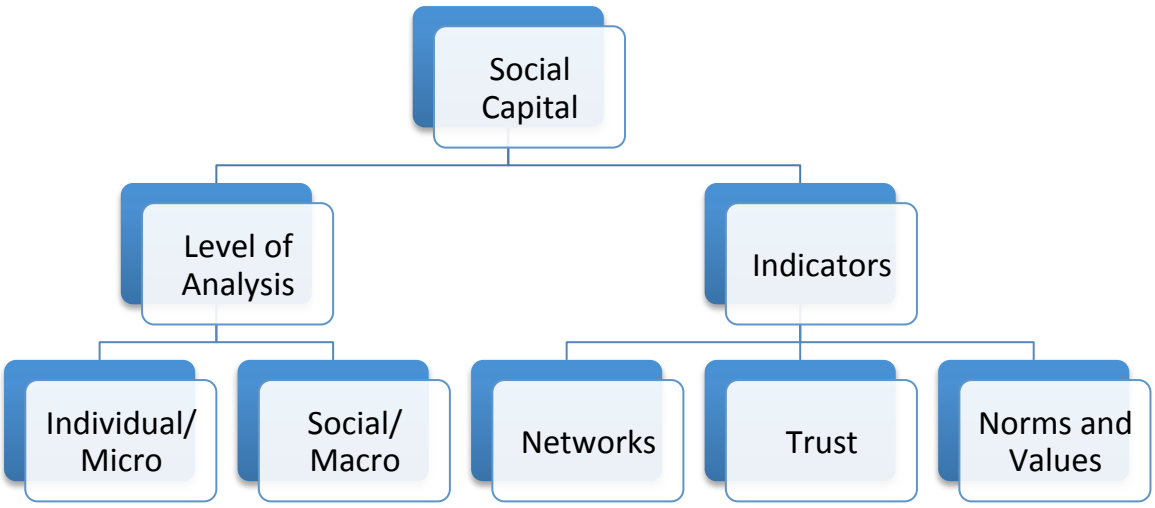
defined as a set of informal values or norms shared among the members of a group that permit cooperation among them. According to this perspective, social capital is a type of positive group externality (Durlauf & Fafchamps, 2004) in the sense that every member of the group can benefit from the group's resources. The "bonding social capital," as described by Adler and Kwon (2002), resides mostly in those "features that give the collectivity cohesiveness and thereby facilitate the pursuit of collective goals" (p. 21).

This research asserts that the two views are not mutually exclusive in supporting Putnam's (2000) argument that social capital has both an individual and a collective aspect. Empirically, the distinction is a matter of unit or level of analysis (Adler & Kwon, 2002). While individual data (relationships and networks) can be directly measured, the group level characteristics (norms, values, and trust) can be quantified through their individual mental representations — attitudes, conceptions, and expectations (Lillbacka, 2006). When individual level data are aggregated, they represent the group level characteristics at macro levels (Paldam, 2000). This approach enabled significant empirical work on social capital, facilitating traditional survey-based inquiries (Lillbacka, 2006). Therefore, empirical studies on social capital focus on both individual and group level data.

**3. b. Indicators.** Social capital has been defined as consisting of several indicators. Each of them contributes to the meaning of social capital, although each alone is not able to capture fully the concept in its entirety (Hean et al., 2003). For instance, social capital is "a web of cooperative relations" (Brehm & Rahn, 1997, as cited in Adler & Kwon 2002), "a set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permit cooperation among them" (Fukuyama, 1997), or "features of social

organization such as networks, norms, and social trust" (Putnam 1995). Coleman (1990) claimed that "social capital is not a single entity, but a variety of entities" described as social structures that facilitate actions of individuals within the social structure. Other definitions include types of social relations (Collier 1998; Snijders 1999; Liu & Besser 2003) and network resources (Burt 1997; Killpatrick 2000; Snijders 1999).

Figure 1. Levels of analysis and indicators of social capital




Numerous studies addressed the conceptual confusion created by social capital's overgeneralization. Adler and Kwon (2002) observed that social capital definitions, though similar, vary depending on whether they focus on the type of social relations (external or internal), sources, or effects of social capital. Similarly, Paldam (2000) noted that the component elements included in the description of the concept distinguish among three "families" of social capital: trust, ease of cooperation, and networks. Likewise, Brown and Ferris (2003) considered that the social capital indices are organized along

two principal dimensions. The network dimension of social capital represents individuals' relations and their embedment in community networks, and the second dimension includes measures of norms and trust. Past analyses of the concept reveal that the most often used elements to define social capital are trust, social networks, and norms. As a result, social capital can be defined as *networks based on shared norms, values, and mutual trust that facilitate cooperation and access to people who currently possess resources or who may possess resources in the future*. Moreover, this conception of social capital includes both individual and collective features and allows for an analysis of indicators of social capital in the security context.

## II. Social Capital in the Security Context

Social capital in the security context has specific characteristics given by the unique environment, professional profile, requirements and limitations, discipline, and socialization of security professionals. Based on the above conceptualization, social capital in the security context can be defined as social and professional networks — based on shared experiences, norms and values, and mutual trust — that facilitate the cooperation of security professionals for future benefits. Since the focus of this study is on the international security context, the following section explores the extent to which international security policy education develops social capital in each of its three dimensions: networks, trust, and norms and values.

### 1. Networks

Social networks are defined as a set of links among individuals (Mitchell, 1973). These links or the group of obligations, in Bourdieu' (1986) terms, can provide access to opportunities and enable individuals to obtain resources, hence to build social capital. A

similar, but a more recent conceptualization of networks describes them as interconnected groups of people linked to one another in a way that makes them capable of beneficial cooperation (Grewal, 2008). Cooperation — manifested in reciprocity, exchange of goods or ideas, and collective efforts of the network — is conditioned by the existence of "standards." (Grewal, 2008). Standards, according to Grewal (2008), are the shared norms and practices that enable network members to gain access to one another. Emergence of shared norms and practices leads to strengthening social capital (Coleman 1982)

Standards are central to Grewal's theory. He contended that the globalization of standards (or universalization of norms and practices) enables coordination (at the global level) and grants power to the network holding the particular standard. For example, Grewal (2008) claimed that the greater the number of English speakers, the greater the "pull" factor toward the network of people who speak English, the more capacity to "push out" other standards (languages), and therefore the greater power of the English speakers network. Additionally, networks can also vary in the significance of their members using the standard; in this sense, Grewal (2008) suggested that a small handful of elite financiers might have a larger effect on the use of a particular currency than numerically larger networks of currency users in underdeveloped countries.

Grewal's (2008) considerations on sociability and "epistemic communities" as mechanisms to globalize standards and generate network power are of highest interest for this research. First, Grewal's (2008) work suggested that individual interactions evolve into relational patterns; patterns become standards (shared norms), and lastly, standards generate network power. He holds that social relations contribute to building standards

"through the accumulation of decentralized, individual decisions that come to constitute, over time, large scale social structures — perhaps even leading to the establishment of universal standards…" (p. 45). Grewals' (2008) argument is a more sophisticated reflection of Granovetter's (1973) observation that the interpersonal network analysis bridges the micro and macro levels, for the small-scale interaction is reflected into large-scale patterns.

This first consideration raises a major question. How do international professionals interact when they represent military and security structures? Highly hierarchical organizations, posited Adler and Kwon (2002), shape the structure of networks and social relations among its personnel because many of these ties are not voluntarily chosen. While social relations within small groups form strong holistic bonds (Kviz, 1976), the interactions among the groups are indirect, intermittent and structured (Siebold, 2006). Inter-group interactions, specific to open networks, develop on social exchange norms and trustworthiness (Cook, 2005). Cook and Siebold therefore considered that even in highly hierarchical structures individuals may interact outside their group to build relations based on norms and trust. For instance, representatives of two security agencies (and hierarchical structures) may build a personal or professional relation based on trust, especially if they meet in an environment where there are no subordinating types of relationships. This type of personal or professional relation becomes then a bridge that connects the two agencies with a non-bureaucratic link.

Second, Grewal's (2008) reasoning indicated that international "epistemic community" — that is defined as a network of professionals — possesses network power. These networks may have the ability to influence national decision making and

international cooperation in two ways: on the one hand, they have the authority to set the terms of debate, points of negotiation, and proposing scientific policies, and, on the other hand, they possess control over knowledge and information. For these reasons, epistemic communities themselves or connections with members of epistemic communities may be a significant source of social capital.

For instance, Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn (1981) showed that the use of connections with high-status individuals has positive effects on occupational status and likelihood of promotion of those who utilize these connections. Likewise, Lin (2001) argued that the higher the rank of the person with whom an individual connects the more useful the relationship and the higher potential of social capital. Therefore, a relationship to a General or high official renders a higher payoff and is more important for social capital than a link to a Captain. This occurs because a General has better access to resources than a Captain and the General's higher authority ensure higher legitimacy to solicit and provide further assistance to his connections. Besides individuals' status, can the strength of relation also influence the propensity to build social capital?

**1. a. Weak and strong ties.** Weak ties constituted the focus of Granovetter's (1973) network theory. He distinguisheed between strong and weak ties. He stated that the strength of an interpersonal tie depends on the amount of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocal services attributed to the tie (Granovetter,1973). Granovetter (1983) identified strong ties as relationships among close friends who often contact each other and form a "densely knit network" (202). Conversely, weak ties are infrequent links with acquaintances that constitute a "low-density network." (Granovetter, 1983, p. 202) Moreover, while it can be considered that most social ties function as strong ties, most

business-professional types of relationships constitute weak ties (Breiger & Pattison, 1978).

When attention is on larger networks that exceed the face-to-face small type groups, weak ties are very important. They link members of different small groups by "bridging" them. Coined by Harary, Norman, and Cartwright, (1965), Granovetter (1973) used the concept "bridge" to describe a special type of weak tie in a network that provides the only path between two points. Linking different groups and bridging weak ties are more likely to connect individuals who are significantly different from each other (Coser, 1975). For this reason, Granovetter (1983) suggested that possessing and utilizing these ties lead to cognitive flexibility, enabling individuals to assess the needs, motives, and actions of a great variety of people. This attribute of bridging ties becomes important for individuals with different cultural and historical backgrounds who interact in the arena of international security. When loaded with trust, as it will be discussed in more detail in the following section, Weber (2011) claimed that bridging ties contribute to the blurring of cultural and institutional boundaries. Consequently, weak ties are described as heterogeneous ties and a critical element of social structure (Burt, 1992) that enable the connections with other social systems (Ibarra, 1993).

Unlike weak ties, strong ties are homogenous ties, linking members within small groups. Although strong ties contribute to increasing group cohesion, they lead overall to fragmentation because groups tend to define themselves as in-group and out-group (Granovetter, 1973; Ibarra, 1993; Maguire, 1983). Furthermore, when groups encompass strong internal ties, but no external links, they may become insular and xenophobic (Adler & Kwon, 2002). However, Granovetter (1983) stressed that strong ties do not need

to be discarded, for they also offer greater motivation to be of assistance and are more easily available. In the end, Granovetter (1983) indicated that whether one uses strong or weak ties depends on their utility.

Linking strong and weak ties to the concept of social capital, Coleman (1988) argued that strong ties facilitate solidarity and the emergence of social norms and trusts, hence the formation of social capital. In contrast, Granovetter (1974) argued that people with few weak ties are unlikely to mobilize effectively for collective action. Similarly, Burt (1992, 2000) claimed that weak ties and open networks (networks that encompass people with connections outside the network) are better sources of social capital, for they facilitate the transfer of information with less investment to maintain relationships. In fact, Burt (2000) defined the "weaker connections between groups" as structural holes in the social structure that "create a competitive advantage for an individual whose relationships span the holes" because of access to both groups' information (Burt, 2000, p. 353). Burt (2000) saw structural holes as social capital.

Thus, Burt, Granovetter, and Coleman claimed that the efficiency of a relationship, network, or organization as well as their propensity to develop social capital resides in their members' access to information and capacity to transfer knowledge. Furthermore, research suggests that people prefer to turn to other people rather than documents for information (Allen, 1977), even when access to the Internet is available (Cross & Sproul, 2004). In general, researchers have found relationships to be important for acquiring information (Burt, 1992) or solving complex problems (Hutchins, 1991). The next section discusses the relevance of the types of ties and structural holes for the transference of information and the building of social capital.

**1. b. Information transfer.** Due to the fragmenting effect of strong ties, Granovetter (1983) contended that individuals with few weak ties are deprived of information from distant parts of the social system. They will be in a disadvantaged position exactly because they "will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends" (p. 202). Therefore, lack of access to "different" information represents the weakness of strong ties. Coser (1975) recognized early on that persons deeply embedded in a Gemeinschaft (a traditional and community type of group characterized by strong reciprocal bonds of sentiment and kinship) might never become aware of the fact that their lives do not depend on what happens within the group, but on forces far beyond their perceptions and control (p. 242). Therefore, if the goal of a network is the transfer or diffusion of information, then weak ties rather than strong ties assure a much larger spread to a larger number of people.

Moreover, Burt (2000) said that it is not only the amount of information that one possesses that is important, but also the interval of time for receiving the information. He used the concepts of "closure" and "brokerage" to describe the two main mechanisms producing social capital. Burt (2000) assumed that transference of information and communication in general takes time; therefore, prior relations affect who knows what early. First, Burt (2000) explained that information circulates within the group (closure mechanism) more than between groups (brokerage mechanism), and therefore people are not simultaneously receiving information concerning more groups. Consequently, individuals informed early or more broadly have an advantage (Burt, 2000). This is

especially important in the security context where the speed with which organizations or individuals access information can determine the success of their operations.

On the one hand, the closure mechanism (activating in dense networks with no outside group communication) has the power to produce trust and norms (Coleman, 1990) and hence norm-based social capital. This aspect of social capital will be discussed later in this chapter. On the other hand, the brokerage mechanisms activate with ties that span structural holes and connect groups. These ties give faster access to the information belonging to the other groups and create an advantage with respect to volume of information. For this reason, an individual connected with members of his group and also to members of other groups has the advantage of being aware of his group and the other groups' opportunities in a shorter time. Furthermore, this individual is responsible for spreading new ideas and norms in his/her own group. He/she becomes the opinion leader (Burt, 1992) of their own group. Additionally, having connection with members of more than one group confers the critical advantage of bringing together otherwise disconnected contacts. Such an individual can broker communication while displaying different beliefs and identities to each contact (Burt, 2000).

Burt (2000) thus concluded that individuals with the structural holes type of ties "know about, have a hand in, and exercise control over, more rewarding opportunities" because they monitor and move information faster and more efficiently than the bureaucratic memos (p. 355). Moreover, individuals with connections spanning holes are more responsive than a bureaucracy and easily shift "network time and energy from one solution to another" (p. 355). They function between the corporate (or government)

authority and adeptness of other agencies, building bridges between disconnected parts of these agencies and dissimilar individuals whenever it is valuable to do so.

According to Burt (1992), participation in and control of information diffusion underlies the social capital of structural holes. In his theory, weak ties are a correlate and not a cause of non-redundancy. In other words, weak ties are not necessarily the source of non-redundant information, but weak ties are used mostly in order to access this type of information. This emphasizes the functional and utilitarian character of weak ties. Similarly, Levin and Cross (2004) found that while the relationship between strong ties and transfer of useful knowledge was mediated by trust, the transfer of useful knowledge along weak ties did not depend on trust. This finding is essential to understand the mechanism of the transfer of information among individuals who are connected by weak ties and represent different security organizations. It also shows the structural benefits of individuals knowing each other even briefly (as, for instance, with the opportunity of the international educational programs) in the security context.

Similarly, Hansen (1999) found that weak inter-unit ties help a project team search for useful information, but impede the transfer of complex knowledge, which tends to require a strong tie. This confirms Granovetter's (1985) finding that strong ties enable a cheap transfer of rich, detailed, accurate, and trustworthy information, while weak ties diffuse information. Similarly, other scholars claimed that weak ties enable the transfer of useful knowledge (Levin & Cross, 2004; Ghosal et al., 1994; Hansen, 1999; Szulanski, 1996; Uzzi, 1996, 1997). Knowledge is "useful," according to Levin and Cross (2004), when the "perceived receipt of information or knowledge has a positive impact on a knowledge seeker's work" (p. 1477).

Multiunit firms, especially large ones with thousands of members, as in Hansen's (1999) study, resemble somehow the multinational network of security professionals. Existing weak ties that span cross-national agencies are beneficial, for they serve as (formal and informal) channels of information flow among these agencies. These channels of information do not require norm coherence. In the global security context, this characteristic is critical because security professionals can build social capital without feeling threatened that this might undermine their existing group affiliations, preferences, or values. Moreover, due to their characteristic to transfer useful information, weak ties have another critical advantage for the field of international security. They do not provide redundant information (Granovetter, 1973; Levin & Cross, 2004), which in turn expedites the information transfer and analysis. In the field of security, time and precision are essential for the exchange of information, cooperation, and the development of social capital. Moreover, it has been shown that organizations that can make full use of their collective expertise and knowledge are likely to be more innovative, efficient, and effective (Argote, 1999; Grant, 1996; Wernerfelt, 1984).

Jack's (2005) research shed a different light on the functionality of strong ties. She took Granoveter's theory further and explained the structure and operation of networks. In this sense, she looked at the roles of network ties and the mechanisms to use and activate them. Jack (2005) found that strong ties are instrumental in business activity, in both growth and start-up situations to operate the business. Moreover, strong ties, "provide the link to the wider social context" (Jack, 2005, p. 1234) and function as a mechanism to activate weak ties. Jack (2005) claimed that there was little evidence of weak ties in her study. However, she categorized the infrequent connections with friends

of friends, for instance, as latent or dormant strong ties. However, in Granovetter's terms a dormant tie would be nothing other than an infrequently used weak tie.

Despite the conceptual inconsistency, Jack's (2005) study is instrumental for this research for two reasons. First, the author pointed to the importance of functionality of ties, (and not only frequency of contact, as in Granovetter's work) in building relationships. Second, her qualitative approach engenders an in-depth understanding of the mechanisms and processes influencing the formation, operation, and function of networks. As this study examines both utility and frequency of relationships and encompasses a retrospective dynamic view of the Marshall Center alumni network, Jack's qualitative study contributes to the theoretical and methodological framework of this research.

**2. Trust**

For some authors, trust is a stable attitude formed during socialization (Uslaner, 2002) while for other scholars trust emerges from personal experience, social interaction, and cooperation (Putnam 2000, Alesina & Ferrera 2004, Yamagishi & Yamagishi 1994; Offe 1999). From this latter perspective, trust is a socially learned mechanism of expectations that people have of each other, of organizations, institutions, or social norms (Barber, 1983). Trust therefore exists at the micro- (inter-personal trust), mid- (trust in individuals and institutions) and macro levels (trust as a feature of a collectivity) (Heidarabadi et al., 2012).

While most authors agree that trust has evolved from a personal trait to an attitude, there is no generally accepted definition of trust. In fact, Castaldo et al. (2010) have identified 96 definitions of trust spanning a 50-year period. Most of these definitions

include an expectation (confidence, reliance) that a subject (trustee) is honest, benevolent, and willing to help. According to this finding conceptualized in the framework of interactionist theory, this study defines trust as a relational mechanism that continually updates individuals' expectations of each other, institutions, organizations, and social norms.

**2. a. Forms of trust**. Uslaner (2004) defined generalized or thin trust (Putnam, 2000) as the trust in strangers, such as people whom we have never met that are likely to be different from us. Generalized trust correlates positively with desirable societal and individual-level outcomes (Delhey & Newton, 2003). This means that generalized trust can serve as an indicator of the well-functioning citizens socially and politically integrated into the host society (Delhey & Newton, 2003). Individuals who display high levels of generalized trust tend to be more likely to contribute to a public good, restrain from consumption of a common resource, and are willing to cooperate (Rathbun, 2011; Kaina, 2011). Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994) argued that generalized trust represents the "springboard" that allows individuals to conduct business in a cooperative manner.

Particularized or interpersonal trust is the trust in people with whom we interact every day, such as family members, friends, neighbors, and co-workers. As Rathbun (2011) put it, interpersonal or specific trust is "A trusts B to do X," and generalized trust is "A trusts" or A is a trusting person (p. 248). Putnam (2000) considered that participation in voluntary associations contributes to increase of particularized trust, which subsequently spills into increased generalized trust. Interpersonal trust literature looks at trust as a multidimensional concept (Levin, Tsia & Ghosal; Mishisra, 1996).

McAllister (1985), Kramer (1999), and Chua, Ingram, and Morris (2008) considered two main and distinct types of trust encountered in organizations and networks.

Cognition-based trust refers to "trust from the head," and involves a calculative and instrumental assessment of another's competence and reliability (p. 436). This form of trust is based on knowledge and on "good reasons" that constitute evidence for trustworthiness (Lewis & Wiegert, 1985) such as success of past interaction, social similarities (to include cultural and ethnic), and professional credentials. Although McAllister (1985) found no empirical support for these determinants, he suggested that reputation influences the level of cognition-based trust.

Affect-based trust is the "trust from the heart" (p. 436) that is built on the emotional bonds between partners (Lewis & Wiegert, 1985). It involves empathy, rapport and self-disclosure, feelings of care and concern for the welfare of others, and emotional investment and belief that these sentiments are reciprocated. Due to its emotional investment, this type of trust is more enduring and more generalizable than cognition based trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996; Lewis & Weigert, 1985).

Additionally, category-based trust is of interest for studies of trust among professionals in a security environment. It refers to trust predicated on information regarding a trustee's membership in a category (Kramer, 1999). When salient, this information unknowingly influences people's judgment about others' trustworthiness. While some groups are seen as trustworthy, other groups (lawyers, politicians) might be perceived as less trustworthy than the average person (Paxton, 2011). In the security environment, professional categories such as officers or recruits have automatically distinct implications for trust based on the organizational hierarchy. For instance, officers

are trusted more than recruits (Adams et al., 2000). Similarly, shared training experiences, professional expertise or regimental history and values may provide a basis for trust between military fellows (Adams et al., 2000). This is particularly relevant in multinational forces that have a frequent rotation of commanders, officers, and soldiers. In this environment, achieving "swift trust" is paramount (Moskos, 2004). As type of category based trust, transference-based trust is related to the transference of trust from a trusted "proof source" (Doney, Cannon, & Mullen, 1998) to a trustee. Therefore, an individual trusts someone else who he/she has never met because that person was recommended by a trusted proof source (individual, group or organization).

**2. b. Trust and social capital.** Once developed, trust reduces the need for formal control, facilitates cooperation and communication (Coleman, 1990; Gausdal, 2012; McAllister, 1995), fosters transfer of information (Uzzi, 1996), and decreases the potential for conflict (Adams et al., 2000; Weber, 2011). In addition, trust enhances group effectiveness and performance (Friedlander, 1970). This is of special relevance in the multinational security context. Here, the success of operations is predicated on team members from different nationalities working cooperatively and effectively often under high risk and high stress (Adamski et al, 2010; Moskos, 2004). Trust advances processes of globalization and democratization (Weber, 2011) and builds social capital (Putnam, 2000; Tilly, 2005; Weber, 2011). Trust sometimes is equated to social capital (Fukuyama, 1995), other times is considered a form (Coleman, 1988), a source (Putnam, 1993), or a result (Lin, 2001) of social capital.

*Trust as social capital.* Fukuyama (1997) defined social capital as "the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organizations" (p. 10). He views social capital as taking on two forms: the first develops in family groups and is called "familistic associations" while the second is built on relationships among strangers and is called "voluntary associations". Although different in nature, both forms of social capital are defined by the level of trust placed in members of associations. Fukuyama also posited that the amount of trust in non-kinship relationships is the key determinant of a nation's ability to form large economic corporations.

Coleman (1990) considered trust to be a form of social capital and claimed that a dense network, in which members are strongly connected and cannot escape the notice of others, facilitates sanctions that reduce the risk of social interactions. Subsequently, this system of obligations and expectations among rational actors (who help others and have confidence that those others will reciprocate) leads to the emergence of trust relations. For Coleman, therefore, mutual trust is a functional concept representing the reduction of transaction costs in risky social interactions. Trust as well as social capital is closely linked to the emergence of group norms and enforcement of collective sanctions. This will be discussed more in a later section.

*Trust as source of social capital.* Some scholars view trust as influencing social capital (Putnam, 1993; Adler, 1998). This occurs because the sources of both trust and social capital are in close relation. In this sense, familiarity and shared norms and practices, are all predictors of trust and social capital as well (Adler, 1988; Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). Putnam (2000) argued that trust produces positive outcomes for the individual and community. Consequently, trust in people and networks encourage people

to participate in civic life. At the same time, Putnam's (2000) contended that civic life also contributes to building trust. Therefore, trust and social capital are mutually reinforcing (Adler & Kwon, 2000). While social capital generates trusting relationships, they in turn produce social capital. Brehm and Rahn (1997) found that the relationship between civic engagement and trust is significant and positive in both directions; however, the direction from civic engagement to trust is stronger than the reverse.

Other scholars claimed that trust is a source or "pillar" of social capital (Tilly, 2005; Weber, 2011; Gausdal, 2012) because it acts as a transformational mechanism. First, at the micro level, trust transforms individual relationships into "trust networks" (Tilly, 2005). Unlike firms, companies, or organizations, networks do not have an organizational authority to set up rules and inhibit opportunistic behavior. Trust therefore is the only resource to maintain the network and allow members to cooperate efficiently (Gausdal, 2012) and thus develop "bonding social capital" (Tilly, 2005).

Second, interpersonal trust is a critical factor for macro processes such as globalization or democratization (Weber, 2011). These processes can be viewed as a sequence of steps. To start, the trust relationship between two individuals representing different institutions and cultures may bridge their individual networks at the macro level. A new network containing contacts from both networks forms. This network is also built on trust (see transference-based trust) and it spans across cultural, institutional, or social divides promoting heterogeneity and "bridging social capital "(Weber, 2011). Consequently, the cultural or institutional boundaries of initial networks may become blurred or even change (Tilly, 2005). As a result, the level of conflict decreases and opportunity for achieving larger global initiatives, such as transference of values or

emergence of shared norms, maximizes (Weber, 2011). Therefore, connecting unlike others (originating in different groups, associations, organizations, or cultures) or crosscutting organizations (Paxton, 2002) with trustful ties enables macro transformations such as globalization or democratization.

In fact, as contact hypothesis confirms, greater exposure to unlike "targets" (individuals and groups) significantly enhances liking for those targets (Harmon-Jones & Allen, 2001; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005) and other related, similar social targets (Rhodes, Haberstadt & Brajkovich, 2001; Rosch, 1978). Favorable attitudes thus extend to the "entire outgroup, outgroup members in other situations, and even outgroups not involved in the contact" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, p. 766). Inter-group contact findings hold for different types of groups (age, ethnic groups), geographical areas, and contact settings (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It reduces feelings of threat and anxiety about future cross-group interactions (Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003; Dovidio & Hewstone, 2011). As international cooperation is increasingly important in a security context, it is critical that professionals do not approach international interactions with feelings of threat and anxiety.

Trust is also considered a source of social capital because it enables the transfer of information. When trust exists, conflict decreases and people are more willing to give useful knowledge (Andrews & Delahay, 2000). For instance, Tsai and Ghosal (1998) found that relationships at the department level in an organization stimulate trust and perceived trustworthiness, which in turn enables the transfer of more resources and information between departments. The need for intelligence sharing in multinational security operations illustrates the importance of building trust among security specialists.

Intelligence in today's world of interdependence is a valuable commodity because, in some cases, intelligence from the other country or organization may be the only source of information (Walsh, 2010). This makes intelligence sharing a required form of cooperation for successful international action (Walsh, 2010).

Most scholars agreed that trust it is a determining factor for cooperation (Pennings & Woiceshyn, 1987; Seabright, Leventhal, & Fichman, 1992), dialogue, and communication (Mitsztal 1996). In negotiation literature, this influence is explained through trust's impact on one's expectations (Mishal & Morag, 2000). Trust is not blind faith. Rather, it presupposes awareness of one's vulnerability because one takes a risk when deciding to rely on somebody else. Where there are high levels of trust people are more willing to take risks (Nahapiet, 1996). There are no concrete guarantees as to the future behavior of another individual, group, or organization, especially in an international environment where cultural and social barriers may impede building trust (Paulson & Naquin, 2004). However, building trust remains a central component to promoting cooperation and goodwill in negotiation (McAllister, 1995).

On the contrary, mistrust inhibits cooperation by triggering defensive behaviors (Lewicki et al, 2010). When people become defensive, they do not believe what other people say. They consequently withdraw and withhold information, look for deceptive meanings, and attack the other party's position, engaging in positional bargaining instead of seeking collaboration (Lewicki et al., 2010). Such defensiveness is very detrimental for international cooperation and intelligence sharing because it inhibits the accurate communication about parties' positions and interests.

*Trust as a result of social capital.* Fukuyama (2001) argued that trust is a result of social capital and not a constituent of it. However, he also maintained that social capital implies a certain radius of trust, a circle of people among whom cooperative norms function. The radius of trust, therefore, can be understood as a positive externality that all group members can benefit from.

Putnam (2000) also viewed social capital as engendering trust. In his definition of social capital, norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness arise from connections among individuals. He argued that frequent interaction among a diverse set of people tends to produce a norm of generalized reciprocity (discussed later in the chapter). When members of a community follow this norm, they find that their self-interest is served (Putnam, 2000). For instance, by helping a neighbor like when taking turns bringing snacks at Sunday school, we benefit our counterparts now and in the future us as well. This becomes an advantageous behavior when everybody is interested in participating and thus perceives social interaction as encompassing fewer risks. This, in turn, means further social trust or, in economic terms, reduced transaction cost in everyday life.

**3. Shared Values, Norms and Practices.**

**3. a. Values and norms promoting cooperation.** A critical indicator of social capital is the one including norms and values that facilitate exchange, lower transaction costs, reduce the cost of information, permit trade in the absence of contracts, and encourage responsible citizenship and the collective management of resources (Fukuyama, 1995). Fukuyama (2001) defined social capital as "an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between individuals" (p. 7). Fukuyama (2001) disagreed with Weber's argument that bureaucracy is the essence of modernity and contends that,

just as in traditional societies, the existence of shared norms and social capital continue to be critical means of achieving cooperation.

The shared norms of social capital can range from norms of reciprocity between two friends to complex doctrines such as Christianity and Confucianism. Nevertheless, he posits that norms do not suffice to produce social capital. They need to be linked to cultural values such as degrees of compassion, altruism, and tolerance (1995), in other words values that would lead to cooperation. Discussing cooperative norms and values in the international security environment necessitate the analysis of two factors: first, the concept of "intercultural competence" that facilitates cooperation in international settings and second, "security communities" that looks at groups of states or units sharing values and ideas that enable cooperation in the field of security. What follows is a discussion of both these ideas.

*Intercultural competence.* This concept acquired little consensus in definition and even terminology. It is conceptualized in the literature also as intercultural communicative competence, global competence, cultural fluency, cultural competence, intercultural sensitivity, and cross-cultural awareness (Deardoff & Jones, 2012). However, this dissertation uses the term intercultural competence because of its applicability in any intercultural situation (Deardorff & Jones, 2012). Initially the concept was viewed as a cultural distance significant enough to have an effect on interaction and communication between parties, an effect that is noticeable at least by one party (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009).

In her pyramidal model, Deardorff (2006) delineated four main levels (and correspondent components) of intercultural competence. The first and most essential

component — representing the base of the pyramid — represents the attitudes. In this sense, Deardorff (2006) argued that feelings of respect and value for other cultures indicate cultural competence. Similarly, openness to intercultural learning and to people from other cultures, attitudes of curiosity and discovery, as well as of tolerating ambiguity are attributes of individuals who are interculturally competent. The second level includes knowledge and comprehension of other cultures (Deardorff, 2006) and, equally important, awareness of one's own culture as well (Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2012). For instance, people who have a deep understanding and knowledge of other cultures and hold specific information and sociolinguistic awareness of those cultures are self-culturally aware and show an increased intercultural competence. To acquire this level of competence, skills such as listening, observing, analyzing, evaluating, and relating are fundamental (Deardorff 2006).

The third and fourth levels of intercultural competence encompass the desired internal and external outcomes. Internal outcomes refer to the capacity of individuals to adapt to different communication styles and behaviors and to new cultural environments; they point to a person's empathy and flexibility in using and selecting appropriate communication styles and behaviors. Desired external outcomes consist of behaving and communicating effectively and appropriately based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Deardorff, 2006).

Scholars of intercultural competence claim that having components at the lower attitudinal levels enhance the probability of acquiring components from the upper levels. In other words, as Okayama, Furuto, and Edmonson (2001) asserted, awareness and willingness to make changes are the underlying attitudes that support what will be taught

and learned later. Therefore, although individuals can enter the process of intercultural competence at any level or point, attitude is the fundamental starting point (Byram et al. 1997). For this reason, Byram, Nichols, and Stevens (2012) maintained that attitudes such as the readiness to suspend disbeliefs about other cultures and beliefs about one's own significantly contribute to acquiring high levels of intercultural competence. However, this is not a facile process, for it requires the ability and willingness to relativize one's own values, beliefs, and behavior. Even more, intercultural competence necessitates the capacity to see how the relative values might look through the eyes of another person or culture. This process is called decentering.

The advantage of using Deardorff's (2006) model when analyzing intercultural competence is that the four levels of the pyramid allow moving from the individual level of attitudes and personal attributes to the interactive cultural level in regard to outcomes. It therefore emphasizes the internal as well as the external outcomes of the process and allows going from attitudes and skills to external outcomes. However, the degree of appropriateness and effectiveness of the outcome may not be nearly as high as when the entire cycle is complete and begins again. This is relevant for the context of international education where participants have very different previous experiences in relating to other cultures. In addition, it shows the importance of creating the necessary conditions during international education, conditions that enable participants' attitudinal change.

However open towards, curious about, and tolerant of other people's beliefs, values and behaviors one is, one's own beliefs, values, and behaviors are deeply embedded and can create reaction or rejection. Therefore, individuals need to create

*critical* cultural awareness, an ability to evaluate critically perspectives, practices, and products in one's own culture and country and in others (Byram et al., 2012).

*Security communities.* Karl Deutsch (1957) described states that integrate and develop a sense of community as security communities. Once developed, this sense of community leads to stable peace or the assurance that states will settle their differences short of war (Adler & Barnett, 1998). Deutsch distinguished between the amalgamated and pluralistic security communities. The first occurs when independent states or units unify or merge and have a common government. The second type of security community forms when the participant states retain their sovereignty.

Pluralistic security communities can function as a community because they already possess compatibility of core values derived from common institutions. However, to maintain and encourage community building of pluralistic security communities, states continuously have to communicate in order to develop shared understandings, transnational values, and transactions flow. Communication, stressed Deutsch (1957), is the main mechanism that enables a group to think and act together. Moreover, communication and transactions such as migration, trade, tourism, and cultural and educational exchanges (Deutsch, 1957) as well as mutual trust (Adler and Barnett 1998) contribute to the formation of shared collective identities.

In fact, Adler and Barnett (1998) argued that the simple association of the two terms "security" and "community" cause states to revise their views on both notions of power and security. In this sense, the meaning of power will also have to include the protection of values and proper behavior in agreement with those of the rest of the states in the community. Additionally, while security used to deal mostly with military threats,

in “the community” security is concerned with economic, environmental, or social welfare issues.

**3. b. Norms as reciprocity and externality.** Coleman (1988) discussed the importance of norms in the context of the “closure” concept, which he defines as the number of sufficient ties among people to guarantee the observance of norms. Coleman (1988) claimed that strong norms become appropriable by all members of a group or network; he illustrated this with the example of the tight knit community of Jewish diamond traders in New York City who do not need legal contracts for transactions because the violators of norms would be ostracized (Coleman, 1988). For this reason, the existence of social sanctions strengthens the norms. Furthermore, the strong internalized norm that makes transactions with no contract possible becomes the resource of social capital that subsequently is used by even more members of the group to conduct no-contract transactions.

Coleman extended the example to say that effective norms that inhibit crime make it possible for all citizens “to walk freely outside at night in a city” (Coleman, 1988, p. S104). In Dasgupta’s (2000) terms, strong norms therefore become a group externality from which all members of the group may benefit. However, this does not mean that social capital cannot produce negative externalities (effects). The Ku Klux Klan or the Mafia, for instance, achieve cooperation and shared norms, and therefore social capital, but the consequences are negative externalities for the larger society (Fukuyama, 2001).

A different view of norms, also essential in building social capital, is the approach of norms as reciprocity. From this perspective, individuals who hold resources (information, for instance) provide access to these resources to certain individuals in the

expectation that they will also be repaid in the future. Following the distinction of norms as externality and reciprocity, Portes (1998) differentiated between two forms of social capital: one emphasizes emergence of norms through social control and sanctions, and the other focuses on the benefits (access to resources) offered by the network. However, Portes (1998) stressed that these two forms of social capital may clash with one another because sometimes accessing the resources for private benefit may mean bypassing the norms. (p. 15). However, for Coleman, it is within this distinction that the core of social capital resides. He noted that exchange theory has been around for a while in the sociological literature. However, it failed to recognize that many social actions and transactions engender externalities. Therefore, social interaction is not purely individualistic, for it encompasses social norms, or the legitimate right of the partners "to exercise control over the action;" this control ensures that future actions are a constraint because of the present action's consequences. If social norms fail to emerge, the social system becomes a collection of individualistic solutions to individual problems, with each carrying out his or her own actions unconstrained by their consequences for others (Coleman, 1987).

Likewise, Putnam (2000) contended that social capital could be simultaneously a "private good" and a "public good." While individuals benefit personally from their stock of social capital in the form of getting access to information or resources, bystanders also benefit from that investment in social capital. For instance, when members of a club or association build connections for personal benefits, these connections may also benefit for mobilizing local resources to raise scholarships or fight disease (Putnam, 2000).

Therefore, although networks are at the forefront of social capital for Putnam, it is their system of mutual obligations and the norms of reciprocity that form social capital.

Even more valuable for Putnam's (2000) is the norm of generalized reciprocity: "I will do this for you without expecting anything specific back from you, in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for me down the road" (Putnam, 2000, p 21). Putnam (2000) goes on to say that "a society characterized by generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society" (p 21).This argument shows the interwoven character of norms, networks, and trust in Putnam's (2000) conception of social capital.

**3. c. Norms of engagement and democratic values.** Putnam equates other norms, values, and practices with the stock of social capital; for instance, the level of civicness, engagement, participatory behavior, voluntarism, or civic spirit reflects the level of social capital in a community (Putnam, 2000). In this sense, Putnam (1993) explained that societies lacking these norms exhibit low levels of social capital and experience a number of political dysfunctions, such as inefficient local government or corruption. For this reason, addressing the development of social capital and the norms of civicness, engagement, and participation may nurture the evolution of young democracies (Putnam, 1993).

However, Fukuyama mentioned that states could have a negative impact on social capital if they initiate activities that belong to the private sector or civil society (Fukuyama, 2001). Social capital is based on the abilities of individuals to cooperate, which they form based on habit and practice. When people lose this ability, they become dependent on the state, and even worse, they lose their capability to build social capital on their own. The example of former communist countries is illustrative. For several

decades, people in these countries got used to participating in only mandatory types of activities and to be members only in vertical Communist Party related organizations. The consequences in trust and level of organization of civil society are still visible today (Howard, 2003). Post-communist Europe has very low levels of trust, whether generalized or institutional trust (Sztompka, 1996), and all its countries' level of membership in voluntary organizations, with the exception of Slovenia and Romania, dropped between 1990 and 1995 (Howard, 2003).

For this reason, Fukuyama (2001) posited that an abundant stock of social capital produces a dense civil society, which in turn is the condition for liberal democracy. He explains the process as follows: a liberal democracy protects individual liberties from state interference, therefore enabling society to organize itself. Once formed, civil society balances the power of the state and reinforces the protection of its citizens. Social capital, according to Fukuyama (2001), is the *sine qua non* of stable liberal democracy.

In the security context, Fukuyama's argument would have implications in the areas of political, strategic, and security cultures. Haakes (2013) claimed that security culture is a shared body of ideas, norms, and practices that serves to enhance the security of citizens and states. This does not imply that there is a universally accepted set of norms of international society such as sovereignty and non-interference. Similarly, there is a wide variety of particular geostrategic characteristics, perceived vulnerabilities, history of interactions with outsiders and political aspiration, to name a few, that influence the way individual actors ascribe legitimacy to international norms. Particular security cultures have been associated with particular regions or international organization. The security culture of a state or region has impact on the intra-regional and

global relations. As with all norms, security culture will serve as guiding advice toward cooperative or conflictual strategies, create webs of meaning and norms, and guide decision-making processes (Kratochwil, 1989)

Political culture in a liberal democracy, building on Fukuyama's argument, also depends on the existence of social capital. Almond and Verba (1976) defined political culture as a subset of beliefs and values of a society that relate to the political system. This definition follows two basic assumptions. First, political culture is analyzed as a corpus of cohesive norms and behaviors. Second, the frame of reference usually is the nation state. This led to the inability to study the concept from a dynamic perspective (Tosi& Vitale, 2009). Therefore, Tosi and Vitale (2009) identified three main factors that may explain the changes in political cultures. First, national and international factors, such as democratization and the end of Cold War, may influence a society's values and beliefs that relate to a political system (Almond, 2005). Second, the larger processes of cultural change (Melucci, 1996) and third, actions such as brokerage, type of leadership, or coordination (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2000) may also affect political values and beliefs of a nation.

Taking into account these factors, Tossi and Vitale (2009) proposed a more dynamic definition of political culture as patterns of shared public symbols and styles of action, which emerge and become consolidated through historical processes (Tosi and Vitale, 2009). From this perspective, political cultures are conceptualized as structures that encompass coherent articulations of views on the world and actions. Moreover, the dynamic understanding of political cultures permit one to assess real shifts that take place

in cultures, practices, styles of action, and thought. These shifts would mirror the changes occurring in the social capital as well.

**3. d. The spread and application of norms and values.** Analyzing the ways of increasing social capital, Fukuyama (2001) indicated that education is probably the area with one of the greatest direct abilities to generate social capital because of its power to build shared norms and rules. Likewise, he suggested that the process of globalization also contributes to developing social capital because it facilitates the emergence of shared ideas, habits, and practices. However, what happens with the newly emerged norms and rules? Are they further transferred to other social actors? While the previous section described the types of norms that contribute to increasing social capital in the international security context, this section discusses how norms and values can be further transferred to other social actors.

*Norms as social remittances.* In the migration literature, Levitt (1998) used the term social remittances to describe the diffusion and circulation of different social practices and ideas into the migrants-sending and migrants-receiving areas. Social remittances are ideas, practices, minds set, world views, values and attitudes, norms of behavior, knowledge, experience and expertise that the diaspora mediate and transfer from host to home countries (Levitt & Lamba, 2011). According to Levitt and Lamba (2011), there are at least four types of social remittances: normative structures, systems of practice, identities, and social capital.

Normative structures are equivalent to Fukuyama's (2001) emerging shared norms and constitute a dimension of social capital. Normative structures are ideas, values, and beliefs that include norms of behavior, notions about family responsibility,

principles of neighborliness and community participation, and aspiration for social mobility (Levitt, 2005). They are related to ideas about gender, race, and class identity, principles and values of organizations, government, and churches. They also include norms about the role of the clergy, judges, and politicians (Levitt & Schelling, 2004).

Systems of practice embody applications or consequences of social capital. They are the actions shaped by normative structures. They encompass organizational practices such as recruiting and socializing new members, goal setting and strategizing, establishing leadership roles, forming interagency ties, and degree of participation in political, religious, or civic groups (Levitt, 2005). In the international security environment, systems of practice can be thought of as commonly agreed norms and procedures to address security issues.

Social remittance exchanges occur when migrants (or temporary migrants) return to their communities of origin (Levitt, 2005) as value "carriers" who then receive, expand, interpret, and transform the values and practices they have been exposed to (Suksomboon, 2008). Levitt (2001) claimed that these remittances are transmitted as a part of the global cultural flow, as the latter paves the way for the former. However, Levitt (1998) argued that the ways of transference of social remittances differ from those of global cultural dissemination. First, unlike the diffuse dissemination of global culture, the transmission of social remittances has specific pathways and identifiable sources and destinations. Migrants and non-migrants can state how they learned of particular ideas. Second, social remittances are passed on intentionally and systematically, unlike cultural dissemination. Most of the time, migrants encourage non-migrants toward political and economic reforms during their communication with family and friends from home. Third,

remittances are transferred between individuals who know each other as opposed to the faceless and mass nature of global cultural diffusion.

Not all social remittances have an equal impact on societies in which they are carried. This depends first, on how easy a particular remittance is to transmit, with practices being easier to circulate than values (Levitt, 1998). Second, the impact of remittances depends on the characteristics of the messenger (Levitt, 1998). For instance, high status individuals generally heighten the impact of remittances; for they are in the position of redefining standards, have more credibility, and higher moral and professional authority.

Third, the impact also depends on the differences between the sending and receiving countries. DiMaggio (1988) argued that patterns of behavior, social relations, or ideas that are similar to those already in place are more easily adopted. When the remitted values resemble the pattern of the prevailing ones, then social remittances are likely to be assimilated more quickly. The Dominican community studied by Levitt (2001) adopted new religious practices from the U.S., more so than political ones. This occurred because both communities practiced forms of Catholic services in church and importing new style did not bring significant changes. However, political remittances advocated egalitarian leadership styles that went against the mainstream political practice in the Dominican Republic. Mohamoud & Fréchaut (2006) identified poor governance, lack of democracy, and rule of law in African countries as being the most powerful challenge for migrants who decide to return and help their homelands develop.

This is consistent with the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1964). According to this theory, individuals experience discomfort when they hold two or more

contradictory beliefs, ideas, or values at the same time. This discomfort motivates individuals to eliminate the new belief to restore the consonance balance. However, sometimes the new beliefs are preserved. This may contribute to the formation of more new beliefs and attitudes (Frijda, Manstead, & Bem, 2000) that tend to reduce dissonance with the old beliefs (Frijda et al., 2000). The formation of beliefs is a theoretically plausible means of reducing dissonance but little research has investigated it.

Finally, the size and power differences between cultures determine the remittances impact (Levitt, 1988). In this sense, remittances traveling consistently with other global values during the same period have a greater impact on the home community than remittances that are not consistent with global cultural flow. For instance, Levitt (1988) found that non-migrants frequently copy the behavior of migrants who return to their countries because they want to be like those in the rich, modern cultures. However, if the remittances would originate in poorer or less modern cultures, the scholar contains that value and norm transfers would be less powerful. Therefore, Levitt (1998) argued that social remittances are norms and values acquired by migrants in their receiving country and "carried" back to their home country through mechanisms that differ from cultural dissemination. For instance, Levitt found that gender identity was challenged in the village that she had studied. Migrant women transmitted new ideas about the role of women in society back to their village and influenced thinking about gender relations.

*Norms as network standards.* Grewal (2008) explained that networks have the power to produce standards; standards propel cultural globalization, which in turn contributes further to the transmission of standards. For Grewal (2008) there were two types of standards: social norms and conceptual frames. Each has a critical role in

cultural convergence. First, social norms affect the action and behaviors that people engage in; they can describe a social or behavioral regularity (a cultural pattern) or prescribe an ideal to which people ought to conform. In both forms, social norms can function as signaling devices; as Grewal (2008) explained, "if social access to others is predicated on adherence to particular social norms — signaling dress, speech, and expressions of taste — then we may think of these norms as cultural standards" (p. 275). Furthermore, these cultural standards underlie the cultural convergence processes.

However, the globalization of culture occurs through the processes of network power (Grewal, 2008). When norms are criteria of network membership they become standards. The spread of these standards is not due to its normative role, but an instrumental decision of elite groups that propose certain norms in order to reach specific goals. This confers power to the network because it not only put conditions of memberships, but also makes the standards desirable for those who wish to gain membership. This means those push and pull factors function to spread the standards and increase the power of the network. "At first we pull together and then we push apart, in search of both universal recognition and solidarity within a particular group," explained Grewal (2008, p. 282).

Second, conceptual frames affect what individuals believe. They are forms of thought or ideological and religious commitments to which people adhere. Groups sharing these types of standards, such as epistemic communities discussed earlier in the chapter, are not based on common practices or social norms, but rather on shared conceptual and epistemic commitments from the very start. For instance, these commitments can be common understandings of certain issues, attitudes, intellectual

approaches, patterns of reasoning, and organizational frameworks. These conceptual frames operate almost as a language.

Who constitutes epistemic communities? Berger (2002), who entitled these communities first as "faculty club culture," considered that they are composed of universities, non-governmental organizations, and transnational civil society networks. Therefore, the principal carriers of this culture and conceptual frames are foundations, academic networks, and non-governmental and sometimes governmental agencies. The mechanisms through which the conceptual frames are spread and transmitted are educational systems such as international education in the context of global security (consistent with Fukuyama's argument), the legal system, think tanks, and to some extent media of mass communication.

In conclusion, the review of this literature conceptualized social capital in the security context. It started with an analysis of its past and current definitions and delineated a conceptual framework of social capital based on two dimensions: unit of analysis and indicators. This chapter subsequently examined the three indicators — networks, trust and norms — as they pertain to the context of international security. The analysis found that the concepts of strong and weak ties and network power and information transfer play key roles in establishing social capital in the global security field. Affective, cognition and category-based trust emerged as instrumental types of trust for the study of social capital. Moreover, the chapter illustrated that trust is portrayed in the literature as a form, source, or result of social capital. Shared norms and intercultural competence are pivotal for promoting cooperation in international security. Second, the section discusses norms as reciprocity and externality in the context of emerging shared

norms. Third, it looks at norms engagement and democratic values as contributors to social capital within global security area. Based on the social capital frame developed in this chapter, the next chapter presents the case study used for examining the building of social capital in the international security community and describes the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies and its courses from the inception in 1993 to 2013.

# CHAPTER 3

## GEORGE C. MARSHALL EUROPEAN CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

*"I believe our students must first seek to understand the conditions, as far as possible without national prejudices, which have led to past tragedies and should strive to determine the great fundamentals, which must govern a peaceful progression toward a constantly higher level of civilization" –*
George C. Marshall, 1953

The third secretary of defense of the United States, George C. Marshall was not only a great military leader, but a visionary too. Following the end of World War II, he envisioned a Europe free from war, hatred, and suspicions, united by the bonds of mutual security, stability, and democracy. The Marshall Plan contributed significantly to achieving Marshall's goals. Although fully implemented in Europe, the plan succeeded only partially, due to the Soviet Union and its allies' choice not to join the common endeavor. The Cold War, characterized by mutual distrust and assured destruction, settled over Europe for more than 40 years. The idea of mutual security turned into security from each other.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and its domino effect in former communist countries, Europe faced new dangers and challenges[2]. The most pressing

[2] The U.S. Secretary of Defense Cheney stated in Brussels in 1992 that NATO need to lend more assistance to the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. He believed that these nations could potentially present security threats to entire Europe. For Cheney, the post-Cold War challenges were not those of East

threats to its stability were the break out and spread of ethnic and nationalistic conflicts as well as the revival of centuries-old hatred. Conflicts suppressed by the Cold War were unleashed with the fall of communist regimes.

This new geopolitical architecture of Europe, as well as a failed coup in Russia in August 1991, prompted the defense specialists to revive Marshall's concept of security through cooperation and discuss the new security order of Europe. On November 8, 1991, NATO issued the Rome Declaration on Peace and Cooperation that outlined the New Strategic Concept for the Alliance. According to this, North America and the whole of Europe were viewed as a community of shared values that based its security policy on three mutually reinforcing elements: dialogue, cooperation, and collective defense. This required not only opening new lines of military cooperation, but also creating strong political, economic, and institutional transatlantic partnerships to encourage the democratic process of former communist countries.

To accomplish the goals of the Rome Summit and in consonance with the US National Security Strategy, the U.S. European Command (EUCOM) proposed the establishment of a European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch, Germany. The proposal had three strategic goals:  to consolidate the already existing US training resources in Europe, namely the US Army Russian Institute that became obsolete following the end of Cold War. Second, the EUCOM viewed the Center as an opportunity to better support NATO's efforts to conduct military-to-military contacts. Third, a school for security studies was perceived as a catalyst to advance the US military bilateral relationships with the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe by

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versus West, but rather those of East and West versus instability. Similarly, the U.S. Secretary of Defense Aspin viewed ethnic or nationalistic conflicts as the most pressing danger facing the nations of Europe

facilitating conferences, defense military staff exchanges, and defense management training (Appendix A).

These strategic goals were reflected in the initial design of the Center for Security Studies, which attempted to maintain and expand the Foreign Area Officer beyond Russian language training (previously conducted by the US Army Russian Institute). Simultaneously, the Center was expected to establish an online database, conduct research projects, and host conferences and seminars on defense management topics (See Appendix A). In this sense, the proposed objectives of the Center aimed to strengthen and support the already active NATO institutions with roles in accelerating the integration process of emerging democracies in NATO. Moreover, as the U.S. Secretary of Defense Aspin stated during a speech delivered at the dedication of the Center in 1993, the Center aspired to enable the development of bilateral relations between each of the nations in Europe, as well as to assist the growth of regional associations that would calm security concerns.

In November 1992, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Richard Cheney agreed with all of these proposals and signed Directive 5200.34 which established the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (MC) under the authority, direction, and control of the EUCOM commander. This Directive modified the EUCOM proposal and included a focus on helping Central and Eastern European countries develop democratically with market economies. On June 5, 1993, the U.S. secretary of defense and German minister of defense officially dedicated the Marshall Center in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. The Center conducted its first Conference in 1993, organized its

first resident course in August 1994, and became a joint German-American partnership in December 1994.

The Marshall Center was founded based on three assumptions: peaceful democratic countries require an effective national defense, defense planned within the framework of democratic governance increases regional stability, and a network of compatible security structures enhances the stability of the continent (Marshall Center, 1995). Therefore, it was believed that by educating senior policy makers of former communist countries on issues of democratic governance, defense and cooperation, the Marshall Center would lay the ground for "closer military ties and greater openness" (Marshall Center, 1995, p. 1). Furthermore, the Marshall Center was presumed to act as "concrete evidence of the new sense of trust and cooperation" between armed forces of NATO and its new cooperation partners (Marshall Center, 1995, p. 1).

The Marshall Center's goals and objectives were also designed to assist in achieving the objectives of a more inclusive program launched in January 1994 by the United States — the Partnership for Peace (PfP). This security program aimed at building trust and cooperation among nations of Europe and, although not a goal, the PfP represented a passage to a country's NATO membership. The Program organized many multinational military exercises that focused on peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and other security challenges that countries expected to face in the future together. Multinational exercises were considered essential to preparing forces to work together in real situations. Besides security and benefits that included work toward military compatibility, the PfP was intended to have other advantages in the social and economic realms. It focused on transference of other values such as democracy, tolerance of

diversity, respect of minority rights, freedom of expression, and civilian control of the military. The PfP, although it did not build the base for NATO enlargement, created a zone of stability and security throughout Europe (http://www.nato.int).

In 1998, the Marshall Center became home to the Partnership for Peace Consortium in order to further the PfP's goals. According to the PfP Annual Report of 2013, this program currently engages over 800 defense academies and security studies institutes in a voluntary association of educators and researchers (http://www.pfpconsortium.com). The PfP Consortium works to promote defense institution building, sustained regional stability through multination education and research, prepare future leaders to meet the security challenges of the 21st century, and building strong democratic defense institutions (http://www.pfpconsortium.com). The network members share the best practices and develop concrete solutions to common challenges. The Consortium's research projects result in policy recommendations relevant to stakeholders and partner-policy makers.

**I. The Policy, Strategic Objectives and Concepts of the Marshall Center**

The objectives of the Marshall Center were based on American and German policies and guidance, namely the U.S. National Security and Military Strategies, The European Command Theater Strategy, and the German Defense Policy Guidelines. The Center's objectives — in line with Partnership for Peace and NATO's program objectives — were defined to stabilize and strengthen post-Cold War Europe by helping the aspiring democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the new republics of the former Soviet Union to develop national security organizations based on democratic principles (Appendix B). In essence, as the U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry stated in 1996,

the Center aspired to fulfill George C. Marshall's vision of a Europe free from fear of war and united by bonds of mutual security and democracy (Marshall Center, 1996).

**1. Policy and Objectives**

Throughout its history, the Center's strategic objective has been to create a more stable security environment by "advancing democratic defense institutions and relationships, promoting active and peaceful engagement, and enhancing enduring partnerships among the nations of America, Europe, and Eurasia" (http://www.marshallcenter.org). The Center's charge in 1997 was to instruct the newly emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the principles of democracy and market economy (Marshall Center, 1998a).

However, the ultimate purpose of the Marshall Center was to contribute to creating a new community of nations from North America to Russia and Central Asia. The goal was to enlarge the footprint of North Atlantic cooperation, which had brought the European countries that had been at war with each other since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, to the most prosperous and democratic nations the world had ever seen (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014). The understanding was that inclusion of many countries in this community would contribute to greater security and reduced costs of providing security for all nation members of the community (Marshall Center, 1998a).

This vision, reflected Karl Deutsch' (1957), is an understanding of security community. Nation members of such community develop a stable peace and common agreement that they will settle their differences short of war. The condition, however, for states to form security communities is to develop shared understandings, transnational

values, and transactions flow (Deutsch, 1957). Communication, according to Deutsch (1957), is the main mechanism that enables a group of states to think and act together and most importantly to develop mutual trust.

Three principles guided the leadership of the Marshall Center at its inception. The first principle, borrowed from General Eisenhower, was based on the belief that cooperation among nations would be greatly enhanced if officials came together in an academic environment and examined openly the complex problems facing their nations (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014). In Grewal's (2008) view, this would contribute to creating an "epistemic community" or a network of professionals and officials who develop common understandings and values. Their common vision, ability to influence decision-making and international cooperation, and authority to set the terms of debate contribute to developing global network power.

The second principle originates in the Marshall Plan, and refers to the importance of countries manufacturing their own solutions to their own problems (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014). In other words, although the Marshall Center offered the venue for discussions, it was not expected to furnish answers to other nations' issues. Nations had to solve their own problems in the context of their own cultural, social, and political context. The third principle related to the value of human capital of international security professionals attending the Marshall Center programs. It was expected that participants' experience and knowledge of their own national contexts were able to provide insights about the complex transitions from communism to democracy (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014).

One of the most important purposes of the community created by the Marshall Center was the commitment to working together to effectively deal with the new threats of the 21st Century (Kennedy, 2001). Therefore, the focus of the Marshall Center's programs and research was outlined based on the Center's view of the potential security challenges at both global and regional levels. These threats could result from intra and interstate conflicts or even from individuals, criminals, or disaffected groups — some of them organized internationally and globally (Kennedy, 2001).

Furthermore, the inability or unwillingness of nations to deal collectively with these dangers and others — such as resource depletion, environmental degradation, and refugee or work migration — was also defined as a threat to regional stability (Kennedy, 2001). Other stringent threats perceived to endanger the stability of the 21st Century were nuclear and biological weapons, terrorism, cyber-threats, crime, corruption, drugs, and economic development (Kennedy, 2001). Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Marshall Center defined terrorism as one of the foremost threats to global stability and security. The shift occurred because of the change in the security interests of the U.S. Government and Department of Defense even though this was not meant to be the major focus of the Center.

**2. Strategic Concepts**

How did the Marshall Center envision its role in addressing the threats and new developments in Europe? What were the strategic concepts employed by the Marshall Center to accomplish its strategic objectives? Preparing the leaders of Europe and Eurasia to work cooperatively represented the main strategic concept of the Marshall Center strategy. In order to accomplish this, the Marshall Center sought to shape professionals

who have knowledge and vision, are open and transparent, committed to inclusiveness and the rule of just law, and are determined to invest in democracy and democratic practices (Kennedy, 2001). The Center's mission therefore was to form future leaders who were free to think and willing to make a difference.

Disseminating knowledge and nurturing dialogue represented for the Marshall Center two of its most important tasks. Disseminating knowledge refers to mastering professional skills. However, it also requires improving knowledge of self and others and of issues confronting one's own and other's nation and culture. Kennedy (2001) argued that clashes are not inherent. They are grounded in absence of knowledge and of interest in exploring other cultures, ideas, and solutions. The theory of intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2006) states that acquiring knowledge of self and of others is a necessary step in changing the individual attitudes toward other groups. This leads to opening channels of dialogue when interacting with different cultures.

Developing a common vision among the representatives of new emerging democracies in Europe delineated another strategic concept of the Marshall Center (Kennedy, 2001). According to Deutsch (1957), shared understanding is a prerequisite for developing a community of nations. More importantly, the task of the Marshall Center was to help participants realize an essential feature of the new global order: interdependence. The era of solitary nations became obsolete. Thus, through the process of examining issues that threatened the common good, the Center sought current and future leaders who would come to understand that a state's welfare, security, economics, environment, terrorism, and crime spontaneously affects not only that state but also neighboring and regional states and even others around the world (Kennedy, 2001).

Generating this interdependent mentality laid the ground for countries to apprehend the utility of win-win strategies and subsequently cooperate to resolve differences and prevent disasters.

Dedication to openness, transparency, and inclusiveness represented few other values that the GCMC aimed to transfer to its international participants. These values were necessary preconditions for the development of the new regional cooperative security environment. In this sense, Kennedy (2001) claimed that open communication on policy making ought to exist among and within governments not only at the top level, but also at lower levels. Professionals should be able to interact and share ideas and concerns on foreign and security issues. Moreover, after 1990, Europe lacked a meaningful commitment to inclusiveness. Therefore, the Marshall Center set out as a goal to assist in emerging and growing the countries' sense of belonging to the Atlantic-Europe-Eurasian community. Part of this goal was encouraging the new political leadership of emerging democracies to protect and preserve the rights of minorities and to reach out to their neighboring countries.

According to Western policies, no cooperative security system could be conceived without the advancement of the rule of just law, democracy, and democratic practices (Kennedy, 2001). Since the large majority of participants, especially during the first years of the GCMC existence, originated in recent authoritarian and totalitarian systems, the Center aimed to expose its students to democratic practices and regulations already functional in the West. The Center's purpose was to emphasize democracy as a system of checks and balances in which all citizens could voice their opinions. They

accomplished this by building on the lack of freedom, human dignity, and creativity of totalitarian regimes (Kennedy, 2001),

Finally, building a collective security system requires employing another strategic concept or way: shaping a new breed of leadership. The leaders of the 21st Century, in the Marshall Center's vision, ought to be prepared to listen before they speak, engage in dialogue, and analyze before they decide (Kennedy, 2001). They need to be able to share their knowledge with superiors as well as subordinates, contribute to the decision making process, and be confident and committed to reason.

All these strategic concepts would concur, according to GCMC strategy, to achieve the vision of a cooperative, win-win security environment from the Atlantic to Central Asia. Although not a provider of solutions, but a facilitator for raising questions and identifying options for solutions, the Marshall Center sought to bring people together and build a common "spirit." The spirit of Marshall Center, as described by then director Kennedy would help people:

- Be prepared to listen as well as speak.
- Seek to understand others as much as they wish to be understood.
- Respect the ideas of others.
- Appreciate differences among nations, people, and cultures.
- Be prepared to reject the tyranny of national and personal arrogance.
- Strive to overcome national, ethnic, racial, and religious prejudice.
- Be prepared to work for common instead of purely national solutions to the problem countries confront (Kennedy, 2001).

Therefore, the task was to create a significant international and cross-agency network of security professionals such as military officers, diplomats, intelligence specialists, civil society representatives, and academics. More importantly, this network's members should be ready to cooperate to achieve common approaches in undertaking pressing foreign and security policy issues in an increasingly interdependent world.

## II. Academic Resident Programs

The Marshall Center's programs encompass several resident courses, conferences, forums, seminars, and an active outreach agenda to military and civilian government officials and alumni from countries around the world. Shortly after its inception, the Center became a "melting pot of ideas and views," as General Shalikashvili, then Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff defined it (Johnson, 1995, p. 5). The Marshall Center brought together students and faculty from a variety of cultures and nations and offered them a setting in which they could interact socially, personally, and intellectually. As of March 2014, 10,000 alumni from nearly 140 countries have graduated from the Marshall Center. Out of them 1,440 were participants from Central Asia, approximately 3,000 from the Black Sea/Eurasia and Europe respectively, and 850 from North America (See Appendix C for a more detailed account of alumni per countries). Faculties from at least 12 countries have taught various courses at the Marshall Center. Moreover, numerous ambassadors, professors, researchers, and even presidents, generals, and ministers of defense have been a guest lecturer in Garmisch in each of the three official languages of the Center: German, English and Russian.

The Marshall Center became well recognized and supported by national governments and European institutions. In less than five years, the Marshall Center

increased its course offering four times and more than doubled its number of participants (see Appendix G) due to the high demand for specialized courses. Emerging democracies in former communist countries shifted their strategic objectives toward building preventive defense and creating the conditions for peace in order to prevent future conflicts (Marshall Center, 1996). Addressing the incoming participants to Garmisch, the U.S. Secretary of Defense Perry emphasized, "We spend 17 million dollars every year at the Marshall Center […] but we are making our money's worth" (Marshall Center, 1996, p. 3). For the United States, training officials in key positions of newly emerging democracies by 1996 represented a significant achievement. The Marshall Center expects to see proof of the benefits of this training for decades to come.

The Marshall Center had made an impact and gained prestige by its 10th anniversary. As evidence, the American and German secretaries of defense and nine other secretaries of defense from Europe and Eurasia participated in the Marshall Center. However, the interest for the Marshall Center declined during the following decade as the U.S. drew down its forces in Europe and instead focused its defense and security policy shifted on terrorism, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The Marshall Center partner countries were not as focused on these topics as the U.S. In addition, as the global financial crisis took its toll, many countries in Europe and elsewhere greatly reduced both their interest in and support for defense and security issues (MC Official, personal communication, March 18, 2014). It could be argued that the Marshall Center has somewhat fulfilled its goals to assist in developing the collective security system and the transition of emerging democracies into working democracies. By all accounts, the Center's visibility

significantly diminished in 2013 when, at its 20th anniversary, no high level official besides the mayor of Garmisch attended the event marked by a low profile ceremony.

The type, number and curriculum of courses have varied throughout the existence of the Marshall Center, primarily due to the nature of regional security challenges that the Center recognized as being most likely to occur in the upcoming years. The Marshall Center courses began in 1994 with the 19-week Executive Program. Later, they adjusted it to 15 weeks, adding also a nine-week Leaders for the 21st Century Course and two-week Senior Executive Seminars. As of 2013, the Marshall Center offered eight types of resident courses as well as a master's degree in international security studies.

Almost all resident programs at the Marshall Center followed approximately the same schedule and pattern of organization. Participants attended plenary lectures and subsequently split into small group seminars (about 15 participants) led by a Marshall Center resident faculty member for discussions. Students needed to be proficient in English, German, or Russian, the three official languages in which the Center's taught courses. The long courses encompassed varied electives and field trips, and the courses ended with a Capstone simulative exercise. The next section will examine the courses conducted at the Marshall Center beginning with 1994. As mentioned, a few of the programs do not function anymore or have transformed into new courses. However, for a comprehensive and dynamic understanding, I will review all courses present and past with their objectives and curricula.

**1. The Executive Program (EP)**

The Executive Program is the first course organized by the Marshall Center and functioned from 1994 through 2004. Initially a 19-week course, it brought together high-

ranking military officers and civilians from Parliament, Defense, and Foreign Affairs ministries of Central and Eastern Europe, Eurasia, as well as participants from the United States and Germany (Marshall Center, 1998a). The objective of the course was "to gain tools, thoughts, and relationships that participants could take to their home countries" (Whitley, 1996, p. 1), by facilitating students to learn from each other and exchange ideas.

Therefore, the rationale was that course members needed to be together for a longer time in order to begin the process of challenging old patterns of thinking and forging new ideas, values and norms of behavior/interaction. The long social interaction also was expected to ensure frank, fruitful discussions on how to address contemporary security challenges (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014). As theory suggests, in order for dialogue to occur, partners need to change "strong habits" (Bohm, 2007), such as defending their own views, agreeing with views that correspond with their own, and disagreeing with those who differ. Thus, this process requires a certain amount time for interaction.

The first four classes of the EP, held between 1994 and 1996, were structured into two sections: National Security Policy in a Democracy and Case Studies in Military Planning. The courses included lectures and discussions on managing national security in a democracy and insisting on basic procedures of establishing and maintaining civilian control of the military (Marshall Center, 1995). Additionally, it encompassed presentations and seminars on building national defense budgets and designing national security strategies that promote security without conflict. The courses also focused on analyzing the causes, effects, and the end of the Cold War, as well as a careful

examination of the security challenges to Europe and Eurasia at that time (Marshall Center, 1995).

The courses ended with a complex humanitarian crisis scenario, a Capstone Exercise that enabled students to apply concepts studied during previous modules. During this scenario, participants had the opportunity to "experience" international cooperation through the application of conflict prevention and conflict management techniques within a framework of cooperative security. Moreover, the exercise enabled the discussions and analysis of peace operation concepts and their legal parameters.

In 1996, the Center adjusted its curricula to address particular regional, sub-regional, and national security concerns. Countries in the regions of interest began to face different individual problems due to their different pace of development (Bernstein, 1996). While the 1994-1996 teaching approach was appropriate for the initial stages of democratization of post-communist countries, it did not integrate the challenges of more mature national security organizations at their varying rates of democratic development. This triggered two adjustments to the Marshall Center programs (Bernstein, 1996).

First, the curriculum included a module that covered issues related to principles of market economy and the relationship between the defense sector and the national economy (George C. Marshall Center Alumni News, 1996). Second, the Center developed alongside its core courses, a series of in-depth elective seminars dealing with regional and sub-regional security, specific issues of defense organization, and functional, nuts and bolts subjects of defense management procedure (Bernstein, 1996). Based on their needs and interests, participants could choose to attend language and computer trainings or to deepen their knowledge in areas of civil-military relations,

Central Asian or small states security, crime and terrorism, peacekeeping operations, Russia's security agenda, or the challenges NATO faced following its operations in Kosovo. Alternatively, participants were offered a student research program that enabled them to conduct research under the direct guidance of a faculty member (Bernstein, 1996).

By 1997, the Marshall Center leadership has also concluded that, as more and more people from Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Eurasia were interacting with people from western countries, the process of socialization, trust building, and consequent fruitful discussions did not need to take 19 weeks. In addition, alumni who returned to their countries were being re-socialized to their "older thinking", blocking progress on joint policymaking. Finally, the GCMC was missing an opportunity to engage younger people who would furnish a future basis for agreement on common cross-national policies in the future (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014). The results were a reduction in length of the course to a 15-week Executive Program, the creation of a two-week Senior Executive Program (for decision makers) and the creation of a nine-week Leaders for the 21st Century Course (LC) for younger security officials (for instance, 2nd and 3rd diplomat secretaries, Majors, and Captains).

**2. The Senior Executive Seminar (SES)**

The Marshall Center introduced this program in 1998 and continues to this day. It brings together senior executive-level officials to include general officers, senior diplomats, ambassadors, ministers, and parliamentarians from the regions of West, East, and Central Europe, Eurasia, the United States and Canada. A main objective of the course from the beginning has been that participant policymakers return home "with a

deeper awareness of key issues that influence national, regional, and international security, the factors that shape security strategy, and the components of cooperative security in an interdependent world" (http://marshalcenter.org). Another principal objective was to expose senior officials to the Marshall Center so that returnees from the Executive Program could later interact with them. Through this interaction, they would discover whether their own approach to addressing foreign and security issues made sense. Lectures, discussions, and workshops aimed to improve participants' problem-solving skills in democratic defense management and transnational security concerns (Marshall Center, 2006).

Initially a two-week program, it was shortened later because of the limited ability of very senior officials to be away from their jobs for such a long time. Among the purposes of this seminar were to provide time for socialization and to expose senior officials to an environment that their subordinates who previously attended the Marshall Center had experienced. It also sought to bring together in open dialogue security leaders to address contemporary security issues, and to expose them to the attitudes, beliefs, objectives, and concerns of leaders from other countries.

The Marshall Center organized the Senior Executive Seminar as a forum for in-depth discussion and analysis of key current international issues that influence national, regional, and international security. At the beginnings of the program topics gravitated around issues of arms control and counter proliferation, self-determination and ethnic nationalism, and planning for national defense budgets. Nevertheless, in the late 2000s the interest shifted toward terrorism and counterterrorism, migration and international security, to name just a few of the themes approached by the SES.

### 3. The Leaders for the 21st Century Course (LC)

The Marshall Center offered the Leaders for the 21st Century Course between 1998 and 2004. It was designed as a nine-week course addressing the younger officials, such as Majors and Captains and their civilian equivalents from countries of the region of interest — Eastern and Central Europe, Eurasia and NATO states (Marshall Center, 1998b). The goal of the course was to develop within the individual members of the class an intellectual compatibility with the thinking of developed democracies by emphasizing the principles, institutions, and procedures that characterize democratic thinking (Marshall Center, 1998b). A secondary, but very important objective was to create a cohort of individuals who would understand the approaches taken by alumni of the Executive program in order to pave the way for effective policy development.

The course curriculum reflected the focus on a younger audience of future-leaders, who did not share responsibilities regarding budgeting and force planning. The course of study retained aspects of the civil-military relation in a democracy and national security formulation from the curriculum of the Executive Program. However, it added notions of theory and nature of modern conflict, underlined the relevance of strategic thinking in crisis management, and emphasized the role of democratic decision making in modern conflicts.

Focusing on shaping the future leaders, the program allotted the last three weeks to applying the acquired theoretical concepts to practical analysis and close examination of then current geopolitical issues, such as conflicts in former Yugoslavia and Nagorno-Karabakh region. Similar to the EP, the Leaders Course was structured in modules that included lectures and seminars, a field trip, electives, and a "Capstone exercise." During

the final exercise, participants were cast into a variety of international roles within the scenario of a regional crisis (Marshall Center, 1998b). The simulation exposed international officials to the necessity of compromise, cooperation, and negotiation to reach decisions under time restraints and in the context of cultural differences and national prides.

The program of study emphasized that the Leaders Course was not designed to offer "school solutions" to issues for any of the countries that take part in GCMC programs. Rather, the program contributed to fostering mutual support among former adversaries and communication among future national security elites. The program aimed to enable participants' understanding and recognition of democratic concepts, formulation of national security, and imperatives of regional cooperation. (Marshall Center, 2000).

**4. The Program in Advanced Security Studies (PASS)**

The Marshall Center began the Program in Advanced Security Studies in 2005. It inherited elements from both the EP and LC. Until 2013, the PASS was recognized as the flagship program of study at the Marshall Center. The PASS started as a 12-week course conducted two or three times a year. In 2014, it was reduced to seven weeks and one iteration. To bring in more participants and due to financial reasons, it was later reduced to nine weeks and two sessions per year. The PASS addressed the audiences of both EP and LC (http://www.marshallcenter.org). PASS participants attended plenary lectures but the seminars were tailored for two different groups: senior level officials attending the Executive Program in Advanced Security Studies (EPASS) and junior level participants into the Leaders Program in Advanced Security Studies (LPASS).

The core modules of the PASS stressed issues of global security trends, armed conflict, soft security issues, security cooperation, international norms, and national security strategy making. The main objectives of PASS were to develop an appreciation for U.S. and German defense security policies and strategies and to enhance participants' ability to comprehend, analyze, and evaluate defense and security issues. The program also cultivated an ability to think critically and strategically and strengthen the foundation for cooperative approaches to shared security challenges (Marshall Center, 2005).

This program rendered more attention to the ways in which good governance and democratic institutions could contribute not only to state security but also to fighting "soft security" issues, such as transnational crime, corruption, drug/human trafficking, demographic pressures, migration, and ethno-nationalism. At the same time, however, the course retained its focus on the dynamics between national and international factors in developing the national security strategy and policy (PASS Syllabus, 2008). It also maintained the emphasis on the importance of international security cooperation and organizations, such as NATO, UN, and EU in addressing threats collectively (Marshall Center, 2008a), and expanded the weight of international law.

**5. The Program on Terrorism and Security Studies (PTSS)**

As of 2013, this program unfolded as a five-week biannual course that was reduced in 2014 to four weeks. The PTSS was designed for government officials, police, and military officers currently employed in mid to upper level management of counterterrorism organizations around the world. Unlike other courses, this program drew its participants from countries beyond the traditional geographic orientation of the MC (Marshall Center, 2008b).

This program was established in 2004 in response to a demand of increased solidarity and cooperative effort among countries to prevent terrorist attacks, such as those of September 11, Madrid, and Washington, without compromising democracy's ideals. The main objective of this program was to improve national security officials' ability to cooperate internationally to counter terrorism by developing common grounds knowledge and establishing contacts within the counterterrorism community. The PTSS aimed to form "an 'intellectual interoperability' that would transcend national borders and enable national security officials to cooperate internationally and contain threat" (Marshall Center, 2008b, p. 2). The program addressed the aspects of threat and examined methods to help a state effectively combat terrorism, while still adhering to the fundamental values of a democratic society (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

The course covered definitions of terrorism, vulnerabilities of terror groups, rule of law, financing of terrorism, and necessity of international security cooperation in addressing terrorist threats. Lectures and discussions attempted to emphasize that a democracy's line of defense against terrorism is solid police work that eliminates terrorism before it occurs (Marshall Center, 2008b). Moreover, the curriculum underlines that once a terrorist action took place, "it is too late to start thinking about what must be done" (Marshall Center, 2008b).

Throughout the course, international participants examined the implications of globalization on terrorist activities and organizations (http://www.marshallcenter.org). In this sense, discussions focused on the critical aspect of networks. The curriculum emphasized that although terrorist and illicit actor networks are enabled by the compressed space and time of the interdependent world, so are the networks of counter

terrorist organizations. Therefore, the network was viewed not only as a mean to defeat another network, but also as a tool to displace ideologies of hatred and destruction by encouraging principles and philosophies anchored in justice, moderation, and tolerance. (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

**6. The Seminar on Transatlantic Civil Security (STACS)**

This program functioned between 2008 and 2013 as a three-week program offered twice a year to civil security professionals from Europe, Eurasia, and North America. In included military officers, government officials responsible for civil security programs and policies, as well as representatives of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations with civil security responsibilities.

The program was established because of the unprecedented requirement of coordination and cooperation between national and international authorities to protect civil security infrastructure (Marshall Center, 2008c). After 9/11, increasing terrorist actions and access to weapons of mass destruction caused governments to reshape their homeland security strategies. While each approach is different, nations shared common challenges.

The main objective of the seminar was to offer participants the analytical and practical tools necessary to address domestic security issues that have regional and international impact (http://www.marshallcenter.org). The STACS curriculum was designed to "emphasize and enhance the essential skills of the civil security professional, including communication, collaboration, planning, critical thinking, strategic leadership, and crisis and risk management skills" (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

**7. Program on Security, Stability, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTaR)**

The Marshall Center conducted the Program on Security, Stability, Transition and Reconstruction as a three-week course 2007 through 2013. The Marshall Center usually invited 45 officials of the ranks of lieutenant colonel and colonel (or civilian equivalent) to participate in the program. They came from countries located in or related to areas that have potential for future SSTaR operations. Students in this course were expected to be highly qualified officials working in positions related to SSTaR operations who preferably had had previous SSTaR experience (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

The program was established because of the legitimacy issues engendered by operations of security, stability, transition, and reconstruction conducted in the decade preceding 2008. The goals of the SSTaR program were to increase awareness in participant countries of the benefits of SSTaR operations for the global security environment, enhance understanding and cooperation between military and civilian agencies, disseminate best practices of planning and executing SSTaR operations, and develop a cross-agency and international network of professionals (Marshall Center, 2008d).

**8. Program on Security Sector Capacity Building (SSCB)**

The Marshall Center's Program on Security Sector Capacity Building functioned as a successor of SSTaR in 2013. The strategic level program addressed military officers at the rank of lieutenant colonel and colonel and their equivalent civilian government officials whose jobs related to security sector capacity building (http://www.marshallcenter.org). The main goal of SSCB was to contribute to strengthening sustainable institutional capacity at national and international levels in order to enhance national, regional, and international security. In this sense, the program

attempted to develop a common understanding of challenges of security capacity building, and aimed to advance knowledge and expertise on security strategy development, the role of good governance, rule of law, security budgeting, interagency cooperation, and crisis management (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

**9. Seminar on Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction/Terrorism (SCWMDT)**

The Marshall Center established the Seminar on Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction/Terrorism in 2011 and it continued until 2013. The MC conducted this two-week course biannually, and addressed mid-level civil and military personnel from all over the world. The goal of this seminar was to enhance the skills of national security professionals so that they can address issues of proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In this sense, the seminar sought to improve participants' knowledge and awareness on sound policies, security strategies, and international agreements related to WMD prevention (Marshall Center, 2012). Furthermore, the course intended to prepare international officials to address their home-country leaders "on the imperatives of regional, continental and global cooperation" to prevent the proliferation, use and unsanctioned transfer of WMD materials (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

**10. Seminar on Regional Security (SRS)**

Founded in 2012, the Seminar on Regional Security met for three weeks, once a year. It aimed to enhance the knowledge and skills of national security professionals so that they would be better prepared for future crisis response and able to provide participants with a set of best possible practice examples (http://www.marshallcenter.org). Participants were provided with a comprehensive

overview on security dynamics and conflict resolution strategies within the European and Eurasian region (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

**11. Combating Terrorism Language Program (CTLP)**

The Marshall Center designed the Combating Terrorism Language Program for counterterrorism professionals who needed to improve their English before they attend the courses of PASS or PTSS. A five-week course scheduled to take place four times per year, the CTLP aims to help civilian and military counterterrorism professionals to develop the English language skills necessary to participate fully in the GCMC programs (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

**12. Master in International Security Studies (MISS)**

The Master in International Security Studies program started in 2012 from a relationship between the Marshall Center and the German Armed Forces University in Munich (Bundeswehr Universitat in Munich -UniBwM). This program targets professionals in foreign and security policy who already hold a first degree and possess experience in the field, in either the public or private sector (http://www.marshallcenter.org). The MC Master students follow the traditional academic curriculum of UniBwM, but also have the opportunity to attend PTSS and PASS classes and therefore spend time with security practitioners from around the world. Because of the collaboration between the Marshall Center and the German Armed Forces University in Munich, all of the Marshall Center's courses (with the exception of Senior Executive Seminar-SES) are university accredited. Consequently, participants attending a GCMC course can earn academic credit toward an advanced degree at another academic institution.

## III. Nonresident Programs

### 1. Outreach Programs

The Marshall Center also organizes a number of non-resident programs aiming to reach the widest possible audiences within partner nations. The outreach events involve participants who may not be able to attend resident courses in Garmisch, and offer them opportunities to address and discuss in an open forum critical security and defense issues. The Marshall Center conducts more than 100 outreach activities every year on topics relevant to the current challenges faced by the audience (http://www.marshallcenter.org). The designed events assist institutions and nations in applying new concepts to their defense and security programs. They also support the development of a common vision leading to cooperative efforts that enhance security and stability of participant countries (http://www.marshallcenter.org).

Since its inception, the Marshall Center encompassed a Conference Center that aimed to bring together very senior civilian and military government officials and parliamentarians from the United States, Europe, and Eurasia (Marshall Center, 1998a). The invited participants actively engaged in exploring solutions for contemporary stability and security problems involving their countries and regions.

Conference topics ranged widely from assisting countries in developing effective crisis management machinery and defense budgeting to addressing problems of arms control, human trafficking, weapons proliferation, terrorism, etc. The Center began conducting around 16 conferences per year starting in 1998 (Marshall Center, 1998a), and hosted up to 35 per year by 2002 (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014). The Marshall Center tailored the conference objectives based to the needs and

requests of one or more partner states or even disparate groups within a country. For instance, the Conference Center brought together high-level participants from the three ethnic groups (Bosnians, Serbs and Croats) in Bosnia Herzegovina for a multi-day seminar in Garmisch. The seminars' goals were to provide a forum for constructive discussions among representatives of disparate groups and to advance the peace and cooperative processes among them.

The Conference Center was later renamed the Outreach Programs Directorate, and currently functions under the title Nonresidents Programs as part of the Marshall Center College of International and Security Studies. The shift in name occurred because of broadening the scope and target audience. Besides conferences and seminars, the outreach activities started to include workshops, regional education team seminars, tutorials, and consulting services.

For instance, regional education team seminars represent customized programs offered by teams of experts from the Marshall Center at the request of nations. Programs include interactive instructions on topics of terrorism, stability, security, transformation and reconstruction, NATO, euro-Atlantic security, and defense institution building. The Marshall Center also organizes tutorials that are tailored instructional events for top-level officials (ministers of defense, chiefs of defense, and parliamentarians), especially if they are new in their positions. While some of the nonresident programs are held in Garmisch, many are organized in the countries interested in a specific topic.

**2. Alumni Affairs**

While outreach events are focused on new audiences, the Alumni Affairs concentrate mainly on the Marshall Center graduates (although they may engage non-

alumni as well).Through these alumni activities, the Marshall Center encourages its graduates to connect with one another in a self-sustaining network of security professionals. The Center also tries to motivate alumni to communicate their ideas and experiences to key leaders in their countries and to cooperate with each other across agencies, countries, and regions, in order to share opinions and recommendations for enhancing security (Dwigans, 2014).

The Marshall Centre established the Office of Alumni Affairs at the request of graduates who wanted to stay connected with the Center and receive professional support upon returning to their countries. In order for alumni to continue being a catalyst for future policy cooperation, the Center had to keep them informed and connected to the Marshall Center activities. This active connection represented an important mechanism for countering the observed re-socialization of alumni upon their return in some countries (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014). Moreover, alumni activities were viewed as a means of feedback on the Marshall Center programs, and a means of encouraging continued dialogue and discussion among graduates on important issues and extending that discussion to other sectors of society (R. Kennedy, personal communication, April 19, 2014).

Therefore, through the alumni's initiative, the Alumni Office was established in 1998 as an organizational point of contact for the MC graduates. The Office provides news, information, and services, and produces reports on the alumni career successes to the German and American stakeholders. Facilitating engagement with and among foreign participants became one of the Marshall Center's primary missions. The office in charge of alumni affairs shared the responsibility to enhance regional security through the

creation of collaborative communities among military and civilian security professionals from the region of interest (MC Official, personal communication, March 18, 2014).

The Alumni Office therefore holds different alumni-focused events. For instance, Distinguished Alumni Conferences, two-day events organized three times per year, gather senior policymakers from the region of interest to provide a forum for discussing emerging security issues. These Conferences — engaging around 180 participants a year — also enable the forging and maintaining of relationships among the Marshall Center graduates.

Community of Interests Programs (COI) is designed as four-day events that enable alumni professional peers and experts to reconnect and facilitate sharing of their expertise (Dwigans, 2014). COI facilitates alumni sharing similar security interests in areas such as violent extremism, trafficking, terrorism, stability operations, or transnational threats. Organized four times a year, these events are attended by approximately 440 alumni each year from all over the world (MC Official, personal communication, March 18, 2014).

Through the Alumni Office, the Center reaches out to its alumni via e-mail, newsletters, announcements, publications and other materials. One of the most important means and sources of information is GlobalNet. GlobalNet is an online collaboration portal with restricted access for the Marshall Center alumni, current participants, faculty and staff, and other Marshall Center partners (Dwigans, 2014). The portal provides free access to multiple research databases (thousands of publications and articles) to assist with scholarly research. In fact, the Marshall Center strongly supports its alumni that are conducting research. Through the Marshall Center Alumni Scholar's Program, the

Alumni Office provides special opportunities to selected graduates to further their research and interests in their specific area of expertise.

GlobalNet also includes updated information on the MC graduates, in-country alumni associations, resident courses, communities of interest, upcoming events and various working groups. For instance, alumni can choose, based on their professional interests, to be part of working groups focusing on topics such as counterterrorism, countering narcotics, cyber security, security studies, transnational civil security, or transnational energy security. The Alumni Office also disseminates information through social media tools, such as Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn.

As of March 2014, the alumni network of GCMC reached 10,000 members consisting of senior policy makers and military officers, as well as career civil servants from almost 140 partner nations (http://www.marshallcenter.org). Among these alumni, there are one elected president, two speakers of parliament, eight ministers, 23 deputy ministers, seven chiefs of defense, 151 ambassadors, and 63 members of parliament (Dwigans, 2014). GCMC graduates have founded one regional alumni association (Southeast Europe) and 27 in-country alumni associations. However, only 17 associations are active, nine being inactive, and one no longer functioning (MC Official, personal communication, March 18, 2014).

# CHAPTER 4

# METHODS

This study examines whether, how, and to what extent the international education and shared experiences at the Marshall Center contribute to building social capital in the global security context. This research follows a pilot study conducted between July 2011 and June 2012 at the United States Army War College (USAWC) in Carlisle Pennsylvania. That project examined the propensity of international military officers attending courses of the USAWC to develop social capital. Exploratory in nature, the pilot study tested qualitative and quantitative instruments for researching the building of social capital. The research found that (a) the USAWC experiences foster social and professional networks that establish bridging social capital; (b) international officers ascribe utility to networks and perceive them as capital for future cooperation; (c) USAWC socialization fosters international fellows' awareness of democratic values and norms; (d) increases levels of cross-cultural communication and understanding; and (e) the USAWC facilitates development of trust and ease of cooperation between its students. These findings provided guidance for framing the current hypotheses, interview topics, and sampling.

Given these findings but also the different social and educational context at the Marshall Center and the still very limited understanding of how international education

builds social capital in the global security context, this research is both exploratory and descriptive in nature. Neuman (2011) argued that, in fact, descriptive and exploratory research blend together in practice. The exploratory approach has been prompted by the novelty of research, and it aims at understanding how alumni assess their experiences during international education at the Marshall Center. Babbie (2010) argued that the three purposes of exploratory studies are to satisfy the researcher's curiosity, to test the feasibility of a more extensive study, and to develop the methods to be employed in a future research. For these reasons, one cannot expect definitive and precise answers from exploratory research (Bryman, 2012). The purpose of the descriptive approach of this dissertation is to "paint a picture" using words and numbers (Neuman, 2011) of social capital in the global security context. This approach addresses the questions of "how" social capital is formed and "who" contributes to its development. The outcome of the descriptive research therefore is a very detailed picture of how alumni and their GCMC experiences contribute to building social capital in the global security context.

This chapter further describes the methodological framework of this dissertation. It justifies the selection of the Marshall Center as its case study, and it presents the hypotheses and the operationalization of main variables. Furthermore, it elaborates on the utilized methods, sample, procedures, and instruments of measurement, and examines the limitations and ethical concerns of this dissertation.

## I. Case Study Approach

Assessing the impact of international security policy education on social capital in the global security context implies looking at two complex phenomena influenced by many contextual factors. For this reason, I chose to conduct a case study. A case study is

the exploration of a case through detailed, in-depth data collection employing multiple sources of information (Creswell, 1998). The multiple sources of information include interviews, documents, and reports. Due to this multiple approach, case studies enable an intensive and holistic explanation of a phenomenon.

The case study approach is especially instrumental when the phenomenon has to be explored in the real-life context, and the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not evident (Yin, 2008). This occurs because conducting case studies involves analysis of the physical, social, historical, or economic settings in which a phenomenon takes place (Creswell, 1998).

The influence of international education on building social capital in the global security context depends on a variety of factors (social, cultural, geographic, etc.) within the programs organized at the Marshall Center. Participants in international education usually relocate (sometimes with their families) and reside together for the duration of the course. Therefore, these types of experiences do not involve only a transfer of knowledge, but also acclimatization of the international participants to the area and to one another's cultures and habits. These factors contribute to blurring the limits between the studied phenomenon and the context in which the phenomenon is occurring. It also supports the choice of a case study approach.

Despite arguments that a case study may not lead to generalizations, Flyvbjerg, (2006) claimed that generalizations can develop from a single case. He explains that the force of example and transferability of a case are often underestimated. For instance, Putnam's (1993) theory of social capital emerged from case study research. He involved a multi-method approach to explain the difference between the institutions' performance

in the North and South of Italy. Likewise, Lijphart developed his typology of democratic regimes (1984; 1999) based on a case study of his native Netherlands. Therefore, a case study can be the first, exploratory step toward generalization in a long-term research project. As Flyvbjerg, (2006) argued, the case study approach may be central to scientific development while formal generalizations are often overvalued.

The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Germany was selected as the focus of this case study for several reasons. First, as described in the previous chapter, the Marshall Center is one of the five regional centers in the world that conduct international security education in a global security context.

Second, the Center draws international security practitioners from around the world as participants. They are high and mid-level officials, including officers from all branches and differing ranks as well as civilians form various agencies with roles in security.

Third, based on the pilot study's findings (Franke & Markley, 2014), I realized the importance of researching the building of social capital in the global security context in an environment with a balanced representation of each nation. For instance, the USAWC and other American military defense colleges also invite international participants to their programs. However, at these institutions, the large majority of participants are American. The pilot study findings show the formation of main groups: the Americans and the internationals. Although interesting to study the formation of social capital at these organizations, I decided to focus on an international security education setting where no country has a prevalent representation. Regional centers are some of the few institutions where each participant country is represented by an equal

number of representatives. Most of them have between one and three participants. Very few countries send larger contingents.

Fourth, the mission of the Marshall Center (and the other four regional centers) is to develop shared values and common approaches to security challenges, and to promote active and peaceful security cooperation. The Center also offers the unique opportunity for professionals to establish wide-ranging contacts with military and civilian leaders from around the globe. Lastly, this Center was chosen because it provided me with access to its participants, alumni, and programs, and enabled the conduct of research. Getting entry into any type of military institution is a very difficult process. It required almost six months for me to obtain all official approvals to conduct this research. It was facilitated by a gatekeeper on the site. As a Marshall Center graduate, I was able to get access to various gatekeepers who then facilitated the process of obtaining approvals and getting in contact with alumni from various countries.

## II. Hypotheses and Operationalization of Variables

Social capital in the security context is defined as social and professional networks — based on shared experiences, norms and values, and mutual trust — that facilitate the cooperation of security professionals for future benefits. Therefore, the concept consists of three main components: social and professional networks, mutual interpersonal trust, and shared experience, norms, and values. I examine the development of each of the three components of social capital to assess whether, how, and to what extent the Marshall Center international education and social experiences contribute to the building of social capital. Consequently, the main hypotheses of the study are:

***Hypothesis 1a****: The Marshall Center international education and social experiences contribute to forging social networks.*

Social networks refer to relationships of affection, emotional connections, and friendships. Social network variable was measured with interview questions such as "Did you make friends while at the Marshall Center? Were these friends mostly from your seminar, country, region, or other countries in the world? How did you make friends? Was it easy to make friends while in Garmisch and if so, why? Have you kept in touch with your GCMC friends since you graduated? If so, why did you keep in touch and for how long?" (See Appendix D)

However, besides social relationships, social capital in the security context also includes the type of ties that are based on job duties and tasks. Therefore, I examine whether the Marshall Center participants and alumni foster professional relationships. The second hypothesis states:

***Hypothesis 1b***: *The Marshall Center international policy and security education and social experiences contribute to forging professional networks.*

Professional networks refer to relations regarding work duties or assignments and collaborations to complete job-related projects. This variable was measured with questions such as, "Did you establish professional relations while at the Marshall Center? Did you do so after graduation? Do you have working relations with other Marshall Center alumni?"

Social and professional relations (networks) that contribute to social capital are those that enable the flow of benefits (Adler & Kwon, 2002). In other words, individuals ascribe utility to their relationships by viewing and utilizing them as a resource for

personal or professional benefits. These benefits may take the form of access to information, speed of transfer of information, or ease of cooperation in general. In this sense, I advance the following hypothesis:

***Hypothesis 1c**: The Marshall Center social and professional (relationship) networks are used as capital for cooperation and personal or professional benefits.*

This variable was measured with interview questions such as "Have you ever used your relations with other Marshall Center alumni to solve a task or complete a project? Have you ever collaborated with former colleagues, instructors, or other contacts from the Marshall Center? Can you elaborate? Please give me examples. Were collaborators mostly from your country, region, or other countries?"

Next, I investigate whether the second component of social capital — interpersonal trust — increases as a result of attending courses and programs at the Marshall Center. The pilot study quantitative findings suggest that international officers attending the programs of the USAWC show an increased level of generalized and institutional trust at the end of the program. However, the qualitative approach indicates that interpersonal trust is the dimension of trust that influences the development of social capital. Therefore, this research is set to examine whether GCMC education and experiences contribute to fostering interpersonal trust among its participants and alumni. I decided to test the following hypothesis related to trust:

***Hypothesis 2**: International policy and security education and social experiences at the Marshall Center contribute to fostering interpersonal trust among GCMC participants and alumni.*

Trust is conceptualized as an attitude and a socially learned mechanism of expectations (Putnam, 2000; Alesina & Ferrera, 2004; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994; Offe, 1999). These expectations may be of other people, of organizations, institutions, or of social norms. The interpersonal trust variable is measured with the following questions, "Do you think you have established relationships with colleagues or instructors based on trust while at the Marshall Center? Why or why not? If you contact one of your former classmates at the MC and ask for help (that does not involve illegal or secret information), do you believe he or she would help you?

The third component of social capital in the security context refers to building shared norms, values, and principles. The USAWC pilot study's findings show that international participants become more aware of democratic values, such as democratic accountability or civil-military relations. Consequently, I hypothesize that the participants in the Marshall Center courses also become more aware of democratic values. However, unlike the pilot study, the present research looks at international officials who had already graduated GCMC and returned to their home country. Therefore, I planned to assess whether and to what extent the GCMC alumni have adhered to these democratic values. The next hypothesis states:

***Hypothesis 3****: International policy and security education and social experiences at the Marshall Center contribute to fostering awareness of and adherence to democratic values and norms*.

Although hypothesized that democratic values have a role, I decided to maintain a very exploratory approach when studying the types of norms and practices that are emerging from the GCMC experience. This variable was therefore measured with a

general question: “Has the Marshall Center changed you in any way? What did you take from your MC experience? What was the effect of having so many cultures around the table? What are some of the recollections you have from the time spent in Garmisch? Have you applied in your job, country or personal life what you gained from the Marshall Center experience? Is there anything specific you took home with you?”

Lastly, the following hypothesis resulted also from the findings of the USAWC pilot study. Although toward the end of the one-year course at the USAWC, international officers reported disconnections from the group of the American officers. Both groups emphasized the significance of gaining intercultural competence. I thus hypothesize: ***Hypothesis 4****: International policy and security education and social experiences at the GCMC increase intercultural competence of participants.*

The concept of intercultural competence is described as an individual outcome of internationalization. The concept was defined based on Deardorff’s (2006) model of intercultural competence and consists of four main components: attitudes, knowledge and comprehension of other cultures, desired internal outcomes and desired external outcomes. This variable was measured with questions such as, “How many countries were represented in your seminar or program? How did you feel to be around so many international participants? How did you relate to them? Was there any change from the beginning to the end of course? In what sense have you noticed this change? What helped or hindered your relations with participants from other cultures?” Probing for more information on the effect of the GCMC experiences on alumni’s level of intercultural competence, I also inquired on participants’ international experience prior to their coming to the Marshall Center.

## III. Mixed Methods

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative methods and consists of three stages. The first stage aims to gain insight into alumni's perceptions of their Marshall Center experiences. In this sense, the research seeks to identify respondents' views on whether, how, and why they forged social and professional relations, attributed trust to these relations and acquired values and norms. The second stage looks at whether and how alumni have applied their GCMC experience in their home countries. The third stage of this research examines the factors influencing alumni to apply their GCMC experience in their home countries. While the first two stages utilize qualitative methods, the third employs quantitative research methods.

### 1. Qualitative Component

This dissertation is mainly qualitative in nature. It therefore can be described as interpretive, for it aims to understand the social world through the examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants (Bryman, 2012). In fact, qualitative research starts from the premise that people can attribute meaning to their environment (Bryman, 2012). Studying the meaning that alumni attribute to the GCMC events lead to description, detail and explanation, which are the emphasis of qualitative research (Gertz, 1973). Gertz (1973) called these processes thick descriptions of social settings, events and people.

The qualitative component of this study encompasses the first two stages that examine alumni's perceptions about their Marshall Center experiences and the way they applied these experiences in their own environment. This approach contributes to understanding alumni's perceptions of network formation, trust building, and value

transference. Qualitative methods are appropriate methods to study how different elements of a social system, such as values, beliefs, or behavior interconnect (Bryman, 2012). They facilitate gaining insight into changes and processes and understanding how events and patterns unfold over time.

Other important reasons for utilizing qualitative methods in this research are the flexibility and limited structuring of qualitative methods. This ensues specifically from a qualitative researchers' view that the social world cannot be looked at through predetermined lenses, but only through the eyes of the people being studied. Any prior, predetermined, and structured frame to study the social reality is perceived as a contamination of the social world. Only less structured research can discover aspects of the social world that are important to people we study and not to researchers (Bryman, 2012). In fact, Bryman (2012) argued that only a flexible approach of research can reveal "aspects that sometimes didn't even cross our mind" (Bryman, 2012, p. 403).

From a theoretical perspective, this research attempts to both build and test theories. First, Bryman (2012) argued that qualitative research allows theoretical ideas to emerge out of data. Strauss and Corbin (1998) defined grounded theory as theory derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory are in close relationship to one another. Second, qualitative research has become more often used to test theories (Silverman 1993). In this case, theories are specified in advance of data collection (Bryman 2012).

**1. a. Sample**. The sample of this research is purposive and consists of Marshall Center alumni. They were recruited from two different groups. The first group visited the Marshall Center with the purpose of attending various activities during the year 2012. In

order to protect the anonymity of the respondents and since some of the events had a limited number of attendees no further details can be given here on the specific events. The second group consists of Romanian Marshall Center alumni. Romania was selected at the suggestion of the Marshall Center because it has the largest alumni contingent and access to the country was evaluated as facile and safe. In addition, as a former Romanian military officer and Marshall Center alumna, it was envisioned that I could more easily establish rapport with security professionals from my own country and, as a result, solicit more open and honest responses.

Overall, I conducted 93 semi-structured interviews with representatives of 41 countries. Out of them, 71 were conducted at the Marshall Center, in Garmisch, Germany and 22 interviews took place in Bucharest, Romania. The research sample was comprised of 74 males and 19 females. Of the 93 alumni, 33 respondents are PASS graduates (to include its predecessors EP and LP), 33 attended PTSS, 13 participated in SSTaR programs and ten graduated from the SES. Three respondents did not specify the course that they had attended at the GCMC. The most represented security agencies in the sample are Ministry of Defense (19 respondents), Intelligence and Ministry of Interior (each with 17 respondents), and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (eight respondents). Other institutions were represented with less than eight alumni in the sample. 32 respondents declared being military and 61 being civilian security officials. Three interviewees were Russian-only speakers (therefore a translator was used) and the others spoke fluently English or Romanian (the languages in which interviews were conducted).

Detailed demographic data for the Marshall Center alumni are not available. Therefore, I looked at one of the first classes of 1994 and one of the last courses

organized in 2013, to get an insight into the demographic composition of classes. Significant differences were noticed. For instance, the first Executive Program organized in 1994, consisted of 75 male international participants and only one woman. Participants came from 24 countries. About 80 percent of the attendees came from Central and Eastern Europe, and around 10 percent each from Russia and the United States. More than half of participants spoke only Russian. In the last PASS conducted in 2012, out of 141 participants, almost 21 percent were female participants. PASS 2012 included participants from 48 countries belonging to regions of Europe, Central Asia and Caucasus, Africa, Americas and Australia. Moreover, only about 20 participants were Russian-only speakers.

Table 4.1: Number of participants from each country represented in the sample.

| No. | Country | Part. | No. | Country | Part. | No. | Country | Part. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Albania | 2 | 15 | Greece | 1 | 29 | Morocco | 2 |
| 2 | Afghanistan | 1 | 16 | Hungary | 2 | 30 | Palestine | 1 |
| 3 | Austria | 1 | 17 | Indonesia | 1 | 31 | Pakistan | 1 |
| 4 | Azerbaijan | 1 | 18 | Israel | 1 | 32 | Portugal | 2 |
| 5 | Bangladesh | 1 | 19 | Italy | 1 | 33 | Romania | 25 |
| 6 | Bosnia | 2 | 20 | Jordan | 2 | 34 | Russia | 1 |
| 7 | Bulgaria | 4 | 21 | Kazakhstan | 2 | 35 | Serbia | 2 |
| 8 | Cameroon | 1 | 22 | Kenya | 1 | 36 | Slovak R. | 1 |
| 9 | Colombia | 1 | 23 | Kosovo | 3 | 37 | Slovenia | 2 |
| 10 | Croatia | 2 | 24 | Kyrgyzstan | 2 | 38 | Tanzania | 1 |
| 11 | Czech Republic | 2 | 25 | Latvia | 1 | 39 | Turkey | 3 |
| 12 | Egypt | 1 | 26 | Lithuania | 2 | 40 | Ukraine | 1 |
| 13 | Estonia | 4 | 27 | Moldova | 2 | 41 | United States | 2 |
| 14 | Georgia | 3 | 28 | Montenegro | 1 | 42 | Uzbekistan | 1 |

To minimize any bias in the selection of respondents, all alumni who visited the Marshall Center during my stay at the MC in 2012 and all Romanian alumni were informed on the scope and focus of research. While the alumni who visited GCMC

received a written letter describing the research and assuring respondents of confidentiality, Romanian alumni were sent an email containing similar information. In both cases, the Alumni Office at the GCMC endorsed the letters and emails and invited all alumni to participate in the study. Therefore, the contribution to the study of the respondents was voluntary and self-selected.

**1. b. Instrument.** Systematic semi-structured interview is the main instrument of this research. This type of interview is a compromise between a purely narrative conversation and a standardized interview that is highly led by theory (Bryman, 2012). Also called "nonscheduled standardized interview" (Gray et al. 2007, p. 161), this instrument consists of a set of questions that "are asked of each respondent, but they may be asked in different ways and in different sequences." Manheim and Rich (1995, p. 162) claimed that the focus of this interviewing technique is not so much "the collection of pre-specified data, but the gathering of information to assist in reconstructing some event or discerning a pattern of specific behaviors." Thus, semi-structured interviews were not meant to collect representative data. Rather, their goal was to provide important contextual information that could help illuminate patterns of perceptions and behavior conducive to the building of social capital.

As mentioned above, the qualitative component encompasses the first two stages of this research that look at alumni's perceptions of their GCMC experience and practices used to apply these experiences. Consequently, the qualitative interview consisted of two parts, one that focused on perceptions and the other that examines behaviors of alumni. The first part of the interview opened with a broad question on what respondents recollect of their Marshall Center experiences and what they believed were the most important

benefits acquired at the Marshall Center. The purpose of this question was two-fold: to see if participants mention the three components of social capital, without asking in particular about networks, trust and values and to establish a more personal rapport and gain the trust of the interviewees. Gaining trust is essential when respondents are security professionals working in positions that require protection of information, because it enables and encourages introspection from the respondents (Gray et. al 2007).

The first part of the interview also included questions regarding alumni's perceptions on factors leading to forging and using social and professional relations. Furthermore, questions asked alumni whether they believe these networks can be based on trust. Lastly, other questions sought to explore alumni's perceptions on the acquisition and transference of values, norms, and practices.

The second part of the interview included questions about alumni's behavior of applying their GCMC experience in their home countries. This section of interview asked questions about the procedures employed by alumni to implement the acquired values and norms in their home countries. Although the order of questions varied inside each section, the sequence of the interview sections was maintained. Following the conduct of first five interviews, the interview guide was adjusted and a few questions added (for instance, questions related to understanding conflicts).

Based on participants' preferences, 80 interviews were recorded and 13 were logged by hand. Interviews lasted in duration between 30 and 60 minutes, although several exceeded one hour. The respondents were generally very open and communicative, and the interview guide turned out to be comprehensive and flexible. Interviews were conducted in specifically assigned areas where interference from others

did not affect the confidentiality and comfort of respondents to discuss openly any topic. Of the 93 interviews, 67 were conducted in English, 23 in Romanian and three were translated from Russian with the help of an interpreter. Nevertheless, except 28 interviews (23 with Romanians, three with Russians and two with Americans), all the others were not conducted in respondents' native language.

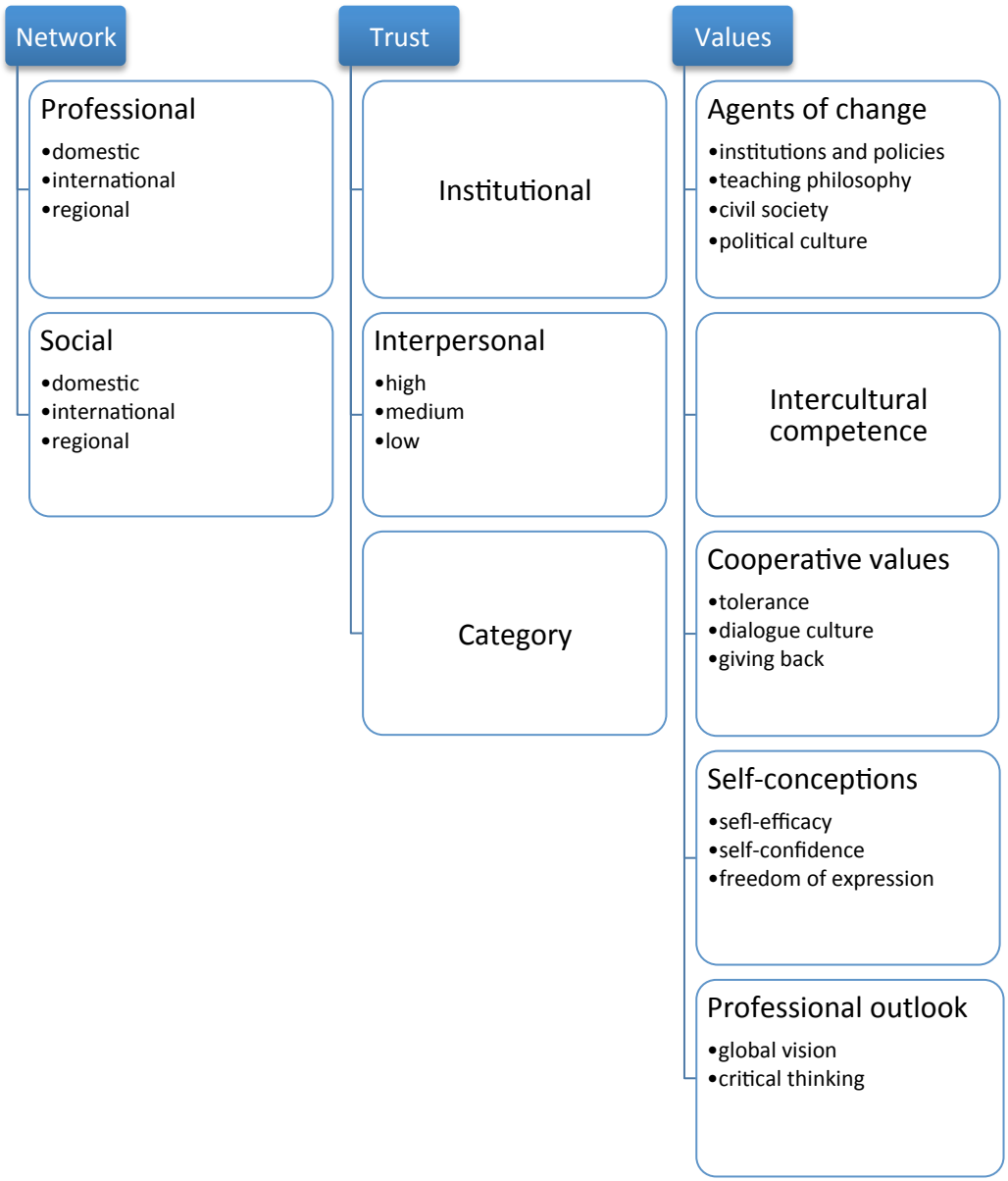
**1. c. Coding and analysis.** To increase the accuracy and reliability of the interview data analysis, I used NVivo 10 software for qualitative analysis. All transcribed interviews were imported, coded, and analyzed in NVivo 10. First, the coding process started with three main themes (nodes) that were identified from the literature: networks, trust, and values. Therefore, the data was examined and explored for patterns relating to these themes, but also for new patterns related to the participants' experiences at the GCMC in general. Coding brought to light several new patterns (child-nodes), and emphasized the increased importance of some themes over others (See Figure 2 and Appendix E).

NVivo 10 software enabled analysis of data early on in the process of coding. Text search query allows looking for contexts in which certain concepts are most often invoked. Word frequency query reveals the words and concepts that respondents refer to most often. These queries can be run on the entire interview data or only on specific nodes and allow an early evaluation of significant themes and the context in which they appear.

Based on the new composition of nodes and their perceived significance, further analysis and reorganization of nodes were required. For instance, child nodes (sub-themes) such as "tolerance," "dialogue culture," and "giving back" were grouped into

"cooperative values." Similarly, "self-efficacy," "self-confidence," and "free to express own thoughts" formed "self-conceptions." Other child nodes such as "critical thinking" and "global vision" were merged into "professional outlook." Additionally, although "trust" was initially categorized as institutional and interpersonal, coding process revealed the importance of category based trust and trust as sense of belonging as well.

Figure 4.1 – Nodes and child nodes resulted from coding



Upon completing the coding process, matrix coding and compound queries were run to compare coded material across nodes. These queries revealed potential relationships among nodes, such as "professional networks," "trust," and "self-conceptions" on the one hand, and "agents of change" on the other. These findings led to the development of the quantitative approach of this research.

**2. Quantitative component**

Previous qualitative findings regarding potential relationships among themes led to the formulation of new hypotheses to be tested with quantitative methods. Therefore, I hypothesized that participants at the GCMC programs who apply their GCMC experience and therefore become agents of change in their countries share a few characteristics.

***Hypothesis 5***: *Alumni who utilize their professional networks are more likely to become agents of change.*

***Hypothesis 6****: Alumni who report an increased level of interpersonal trust in other GCMC alumni are more likely to become agents of change.*

***Hypothesis 7****: Alumni who reported acquiring new self-conceptions while attending the programs at the GCMC are more likely to become agents of change.*

To test these hypotheses, I transformed the NVivo data into binary data. In this sense, when a respondent reported applying his or her GCMC experience and becoming an agent of change in his or her own country, the variable "agents of change" received the value "1." When the respondent did not apply the GCMC experience, the corresponding binomial value for the variable "agents of change" was "0." Similarly, respondents' reports of using professional networks or acquiring self-conceptions were attributed the value "1," and the lack of or negative reports received the value "0."

Interpersonal trust was categorized into three levels: low, medium, and high trust. Participants' answers on the question related to trust were coded into the three categories and were attributed numerical values (1 for low and 3 for high).

The dependent variable for all three hypotheses is "agents of change," while the independent variables are "use of professional networks," "interpersonal trust," and "acquiring self-conceptions." As mentioned above, self-conceptions consist of three different child nodes, more specifically "self-efficacy," "self-confidence," and "free to express own thoughts." Given the binomial value of the dependent variable, I ran forward stepwise binary logistic regressions to test the hypotheses. In this sense, I first included in the regression the "variable involvement in professional networks," because qualitative analysis revealed a potential relationship between it and agents of change. The next variable included in the model was "involvement in social networks." I intended to compare the influence of engaging in professional and social networks on the probability of international participants to become agents of change in their home country.

I also tested the impact of trust, self-conceptions, professional outlook, and intercultural competence on the probability of alumni to be agents of change. The reason for testing these relationships was that NVivo 10 matrix analysis identified potential relationships between these variables. Age, gender, and country of residence consisted the control variables included in the binary regression models.

## IV. Limitations

One of the main limitations of this research originates in the type of sample. First, participants were selected from alumni who were invited by the GCMC to attend various activities in 2012. This means that these participants already showed a higher

commitment and involvement with the Marshall Center network and activities. Second, the sample was self-selected, implying that only alumni who had strong, and expectedly positive, opinions about the GCMC experiences might have contributed to the study. Although, it should also be mentioned that those who have negative impressions also often feel compelled to speak. However, both purposive and self-selected samples are important advantages in qualitative research, because they lead to collection of sufficient depth of data that allow a meaningful analysis of the data. The third sampling limitation is related to the Romanian participants. The Romanian Marshall Alumni Association is the largest and the most active Marshall Association founded in participant countries. Although respondents are not representative of the GCMC alumni population, they do provide critical information for understanding the nature of personal, social, and professional experiences that lead to the formation of social capital in the global security context.

The fourth limitation originates in my status as a GCMC alumnae. Recognizing the danger of bias, I have been very careful in maintaining objectivity and asking neutral and non-leading questions. Because a few interviewees knew that I was a former Marshall Center graduate, they might have been inclined to paint a rosier picture than they might have otherwise done. However, the invaluable advantage of being alumnae myself was the instant trust connection that I was able to establish with the respondents. This significantly contributed to the amount of information that respondents were willing to share. It also helped in corroborating that information with stories and examples from their own experience.

The retrospective character of this research causes another limitation. Participants are asked to recall their experiences and perceptions as they lived them months and sometimes years prior to the interview. Therefore, the recall bias can threaten the validity of research. To mitigate this limitation, a large number of interviews with representatives of various countries have been conducted to look for similarities of patterns and themes in the respondents' reports.

Conducting the interviews in a language other than the native tongue of participants also represented a limitation of this study. Most of the interviews were conducted in English. However, the large majority of respondents were not English native speakers. Therefore, nuances and detailed description (Gareis et al. 2003) of events and perceptions might have been missed due to language constraints.

## V. Ethics

This research did not pose any physical or emotional harm to the participants or to the researcher. Respondents' participation in interviews was confidential. Pseudonyms were used to report interview results, and collected data is still appropriately stored and protected. This ensures that participants cannot be identified or identifiable upon publishing of the results (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, in some cases, when identifying the country of the respondent might have disclosed the identity of the respondent, the continent (instead of the country) has been specified.

The scope and goal of research was explained to the respondents. They were provided with a consent form that consisted of enough information for the participants to decide whether they wish to participate. Moreover, they were asked whether they agree

for the interviews to be recorded. The IRB approval was obtained prior to starting the research (Appendix F).

# CHAPTER 5

## PROFESSIONAL AND SOCIAL NETWORKS AT THE MARSHALL CENTER

*"I remember that one of the Marshall Center professors, who was from the UK, took up to Zugspitze the whole group… And then we split …And then we started to come down the mountain, and thunder and storms started in the mountains…It was a little spooky to be in the storm in the mountains …And I was next to a colleague from Mongolia; he was a soldier in Afghanistan during the Soviet times. So I stuck with him. He was a mountain soldier, and I stayed with him the whole time going down. We could not really speak to each other…he did not know English and I did not know Russian, but whatever he did, I did. Don't go straight, only zigzag…and it was kind of like an experience of two Marshall Center people helping each other down the mountain with the big storm. So, for me, this experience was a metaphor for the Marshall Center."* – Markus (Lithuania, SES)

Social capital manifests itself in the relationships among individuals (Adler & Kwon, 2002); moreover, from these relationships there has to be a flow of benefits (Putnam, 2000). Consequently, a study that examines building social capital has to test the development of networks and their utility. As indicated in Chapter 2, networks are understood, following Grewal's (2008) work on global networks, as an interconnected group of people linked to one another in a way that makes them capable of beneficial cooperation. Cooperation — manifested in reciprocity, exchange, and collective efforts of the network — is conditioned by the existence of shared norms and practices that enable network members to gain access to one another (Grewal, 2008). Additionally, unlike

most network analyses that provide a snapshot of relationships at a particular point in time, this study looks at social and professional networks from a dynamic perspective (Jack, 2005). In this sense, the research examines networking as a social process that evolves in time and encompasses forming, using, or activating relationships.

This chapter addresses the first three hypotheses of the research. As stated in Chapter 4, Hypothesis 1a and 1b state that international security policy education at the Marshall Center contributes to developing social and professional networks. Furthermore, Hypothesis 1c affirms that the Marshall Center alumni use these networks as capital for cooperation and benefits, both professional and personal. Therefore, this study assesses whether and to what extent international security policy education and experience at the George C. Marshall Center contribute to forging social and professional relationships and networks among the Marshall Center graduates. Additionally, this chapter determines whether and to what extent the Marshall Center alumni uses these networks as capital for personal and professional benefits.

The chapter is organized in two parts. The first part looks at professional networks forged by the Marshall Center graduates at the domestic and international levels. It examines the factors and conditions that influence the formation and endurance of professional networks; in this sense, it assesses the role of Alumni Associations in participant countries and the extent to which membership or involvement in these associations influence the level of using professional networks. Furthermore, the first part inquires whether professional networks are associated with a "flow of benefits" (Putnam, 2000) for their members and, if yes, it poses the question: what are the members' perceived benefits at the level of domestic and international cooperation? The second part

of the chapter discusses the formation and utility of the social networks established at the Marshall Center and carried over upon graduation in the domestic and international realms. This section also looks at the extension and intensity of social networks in comparison with professional networks, and analyzes the perceived benefits of social networks memberships.

## I. Professional Networks

As presented in Chapter 3, the Marshall Center organizes a series of specialized and professionally focused programs; for instance, the main course at the MC — the Program in Advanced Security Studies — gathers participants with very diverse professional backgrounds from fifty to seventy countries. They represent their national institutions in the field of defense, foreign or internal affairs, intelligence, or other governmental organizations, Parliament, NGOs, research institutions, or academia. This creates a very heterogeneous environment in which students are exposed to representatives not only of many countries, but also to different agencies and their organizational cultures and decision-making processes. Given their diversity and likely geographic dispersion upon graduation, the probability of them working together in the future is limited. This raises the question of whether and how the Marshall Center students can effectively forge and maintain professional relationships.

Looking for patterns of forming and utilizing professional relations, I asked participants in the study whether they have established professional ties with other Marshall Center alumni. I also inquired about the endurance and utility of these professional networks at the domestic as well as the international level. Using

quantitative methods, I assessed the correlation among respondents' demographic variables and their involvement in developing and utilizing professional connections.

### 1. Domestic Professional Networks

In the first years of the Center's existence, among the ideas that drove recruitment at the Center was the notion that effective political decisions on complex security issues required cooperation across several governmental organizations (e.g. Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Internal Affairs, Parliament, the Presidency, Intelligence agencies, etc.). Therefore, the Center often solicited course members from several such organizations in order to facilitate interagency dialogue within the countries themselves.

However, during the most recent years, the number of participant countries increased considerably. Most of the Marshall Center programs consisted of 50 to 150 participants per course, with only one or two representatives per country. The exception is the PASS — the flagship program at the Marshall Center — in which some countries have two or three, and very rarely up to eight students attending one course. In rare situations, countries send more students for training at the center at the same time. For instance, political or security reasons, such as the preparation for accession and integration in NATO, prompted Eastern European countries to call for a new body of security specialists to lead the transition from the communist to democratic national security system. Nevertheless, today the large majority of the Marshall Center participants are their country's only officials attending one course at a time. Consequently, the likelihood of forging domestic professional relationships while at the Marshall Center is very low.

**1. a. Alumni Associations - an instrument of creating professional networks and shared standards.** Toward the end of each course and before students' departure to their home-countries, the GCMC Alumni Office representatives deliver a short presentation that informs students about activities of Alumni Associations (AA) in their countries. Consequently, students become aware of the opportunity to continue their Marshall Center journey past their graduation and meet previous graduates from their country by enrolling in Alumni Associations.

The analysis of interview data shows that AAs established in alumni's countries of residence are the main instrument of forging and maintaining domestic professional relationships. However, despite their awareness of the expected utility of professional networks at the domestic level, respondents enroll in a very small proportion of these Associations. As described in Chapter 3, in spite of the large number of countries (140) that have sent officials to study at the Marshall Center, AAs operate in only 27 nations, as of December 2013. Out of these, 17 associations are active, meaning that they organize activities quite often and maintain an open channel of communication with the Alumni Affairs at the GCMC. Among these countries are Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, and other mostly Easter European countries who were long-term participants in the Marshall Center programs. Nine Alumni Associations are less active. It is noticeable that these countries are prevalently from former Soviet Union states, to which are added Poland and the U.S.A. One Association, from Estonia, although established in 2004 and active for several years, no longer functions (GCMC Official, personal communication, March 18, 2014).

Nevertheless, when Alumni Associations are active, respondents define them as an influential organization in the civil society and security arena. Flavius (Romania, EP), a former senior official in the military, defined the Romanian Alumni Association as "an environment of exchanging experiences that enables alumni to connect with and to help each other." He stressed that the Association is based on "benevolent actions of people who are knowledgeable and able to make arguments and decisions." George (Romania, PASS) viewed his country's AA as "a vehicle for promoting ideas and providing expertise on international security issues." He believed that the Association contributes to filling a gap at the national level, due to the lack of debate and expertize on this topic. "We, the Association, have them all," George stressed. In a similar vein, Vlad (Moldova, SSTaR) recounted that the Association in his country attempts to portray itself "as a think tank that can offer consulting and analysis services" This is justified, Vlad explained, by the high qualifications of AA members who "represent all relevant institutions in the field of security and international relations."

Furthermore, alumni stressed that the AAs contributed to advancing shared professional standards and procedures and a common identity of Marshall Center alumni at the national level. According to alumni, this was attainable due to three factors: the high-level governmental positions of AA members, common experience and way of thinking, as well as close connections with the Marshall Center. "Our alumni," reported Victor (Romania, EP), are "pro-west, embrace the values of market economy, separation of powers in state, human rights, and citizens' rights. They promote close relationships of Romania with EU, NATO countries, and the US."

There are a small number of alumni who officially join these Associations despite the incentives and benefits of joining them. However, a large participation of alumni is reported when associations organize events or conferences. As Benjamin (Bosnia, PTSS) explained:

> I do not have time to get involved more in the Association, but we all participate at conferences! It is good to see the people from the Marshall Center again, and it is the best occasion to meet other Marshall Center alumni from our country that we did not know before.

Therefore, it is worthwhile to ask ourselves what makes only a part of the alumni to be actively involved in the AA. Interviewing a few of the founders of their country's AA revealed that a key rationale behind the creation of these associations was to preserve an official link with the Marshall Center and offer a forum where alumni can meet and continue their collaboration. A founder of the AA in an Easter European country believed that the participants' personal motivations for investing time and often even financial resources spring from the sense of accountability to the Center:

> Why do I do so much for the Association, and I spend so much money for it? Because I have a creed that our country has to go west and has to sustain its effort to go through the integration. I consider it my duty to the MC and to the people who invested their trust in me. The MC invested in us and of course, we have to answer somehow to their expectations, because in the end the best ambassadors of MC are the graduates.

The desire to give back, discussed more in Chapter 7, emerged as a pattern for respondents' incentive to be part of Alumni Associations in their country. Denis

(Romania, PASS) explained, "There comes a time when you have to give back what you received at Marshall Center." Luis (Romania, PASS), a recent graduate, who was not yet a member of the Association at the time of interview, stated, "My second goal for my trip to the capital today is to enroll in the Association … I have many reasons, but mainly I want to contribute my part." Asked what made him decide to join the Association, Paul (Romania, SES) replied:

> The respect and gratefulness for everything good that the Marshall Center brought in me […] Look at us now: I drove for more than an hour to come meet you … and believe me I am very busy … but I always find time for the Marshall Center.

Additionally, the large majority of respondents viewed the AAs through the lens of expected utility defined as the capacity to enable new professional contacts and relations. I asked participants in the study, who reported being members in their country's AA, why they dedicate their time for these types of activities. "Because I want to make and refresh my connections and contacts; they are critical for my job," replied Antonia (Bulgaria, PTSS). Similarly, Andrei (Romania, PASS) and Slobodan (Serbia, PTSS) reported going to all the association meetings and conferences because "this is where you meet new people from different organizations, experts in security issues," and "high level officials." Consequently, being part of the national AA is "a sign of prestige" that opens many doors at the domestic and international level, according to Emir (Kosovo, SSTaR). Previous research, especially the theory of structural holes (Burt, 1992, 2000), shows that weak ties are the most beneficial connections for establishing social capital, for they facilitate the transfer of information with less investment to maintain relationships.

**1. b. Domestic professional networks – utilized to improve inter-agency cooperation.** The main theme resulted from interview data states that domestic professional networks forged among Marshall Center alumni facilitate inter-agency cooperation and the sharing of information among institutions. As described in Chapter 7, respondents reported an increased awareness and positive attitudes toward cooperative values and practices upon graduating Marshall Center programs. They are reflected in alumni's views on tolerance, dialogue culture, and giving back, as well as in their reported abilities to debunk stereotypes and manage conflicts from an interest-based position. In addition to those, the participants have also mentioned that they have become more aware of the significance of inter-agency cooperation. Tudor (Romania, EP) elaborated:

> The second half of the course was allotted for the simulation exercise. That really helped me understand the significance of inter-agency cooperation. Before '97, I remember I was writing memos, and disliked the fact that I had to seek the approvals of the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Interior etc. Moreover, I had to wait for days for their approvals…. I was always worried they would come up with changes and corrections on my documents. Well, after the exercise in which all of us had a precise role — diplomacy, defense, foreign affairs etc. — and I was the diplomat who evaluated the international context, the situation changed. The general staff said: For this context, I need these many tanks, submarines etc. Another one specified the cost … and then at the end, I was the one going in front of the Parliament and advocate for the budget proposed by the [country] team.… Well, all these helped me be more sensitive to the opinions of other

agencies/institutions who had to agree on my documents/memos. So, from a 'dislike' it became something interesting. You could obtain really interesting, useful and legitimate opinions.

Returning from the Marshall Center with an increased appreciation for inter-agency cooperation and establishing a network of professional relations, participants recognized the benefits of using this network to advance inter-governmental agency cooperation. Victor (Romania, EP), one of the founders of AA in his country, assessed, "My connections were extremely important here at the local level; otherwise it would have been very difficult to penetrate the institutions." He recounted organizing numerous AA activities together with governmental agencies that, in his opinion, contributed to improved relations between the civil society and government. Likewise, Kamran (Azerbaijan, EP) assessed that, due to their positive inter-agency attitude and collaboration across the institutions, MC alumni "brought military and civilian sectors closer together."

This finding is consistent with Weber's (2011) results. He claims that relationships at the micro level among individuals representing different institutions or networks contribute to blurring and changing institutional boundaries by bridging the networks between institutions at the macro level. However, relationships have to be invested with trust in order to work for the long term. Chapter 6 will discuss more the instances when relationships among Marshall Center alumni are charged with interpersonal trust.

Pointing out that personal contacts in an organization facilitate cooperation with that organization, Beni (Albania, PTSS) mentioned, "Everywhere I go, to any

Government institution in my country, I have an open door, because I know a Marshall Center graduate there." He explained that sometimes all is needed is "a small thing, such as 'please take me to your boss';" other times, as Benjamin (Bosnia, PTSS) reckoned, due to time pressures or sensitive issues "you need a contact to call or email instead of going officially and bureaucratically." As Beni reported, and a large majority of respondents agreed, "The AA network is extremely useful, because these people trust me and I trust them."

In Tilly's (2005) terms, these relationships form "trust networks" that facilitate opportunistic behavior and beneficial cooperation. Interview data analysis indicate that they develop especially in countries, such as Estonia or Kazakhstan, where "alumni work with each other all the time," as Omar (Kazakhstan, SSTaR) pointed out. The specifics of forging and utilizing these types of networks are discussed in more detail in the following chapter. However, since most alumni, according to their narrative, meet only at special events organized by the Association, they develop, in Granovetter's (1973) terms, weak ties. The two scholars suggest that both trust networks and weak ties can be strong in terms of mutual benefits and cooperation. On the one hand, Alena (Romania, PASS), who often interacts with her former GCMC colleagues, noted, "It is so much easier now to collaborate with their institutions. They help me receive better and quicker answers. And I trust that they do all they can for me." On the other hand, Janos (Hungary, SSTaR), who rarely meets with other alumni, recounted, "When you need something, you always find a person in the network that knows the right person to help."

The respondents also mentioned the information sharing as another benefit of the GCMC and AA domestic professional networks; in this sense, Alin (Turkey, PTSS)

recalled that upon his return from the Marshall Center, he contacted his colleagues from the Intelligence and Antiterrorism Department, and delivered a presentation that summarized the information acquired at the Marshall Center. Similarly, Samir (Morocco, PTSS) recounted:

> We [the MC alumni] help the military school deliver lectures related to terrorism. So, I am a link between the military school and MC. We receive the "PTSS Daily", and we all have shift duty to read it and summarize it for the others at the school. Also, when we return to our country, we have to give lectures to high officials about what we learned here.

Similarly, Markus (Lithuania, SES) reported that he builds regularly an information bulletin on issues of cyber security that he subsequently emails to all Marshall Center alumni working in this field from his country. In some instances, sharing professional information with other AA members led to writing and publishing joint articles. For instance, Masha (Kazakhstan, PASS) and Markus both narrated their stories about finding other alumni through the AA in their country who had research interests in the same professional field.

**1. c. Not all alumni join their countries' Alumni Associations.** As mentioned above, not all Marshall Center graduates enroll in the Alumni Association of their country, but they try to participate in the events organized by their AA. Although aware of the activity of their alumni organization in their country, about 10% of the participants in the study reported not taking part in the activities of Alumni Associations. Most often, respondents report the lack of time and geographical distance as reasons for not being involved in the AA meetings. As Luis (Romania, PASS) noted, the AAs are located in the

capital cities. However, many participants in the Marshall Center programs are residents of other cities. For them, the only connection with the GCMC is via email and social media. Nevertheless, although not affiliated formally with the Association, some respondents expressed their desire to be more involved. Sebastian (Romania, SES) reported:

> I am not too involved because I do not have time. I agree with the Association purposes; they were very active at some point, especially before our accession to NATO, but after that, the usefulness of this endeavor decreased. Anyway, I think it is important to keep this NGO active.

In some particular situations, the short time that had passed from the alumni's graduation also represented a factor in not joining the Association. In other cases, especially in Central Asian countries, where experience at the Marshall Center is not highly regarded, alumni prefer not to meet and to remain discrete about their education at the Center. As one Central Asian alumnus reported, the political orientation of his country is not yet decisive for the West and democracy. Their interdependence with Russia is still very strong, and therefore current political and security orientations of these countries are not always consistent with the values of the Marshall Center. DiMaggio (1988) argued that ideas that are similar to those already in place are more easily adopted. However, when the remitted values do not resemble the pattern of the prevailing ones, then social remittances are likely not to be assimilated (Levitt, 2001). The Central Asian respondent emphasized the importance of the Marshall Center being proactive in maintaining active relationships with alumni from these countries.

> Every meeting counts, because it reminds us about the values acquired at the MC. Otherwise, as the saying goes, 'out of sight is out of mind.' We go back to our countries, and we have to adjust to our cultures, but coming to the Marshall Center once in a while and immersing ourselves even for a few days in the Marshall Center spirit help us keep these values alive.

It is necessary to note, as cited in Chapter 3, that the leadership of the Marshall Center observed in 1997 the danger of re-socialization to older thinking upon alumni's return to their countries and institutionalized the Alumni Affairs. As mentioned above, in essence, its role was to maintain former Marshall Center graduates connected to the activities, but most importantly to the values of the Center. Alumni's tendency to go back to their previous values and thinking is explained through what Festinger (1957) called cognitive dissonance. When individuals experience conflicting attitudes, beliefs or behaviors, they are motivated to reach consonance again. Consequently, they may reduce or eliminate the attitudes that are not in harmony with others. Being consistently connected to the Marshall Center may allow alumni to grow ownership of the new values and norms acquired at the Marshall Center, and thus alter previously held attitudes and beliefs.

Other reasons for not joining an Alumni Association come from previous negative experiences or views of the association. Two comments merit attention. The first one belongs to one of the early graduates, who considered that "there is a propensity to politicize and use for personal goals the activity of the Association." The second negative remark came from a more recent graduate, who recollected:

> I wanted to help with the AA ever since I came back. I met with the person in charge…. I went to the Association's meetings twice.… I was very disappointed because we were the new ones and we were not introduced…. these people had something to talk (about) and they could have sat down for a coffee and discuss about favors they did for each other, etc. … personal business.… We were shocked … it was not a presentation on a topic or a discussion on nuclear security in Europe … nothing. The second time it was ridiculous because they argued about who had the stamp and what they do with the stamp when they leave.… A colleague from our Association published a very interesting article on cyber security, it would have been nice to know here in our group that he did it.… Communication inside AA is not very good.

Many alumni return to their countries with an elevated feeling of self-efficacy (see more in Chapter 7) and desire to give back to the Marshall Center. However, interview data show that recent alumni report disappointment and frustration upon their return with their own country's system. This pattern is less noticeable for early graduates who report that, although they experienced similar difficulties upon graduation, they learned that they had to wait to acquire higher position in order to apply their Marshall Center experience (See Chapter 8). Nevertheless, the quote shows the importance of the Alumni Associations in most countries. Although the Marshall Center does not have any kind of authority or influence over the country associations, alumni perceive them as the Center's representatives.

**2. International Professional Networks**

Unlike domestic professional networks that form upon graduation, international relations are forged generally at the Marshall Center while attending courses, various conferences, seminars, or "Community of Interest" meetings. This section evaluates whether alumni are aware of the benefits of international professional networks and utilize these relationships; it examines the instances and consequences of employing international professional networks, as well as the type of relationships that characterize these networks.

**2. a. Expected utility and the norm of cooperation.** Asked whether and why they have forged professional relations at the Marshall Center, participants in the study reported that one of the main benefits of their Marshall Center experience was to enter a global professional network that provided access to expertise and information. They also stressed that in the field of security, sharing a common vision, communicating and cooperating across agencies and borders are essential. Asked whether they foresee any utility of the GCMC alumni network, Samir (Morocco, PTSS) and many others replied that advancing a common vision to their governments is an important step ahead in achieving common professional language, standards, practices, and norms. Pointing out the critical role of the global cooperative approach in his specific area of expertise, Markus (Lithuania, SES) stressed that the cyber security issue has a "powerful international dimension":

> We talked in the past about the concept of cooperative security, and I think that today the Marshall Center really needs to resurrect this idea. Not so much for the same issues as then, but for issues of cyber security. They all say 'how can we cooperate better in the regions?' This network is mostly needed in the cyber

> security area…. Your country can be under a cyber-attack from the Philippines. So, knowing whom you can call, whom you can talk to in the other country, and who can really respond and work with you is really important.

However, to rely on the power of the network, in Grewal's (2005) terms, and on its expected utility — cooperation — it means to presume that members of the network will provide assistance and support when asked. This presumption will be analyzed in more detail in Chapter 6, as notions of trust influence the decision of network members to be confident in acquiring cooperation; however, it is necessary to mention at this point that alumni consider offering and receiving assistance when needed as a norm of the network. When not followed, the behavior is negatively sanctioned. As Claude (Cameroon, PTSS) mentioned, "I am contacting a person once or twice; if he does not reply, he is out of my network."

Employing Grewal's (2005) concepts, I suggest that alumni's relationships of sociability contribute to emerging shared norms and standards. First, each alumnus/a decides individually whether to join the network and whether and how to cooperate with others. Second, alumni's diverse interactions over time generate a social structure with patterns of interactions. Finally, alumni start following the prior choices of others consequently enforcing the pattern of interactions. As a logical progression, norms such as contacting one another when needed and providing and expecting assistance emerge because of other alumni's successful prior experience.

Commenting on his expectations from the professional connections fostered at the Marshall Center, Vojin (Montenegro, PTSS) reported, "One time would be enough. If I have only one person that I will contact throughout my career and this contact will save a

terrorist attack, the Marshall Center will be a success!" Likewise, Claude (Cameroon, PTSS) recognized the importance of professional relations in the field of security, for, in his opinion, "it takes a network to defeat a network." Previous research findings on international crime and organizations also recognized the importance of international efforts to combat transnational crime. According to Levitsky (2003), no state has the means to fight international groups on its own, because these groups take advantage of globalization trends more effectively than governments, and quickly expand and interconnect globally.

**2. b. International professional networks — utilized to increase access to information and ease of cooperation.** Respondents reported during interview various instances when they used their professional network. They can be summarized, based on interview data analysis, into several patterns. First, the most often cited example of network utility refers to an increased ease of cooperation and a shorter red tape process when Marshall Center alumni are involved in international collaborative projects. In essence, participants reported that collaborative processes — negotiations, discussion, projects, round tables etc. — quickly became more efficient, expedited and mutually positive experiences upon recognizing their shared experience as GCMC alumni. For instance, Robert (Moldova, EP) recognized a former colleague from Garmisch as his point of contact in the host country where he served as ambassador: "It was so easy to work with him after that; everything was solved with a phone call." In a similar account, Aleksei (Latvia, EP) recalled:

> I remember I was in Slovenia 2007 with a delegation … and I was looking at this person and was sure he was in the same course at MC…. he was the director of

> Security Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs … afterwards it was a different approach…. As a result, I felt I could call him at any time with any question…. That was the change! And then it was this guy from Russia yesterday, really after 15 years, if we had not been together in MC, the talks would have been very different!

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 2010), self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), and the contact hypotheses (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005) offer support in explaining these findings. According to these theories, shared experiences enable individuals to re-categorize themselves based on their common characteristics as opposed to emphasizing the features that sets them apart. Consequently, when they are partners in an international collaborative project, Marshall Center alumni redefine themselves based on their common belonging to the alumni network instead of, for instance, perceiving themselves only as representatives of their respective country.

Another example of ease of cooperation that resulted from data analysis is shortening bureaucratic red tape. Respondents explained that professional networks at the international level, similar to those at the domestic level, might considerably expedite the bureaucratic processes. In the security environment, according to respondents, the speed of sharing information and making decisions is critical. They emphasize that using their MC contacts does not equate to shortcutting official channels, but rather to discovering the quickest one through unofficial contacts; as Vojin (Montenegro, PTSS) reckoned, "I unofficially find out from my Marshall Center contacts what is the quickest official way to solve an issue. This is fantastic."

Likewise, another alumnus who conducted a series of training courses in Central Asian countries stressed that professional relations forged at the MC played an essential role in obtaining the official approvals as well as in planning and completing these training sessions:

> Actually, all institutions that I contacted agreed to organize the courses with their employees … and you know why? Because a former colleague from Garmisch had a high position in the Government of [this Central Asian country]; therefore he helped me connect with all these institutions and form a partner network. This proved very valuable in my work especially in this country, because I was there, but also in the neighboring countries where I organized the trainings.

These results can be interpreted through the lenses of familiarity and prior experiences. On the one hand, familiarity, defined as the level of interaction people have had with one another in the past, reduces uncertainty of behavior and increases the ease of working with one another (Cummings & Kiesler, 2008). On the other hand, prior experience is a positive predictor of the strength of collaborative ties, defined as the intensity of working relationships among collaborators (Cummings & Kiesler's, 2008; Granovetter 1973). Moreover, according to Cummings and Kiesler (2008), prior experience facilitates relationships across organizations (reducing the negative impact of distance) and disciplines.

A second pattern of network utility refers to professional counseling and expertise. Respondents considered their connections established through the Marshall Center to be professional friendships based on mutual assistance and support. Replicating these kinds of network building initiatives on the domestic level, Markus (Lithuania,

SES) reported building and updating "an email list" of GCMC international professionals in the cyber security area. He believed that keeping his contacts informed on the rapidly changing issues of cyber security is one form of providing professional assistance. He described:

> I was asked for support — and I provided it — with developing national security and cyber security strategies a few times. Now all those countries already have their strategies in place.

Furthermore, Amir (Palestine, PTSS) reported founding a national level counter-terrorism unit based entirely on the advice received from and through MC experts and connections. Likewise, Gabriela (Romania, PASS) remembered asking for cultural counseling from her Middle East MC colleagues. She recalled working on a project that prepared the medical system in her country for the wave of refugees and forced migrants coming from the Arab World. Being aware of the cultural and religious component in approaching individuals of any culture, Gabriela stated:

> I have written paragraphs and concepts that I discussed with them to check if they are correct in their culture, behavior, and religion…. Also, I checked with them how my policy proposals are formulated, so that they do not conflict with any sensitive issues.

Due to the multinational configuration of the network as well as the high-level positions of its members, the MC network functions as an expertise bank. Upon graduation, all alumni become part of and have access to a growing network of almost 10,000 professionals from 140 countries that work in areas related to security, such as defense, foreign affairs, intelligence, Parliament, Presidency, Academia, civil society, etc.

Within the network, and sometimes in collaboration with other institutions, several specialized working groups function; they consist of top experts in the field. For instance, the Combating Terrorism Working Group, organized in conjunction with the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Consortium, encompasses an internationally recognized body of experts that provide policy analysis and assistance in dealing with terrorism issues (MC website).

Respondents working in the field of counter-terrorism often mentioned this group. Davor (Georgia, LC) reported finding out about the existence and activities of this group through the MC Alumni Office in Garmisch. "I joined it right away, because it deals exactly with topics of my professional interests," Davor said. He also added, "The group is an extraordinary source of expertise and platform for sharing information." For instance, Horia (Romania, PTSS) invited the best counter-terrorism experts and practitioners in the world as instructors for the trainings that he organized in Central Asia. He recalled using extensively his relationships with the members of the Combating Terrorism Working Group to connect with these experts:

> I met General H. in 2005 at MC, and this is why I joined the PfP Consortium…. a strong network that I use all the time. They helped me organize these courses; I developed the programs in Central Asia based on the network forged here … the programs are still going. I invited police people from the Metropolitan Police of London…. For another course on Crisis Management, I invited a few American officers … one from West Point, one who fought in Afghanistan.

Third, the utility of the networks is also noted when assistance in foreign countries is needed. Mostly valid for alumni who often travel internationally for work-related purposes, respondents reported that looking for MC alumni residing in the visited

countries became a norm. Ana (Lithuania, LC) posited, “Everywhere I go I contact my MC contacts to help me in their countries. And they do everything for me.” Asked whether he ever used his relationships established through MC, Tudor (Romania, EP) recalled:

> The only place where I did not find … MC alumni was Copenhagen. But otherwise, in Argentina, Austria, Hungary, Georgia I always found former alumni who helped my first steps in the capital where I was an ambassador. In Argentina, I met the first week [my former MC colleague] who … helped me better understand the situation of military in Argentina and the transition process there. So even in Argentina I was able to benefit from the time I spent here. When I went in Tbilisi to prepare the NATO summit … I found one of my former MC colleagues who was ambassador of Lithuania there, and he was able to give me a briefing of the current situation in Georgia the first evening I arrived and the next day, I have to say, that I used plenty of what he told me…. this type of access to information and people has to do with my presence here in Garmisch.

Fourth, another example of network utility includes utilizing MC connections in the process of job search. For instance, Dana (Egypt, PASS) related reaching out to a few of her GCMC colleagues to ask for the favor of placing her CV for consideration in their institutions. Most of the time, however, MC alumni contact their former professors in Garmisch to ask for recommendation letters.

Fifth, participants reported that the MC network could also be used as an icebreaking topic in conversations. For instance, Emir (Kosovo, SSTaR) recounted

developing a habit of approaching foreign officials in an international environment in a positive and personal manner. He posited:

> I learned from my MC colleagues a few words of their languages to help me communicate with people from their countries. If I have an official visit in Hungary, one of the first conversations would be 'I was at MC in 2010, and I met this official … is he still around?' We have a lady from [this country], and I did not know how to start talking to her … because there are still animosities between our countries.… so, I went to her and asked her if she knew BM who was my friend from [her country] in my course; she said yes, yes, and of course the ice was broken…. for me, the starting point is the person I met here. Easier to discuss with people from countries that we still share sensitivities with.

This quote shows that in some instances the in-group and out-group dichotomy can be overcome when invoking weak ties forged at the MC. Talking about the importance of relationships when dealing with other nations, Dan (Romania, EP) used an extreme example of two countries in conflict. "If I would be on this side while my former colleague from MC would be on the other side, I don't think I would hesitate to do my duty as a military officer." Yet, he stressed that relationships matter the most before the parties reach the conflict stage; "it matters enormously to know somebody from the other side with whom you share a common experience."

From the perspective of international negotiation theory, Salacuse (1998) argued that building relationships in the pre-negotiation phase enhances trust, information sharing, and productive discussions. Moreover, Ferris (2005) claimed that first impressions and early experiences with others are powerful in shaping others'

expectations. In the field of international security, relationships of cooperation and collaboration could be considered what Salacuse (1998) called long-term business deals and continuing negotiations.

Indeed, the utility of professional networks within the security community goes beyond respondents' examples of using contacts to seek expert advice and assistance in a new country, to shorten red tape bureaucracy, or to ease cooperation. Pointing out that the benefits of an informal international network cannot be overstated, participants stressed that timely and accurate intelligence sharing can prevent and limit the impact of global threats. Although forms of official collaboration among national security agencies exist, a personal connection always ensures a faster circulation of information.

**2. c. The strength of alumni's weak ties.** The utility of the Marshall Center professional network is attributable to two mechanisms: first, alumni use their strong ties to invoke new or weak relations, and second, they reactivate weak ties when necessary. Although respondents were not specifically asked, these patterns resulted from the interview data, for participants commented on their means to identify and contact experts or other GCMC alumni when their assistance was needed.

For instance, when expertise was required, respondents reported using their strong connections within their specialized professional group to activate new connections. In this sense, Horia (Romania, PTSS) and others chose to become active members of the Combating Terrorism Working Group and build strong relations with this group because, in his opinion, they have the best connections in the field of counter-terrorism. In other instances, alumni such as Amir (Palestine, PTSS) described utilizing their strong

relationships with the Marshall Center professors when seeking expert advice or recommendations on other specialists.

Previous research supports these findings. For instance, Jack (2005) argued that strong ties act as a mechanism for generating knowledge and resources, but also new connections to the wider social context and weak ties. In a similar manner, Jack (2005) claimed that networking is a social process of identifying common interests, gaining knowledge and experience of other individuals, and building trust.

It is important to analyze alumni's relationships as social processes from two different perspectives. First, the dynamic of a relationship itself is a social process. From this angle, respondents report that building strong ties is conditioned by consistent dialogue and contacts between the parties over time. Second, the changes in the value (capital) of a relationship also reflect a social process. In this sense, Dan (Romania, EP) posited:

> If you have a stock of social relations at moment t1, this stock changes over time, because people move with their positions, so the relations stock at moment t2 can be much more useful than at moment t1.

This finding suggests that relationships and hence the stock of social capital established at the Marshall Center is more valuable in time. This occurs because the MC participants are officials who are placed on paths to promotion by their Governments. Thus, they will in time most likely occupy higher positions in their organization's hierarchy, and therefore will be more useful. Lin (2001) explained that a connection with a General is more valuable than a link with a Captain. It is therefore the enhanced standing of the alumni in their organizational hierarchy that affects the stock of social

capital. These findings apply not only to the context of governmental (security) agencies but also to organizations in which, once placed on promotion paths, people's advance on the hierarchical ladder is easily predicted (military).

Very often, however, respondents noted that the alumni network is a network of acquaintances that "gets reactivated when needed," as Cristina (Romania, PASS) described it. She illustrated during the interview that, although she did not know me — the interviewer — personally, she became aware that I also graduated from the GCMC, and therefore, was "here to help you with your interviews." Even more, when alumni know each other, reactivating their relationships forged at MC also means reconnecting as there was no inactive time in between. Tudor (Romania, EP) recounted:

> We have not met for ten years. We resumed the relationship from where we left it here in Garmisch! … Many times, it depends, but in my case, it worked perfectly…even though it was ten years after and we have never talked in between.

Discussing the abilities of alumni to help each other even when they do not stay in touch, Alin (Turkey, PTSS) reckoned, "I don't think people forget each other **…** they understand connections in a practical way, and using the connections becomes the norm. This is in advantage for their work." In Jack's (2005) terms, these relations constitute strong ties due to their functionality and usefulness. However, in Granovetter's (1973) terms, they are weak ties that become strong when needed. Their strength arises from the latent knowledge and resources that lie in the content of the weak ties.

As noted in the opening quote of the chapter, Markus (Lithuania, SES) emphasized that the essence of GCMC alumni network resides in the expertise and help

that its members provide unconditionally for each other. The Marshall Center participants seem to develop in Garmisch the characteristics of what Mills and Clark (1982) call communal relationships. Members of these relations are concerned about the other's welfare and they feel responsible for the other person's needs. At the same time, of course, members of communal relations are not expected to neglect their own needs (Clark, Dubash & Mills, 1998). Most importantly, in communal relationships, when benefit is given to a person, that person does not owe a specific debt, which must be repaid with a comparable benefit (Clarck & Waddell, 1985). Although the degree to which these features exist in relationships may vary in strength, their presence denotes the formation of communal relationships, more so than exchange relationships.

**2. d. Obstacles in utilizing the international professional networks.** Not all respondents reported utilizing the professional relationships established at the Marshall Center. The most often invoked reasons for not using the network were the absence of opportunity or necessity and the limitations imposed by regulations and rigid structure of participants' organizations. Imran (Bangladesh, PTSS) reported that, although the situation did not demand it, "the network is still vibrant." Either staying in contact socially with some of the former MC colleagues, or even allowing relationships to become inactive, respondents related being comfortable "to activate any connection anytime with a simple email or phone call," as Zoltan (Hungary, PTSS) commented. Similarly, Beni (Albania, PTSS) noted,

> Virtually the network is strong and huge…. It would be time consuming to stay in touch with many … so you stay in touch with some … but if there is an interest I contact them.

Other participants in the study, despite their disposition to help others whenever they are able to, mentioned that their organizations have rigid rules and regulations regarding unofficial international contacts. Dealing with sensitive information, organizations functioning in the security field require specific approvals for their employees to contact professionals in other countries. Especially, as Zvetan (Bulgaria, PTSS) noted when one country is in NATO and the other is not, the communication between officers as well as civilians belonging to these countries becomes complicated and bureaucratic. Leslie (USA, PTSS) also mentioned of the "pretty rigid structure as far as reaching out to other countries." She noted that the procedure is very formal. Nevertheless, "it is good to know you have a place to start and open the door."

Summing up the findings on professional networks, interview data analysis indicates that professional networks at the domestic level are facilitated by the existence and degree of activity of Alumni Associations in each country. Data also showed that the main benefit of utilizing these types of networks is reflected in an increased inter-agency cooperation at the national level. At the international level, professional relations are described as critical in easing cooperation and shortening red tape, seeking professional expertise or assistance in a foreign country, searching for jobs or as an icebreaker in international negotiations. Utilizing networks for professional benefits is facilitated by the strength of "weak relations" (Granovetter, 1973) that can be reactivated as needed and by the emergence of shared standards and norms.

## II. Social Networks

The second part of this chapter looks at the level of activity and endurance of social networks established at the Marshall Center as well as the factors contributing to

forging and maintaining these social relations. Asked whether they made friends while at MC, all respondents — with no exception — replied positively. Participants in the study reported that the social aspect of the MC programs represented one of the most positive experiences of their lives. Zoltan (Hungary, PTSS), for instance, confirmed, "You leave this place with friends and colleagues everywhere in the world. People say that MC changes your life, and it did, indeed." MC is an environment that cultivates fostering friendships; in this sense, Luis (Romania, PASS) related, "The way the course is organized, you cannot stay isolated, and you don't want to be isolated."

**1. Domestic Social Networks**

As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, currently, most countries are allowed to assign only one representative to attend each MC course; therefore, the probability to forge friendships with other compatriots while at MC is very low. Moreover, once they return to their homeland, only a small percentage of alumni decide to become active members in the Alumni Association; therefore, most of them miss the opportunity to meet new alumni from the same country. Consequently, few participants in the study reported experiencing active social relationships at the domestic level; these participants were the respondents who attended the MC course with other compatriots, work with other alumni on daily basis, or are active members in the AA.

Sorin (Romania, PASS), who attended the Marshall Center course with seven other Romanians, is still in touch with all of them; moreover, he meets with them every year to celebrate their graduation from MC. Similarly, Denis (Romania, PASS) related, "Upon my return, I took every opportunity to meet with my former Romanian colleagues from Garmisch." As the large majority of Estonian GCMC alumni work for the

Government, Olga (Estonia, SSTaR) explained that not only do "we all know each other, but we are also friends."

**2. International Social Networks**

Interview data show that in many instances respondents forged friendships based on cultural and linguistic affinity; however, meeting people and making friends from all around the world was, in the respondents' opinions, one of the best Marshall Center memories. The participants quickly realized their unique opportunity to be in close contact with representatives of so many nations, and therefore allotted a good amount of time socializing with their international colleagues. Denis (Romania, PASS) reported:

> In Garmisch, I was forced to make a Facebook account, because all instructors had an account. So I created Facebook, messenger, and Yahoo accounts … even though I never wanted to have them … so, if you are in Garmisch, you have to relate with others.

When asked whether they made friends at the Marshall Center, interviewees usually touched on two themes: the opportunities that encouraged students to foster social relationships while at the GCMC, and the means to maintain these relationships over the years. First, regarding social opportunities, participants mentioned a few instances that enabled students to interact at the personal level and create friendships. Leila (Israel, PASS), for instance, recalled:

> The dining hall experience in itself was a learning experience because that's where all of the networking and discussions took place. When we sat at the dinnertime or lunchtime, we continued talking about what we discussed in the plenary or seminars. Sometimes we criticized, sometimes we did not, sometimes

> we were ironic, sometimes not…. So, the dining facility is one venue that encourages people to interact and talk to each other.

Other participants noted that the one-week studies abroad, cultural nights, outings with the seminar group, social gatherings, and the unofficial dinners in town facilitated establishing new friendships. Luis (Romania, PASS) explained that there were so many social events, that "one cannot talk weather or landscape all the time; people had to exchange other information as well. And this is how people get close to one another." Amir (Palestine, PTSS) recalled that the "program at personal level was fantastic." He remembered the Soccer World Cup Championship taking place in Germany while he attended the MC courses; he considered this an opportunity to connect with the German community as well as with his colleagues:

> Personally, we all gained a lot of friendships.… We built a huge soccer support network here in the area.… we organized tents to support the German team, and we became very popular.… we organized convoys from city to city to support the German team, but in the end we became a team.

The Marshall Center courses are taught in three official languages: German, English, and Russian. While generally German speakers know English, Russian speakers often do not speak English very well. Therefore, language can be a barrier of communication when forging social relationships. In this sense, participants coming from former Soviet countries, unless they were fluent in English, reported forging personal relationships only with fellow students from their region. The other participants connected with GCMC students from all other countries; however, confirming the contact

theory, interviewees reported forging their closest friendships based on cultural and language affinities. Dan (Romania, EP) remembered his advantage of being bilingual:

> The large majority of Romanians spoke English at Garmisch, but I also knew Russian, so I attended many of Russian-speakers' gatherings. Just because I wanted to know them better. I cannot tell you how happy they were when I was speaking Russian with them. I got close with them … I made friends with them … they are amazing people.

Second, without being prompted, respondents attributed high personal significance to maintaining the relationships established in Garmisch and therefore detailed on the means to keep their friendships alive. Dragan (Croatia, SSTaR) for instance posited, "Personally, I am richer because I know so many people and do all I can to stay in contact with them. This is priceless for me."

Regarding the ways through which alumni stay connected to one another, interview data revealed that participants in the study who graduated more recently mostly utilize email and Facebook to preserve their active relationships. Vlad (Moldova, SSTaR), who at the time of interview was attending a Community of Interest conference in Garmisch, related posting on Facebook that he arrived at the Marshall Center. "Many of my Marshall Center friends and colleagues commented and contacted me," reported Vlad, who also stated, "We have very good relations, and want to keep them like that."

However, graduates of former courses employ GlobalNet, the passworded website of the MC alumni, to identify contact information of their former colleagues and reactivate their latent social relationships. Respondents highlighted the essential role of

Alumni Affairs at the Marshall Center to facilitate connections among alumni by updating continuously their contact information. Murat (Turkey, SES) reported:

> First, we keep in touch socially, and then we send Christmas and New Year's messages … and that works for a while. But, second, this is where the Alumni Office gains more importance … after a while these connections fade and the Alumni Office contribute a lot to keeping the ties going.

Respondents also praised the Alumni Office's function of preserving and reactivating the ties of the Marshall Center graduates through organizing workshops and conferences. Dimitri (Bulgaria, SSTaR) reckoned that, while upon graduation some alumni did not stay in contact very frequently, meeting again during an activity organized by the Alumni Office will "for sure determine them to keep in contact." As specified in Chapter 3, the Marshall Center organizes around four "Community of Interest" conferences and engages approximately 440 alumni every year. However, since these meetings are reported to show a high impact on maintaining active networks (both social and professional), analysis suggests that an even greater focus on gathering alumni would be recommended. Likewise, Khaled (Jordan, PTSS) described the role of conferences and seminars organized by the GCMC for its alumni: "With every workshop, we reconnect with old friends and make new friends. I stay in contact with people from all over the world … some of them visited me."

Visiting their MC friends in their countries is another way of perpetuating social relationships. For instance, when Lukas (Czech Rep., PTSS) visited South America with his family, he made sure to also schedule meetings with his Marshall Center friends from Argentina and Uruguay; "they later returned my visit in Europe," he added. Khaled

(Jordan, PTSS) recalled his friend's visit from Tanzania, and Amir (Palestine, PTSS) remembered travelling to Greece for his MC friend's wedding. As a recurrent theme, participants reported looking for, contacting, and meeting with their Marshall Center colleagues when they visit a foreign country. Similar to the emerging norms of cooperation within professional networks, social relationships also developed a social norm; the respondents reported that contacting their Marshall Center friends when they visit a country was a "must." Moreover, as Alena (Romania, PASS) pointed out, they helped one another by, for instance, "being the guide for them," and returning each other's visit. Denis (Romania, PASS) remembered:

> So, first time I went to Greece, I contacted my good friend there, we met for a coffee and took pictures…. Then he came to [my country] … he emailed a few of us, and said 'I will bike through your countries…who will be available for meetings?' Of course, all of us responded and invited him to meet with us in our own countries and cities. We take care of each other.

In conclusion, this section's findings show that domestic social relations are less active than the international relations. It suggests that social conditions created by the Marshall Center for its participants while they are still in Garmisch are essential for forging friendships. Likewise, social media, such as Facebook, GlobalNet, and alumni conferences are effective tools for maintaining contact with other alumni.

### III. Professional and Social Networks – A Comparative View

Similar to international professional connections, social relations also can be latent and reactivated for professional or personal benefits. Moreover, the majority of professional relations originate in latent social relationships established while at the

Marshall Center. However, as interview data revealed, if social relationships are not activated for professional interests, with time they become not only latent, but also inactive. Additionally, professional relations with other alumni may be fostered upon graduation. Social relations, on the other side, start as an intense and dense network that diminishes over time and does not extend beyond the participants personally met at the MC.

Quantitative analysis of interview data indicates that from the perspective of network utility, professional connections are more important than social relationships (See Chapter 8). In this sense, involvement in professional networks, domestic and international, shows a significant positive influence on the probability of alumni to apply their Marshall Center experience in their own country. More specifically, participants who reported involvement in professional networks are five times more likely to apply their experience than respondents who did not. A similar finding is reported for Marshall Center graduates who are active members in their country's Alumni Association. These results will be detailed in Chapter 8.

Although, one could expect that specialized courses (such as PTSS, STACS or SSCB) would exhibit a more intense use of professional networks, interview data analysis showed a comparable use of networks among the courses. The type of course attended at GCMC showed no significant influence on forging and utilizing professional networks. In other words, whether they participated in specialized courses or the PASS, alumni equally invested in fostering and employing their professional connections.

Additionally, the data suggest that alumni who attended other international courses prior to the Marshall Center show more involvement in and usage of professional

relationships. This can be explained first, by the fact that these participants were already aware of the value of forging professional connections, and therefore focused more on fostering and using professional ties than their colleagues who do not have previous international experience. Second, it might be that their increased level of intercultural competence acquired in prior international courses enabled them to build more relations with international participants. Although the statistical difference is not significant, this finding may be of importance for building social capital in the international environment. This outcome suggests that international exposure contributes to professionals' awareness of the unique opportunity to build new professional ties while attending international courses.

Finally, the data analysis also revealed that age positively influences the utilization of MC professional connections. This suggests that senior alumni, more than their junior counterparts, use their MC relationships. This may indicate that the higher the position alumni reach in their organizations, the more they tend to take advantage of their Marshall Center ties, despite the time elapsed since their graduation.

## Discussion

The formation and growth of networks of cooperation are the *sine qua non* aspect of building social capital among MC alumni in the global security community. This chapter tested the first three hypotheses of the research. It examined whether and to what extent the international security policy education and experience at GCMC contributed to forging and utilizing social and professional networks among the Marshall Center alumni working in the field of security.

Qualitative data analysis confirmed the three hypotheses. Alumni forge both professional and social relationships. However, while social relationships decrease in number over time, professional connections originate in active or latent social links, increase in time, and are highly utilitarian. This chapter also showed that alumni use social and professional networks for various benefits. Utilizing the networks contributes to an increased transfer of information and facilitated cooperation across agencies and borders.

Several findings are worthy of mention. First, the MC alumni report that they help one another unconditionally. This finding indicates that the MC professional networks can develop characteristics similar to those of communal or even primary groups. This is particularly important for the context of global security, because it facilitates and expedites the process of exchanging information, for no expectation of returned favor exists. This can make the difference between a successful cooperative operation and catastrophic incoordination.

Second, the analysis of MC networks revealed that the stock of social capital established at the Marshall Center becomes more valuable in time. This occurs due to the MC alumni's rise in their organization's hierarchy upon their return home. This supports Lin's (2001) theory of increase of social capital with higher levels of decision-making. However, it also significantly improves its application for the context of governmental agencies and other organizations in which people's advance on the hierarchical ladder can be easily predicted early on in their careers (military, for instance)

Third, the analysis found that alumni who have attended other international courses prior to the Marshall Center programs show more involvement in and usage of

professional relationships. This may suggest that international exposure contributes to an increase level of intercultural competence of security professionals and to their awareness of the unique opportunity to build new professional ties when attending international courses.

Methodologically, this chapter employed qualitative methods to study networks. Previous research analyzed networks mostly from a quantitative and static perspective that provided a snapshot or a description of a static situation of relationships at a particular point in time (Jack, 2005). In contrast, employing retrospective interviewing technique to study the relationships among MC alumni offered a dynamic view of the network as a social process. This view confirmed Granovetter's (1973) theory that weak ties are valuable resources in transfer of information, more so than strong ties. It also found support for the theory of structural holes (Burt, 1992, 2001) that asserts that fostering connections outside one's own group is conducive to developing social capital.

Additionally, the dynamic perspective of alumni's relationships contributed to understanding how the MC network formed, developed, adapted, and endured throughout the last twenty years since the inception of GCMC. Using qualitative methods enabled grasping the role of common previous experience in activating and reactivating latent or weak tie connections. In this sense, confirming Cumming and Kiesler's (2008) findings on common experience, this chapter showed that sharing common working and social experiences at the MC led to a more efficient, expedited, and mutually beneficial collaborative process. This occurred not only across organizations and professional fields, but also across country borders. Most importantly, the qualitative approach enabled gaining insight into how the network became utilized by the MC alumni.

Lastly, following Grewal's (2008) concept of network power, it can be concluded that the process of globalization in the field of security is partially contingent on the MC network power. This occurs first, because the MC network is a worldwide network. Second, it consists of senior officials who have decision power in their countries. Third, the network, as this chapter indicated, contributes to building shared professional standards and procedures in the global security context. Building international standards is critical in gaining network power. As Grewal (2008) considered, global networks of sociability remade our world when "the standards on which they depend had the power to do so" (p. 225). Findings suggest that the MC network has the potential to gain network power and to influence the process of globalization of security standards in the international environment.

# CHAPTER 6

# BUILDING TRUST AT THE MARSHALL CENTER

*"My first memorable experience with Marshall Center: volleyball; in the seminar they wanted a team leader, I know nothing about volleyball, and definitely it was not my interest; I was more interested in swimming, biking…but because I was younger in age, they insisted I accept…so, I did it. And it was a challenge as a young woman, and someone who does not know anything about volleyball, to be the team leader and attract the more senior to come and play. Plus, there were a few men with the rank of generals from my region…so, imagine…It was quite interesting because few of the seniors wanted to support me as a daughter and wanted me to succeed. Volleyball brought us all together and melted the ice much faster and we were talking experiences, political, security, family, everything. It was during the volleyball practice that we opened to each other, we had a lot of fun. That was one of the things I will remember all my life."* (Leila - Israel, PASS)

The Middle Eastern woman, who described herself as a gender and religious minority in a conflict country, reported leaving the Marshall Center with memorable experiences; she also gained many friendships with people all over the globe and a new understanding of how women and her country are viewed in her region and the world. However, as she mentioned, none of these would have been possible outside the concept of trust. Mutual trust is an essential component of social capital that enables cooperative behavior (Gambetta, 1988) and communication (Gausdal 2012; McAllister 1995), promotes network relations (Miles & Snow, 1992), and decreases conflict (Andrews & Delahay, 2000)

While the previous chapter examined the formation and utility of professional and social networks, this chapter explores whether these relationships are attributed with

trust. It therefore tests Hypothesis 2 of the study that states that international education and social experiences at the Marshall Center contribute to fostering interpersonal trust among GCMC participants and alumni. Additionally, this chapter assesses the factors that are likely to influence building trust and examines the types of trust associated with social and professional networks. Lastly, it evaluates the importance of forging trustful relationships in the field of global security.

This research looks at trust from an interactionist perspective. As specified in Chapter 2, trust, therefore, is considered an attitude — a socially learned mechanism of expectations (Barber, 1983). It emerges from personal experience, social interaction, and cooperation (Putnam 2000, Alesina & Ferrera 2004, Yamagishi & Yamagishi 1994; Offe 1999). As trust exists at micro, mid and macro-level, these expectations may be of other people, of organizations, institutions, or of social norms. In this theoretical framework, trust is not an unchangeable moralistic feature (Uslaner, 2002). Rather, it is an attitude that it is continually updated with each positive or negative trust experience.

## I. Factors Contributing to Trust at the Marshall Center

The Marshall Center environment is a very diverse cultural, national, ethnic, religious, and even professional milieu. Theory suggests that trust is more difficult to develop in a heterogeneous setting (Costa & Kahn, 2003). Therefore, I asked participants in the study whether they believe if they established relationships based on trust during their stay in Garmisch. To probe their answers, I presented respondents with the following scenario: “You contact one of your former colleagues from the Marshall Center and ask for help with an issue that is not illegal nor against your work regulations.” I followed-up with this question: “do you believe your former colleague would help you?”

This section analyzes the extent to which participants attribute trust to the relationships forged with other alumni or professors at the Marshall Center; additionally, it examines the sources of trust — *that respondents reported without being prompted*.

**1. Appropriate Environment**

When discussing trust, respondents often mentioned the propensity of the Marshall Center setting to generate trust. For instance, the Center's geographic location in one of the nicest resort areas in the Alps, the absence of grading, and every day work and family responsibilities created a stress- and worry-free environment. As participants emphasized, these are all elements of a fertile ground for developing and honing trust. As Denis (Romania, PASS) recalled, "It was the occasion that facilitated building trust. … We were there with no families, no work, no boss, no duties … just study and socialize." More importantly — respondents reported — the rich social, cultural, and professional activities in which GCMC engaged them as students, the nature of open relationships between faculty and students, and among students, and a diverse but balanced national representation contributed to nurturing trust. As Markus (Lithuania, SES) recounted, the Marshall Center atmosphere enabled students to get to know each other:

> This is where it starts: you meet, you talk, you discuss, you go out to dinner, the Marshall Center atmosphere does the job and it begins the work. It is like incense in the room … it spreads. This is where the trust starts.

Likewise, Flavius (Romania, EP) highlighted that one of the premises of trust is "information transformed into knowledge;" to achieve this, he further explained, individuals need to sit down at the same table and present themselves very openly so that

they get to know each other. Only through open interaction, he insisted, will people build trust:

> It is like in a couple: if we learn to talk openly, we get to know each other and to trust… So, trust is generated through knowing each other and the issue ... and this is what we did at the Marshall Center… so we started to trust each other, because each was presenting openly his truth … there was no reason to lie, because that was an open intellectual environment and during the six months there we did get to know each other pretty well.

Tudor (Romania, EP) also reckoned that the degree of interaction among students determined the level of familiarity and trust associated with each relationship. However, he noted that it was difficult to get to know well all course participants as the class consisted of 80 students. Moreover, not all of the students present at GCMC were active and available for discussions. In this sense, he recalled:

> With those who stepped up, expressed their opinions, and got involved in arguments I interacted a lot both in Garmisch and after graduation. So with those, yes I built trust…. I opened my mind and heart and discussed all kinds of topics, for instance, how we perceived transition, because back then the first half of the course was about democracy, market economy, role of the military in the democratic society.

Viewing these findings in an interactionist perspective of trust reveals that disclosure and familiarity with other Marshall Center colleagues are essential to establish trust. According to the interactionist theory, two individuals must come to know one another as particular selves so that trust emerges (Vangen & Huxham, 2003). This means

that, when individuals originate in two different cultures, they need to become familiar with each other as individuals, who may represent, but are not totally defined by their larger collectivity or culture. Interaction as particular selves enables trust to develop with each positive experience of the individuals; trust therefore emerges as the result of a cyclic process (Vangen & Huxham, 2003).

**2. Shared Experiences**

Interview data revealed that shared experiences are also an instrumental factor in building trust. As Cristina (Romania, PASS) reported, knowing that somebody is a Marshall Center graduate suggests a common ground and experience that "creates solidarity and trust in time." Similarly, Bogdan (Romania, EP) believed that shared experiences convey a similar level of professionalism and broad understanding; she pointed out, "In any setting we meet again, this means more trust." This is consistent with previous findings that state that shared experience is a traditional source of trust along with familiarity and reciprocal disclosure (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996)

Dana (Egypt, PASS) and Luis (Romania, PASS) also mentioned that common experiences, especially instances when the MC participants help each other, engender trust. Reciprocal help is conceptualized in the trust literature as demonstrations of non-exploitation of vulnerability (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996). From this perspective, the act of "helping each other get off or on the train," to use Luis' example, leads to a type of trust that "exceeds the limits of a pure professional relationship." Dana included in her narrative elements of familiarity as well as assistance and support:

> When we took it off base, and we talked this while socializing it was a lot of fun in a sense that you are with people that you only know for two-three

> weeks, and you go out with them and you already look out for each other. We already know who is going to drink too much, who wants to continue the party at home, who is the person who is going to do the reading so that we can talk about it next day… so, you already know these things, and I think it is good, but it depends on the class, I don't think that all classes are like that.

The pattern of unconditional help, emphasized also in Chapter 5, as a source of trust suggests again the formation of communal type of relationships, especially within the 9-week long PASS course. These findings can be explained also through contact hypothesis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). This theory asserts that greater exposure to unlike individuals significantly enhances liking for those individuals (Harmon-Jones & Allen 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). Moreover, shared experiences and repeated contact among different groups and people reduce their feelings of threat and anxiety (Blair, Park & Bachelor 2003, Dovidio & Hewstone 2011). Therefore, enabling participants to create common experiences and meet professionals from other countries at the Marshall Center is particularly relevant for the international security context. They ensure decreased feelings of threat and anxiety, a higher level of trust, and therefore better cooperation among security specialists belonging to different organizational and national cultures.

**3. Sports**

Involvement in sports resulted from the analysis of interview data as an important factor for building trust. It is necessary to mention that — as for the two previous sources of trust — respondents reported them without being prompted. Several participants, when asked whether they established relations based on trust, recollected their team sports experience at the Marshall Center. In this sense, they narrated various episodes of playing

or being involved in sports championships organized by the Marshall Center. George (Romania, PASS), for instance, reckoned that his seminar group had the least chances to be cohesive; however, at the end of the course they were "the most united seminar." To explain his statement, he first set out the ethnic diversity of his seminar and the political context prompted by the Georgian war of 2008. His story is a good example for the process of emerging and developing trust among representatives of countries in conflict present at the Marshall Center:

> We were the most diverse and potentially troubling seminar. We had Russia, Georgia, Serbia, Kosovo, Moldova, Turkey, and Albania all around the table…. But, in the end, we were the most united seminar. We made our seminar t-shirts and we had our own mascot. When we went to the volleyball games the whole seminar was there and we were all wearing the seminar t-shirts. I have to say that the volleyball experience united us. Nobody missed a game.… we were the most united seminar despite the fact that we had people from countries in conflict in our group.

Alongside with Leila's (Israel, PASS) story presented in the opening of the chapter, George (Romania, PASS) highlighted the potential of sports to "melt the ice", build team spirit, and trust among the members of a culturally very diverse group. Similarly, Denis (Romania, PASS) stressed the role of volleyball competition in engendering cooperation. He affirmed, "We were in competition not only for the volleyball cup, but also for who contributes more to everything related to the seminar." Consistent with these findings, social psychological studies on trust indicate that cooperation and working together promote trust (Lewin, 1935; Deutch, 1949).

Respondents attributed the development of trust and cooperation to volleyball practices that, as Leila suggested encouraged students to open to each other. The role of sports in the creation of trust and social capital gained attention in recent years. For instance, Koski (2011) found that sports facilitate formation of bridging social capital through forging social networks and, equally important, *esprit de corps*. Similarly, Seippel (2008) and Misener and Doherty (2009), to mention just a few scholars, concluded that involvement in sports organizations led to developing generalized and interpersonal trust.

**4. Time**

One of the most often reported factors that influenced the emergence of trust in interpersonal relationships was time. A clear distinction between narratives evoked by attendees of long and short-term MC courses resulted from the interview data analysis. In this sense, respondents who participated in longer courses mentioned time as a beneficial element for building trust. Other participants who took part in two or three week programs, mentioned it as the limiting condition for reaching trust in their relationships. One alumna who participated in both PASS and PTSS related:

> Trust? Ok … in my PASS [8 week long] class, yes! If I need to go visit them, and I need help, I could trust that they would do what they think it is best for me. I know they would do the best they can. PTSS [5 week long]? They would help out as much as they can. They would not hurt you. 'This is what I can do and this is what I cannot do,' they would say to you. The PASS is better builder of trust because you spent more time with them. You get a better idea of whom you want

to know and whom you don't want to know. PTSS was shorter, but I still had good contacts…but I think duration of the course was important!

Intertwining the component of time with common experience, Lukas (Czech Rep., PTSS) recounted that spending six weeks with people with whom "you discuss and drink beer," naturally generates a higher level of trust and more friends; in Lukas' opinion, people "cannot build networks without trust." While, as Emir (Kosovo, SSTaR) noted, at the beginning of the program the Marshall Center students had reservations, with time they got closer and "started building mutual trust."

In their study on swift trust, Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer (1996) contended that when time is too short, people couldn't engage in the usual forms of confidence-building activities that contribute to the development of trust in its traditional form. Instead, a form of trust — entitled swift trust — with unusual properties may emerge. Swift trust, which may be an attribute of the relationships established at the Marshall Center, is described as a unique form of collective perception and relating that has the capacity to manage issues of vulnerability, uncertainty, risk, and expectations (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996). However, the scholars argue that unlike traditional systems, temporary systems build trust based on different antecedents; moreover, its development and outcome are also different from traditional ones.

Nevertheless, an interesting question naturally arises. In respondents' opinion, how short is too short time to build trust? Noteworthy, no PASS graduate mentioned time as being a limitation for developing trust. However, the narratives of respondents attending five or three-week programs were split between two opinions. While most considered the amount of time "just enough" to build trust, six respondents believed that

the time was “too short.” On the one hand, Lavinia (Slovenia, SSTaR), a graduate of a three-week course, stated that while in one week it is impossible to trust and make connections, in three weeks one can make friends. She narrated the change in trust throughout the three weeks of course at GCMC:

> At the beginning, people don’t share their feelings with you. When people start to trust each other, you get the inside perspective. In the seminar room, they are not so honest about everything, because they still care about their official position, but then during lunch, dinner, personal conversations, they open up, and this is when you get to know them. It is because they established personal connections. So time is crucial.

On the other hand, Omar (Central Asia, SSTaR) stated, “You cannot build trust in three weeks,” for the time is too short to know a person well. Five other respondents, such as Juan (Colombia, PTSS) related needing “more time and more exchange to build trust with more course attendants;” however, they reckoned getting to trust a few of their Marshall Center colleagues with whom they were closer. Likewise, Imran (Bangladesh, PTSS) related establishing a few relationships based on trust, but he added, “With some I started the relationship, and I still build social trust with them.”

Therefore, Imran suggested that continuing the relationship with his colleagues upon graduating GCMC is part of the process that contributes to enhancing trust. Along the same line, other respondents noted the essential role of follow-up meetings throughout the years to develop social and professional ties based on trust. In this sense, Ilias (Greece, PTSS) posited, “I think you can build trust in time after you graduate,” by, as Khaled (Jordan, PTSS) mentioned, “trying it on several occasions, because every

encounter matters." Sara (Bosnia, PTSS) explained how she views the process of building trust, given that alumni live in different countries and do not have the opportunity to meet often:

> We are still in the first level of building trust, but with these conferences and alumni networks that come later … they all contribute to building trust. Trust is something we earn and build up in time.… If I have my colleague from Nepal who would answer to my email and say 'I am sorry, but I cannot help' it is ok, but if he does not even answer, then I would lose my trust. My colleague from Germany, for instance, contacted me and told me that he would come visit my country with his family.… this is how we build trust through social and professional contacts.

The pattern of 'recurrent meetings are necessary to engender trust' is consistent with respondents' reports on social and professional networking. They stressed that alumni need to stay in touch or visit one another in order to maintain social relationships; moreover, as professional and social networking engendered cooperation as a social norm, responsiveness emerged as a social norm for maintaining and building trust.

Interestingly, other participants in the study defined trust itself as a norm. In this sense, Dragan (Croatia, SSTaR) related, "I am not here to build borders, but to move borders and build bridges," and therefore, in Murat's (Turkey, SES) words, "At MC you have to trust, otherwise you just sit in your room and read." Vojin's (Montenegro, PTSS) narrative is representative in this sense:

> When you talk about trust, there is no situation that you can be sure, but you must believe, you must trust people … if you don't, what is the sense of cooperation?...

> I think you have enough time to evaluate other people, and if you find a common interest, such as job or culture, you can build trust. Of course, not with all the people, but with many.

As Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer (1996) argued, in temporary systems, trust has to be presumptuous, so that interdependent work is initiated quickly. Since the Marshall Center seminar and class groups are a type of temporary systems, where students do not have time to build their trust on experiences, their judgments about trustworthiness have to be swift. Only swift trust enables such large and diverse groups to begin functioning in short time.

**5. Selection Process**

Another factor instrumental in building interpersonal trust, but especially swift trust among the Marshall Center students is the rigorous selection process for students' admission. Respondents reported about being aware that everybody's presence at GCMC was the result of a close examination procedure in their respective home countries. This translates into an instant trustworthiness of their Marshall Center colleagues, because, as Kristofer (Estonia, EP) related, "Only elite people come to the Marshall Center." Aleksei (Latvia, EP) explained more:

> People who come here are handpicked by their governments. They are not just simple guys … they are people occupying or on track for high positions in their organizations. Before me there were only generals coming here from my country. You come here … it is a kind of quality sign.

Overall, respondents seemed to be rather sanguine in offering — without being prompted — various arguments in support of their trustful attitudes toward Marshall

Center colleagues. The quality sign attributed to GCMC, appropriate environment, shared experiences, involvement in sports, time, and the rigorous process of selection, all contributed to building interpersonal trust among Marshall Center participants. Paul (Romania, SES) described his experience in Garmisch as a "lesson of trust" and believed all representatives of former communist countries perceived it in a similar manner. He further detailed:

> We left from a system that was not exactly based on trust, and I think that MC opened our minds and brought trust back in our lives…. we understood that we work within an alliance where partners trust each other…. Do you remember at the Ministry of Defense, if you met somebody at the elevator, and you asked him/her 'where do u work,' they responded 'at the sixth floor?' [Laughs] They did not want to say Intelligence [laughs] but nobody was forcing you to say what you were working, but this is how scared people still were years after the communism collapsed.

According to Gibson (2001) and Howard (2002), authoritarian regimes destroy trust. The repressive institutions of the communist state and people's lack of optimism and control (Uslaner & Badescu, 2004) contributed to high levels of distrust among citizens. Years after the downfall of oppressive regimes in countries of the former communist bloc, little has change (Uslaner & Badescu, 2004). More importantly, Gibson (2001) and Hayoz and Sergeyev (2003) argued that the communist tactic of pitting citizens against each other made it impossible to trust strangers. Compared to these settings, the Marshall Center environment is the antithesis that prompts processes of

acculturation of trust (Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010). Perceptions of institutional fairness may be only one of the causes (Dinesen, 2012).

## II. Professional and Social Networks and Trust

Respondents indicated that the amount of interpersonal trust invested in their relationships depended upon the type of relationship developed with their colleagues at the Marshall Center. For instance, one alumna made the distinction between the PASS and the PTSS, and reported PASS being more conducive to trust. Similarly, Tudor (Romania, EP) stated establishing trust with those with whom he interacted more, those "who stepped up and expressed their opinions, and got involved in arguments."

According to Chua (2008), the patterns of trust in networks are associated with specific types of professional or social relationships. He therefore differentiates between affect-based and cognition-based trust (see also Chapter 2). Cognition-based trust characterizes mostly professional networks; termed also "trust from the head," this trust stems from an instrumental judgment that one makes based on evidence of another's competence and reliability (Chua et al., 2008). In contrast, affect-based trust is an attribute of close interpersonal relationships or friendships; also called "trust from the heart," this type of trust arises from emotions and feelings of care (Chua et al., 2008). According to this theoretical distinction and the description of networks laid out in Chapter 5, I examine next the types of trust associated with alumni's social and professional relationships.

### 1. Professional Networks and Cognition-based Trust

Within the Marshall Center professional networks, domestic Alumni Associations and international working groups (e.g. Combating Terrorism Working Group) deserve

special attention because they develop strong professional ties (see Chapter 5). Moreover, interviews conducted with the members of these groups revealed that the professional ties are based on instrumental judgment and a high evaluation of each other's professional competence and expertize; as Davor (Georgia, LC) stated, the Combating Terrorism Working Group is "an extraordinary source of expertize and platform for sharing information." Therefore, employing the typology of Chua et al. (2008), I argue that the strong professional ties of AAs and working groups are founded on cognition-based trust.

In participants' opinions, both trust and the strength of relationships are attributable to their opportunity to meet regularly. For instance, members of Alumni Associations related that they either work together on daily basis or meet quite often to discuss AA matters and various activities; similarly, members of the working groups reported staying connected and meeting at least two or three times a year to exchange information or update each other on the latest counterterrorism developments in their country. Kamran (Azerbaijan, EP) narrated:

> Of course, I got to trust the Marshall Center people. In my field [counterterrorism], you cannot do anything without trusting the people that you work with. However, I can say that I trust the most people of the PFP Consortium with whom I meet regularly, two or three times a year.

As Vangen and Huxham (2003) claimed, trust building is a cyclic process. Each time the partners get together and the outcome meets expectations, trusting attitudes are reinforced. This has a direct effect on the transfer of "tacit" information (Polanyi, 1966) more than the explicit knowledge (Levin, 2004). In other words, increasing the level of trust in the expertise, confidentiality, and reliability of counterterrorism agents facilitates

the transfer of knowledge that entails insights, intuitions, and beliefs that are tightly intertwined with the experience of the knowledge source (Polanyi, 1966).

However, the prevalent type of professional relationships forged through the Marshall Center is the weak tie (Granovetter, 1973) attributed with cognition-based trust. Weak ties, according to Granovetter (1973) are distant, infrequent as interaction, and encompass usually a low level of trust; Levin (2004) also argued that tie strength and level of trust are often correlated. As noted in the previous chapter, numerous respondents' stories focus on reconnecting with their former Marshall Center colleagues, years after attending classes in Garmisch. With this occasion, participants emphasized the unique advantage of benefitting from a trustful partner's opinion, advice, or information when they needed it.

Interview data analysis suggests that this type of trust, just like the relationship, is reactivated when required. In this sense, Kristofer's (Estonia, EP) narrative of collaboration with his former colleague from Garmisch, the Lithuanian ambassador in his country, is conclusive (see Chapter 5). Likewise, Tudor (Romania, EP) recollected receiving trustful information from his colleagues in Argentina, Lithuania, and other countries where he activated as an ambassador (see Chapter 5). Remembering the visit of the GCMC director to his university, Flavius (Romania, EP) related:

> The president of my university received the Marshall Center director, and I insisted for him to go to the TV of my university to give an interview. He said he came very comfortable to this meeting and interview, because he had been known me for ten years.… this trust is extremely difficult to build especially when we talk about people who live in different countries.

These examples identify the instrumental and competence-based character of trust and show that trusted weak ties are valuable sources of information. In this sense, Levin (2004) concluded that the most useful knowledge comes from trusted weak ties; he maintains that with trust being both low and high, weak ties still provide more useful and less redundant information than strong ties. Likewise, Chua et al. (2008) showed that cognition-based trust — positively associated with the presence of weak ties — provide access to information, assistance, and guidance related to the completion of tasks (Cross & Sproul, 2004). Hence, in professional networks such as alumni networks, individuals who seek task advice will look for trustworthy professionals who have the expertise and competence in the particular area.

**2. Social Networks and Affect-based Trust**

In Chapter 5, I examined the formation and maintenance of social networks. I indicated that the social aspect of the Marshall Center programs represented one of the most important features of respondents' experience in Garmisch. I did not specifically ask whether friendships forged at MC were established on trust; however, respondents offered unprompted reports on the dimension of trust characterizing their social relationships with other Marshall Center alumni. In this sense, Amir (Palestine, PTSS) stated:

> Trust is the base for our friendships…. As persons yes, we greet each other on every holiday Christian or Muslim … we stay in touch and we know everything about each other…. we know when a baby is born and we all send 'welcome MC baby!' We visit each other. I had an Irish friend who visited me half a year ago with his family, and it was great…. I have about 10-15 colleagues in my close

> circle. If I call them to come see me now, they would come see me because we did crazy things together. This is personal trust.

Interview data therefore show feelings of care, concern, and affection among respondents involved in social relationships; this leads to the argument, consistent with Chua et al.'s (2008) findings, that affect-based trust is the foundation of social relationships forged among Marshall Center alumni. Although rare, affect-based trust may be the attribute of professional relationships, for affection takes prevalence to cognition-based trust (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985).

Respondents related that trust established at GCMC is further built by consistently staying in touch. In his account on mechanisms of maintaining social relationships over years, Luis (Romania, PASS) commented:

> I have many friends on Facebook, with whom I am still in touch.… I find out many things about them, and as I mentioned it is not professional information, but personal; therefore this trust, you can see, characterizes socialization online networks. I can see pictures of the person's private life.… I could not see them if there was not a minimum level of trust between us … a few years from now, when I will speak with my good friend from the States, he will remember me as his buddy from the PASS course … and reciprocal.

According to Valenzuela, Park and Kee (2009), online social networks allow users to find out detailed information about their contacts. This information, such as personal background or interests of Facebook contacts, contributes to reducing uncertainty, a condition necessary to developing norms of trust and reciprocity (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). As Valenzuela et al. (2009) suggested, because it is improbable to

maintain in one's list of friends people who are really distrusted, it can be argued that Facebook friends are likeable and trusting members.

The benefit of affect-based trust that characterizes usually strong ties is the high volume of information and knowledge change (Levin, 2004), although the knowledge may be redundant and not useful. For the Marshall Center alumni network, this type of trust found in friendships is essential, for it facilitates open communication (Bell and Coleman, 1999), and altruistic behavior (Suttles, 1970), necessary conditions in cooperative behavior.

**3. Category-based Trust Extends to all MC Alumni**

The previous sections of the chapter examined whether respondents established professional or social relationships based on trust. Since interview data confirmed the formation of trust while at the Marshall Center as well as its endurance beyond the GCMC experience, I also looked at the extension of interpersonal trust beyond the circle of personally known alumni. Interview data indicated that trust built at the Marshall Center is generalized to other alumni population generating category-based trust. In this sense, Gabriela (Romania, PASS) narrated:

> I also think that my trustful relationships with the Marshall Center people helped me have more confidence and trust in people that I have never met, who belong to a different profession or culture, but I know they attended Marshall Center. This is my personal experience … look, every time I meet Marines … it does not matter who they are, they are the gold standard based on culture, institution and trust…. Similarly with people who come from cultures that I would not trust 100% … knowing they attended Marshall Center made me trust them. Let me

> give you an example with my colleague from Moldova who studied in Russia.… Unfortunately, I cannot trust the former Soviet systems be they intelligence or security ... but with her it was different; I started to trust her as a person and also professionally because we went to Garmisch together. I noticed during a visit to Moldova that despite their Soviet background, those who attended Marshall Center was different.… We had a common conceptual language and understanding of security issues … they were Americanized…. To me, I believe that the Marshall Center contributed to building a common ground.

Rephrasing Putnam's (2000) argument, participation in international courses at the Marshall Center increases particularized trust, which subsequently spills over into generalized trust toward the entire population of GCMC alumni and affiliates. As recent tests of Allport's (1954) contact theory showed, the effects of contact with other groups (professional, national, ethnic, religious, etc.) generalize beyond participants in the immediate contact situation (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Dovidio & Hewstone, 2011).

Therefore, attitudes of GCMC alumni toward individuals of other countries or professions — whom they have never met, but underwent the same experience — became more favorable. The underlying process for building category-based trust involves the tendency for familiarity to breed liking that is generalizable to related, yet unknown, targets (Rhodes et al., 2001). Furthermore, social and professional contact with diverse groups in an international environment can reduce feelings of threat and anxiety about future cross-group international interactions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Even more, interview data found that many respondents described category-based trust as developing into a "sense of belonging," "brotherhood," or "spirit." Ana

(Lithuania, LC) posited, "MC is spirit. Everybody gets it." According to Lin's (2008) findings, the level of trust positively affects the sense of belonging of members to virtual communities. These communities do not function based on exact workable rules that require members to behave in a socially acceptable manner. Eugen (Romania, EP), for instance, related:

> It is like a brotherhood. You know you belong to this organization. It is enough to see the sign and you approach easily somebody … you instantly establish a connection with that person, because you have a common ground … you have the same understanding, you know you have something to talk to that person. You build trust! And it depends on professionalism, responsibility, commitment, sincerity, and deliver…it is not only about giving, but receiving, too.… Of course you can build trust here, because you live with these people in the same environment … you are with them for so many months.

More importantly, respondents reported that the trust, spirit, and feelings of fellowship acquired while at the GCMC persist over years; they turn into, as Aleksei (Latvia, EP) posited, an "attachment that we will never get rid of till the end of the life." Highlighting the benefits of trusting and being trusted by so many GCMC alumni, Davor (Georgia, LC) related, "Once an MC graduates, it is an instant connection with other alumni." In his opinion, this connection contributes to the success of negotiations, collaborative processes, or discussions in which GCMC alumni are involved. Finally, for Amir (Palestine, PTSS), the GCMC network is "a good family," whose name functions "as a passport" in the world of security community.

Previous research on sense of belonging found that international students needed to feel important as a part of a larger community that is valuable, supportive, and affirming (Schlossberg, 1989; Johnson, Soldner, Leonard, Alvarez, Inkelas, Rowan-Kenyon, & Longerbeam, 2007). Moreover, the determinants of sense of belonging are supportive faculty interactions in academic and social environments (Hoffman et al., 2003), students' interactions with their diverse peers of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, and participation at the campus' multicultural events.

**4. Factors Undermining Trust**

Consistent with the findings regarding challenges in networking, six respondents reported insufficient time and military security regulations as hindering their ability to trust anyone, be they GCMC graduates or not. For instance, James (Estonia, PASS) reported, "I would not trust anybody," questioning the reason for which some countries send their representatives to Garmisch. Similarly, Zvetan (Bulgaria, PTSS) related "not exactly" forging relationships based on trust, because "people are from different nations, some of them even in conflict." He also reckoned trust being strictly linked with personality traits.

However, other respondents considered that common awareness of their professional security limitations contributed to an increased confidence in each other because they had clear and shared expectations of what can and cannot be shared. According to this research conceptualization of trust in the framework of interactionist theory, trust is a relational mechanism that continually updates individuals' expectations of each other, institutions, organizations, and social norms.

## Discussion

Trust is an essential component of social capital and for the formation of networks. Previous trust research has shown that trust facilitates cooperation and communication, and decreases conflict in work settings (Coleman, 1990; Gausdal, 2012; McAllister, 1995). Building trust has special relevance in the multinational security context, where cooperation and sharing information predicate the success of security operations; trust is also essential in networks that have no organizational authority, for trust is the only resource to allow members to cooperate efficiently.

This chapter was set out to explore the extent to which international security policy education and experience at the Marshall Center builds trust among the GCMC graduates working in the global security community. Research findings show that the GCMC environment — including the location of the Center and a worry free atmosphere, nature of open relations with faculty and other students, rich social, cultural, and professional activities, and a diverse but balanced national representation — is conducive to developing trust. Moreover, shared experiences, involvement in sports, sufficient time to interact with colleagues, and rigorous selections of participants are contributing factors to establishing relationships based on trust.

The chapter also indicates that professional relationships are associated with cognition-based trust, while social ones are associated with affect-based trust. Moreover, interview data analysis found that interpersonal trust could be generalized to non-specific GCMC graduates facilitating the foundation of category-based trust. This finding is particularly important for developing social capital in the security context where alumni need to cooperate with other alumni whom they never met. The presence of trust, therefore, would positively affect the speed, nature, and quality of the process.

Furthermore, future research should attempt to determine whether the level of generalized trust — trust in other categories as well — increases because of the Marshall Center experience.

Lastly, developing trust should be a goal of international education at the Marshall Center. Although not included in the mission of the Center, trust is part of the seal and motto of the Center. "Democratia per fidemet Concordia" expresses that democracy can be built through trust and friendship. Nevertheless, fostering trust is not stated as an objective. As findings of this chapter show, the diverse and rich social fabric of the Center facilitates the emergence of trust. Analysis of interview data suggests that the length of course and the depth of interaction among the Marshall Center participants affect the degree of trust attributed to relationships forged in Garmisch. Yet, recent 2014 curricula development at GCMC shows the tendency to reduce the number of longer courses and increase the number of specialized short courses. One of the two PASS sessions in 2014 was discontinued. Will this mean that the consequences of cutting back on social and trust aspects of the Center impact a critical dimension of building social capital? Future research is required in order to find the answer.

# CHAPTER 7

# VALUES, PRACTICES AND NORMS

*"MC is values and spirit"* (Ana – Ukraine, LC)

Fukuyama (2001) argued that social capital formation cannot occur unless there is an emergence of shared norms and values, the prerequisite for all forms of group endeavor to cooperate. Shared values also result from processes of value transference during interactions among individuals of different cultural, belief, and value backgrounds (Levitt & Lamba, 2011). Whether it is dialogue, training, sojourn experience, or immigration, the circulation of values, norms, and practices occurs, affecting the value system of individuals. These interactions either reaffirm existing values, norms, and practices or they challenge them. If they represent a challenge, then often times many interactions are necessary before a perceivable transfer may occur (Festinger, 1964).

This chapter analyzes the influences of the Marshall Center's international education and social experiences on fostering shared values, norms, and practices among its international participants. It seeks to test Hypotheses 3 and 4 of the research that, as discussed in Chapter 4, resulted from the theory and the findings of the pilot study conducted with the international officers attending the courses of the United States Army War College. Hypothesis 3 states, "International education and social experiences at the Marshall Center contribute to fostering awareness of and adherence to democratic values

and norms." Additionally, to test a particular dimension of norms and practices, Hypothesis 4 asserts, "International education and social experiences at the GCMC increase intercultural competence of participants."

Moreover, this chapter attempts to explore the types of values, practices and norms that have been acquired by international participants attending the courses in Garmisch. The inquiry of research: Have the Marshall Center alumni developed a common ground through adherence to and transference of shared norms? What types of norms are these? If the adherence and transference of norms occurred, have these processes stopped with the GCMC graduation or have the graduates carried these norms and practices further to their home countries?

To inquire on adherence to new norms and practices, I investigated respondents' perceived attitudinal changes; participants in the study were prompted with open questions to ensure that they were not led toward certain answers. My questions to the respondents: Has the Marshall Center changed you in any way? What was the influence of the MC experience on your personal, professional, and social life? What was the effect of having so many cultures around the table? What are some of the recollections you have from the time spent in Garmisch?

Emphasizing a wide array of influences that GCMC experience had on their personal, social, and professional outlook, former international participants at the Marshall Center programs reported several changes in their perceptions and attitudes. They vary from attitudes toward accountability, tolerance, time-sensitiveness, and discipline; to politeness, self-confidence, and furthering education; to an understanding and appropriation of democratic and political values. This chapter consists of four parts.

The first part focuses on cooperative values, norms, and practices that respondents perceived to have been acquired during their stay at the Marshall Center. The second part concentrates on participants' perceived self-conceptions and examines attitudes toward self-efficacy, self-confidence, and freedom of expression. It also addresses interviewees' perceptions of professional outlook by assessing their reports on acquiring global vision and critical thinking. The third section of this chapter investigates respondents' perceptions of their intercultural competence using Deardorff's (2006) model, and finally, the fourth part of the chapter discusses the findings and their relevance for building social capital in the security field.

## I. Cooperative Values, Practices and Norms

This section examines respondents' perceptions on values of cooperation. As specified above, respondents were not asked specific questions on their attitudes toward cooperative values. Instead, they were inquired on the consequences of the Marshall Center experiences on their personal, professional, and social lives. Several themes resulted. In this section, I discuss patterns of changes regarding participants' attitudes toward tolerance, listening, stereotypes, holding position-based interests, and "giving back".

### 1. Tolerance

One of the most prominent themes encountered across the interviews with international participants at GCMC was the perception of increased tolerance toward different views, people and cultures. Respondents recalled that the class atmosphere at the beginning of the program was sometimes confrontational and tense; however, toward

the end, international participants learned the value of agreeing to disagree and began to show tolerance toward alternate points of view. Dana (Egypt, PASS) related:

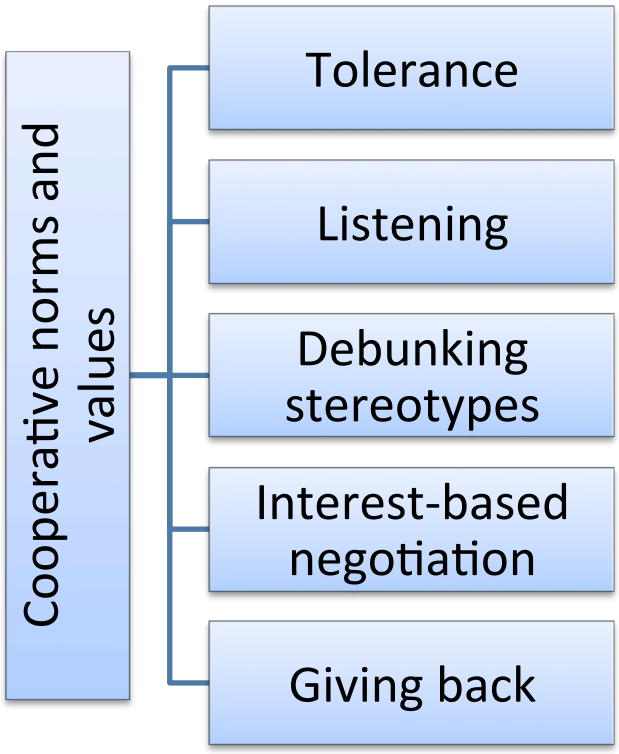
> I have toured the world at a very young age, but this experience [Marshall Center] was very unique and different.… I learned here tolerance and how to tolerate other people's views.… I learned how to agree to disagree, and it was not easy! I did have a problem with that! But by the end of the course I was relatively calmer … sometimes you just have to say OK, right now I can accept what you say, and maybe we can find a middle ground later. But if we cannot agree to disagree, sometimes is just better to leave it as it is.

Dana's quote reflects that students came to realize that holding to and defending their assumptions and opinions would hinder dialogue. Consequently, Dana and others recounted how they gradually adjusted their approach of seminar discussions so that group cooperation and dialogue take place. As theory suggests, in order for dialogue to occur, partners need to change "strong habits" (Bohm, 2007), such as defending their own views, agreeing with views that correspond to their own, and disagreeing with those that differ. However, for many international participants — Alena (Romania, PASS) suggested — Garmisch represented the first environment where discussions and disagreements "were carried over in civilized terms." Change, therefore, was major and structural for most of the program participants, she believed. Likewise, Denis (Romania, PASS) talked about his perceptions on classroom discussions:

> The discussion environment was very different than our Balkan fashion of discussion.… We had to learn how to listen and wait for our turn to speak … and the Marshall Center is doing a great job in teaching us this.

Another alumnus, Paul (Romania, SES), who graduated from one of the first classes at the Marshall Center, related arriving in Garmisch only a few years following the downfall of an authoritarian regime in his country. Still dealing with the legacies of communist culture, his society knew only one practice of dialogue for work settings, posited Paul: "one dictates and the others listen." Monologue is inherently oppressive as it privileges the speaker and denies the recipient or listener any agency or power (Freire, 1970). Fear of argument and speaking about one's opinions, he explained, spilled into people's belief that only one is right; hence, when fear was not present, a heated discussion for proving one's "right point" took place. For Paul, attending GCMC programs changed his understanding of diversity and way of interaction with people not sharing similar opinions. In this sense, he evoked that only at GCMC had he learned that people have to accept different opinions; even more, a "quite shocking revelation" as he described it, "expressing disagreements does not have to generate conflict."

Figure 7.1: Cooperative norms and values




The level of tolerance, research shows, is affected by micro-level variables such as education, but also by macro-level variables such as democracy. Therefore, a less democratic country exhibits a lower level of tolerance. In other words, citizens of newer democracies in Eastern Europe are less tolerant than citizens of developed democracies in Western Europe (Viman-Miller & Fesnic, 2010). This renders a logical expectation that democratic socialization produces more tolerant citizens (Marquart-Pyatt & Paxton, 2007; Stenner, 2005) Moreover, socialization in or even temporary exposure to people from more democratic countries — during temporary migration or international courses, for instance — lead to an increased level of tolerance of individuals (Miller, 2014). Furthermore, returning to their countries, they bring back "democratic remittances," or in other words, import democratic practices and norms (Miller, 2014)

While the change might be understandable for those who were exposed for the first time to the western culture of dialogue, what happens with participants who were already familiar with diversities and dialogical interpersonal interactions? Interview data reveal a pattern of reinforcing tolerance for participants who had previously been exposed to cultural diversity. Markus (Lithuania, SES) stressed that he grew up in two different cultures, and knew that the world was "not homogenous." Nevertheless, he considered he was "inspired" by what he learned at the Marshall Center: "Accepting other points of view, listening to what others say, and not to say you know everything are virtues."

The most important factor and the foundation for building tolerance, assessed Arkan (Turkey, SSTaR), lies in showing respect to each other. He insisted that, irrespective of one's homogeneous or heterogeneous background, political affiliations and convictions, regimes and countries that they represent, level of agreement, disagreement, conflict or war of their state, discussants around the table have to respect each other. He concluded, "It is all about respect, and the Marshall Center teaches all of us this very well."

Increasing the awareness for tolerance, but also the level of tolerance of course participants suggests an emergence of shared norms and values — a critical condition for building social capital. Since tolerance and democracy correlate positively (Stouffer, 1955; Inglehart, 1997; Fish 2005), one could argue that this finding indicates also that international education and experiences at GCMC foster awareness and adherence to (shared) democratic values and norms. Therefore, it contributes to confirming Hypothesis 4 of the study. While it has been shown that migration transforms migrants' views of democracy (de la Garza & Yetim 2003; Jimenez 2008), and their level of tolerance and

openness (Watson & Lippitt 1958; Gmelch 1987), this research shows that even temporary exposure to democratic systems leads to similar results.

**2. Listening**

Dialogists argue that reaching "the two way street" of dialogue involves "communicative virtues" (Burbules & Rice, 1991). These virtues encompass tolerance, patience, and respect for differences, as well as the ability to listen and admit that one may be mistaken. Respondents gave an account of appreciation for dialogue culture, to include respectful and patient listening, and not interrupting others. Asked what he took from his Marshall Center experience, George (Romania, PASS), a recent graduate replied:

> If I have to summarize what I got from Marshall Center, one of the first things would be the ability to listen. Before Garmisch, I was limited, because of the lack of direct interaction and exercise in listening. Yes, it is important to advocate for your ideas, but it is even more important to listen, because this way you may realize that you are the one who have to adjust ideas.

As Bohm (2007) claimed, suspension of thoughts, impulses, reactions, opinions, and judgments are the seed for dialogue, for it allows others to have a turn to speak. Along the same lines, Zoran (Hungary, SSTaR), a participant in numerous international missions, described his experience in Garmisch, where he sat around the table with officials of various countries and cultures: "Sometimes you feel impatient and you want to push your views, but here you have to learn to hold it back and listen to others. If you are here for a while, you get used to it."

Similar to the remarks on tolerance, participants reported that listening is a practice that they learn at the Marshall Center. “Listening is very important; we don’t have that at home,” reported Benjamin (Bosnia, PTSS), who explained that culture is very different in his country. As Denis, Benjamin, and other international participants observed the contrast between the dialogue culture at GCMC that involves listening and the “Balkan” practice “of all speaking at once” in their respective countries. Even more, they noted the importance of listening in generating new ideas and opportunities that positively contribute to discussions. Beni (Albania, PTSS) related, “In my country, we raise the voice when we talk, here we don’t. We do not listen and here we do. Here debate and discussions are not angry…. All these help people have ideas.”

Since many respondents now hold executive positions, they also revealed the benefits of listening in their abilities to make decisions: “I learned the power of dialogue,” recounted Davor (Georgia, LC), “to find out what people think and to make decisions.” In this sense, respondents reported not only that they acquired dialogist behavior and attitudes, but they also attempted to disseminate them as norms in their own home country, both in personal and professional environments. Asked what were some of the values he took home from the MC experience, Sara (Bosnia, PTSS) replied, “I apply the culture of dialogue…. I want to be an example to others, and show others we all have to give the opportunity to speak and listen.”

In a similar context, Alin (Turkey, PTSS) assimilated the culture of dialogue with professionalism and politeness. For this reason, the respondent reported that learning how to carry a discussion with colleagues at GCMC had implications on his professional and personal relationships:

> After this course, I went home and I recommended my friends and colleagues at work to be more professional and not sharp. For instance, in our institution's relation with the media we used to be very blunt, and tell them 'we have nothing to say,' but we need to be patient and listen to what they have to say.… We need to be polite, to listen and to be professional.

Learning to listen and acquiring the culture of dialogue as understood in the advanced democracies have a few consequences for this research. First, it adds to the body of shared values contributing to building social capital and enabling future cooperation. Second, it enables participants to become aware of and adhere to democratic practices. Ability and willingness to engage in dialogue is an essential feature for democracies to develop and survive (Putnam, 2000; Rosenblum, 1998; Barber, 1998). Equally important says Freire (1970) is that dialogue confers respect and responsibility and has the power to transform individuals.

**3. Debunk Biases and Stereotypes**

Bohm (2007) argued that when dialogue emerges, each listener is able to reflect back to each speaker and to the rest of the group. More importantly, if reached, dialogue creates the opportunity for examination of one's own and others' preconceptions, stereotypes, and prejudices. It also provides a basis upon which to react to attacks that serve no purpose other than hardening opposing views. The explanation is as follows: when the dialogue across differences is sustained over time, dialogue participants change their perceptions on the scope of what is considered different. Therefore, a set of shared meanings begin to emerge from the dialogue (Bohm,) or, in Burbules and Rice's terms

(1991), the interests of the group start to converge. This is considered one of the main benefits derived from dialogues across differences, should the dialogue occur.

In this sense, the interview data showed that respondents repeatedly connected the notion of tolerance with what Sara (Bosnia, PTSS) conveyed, "the truth has two sides, and one needs to give a chance to everybody to express their story." Subsequently, this revelation breeds a common ground for international participants to know people for who they are. It also contributes to better understanding the predispositions, concerns, and objectives of others and thus explore the potential for common ground. Khaled (Jordan, PTSS) stated, "We all know people think differently! But here you get the reality of how people think and not the stereotypes!" Moreover, generalizations as well as stereotypes about people and countries lose their meaning in the context of personal interaction among representatives of various countries. Leslie (USA, PTSS) gave an account of her own Marshall Center experience that stands out among other international exposures:

> Putting a human element to what you know from different sources before is just amazing because it debunks biases and stereotypes.… With Pakistan for instance … you tend to blame them for this and that, but then you hear firsthand how hard they work, and how many people they lose trying to make a change. In the end, you realize you cannot generalize anymore!

Likewise, Amir (Palestine, PTSS) reported that the Marshall Center experience helped him realize that his perceptions on people's priorities were often times subject to stereotyping. Amir specified that this "is more worrisome," when countries build national policies based on these wrong perceptions. He recalled:

> For instance, I always thought that the Palestinian issue is the first set of priorities for a Jordanian, but when I met security people who can speak widely for Jordan, they said, "No, it is our stability that comes first, our social security second and maybe on the tenth place is the Palestinian issue." It is not that they don't like Palestinians, but actually people have a set of priorities that can be anything … and you cannot blame them for their views. This was so clear at the Marshall Center.

Amir pointed out that what he learned about people's diversity and their correspondent priorities had a long lasting effect. In his position of advisor to high-level decision makers in the field of security, he is aware of the necessity to take large diversity of his country into consideration. In Amir's opinion, "This was so unique in Garmisch, because you can think of your class as your society and the people are different and have different priorities and you have to find something common."

Interview data therefore show a significant shift in debunking cultural and national stereotypes that led to an increase in cooperative and dialogist behavior among Marshall Center students. Furthermore, as will be developed later on in this Chapter, respondents reported that this experience had represented the foundation for their future ability and skills to cooperate and relate with other international security professionals.

**4. From Position-based to Interest-based Dialogue**

Participants in interviews suggested that holding official positions in seminar discussions had a negative influence on the level of participation of students in debates. Irrespective of the length or type of program attended, respondents recalled that at the beginning of their courses, seminar discussions were characterized by personal attacks,

offenses, and politically infused remarks. Being selected and appointed by their governmental or non-governmental agencies to attend the Marshall Center courses, participants considered their duty to represent their country and to advocate for its own policies and politics. Part of the first generations of GCMC graduates, Flavius (Romania, EP), described the atmosphere of seminar discussions at the beginning of the course:

> At the beginning, they [GCMC participants] were very rigid in their views, in the sense that they presented the official positions all the time … and if you asked them something, they were always defensive, and took everything personal.

Throughout the program, however, the alumnus stressed that the interest for holding to official positions faded away; all interviewees who commented on the lack of dialogue at the beginning of their courses recalled a drastic change of attitude from advocating their country's interests to liberally expressing their own personal views. Flavius continued his story, emphasizing:

> After six months, the discussions were more relaxed and personal. We understood that we all got prepared for high level security positions that are exposed to international environment, and therefore, have to take into account the other's truth, not only our truth.

Time appears as a recurrent theme in interview data. After being discussed as a conditional factor for fostering trust, respondents also report that the length of courses affects the degree of acquiring new values and norms. Flavius, one of the early graduates who attended a 19-week long course mentioned several times that without a full immersion for a long time in the MC environment, his attitudes would not have changed. Although this study cannot answer the question about how much time is sufficient for

fostering trust and acquiring norms and values, it indicates that time is an absolute necessity not only to overcome stereotypes, but also to overcome the need to express official views and subsequently to engage in discussions and explore alternatives. Without such time, participants may return to their home countries with unconsolidated views of democratic processes and without potential solutions that might influence their organizational culture.

Another alumnus, George (Romania, PASS) who graduated from a more recent course at GCMC had a similar representation of how seminar discussions evolved throughout his stay in Garmisch. Unprompted by a question related to tolerance, but by a general inquiry on what memory stands out from his training at the Marshall Center, George related:

> Now, if I put myself in the shoes of an observer, and I review the evolution of our seminar, I can say that there is one thing I noticed: if at the beginning of the seminar people tend to express and cling on their country's official position, at the end, people started to be more confident and express their own opinions. This contributed significantly to the quality of dialogue, because the degree of participation depends on whether you present an official position or you really come to the table to discuss. From here, I could see how the willingness to listen and accept others' opinions increased throughout the seminar.… We all became more tolerant.

This transition from official messages to personal opinions in the common interest of constructive dialogue is similar to what Fisher and Ury (2011) defined as shifting from position-based to interest-based in integrative negations. Although seminar discussions

can be seen as a negotiation situation only at a very small scale, it is true that conflict can arise due to anger and resentment that often position-based types of interactions produce. Positional bargaining — especially when there are many parties — can strain and even shatter relationships among participant individuals (Fisher and Ury, 2011). Therefore, as respondents pointed out, transitioning away from taking a stance on official matters not only avoided conflict, but also enabled participants coming from countries in conflict to contribute to dialogue, interact constructively, and even establish personal relationships. Adis (Kosovo, PTSS) recalled, "In 2009, I had a Serbian in my class … and we started to speak to each other from different perspectives, but toward the end, we were more open to each other."

Other participants in the study observed the behavior of people coming from countries in conflict and noted, as Vojin (Montenegro, PTSS), that at the beginning, they were "tough," but at the end, they tried to find a common ground and to compromise. Along the lines of Galtung's (1996) positive peace building through "active coexistence," respondents believed that the Marshall Center played a role in bringing closer together representatives of nations locked in protracted conflicts. Moreover, as Vlad (Moldova, SSTaR) considered, "Garmisch helped them find a common language" and contributed to building peace between the countries involved in conflict. Haris (Slovenia, PTSS) related his perceptions on the attitudinal and behavioral change of participants coming from conflict countries:

> Countries that were in war against each other … their security officers started to communicate 4-5 years ago. In 2005 when I was at MC their issues were still sensitive, but now they are almost gone! In addition, I think the Marshall Center

was an intervening variable, because here they started to talk and discuss, they went out drinking … and you will laugh but this is an indicator that the Marshall Center forged friendships among countries that were in conflict. If you have intelligence officers from Serbia and Kosovo and they are able to say 30 words between each other, this is immeasurable…. I have seen that!

Bogdan (Romania, PASS) also shared his observations regarding the relationship among representatives of "unfriendly" countries:

I stayed three months in Garmisch. I had colleagues from Azerbaijan and Armenia … the frozen conflict countries … and at the beginning, they ignored each other; moreover, they were visibly annoyed by what the other was saying. Well, by the end of the course, they shook hands and they promised they would stay in touch. Therefore, my thought at the end of the course was that if the global leaders would do a quarter of what we did here at the Marshall Center, the wars would not exist anymore or at least they would not be that often. Maybe this is a simplistic and childish approach but nobody can change my mind that if we try to understand each other we would have no wars. There it did not matter that you were from Romania or Bulgaria or Afghanistan … nobody was above the other

Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis states that positive effects of intergroup contact occur in situation where members of group have equal status, common goals, and they target cooperation and have the support of authorities (Pettigrew, 1998). Seminar settings at the Marshall Center that fulfill all these conditions may explain therefore why the interpersonal experience between representatives of two conflict countries may

improve at GCMC. Although a very important finding, even more essential is the report that this positive interpersonal relationship may extend to the country-level cooperation.

Can interpersonal experience with a member of an out-group be generalized to the entire group? Can attitudes toward one individual of an out-group be generalized to the entire out-group perception? Brown and Hewstone (1986) argued that contact effects may be generalized to the out-group only when group membership is salient. When group saliency is low, the interaction among individuals is personal and intergroup effects do not occur. However, if partners view each other as representatives of their groups, the contact becomes an intergroup event. In this case, Brown and Hewstone (1986) claimed that the interpersonal contact effects may be extended to the group level. In other words, when officials participate at the Marshall Center courses, they are the representatives of their countries and therefore display high salience group and country membership. According to Brown and Hewstone (1986), their chances to generalize the interpersonal experience to the country level are high. Within this framework, respondents' observations on the restorative potential of the GCMC experience — on both the individuals involved in direct interaction, and on the countries that they represented — seems a logical progression.

Equally important, respondents communicated that witnessing firsthand accounts on conflict had a significant impact on their perception of conflicts in general. For instance, Haris (Slovenia, PTSS) stated, "hearing your colleagues talking about conflict in their countries changes you and the way you analyze and understand conflict forever." In this sense, George's (Romania, PASS) example is also conclusive; he recalled attending the classes at the Marshall Center in 2008 upon escalation of the conflict

between Russia and Georgia. Having diplomats from Russia and Georgia, as well as defense officers from Serbia, Kosovo, and Albania around the table helped him discover new facets of conflict. "I was always aware of the role of media in conflicts," George reported; however, experimenting firsthand the inconsistencies between the news and direct information coming from the countries involved, he reported learning the lesson of looking at conflicts from all possible angles. George concluded that experiencing the emotional and human aspect of war contributed to his understanding that conflict is not a mere series of facts and issues, but a story of and about people.

Other accounts originate in stories of participants coming from conflict areas. They believed that "Garmisch with its all-surrounding atmosphere" was beneficial personally and professionally. One alumna reckoned, "Garmisch allowed us to think outside the box in a relaxed environment … You think clearly, nothing disturbs you … It is quiet, nature helps, and it allows you to reflect back." The most powerful experience that made this young alumna reflect back on what makes people tolerant was her exposure to the Germans' "quite brave acceptance of guilt" for their crimes during World War II. The alumna, who grew up, currently lives, and works in a conflict area, was stunned during a visit to the Dachau concentration camp by the German courage to continue to take responsibility for their acts committed decades ago:

> In so many countries to include the one I come from there are crimes against humanity, but no one wants to take responsibility. But they do in Germany … this was remarkable! And the fascinating part is about how people are accepting it. I think that the more people share these sensitive issues the more tolerant they become.

She concluded her recollection of the Marshall Center experience by pointing out that — especially for students coming from countries in conflict — it is all about interpersonal interaction. Everything plays a role — Garmisch and German context, lectures, presentations, and field studies. They motivate people to talk and once they start to exchange stories, "the change of people actually happens," reported Leila.

Findings of this section are critical for the global security context. They indicate that international education and shared social experiences at the Marshall Center contribute to a significant shift in alumni's perceived attitudes toward negotiations. Participants report that attending the MC programs made them aware of the advantages of interest-based negotiations as opposed to those of position-based. Moreover, they give accounts on learning this behavior and experimenting its benefits in the working environment of their seminar groups. Respondents conclude that only when they consistently started approaching seminars with the new attitudes did they succeeded in avoiding conflict and developing a cooperative working setting. Furthermore, this cooperative framework nurtured the development of positive interpersonal experiences, even for representatives of conflict countries. This important finding indicates the role of the MC international education in developing social capital by emerging a common ground of practices and norms where diverse and even antagonistic nations can meet and cooperate.

**5. "Giving back"**

Given the Marshall Center's missions and goals to reconnect the Western world with emerging democracies of the former communist bloc into a cooperative web, the large majority of participants come from post-communist societies. The tradition of

voluntary, cooperative, or altruistic behavior in these societies was and still is poor. First, because the Communist Party used to prevent any type of associational life that existed separate from the party-state institutional web (Howard, 2003). Second, the very need of independent social activity was suppressed by the mandatory participation of all citizens, including children, in a dense web of groups and organizations. This produced a gap between the private and public life that even now, after a number of years since the fall of communism, is difficult to bridge (Howard, 2003).

Despite their poor cultural legacy on voluntary behavior, several respondents reported unprompted that upon graduating the programs in Garmisch, they felt the desire to give back for their education at the MC. This section examines what makes only some graduates experience these feelings, and what are some of the ways they are giving back.

Why do some alumni desire to give back upon their return to home countries? Respondents' main motivation is the perception that the MC education and experiences had a significant impact on their professional career. First, they consider that MC education contributed to their promotion. For instance, Zoltan (Hungary, PTSS) related: "I would have not been here [in my current position], if it wasn't for the Marshall Center." Likewise, Markus (Lithuania, SES) recalled that his job as senior governmental official came because of his attendance at a 2004 Marshall Center conference. "That conference opened my interest for my [current] specialization, and the MC helped me become an expert in my field," reported Markus. Another alumnus formed a new national level security organization based on what he learned in the MC programs. He explained why the Marshall Center was a cornerstone in his professional life and career:

> I was running about eight officers, and now I run 73. I was reporting a couple of times a month to my boss, and now I report five times a day. I was authorized once a year budget, and now I can ask for budget weekly. I owe a lot to the Marshall Center.

Second, a number of respondents who expressed their desire to give back perceive the Marshall Center as offering a unique and nontraditional type of education. "People actually listen to you here and allow you to grow intellectually," stated Ana (Ukraine, PTSS). Moreover, "because of the MC's high-quality education," Amir (Palestine, PTSS) related that the MC diploma "functions like a passport to the world that opens many doors in the market of international security jobs." Third, more than half of the interviewees reported that the MC experience had a formative effect on their professional and even personal outlook. As Gabriela (Romania, PASS) reported, "the Marshall Center was the solid foundation that made me what I am today." In sum, alumni's desires to give back are prompted, in Paul's (Romania, SES) opinion, "by the respect and gratefulness for everything that the Marshall Center did for us."

What are the ways through which alumni give back? One way is by getting involved in their home country Alumni Association. These associations are perceived as a direct and live extension of the MC in their societies. Therefore, respondents reported that devoting time and resources to the Association has a two-fold outcome: on the one hand, they express their gratitude to the Center and, on the other hand, they carry on the GCMC mission to impart their knowledge and values within the civil society in their country. Alumni involvement in Marshall Associations was discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, and their giving back to community and society is examined in Chapter 8.

Despite the predominantly positive description of their MC experience and feelings of gratitude toward the institution, not all respondents invoked increased giving back feelings upon graduation. One explanation is that respondents might have previously had giving back beliefs and experience with voluntary work. Indeed, the seven representatives of western democracies in the sample did not report changes in their attitudes toward giving back and volunteering. Another explanation can be the culture of alumni's home countries that, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, still show a gap between the public and private life (Howard, 2003). Therefore, in many alumni's society of origin, voluntary behavior is not positively sanctioned. Although alumni might have acquired new norms and attitudes of giving back at the MC, these beliefs are dissonant with those of their own cultures (Festinger, 1964).

Consequently, upon their return, alumni have two options. First, they may eliminate the newly acquired beliefs to reduce the cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1964). This is mostly the case for alumni coming from countries whose path to democracy is not yet certain. In this situation, the cultural dissonance is too strong for alumni to hold onto their new beliefs. Second, alumni may also form more beliefs and behaviors consistent with the new ones to assist in reducing the dissonance (Frijda, Manstead, & Bem, 2000). For instance, if alumni continue to pursue voluntary behavior, by joining the Alumni Association or other forms of voluntary associations, then their cognitive dissonance decreases, and they can maintain their new beliefs.

How is this finding of increased desire to give back relevant for the hypothesis of building social capital? The degree of engaging in volunteering is positively correlated with the stock of individual social capital (Brown & Ferris, 2002). Consequently,

increased involvement of alumni in giving back and volunteering type of activities because of attending the MC programs is an indicator that the Center contributed to the development of social capital.

It is necessary to underline again that findings described in this part of the chapter, to include all cooperative values and norms, are based mostly on the accounts of the non-western cohort of respondents. They represented the large majority of the sample (85 out of 93), however, they also are the large majority in the population of the MC alumni. Nevertheless, westerners' small representation in the sample is not the reason for not reflecting their opinions. As one can expect, respondents coming from established democracies had little to say about cooperative values and norms, for they are socialized in these values.

**II. Perceived Self-conceptions and Professional outlook**

Besides their attitudes on cooperative values and practices, respondents also commented on their perceived personal and professional gains. Their comments were prompted by a general question: "What have you attained — personally, socially and professionally — as a result of your Marshall Center experience?" This section examines three patterns of responses related to alumni's perceived self-conceptions: (a) self-efficacy, (b) self-confidence, and (c) freedom to express own thoughts; this section also includes two patterns with respect to respondents' perceived professional outlook: (a) critical, analytical, and strategic thinking and (b) global vision and understanding of events irrespective of their local, regional, or international magnitude. This section concludes with the examination of alumni's perceptions about the influence of the MC on their professional, personal and social development.

**1. Perceived Self-conceptions**

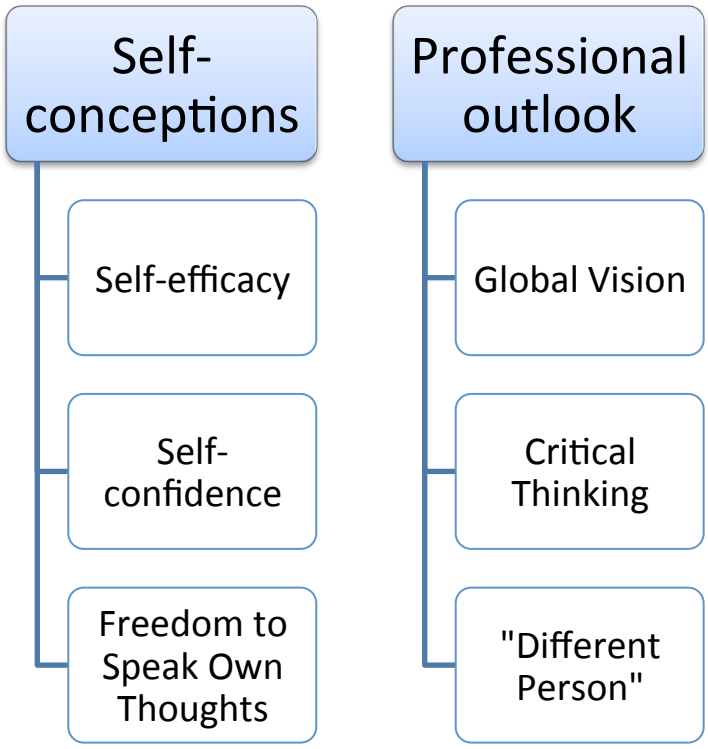
**1. a. Self-perception of efficacy**. Self-perception of efficacy refers to people's beliefs in their ability to influence events that affect their lives (Bandura, 1995). This core belief, argued Bandura (2006), is the foundation of human motivation, performance accomplishments, and emotional well-being. Interview data show that respondents consider that their GCMC experience instilled them with energy, spirit, inspiration, passion, motivation, and it charged them to "dare" and believe that they can change the world. Markus (Lithuania, SES) described the source of his inspiration:

> I have in my office … a picture of George C. Marshall and a quote from his Nobel Prize speech. That is the value that I took with me, and this one is inside me 100%.... This is the spirit of the Marshall Center. This is what I seek to go after and to find and understand: the fundamentals behind the issues … to understand without prejudice … to seek a higher level of civilization. This is part of my motto…I have it. If you visit my office, I will show it to you…it is the framed picture of Marshall and the quote, and I show it to people when they come … and this is my source of inspiration.

"At the Marshall Center," Leila (Israel, PASS) reported, "people have the opportunity to recharge their batteries to think and become motivated. " They also discover "the passion to find out more," in Cosmin's (Romania, SES) opinion. Most importantly, as Ana (Ukraine, LC) reckoned, because "striving for perfection is actually recognized in Garmisch," all students push themselves to do their best. Acquiring more knowledge and skills to support one's own arguments, participants therefore become more confident to express freely their own opinions. Participating more in seminar

discussions, they start noticing that their opinions counts, that they can change the course of debates, and influence ideas and understandings of others. In respondents' opinion, this process contributes to students feeling empowered. As Ana (Ukraine, LC) summarized it, "At the Marshall Center, you learn that the skies are the limit. If I cannot do it, it means only that I need to find another way how to do it."

Figure 7.2: Perceived self-conceptions and professional outlook




Following Bandura's (2006) argument, this finding of never avoiding tasks but always addressing them represents an indicator of increased self-efficacy. As Bandura (2006) claims, those who believe in their abilities to perform well are more likely to view a difficult task as a task that requires mastering, and not avoidance. A closer look at the social learning perspective on self-efficacy reveals that people's belief in their own

abilities is a reflection of that an individual understands what skills he or she can contribute in a group setting. Therefore, if data point at increased self-efficacy in the setting of the Marshall Center, I asked participants whether they maintained similar beliefs upon returning to their institutions.

Interview data show that the endurance of their beliefs depends upon the receptiveness of their work environment. A few participants considered that due to the lack of appreciation for self-efficacy in their organization, they stopped feeling that they had the power "to change the world." On the contrary, those whose enthusiasm and belief of ability to fulfill any task were welcomed in their agency, reported still feeling empowered. Both findings are consistent with the theories of cognitive (Festinger, 1964) and cultural dissonance (Bohannan, 1995) asserting that individuals tend to reduce the dissonance triggered by contradictory beliefs and attitudes. When self-efficacy was maintained, alumni benefitted professionally. Leila, (Israel, PASS) recounted, "Now I know how to approach new ideas that I believe in and how to get my counterpart to be involved and encouraged to follow."

Most Marshall Center alumni, especially those coming from emerging democracies, affirmed that they still fight to hold on to their self-efficacy belief, although home context was not receptive to it. As Andrei (Romania, PASS) recalled, "I understood I could not change the world as soon as I returned home, but I am trying to remain as the Marshall Center made me." Andrei and many others shared their disappointment regarding their supervisors' lack of appreciation for their intention to use their new skills and knowledge. Participants blamed the leadership's behavior and attitudes toward change on old communist legacies of work ethic. Although frustrated that they cannot

advance change now, participants reported that when they will be in charge, they would have the authority and legitimacy to impart the Marshall Center values. Luis (Romania, PASS) related:

> I returned from the Marshall Center with this energy, because I kind of realized that real values exist; and I understood that just because other Romanians do not share these values, does not mean I have a problem, but they do. So, with the new energy and conviction that things can be done, and the new confirmation of my old values, now I am trying to instill this spirit for rigor and discipline to my colleagues at work…. As I was saying, I refuse to think that this course in Garmsich was limited to the 3 months I stayed there. I do not want the Marshall Center experience to end at the date when I finished. Do I want the experience to be finalized with an extra medal…with the diploma that we received there? NO! For me the Marshall Center means much more than that! I know that one day I can use all I learned there…. As of now, for our supervisors these courses are simple statistical indicators … and I refuse to accept that! I want to do more and to carry the experience over the date of graduation.… I want to carry it to other people, too.

As emphasized in Chapter 3, the MC programs target the middle and senior levels of governmental and nongovernmental security officials. Interview data revealed a difference in the perceptions of the immediate utility of courses at the Marshall Center based on the job level of participants in their organization. As shown above, many middle level alumni manifested frustration because their earned knowledge and self-perception of efficacy were not valued as expected upon their return to home countries. However,

those who already held senior level positions and were able to make decisions reported implementing change in their organizations; moreover, they exposed their subordinates to the "Marshall Center spirit" by sending one or two participants every year to Garmisch. Vlad (Moldova, SSTaR) explicated that courses at MC proved to be very beneficial to his subordinates and the efficiency of his structure:

> The Marshall Center experience plants the seed for passion for international studies and experiences…. For knowing other people, for overcoming their limits and for wanting to be the best in their field.

Several scholars emphasized the positive relation between the perceived self-efficacy and the stock of social capital (Crump & Logan 2011, Wu and Palinkas 2014, Saegert, Thompson, & Warren 2001). While Crump and Logan (2011) claimed that social capital acquired by an individual can increase the perception of self-efficacy, most other studies do not show a certain causal relation between the two variables; however, they show that people with high self-efficacy are more likely to have better social networks and social capital (Bandura, 1995; Maciejewski & Prigerson, 2000). Therefore, finding that upon the Marshall Center experience participants reported an increased level of perceived self-efficacy suggests also an increased stock of social capital.

**1. b. Self-confidence**. During their stay in Garmisch students are exposed to an environment that is unknown culturally, professionally, and socially; they are immersed in an international milieu, and are taken away from their familial and familiar settings. Despite this, participants at the GCMC programs reported having become "more confident" during their stay in Garmisch, mostly as a result of their dialogue practices in the seminar groups. Gabriela (Romania, PASS) explained her perception of increased

self-confidence by pointing at the differences between the classroom environment in Garmisch and her country. In Romania, she claimed, people are more reluctant to ask questions or to speak in front of a group; additionally, they are more distrustful in their own thinking. Compared to this, Gabriela posited, the Marshall Center was "the perfect environment to build trust in ourselves:"

> To me the Marshall Center gave more courage and confidence to speak and ask questions; it also validated many concepts and confirmed to me that I use them with their right meaning. You gain more confidence to speak not only there, but in international environment in general without hurting other people from different nations.

Confronted with a very diverse opinion environment, respondents recollected that at the beginning they were "scared" to express their thoughts: "You are in a room full of people that you have no idea how they think," reported Dana (Egypt, PASS). Similar to Gabriela, Dana underlined that the "confidence to be able to speak your mind in front of other people later translates into more confidence in relating to other people in any different environment."

One alumna, who graduated the Marshall Center and subsequently joined MC as faculty for a short period, shared her observations about students' self-confidence, both from the student and teacher's perspective. In this sense, she assessed that, when students arrive in Garmisch, they share three things: "misunderstandings, fear, and the tendency to defend their government." She then continued, "None of this is left toward the end of the program." The Marshall Center becomes, as Bogdan (Bulgaria, EP) evaluated, "our own comfortable environment." Similar to self-efficacy, self-confidence is an individual

capacity — part of human capital — that contributes to the empowerment of people. As Arriagada (2005) cite in (Ulriksen, 2008) argued, these individual characteristics and especially the feelings of empowerment are inputs for social capital.

**1. c. Freedom to express own thoughts.** Participants in the study reported feeling more comfortable to express themselves in association with their increased perception of self-confidence. Although not mentioned by the respondents, their higher level of comfort in conveying their views might be a result of non-attribution policies, the rules for classroom discussion, as well as of their opportunity to practice dialogue. The rules include the assumptions that all members have equal opportunity to speak, they respect the other members' right to speak and feel safe to speak. Tudor (Romania, EP) stressed that GCMC created a forum where everybody is relaxed and can interact because, as Paul (Romania, SES) explicated, "everything presented there represent personal opinions, so state or institution have no involvement." Speaking their thoughts freely resulted in the courage to think and be critical. George (Romania, PASS) summarized the process in his short story:

> Of course we were a little reluctant at the beginning to express our opinions, even though we all knew we had the non-attribution policy…. But we quickly understood that it was safe to express our beliefs, and not only that, but it was much more fun because now we had a ground for discussion. Plus, another important thing: people understood that by talking and discussing they actually clarified their own ideas and concepts…. We all realized that we can be more courageous and confident, and we can talk about issues in details. The seminars during the last weeks were unfolding naturally.

As argued above, self-conceptions have the capacity to enrich social capital. They affect the willingness of professionals in the security area to interact and cooperate with other MC alumni. Moreover, they contribute to fostering awareness and adherence to (shared) beliefs and norms.

**2. Professional Outlook**

I asked participants in the study what was the most important outcome of their Marshall Center experience. Coding and ranking their responses, the analysis revealed that acquiring critical thinking skills and global vision on security issues were the most significant consequences of the GCMC programs. Targeting more information on professional effects of the Marshall Center experience, respondents were asked to recall what they learned while in Garmisch, and how that affected their future professional development and performance. Interview data revealed that participants consider that the essential professional results were global vision and understanding of events irrespective of their local, regional, or international magnitude and critical, analytical, and strategic thinking. Alumni also mentioned that improving language abilities, organizational skills, and becoming more time sensitive also played important roles in their professional development.

**2. a. Global vision.** Claude (Cameroon, PTSS) reported, "Talking about terrorism today, at the Marshall Center you understand why it takes a network to defeat a network. " In a global world where local economies, politics, and people are interdependent, threats and challenges are also interdependent. The line between local and global becomes blurred, especially when the focus is on security challenges. One has to be

connected to global challenges, developments, and innovations to address the threats at the local level.

Asked what the benefits were of their Marshall Center experience, a large majority of respondents pointed to their ability to understand differently, in a global context, every piece of news they watch or listen to, and every article or book they read. Irrespective of their local or international character, "now, I always place events in the big picture," Lana (Uzbekistan, Unassigned) reported. Similarly, Denis (Romania, PASS) asserted that GCMC "completely" changed his vision because it helped him pay more attention to all events, small or significant, and to their effects on a global scale. An alumnus, who is a professor with a large university in Central Europe, a mediator, and a political commentator, pondered on the importance of coupling his research on conflict with the experience of meeting most of the people whose countries' conflicts he researches:

> It helps a lot to understand how Albanians and people from Kosovo feel about certain problems, and I write papers on those problems…. It helps me see the perceptions of Turkish people concerning their belonging to Europe…. It helped me understand the Israeli state terrorism, and how Muslims are sensitive to certain perspectives on terrorism, and I used this with several occasions when I intermediated between Europeans and Muslims

Participants in the study stressed not only the positive impact of the Marshall Center courses on their ability to grasp an event in its global context, but they also emphasized the long lasting effects of global vision of their every day job. Respondents working in advising positions believe that since their return from Garmisch, they hold a

more strategic vision and are more qualified to advise decision makers in their countries. Luran (Albania, SES) explained that knowledge of security issues and their approach in other countries help course participants to be more aware of certain events, and in the end, to even influence avoidance of those events in their countries.

Respondents working in the field of counterterrorism communicated that one of the most important consequences of acquiring a global vision was to become aware of the similarities and differences between countries' approaches and methods to address terrorism. They strongly emphasized the usefulness of global knowledge, perspective, and understanding of terrorism in their every day job duties. Respondents who were not experts in terrorism, such as Arkan (Turkey, SSTaR) considered that every officer has to have an understanding of terrorism at the domestic and international levels. He explained:

> The Marshall Center gave me the opportunity to understand that similar problems in different parts of the world can occur differently because of different backgrounds. Terrorism in my country can be considered an ethnic issue, but when you look at it carefully, it has nothing to do with ethnicity…. They have a political agenda that is different than the ethnic agenda. The same with FARC in Colombia…. They claim that they are the voice of the people … but they are focused on drugs. If you don't have these basic understandings about terrorism, you fail in any job as an officer.

Unlike their counterparts from the emerging democracies, most representatives of Western countries reported that knowing people from so many other countries helped them understand those countries' decisions and stances in the international and domestic arena. "Used to being the biggest player in the room," in her previous meetings and

courses, Joana (US, SSTaR) recognized that the program in Garmisch was the first one with "equal players around the table." In this sense, she noted that hearing out everybody's opinions helped her comprehend the human factor, motivations, and rationale behind other countries' issues, sensibilities, political changes, and type of solutions they approach in various situations.

In essence, as Joseph (Lithuania, SSTaR) conveyed, the Marshall Center taught him to be more flexible and to look more broadly at issues. He explained that in his view, it was not the formula or the model of the course that affected people, but the fact that GCMC taught its students how to take into consideration different perspectives, points of views, cultures, values, people, and theoretical approaches in their analysis. As Joseph noted, it led students to hold a broader view and a more critical and analytical style of thinking about issues as opposed to only one sided thinking. Even more important, he said, "This stays with me forever."

**2. b. Critical thinking.** Critical thinking involves the abilities to analyze, to question credibility of a source, judge definitions, identify unstated assumptions, define terms, and make inferences (Ennis, 1991). Do the Marshall Center programs contribute to improving these abilities? Respondents considered that critical thinking and global vision are the main benefits — with lifetime effects — of their experience at GCMC. They conveyed this change by reporting that they left the Center with a new "matrix of thinking," as Sebastian (Romania, SES) reckoned. This occurred, considered Cosmin, because exposure to the GCMC academic and international environment redefined their thinking and, in Dan's (Romania, EP) opinion, changed their settings.

Moreover, the GCMC alumni assessed that this new type of thinking functions as a way of recognizing each other in the field: "I met many people with high positions who were working in the security field, and I was positively surprised that they had the same setting as I had after MC … and I was asking them if they attended the Marshall Center … most of them did," Dan reported. He then summarized, "So it is clear that the Marshall Center leaves a mark on you. I have no doubt about that." Joseph (Lithuania, SSTaR) posited, "We are forever changed," for, as he and other alumni underlined, GCMC is not about knowledge, but about the way of thinking.

As expected, data confirmed that GCMC influenced participants' professional life, especially by changing their way of thinking. I also asked participants to explain in what way they have perceived this change. Several patterns — falling in the "critical thinking" category — resulted. First, respondents evaluated that at the Marshall Center they learned to be critical and to question and judge everything they already knew, read, heard, or had seen. One of the first MC graduates (no individual cited to preserve confidentiality), stated:

> The Marshall Center taught me that intellectual dogmatism is the biggest enemy, because people get stuck into their thinking, and realize that the world outside is in conflict with their thinking. I am a professor now, and I teach my students to think and discuss … to question! Nowadays, post conflicts are longer than conflicts … from here the concepts of peacekeeping and enforcing … concepts adjust to reality. This intellectual mobility I received from the Marshall Center. The Marshall Center taught me to be flexible, open and convinced that everybody has a truth.

Second, respondents reckoned that the GCMC taught them the value of looking at issues or events from different angles. Alumni taking part in the study valued the vast multicultural representation in the course; they considered that the intellectual and social dialogue among course participants was a powerful incentive for thinking outside the constraints of one own culture. Samuel (Kenya, PTSS) noted that, "In Garmisch your mind opens up to different angles." However, Imran (Bangladesh, PTSS) described that students at the Marshall Center learn the necessity, meaning and applicability of thorough analysis: "here you learn to take a 360 degrees view of the issue; here you see the other face of the moon."

Third, interviewees reported that GCMC taught them to make decisions in an equivocal environment in which they are bombarded with a multitude of pieces of information. In this sense, most participants mentioned not only the "Capstone" exercise included at the end of almost all courses, but also the open discussions during seminars. In these instances, but also consistently throughout their presence in Garmisch, students stated that they were presented with various and sometimes contradictory ideas and arguments. "In the end," Benjamin (Bosnia, PTSS) related, "you have to think and decide for yourself, plus you have to learn to argue for your decisions." Respondents further clarified why making those decisions was so difficult at the beginning. "Education at the Marshall Center is quite different than the education style in my country. In the university in my country, you had to remember things, but here my professor told me to think and to find solutions. It was for the first time I was taught to do that," affirmed Bogdan (Bulgaria, EP).

Fourth, and in close connection with the previous benefit, the GCMC alumni reflected on another effect of their Marshall Center experience: the ability to support their statements with arguments. "Here," Davor (Georgia, LC) reported, "I learned that when you say something it has to be supported by facts." Moreover, these facts have to be presented to a very diverse environment that does not always share a common value system. An Eastern European graduate (no individual cited to preserve confidentiality) and business owner following his retirement from the governmental system clarified:

> You have to explain your thoughts with your arguments to people who have a different value system! This is very challenging. But, only then you realize that your arguments may not hold water, so then you start thinking.

Fifth, interview analysis revealed another pattern regarding critical thinking. Respondents appraised their experience at the Marshall Center as invaluable, for it taught them — in Ennis' (1991) terms — how to define terms and judge definitions. Flavius (Romania, EP) reported, "The Marshall Center taught me how to think and how to use the tools of the mind to construct concepts." Gabriela (Romania, PASS) communicated that GCMC was and still is her "professional safety net" where she "validates" her concepts. Luis (Romania, PASS) remembered that reflecting on simple facts that he observed in Garmisch helped him grasp new concepts, such as urban hygiene and public services to the population. The new meanings of these concepts and their direct application in the work duties of a police officer in Eastern Europe will be addressed in Chapter 8. Many participants in the study explicated the role of discovering or validating new concepts in honing their interests for precision and clarification, research, reading and writing, and in disciplining their way of doing analysis. For instance, Flavius

recalled, “Right after the Marshall Center, I was able to write my dissertation, so my mind was completely rewired and everything that followed used the Marshall Center open thinking frame.”

**2. c. “Different Person.”** A new unprompted theme resulted from the interview data. Several respondents reported that they had “changed” and consider themselves “different persons” since they attended the MC courses. Upon noticing this trend, I began to ask participants in the study whether they think their experience in Garmisch changed them in any way. While participants’ answers varied in content, the large majority of alumni reported their conviction that one cannot be exposed to such a diverse cultural, intellectual, and social environment without being changed. A few recalled that their colleagues, friends, and family made remarks that they had returned from Germany changed. Robert (Moldova, EP) explained that, as it was argued above, the change occurs at the level of global vision and critical thinking:

> It was a long course, four and a half months, and I went back to my country a completely different person, with a completely different understanding of security issues; plus, I built a good network of friends in many countries.

The time factor, appearing again and again in respondents’ interviews, is reported in this context in close connection with changes at multiple levels, including personal. Similarly, Lavinia (Slovenia, SSTaR) affirmed, “This experience made a better person of me,” and Alexandra (Romania, EP) pointed out that the Marshall Center experience had a strong professional, personal, and cultural impact on her life. Lavinia, Alexandra, and others explained their perceptions by emphasizing the contrast with the cultural context in their countries. In this sense, Alexandra narrated:

> I have discovered a world I only knew about from TV. I realized I have discovered many values that I was looking for here in my country, but never found them. The Marshall Center changes you completely; it makes another person of you. It is good, but not good, because it shows you how things should be, and then you go back to your country.

This quote reflects once more the danger that alumni encounter upon their return to home countries: experiencing cognitive dissonance and risking aborting the newly acquired values. This suggest that alumni seem to resemble a migrants' fate, of suffering a reverse culture shock when re-entering one's own culture, more so than when entering a foreign culture (Marx, 2001).

To summarize the second part of the chapter, international education and shared social experiences are found to be conducive to building shared knowledge, understandings, and norms. This, claimed Ostrom (2000) and Fukuyama (2001), facilitates the development of social capital and underpins cooperation and collective action for mutual benefits. Having a common global vision and critical understanding of security issues contributes to a better communication among international professionals.

Similar to the previous part of the chapter, the alumni coming from established democracies are less represented in the analysis above. This means that they did not report changes in the realm of norms and values. The non-specific question used in interviews, "What was the influence of the MC experience on your personal, professional, and social life?" allowed respondents not to comment about changes in their attitudes and beliefs. Bridoux and Kurki (2014) argued that if democracy promotion or democratic values are not of interest for one, it is likely that one lives in a country where

the political regime is already a democracy. Alumni from countries of established democracies typically answered this question with accounts on networks and mostly intercultural competence.

## III. Intercultural Competence

The Marshall Center alumni perceived their exposure to the multicultural environment of GCMC as a life changing experience. In their opinion, this experience contributed to an increased awareness and openness to other cultures and to a higher ability to communicate, relate, and work with representatives of different cultural backgrounds. When asked for the most important benefit of their GCMC experience, respondents, irrespective of their prior international exposure, placed the intercultural aspect of the programs second to the effect of global vision and critical thinking. In this sense, participants appreciated their capacity to understand and interact more efficiently with other cultures as one of the most valuable benefits of GCMC experience, equally for their professional — especially international missions and cooperation activities — social, and personal lives.

According to Deardorff's (2006) pyramid model — presented in Chapter 2 — the intercultural competence process can be described using four levels: attitudes, knowledge and comprehension of cultural diversity, internal, and external outcomes. Interview data shows that although respondents report changes at all levels of the pyramid, not everybody experiences the impact of a multicultural environment in the same manner. This occurs because the MC participants hold very different cultural, experiential, professional, social, and personal backgrounds. Some of them come from culturally and ethnically homogenous countries while others are accustomed to living in multiethnic

contexts. Some experience the international environment for the first time in Garmisch while others have previously participated in international missions or courses. Therefore, when they reach the Marshall Center, they are at different degrees of exposure to the intercultural competence process.

According to Deardorff (2006), individuals may enter the process of intercultural competence at different stages of the cycle. However, the more they have been exposed to the cycle of intercultural competence process, the higher the degree of appropriateness and effectiveness of the outcome. Though individuals can enter the process of intercultural competence at any level or point, attitude is the foundational starting point (Byram, Nichols & Stevens, 2012; Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006). Individuals, who are ready to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about their own, are also willing to relativize their own values, beliefs, and behaviors, enabling them to see through the eyes of another person or culture. Byram (1997) called this the ability to decenter.

**1. Attitudes**

**1. a. Respect.** Throughout interviews, respondents use the word "respect" in many instances: respect for others' opinions, respect not to interrupt when somebody talks, respect for one's values, and respect for one's ideas and thoughts. However, the common thread is respect for differences and for the one unlike their own. Participants in the study often reflect on the value of considering other people's culture with respect. Lack of understanding and respect for other people's cultures, in Claude's (Cameroon, PTTS,) view, is "part of the reason of the crisis happening around the world." He

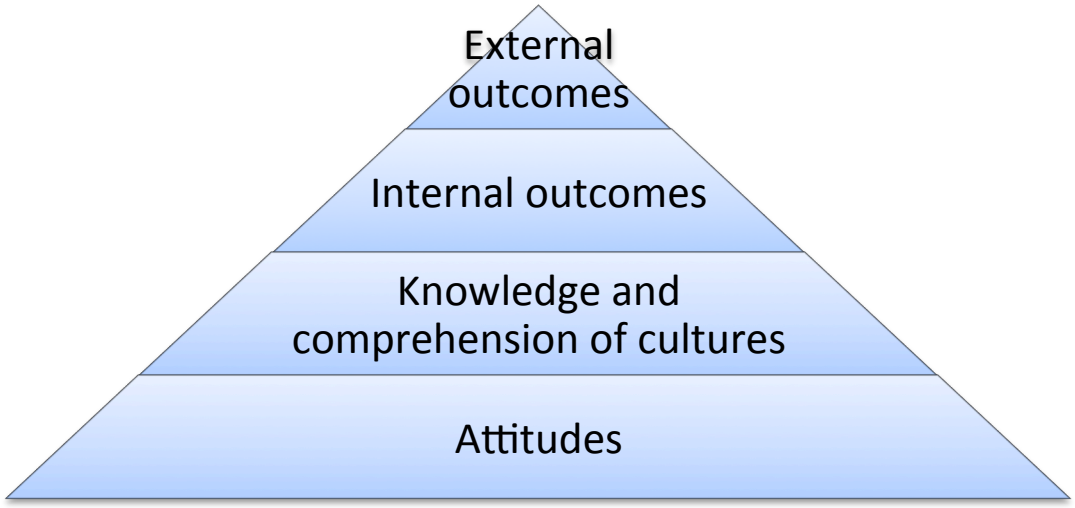
explained that showing disrespect for a culture leads to frustration and subsequently radicalization of people belonging to that particular culture:

> Some people more educated can react softly to frustration and just say yes you hurt me and the other will apologize.… But others may say you know what? You hurt me … I hurt you back…. We need to take other people's culture in consideration and respect it … some other people's cultures include long dresses and not a suit.… We all need to accept and respect that.

Likewise, Denis (Romania, PASS) communicated that at GCMC he reached a conclusion regarding living in a multicultural environment: "It is not about living with people who are different than you; it is about respecting them, their traditions, and habits … it is about not pushing them to do or not to do things their way."

**1. b. Openness**. Respondents also reported that upon graduating the Marshall Center they became passionate about knowing people, traditions, and customs from different geographical areas. This pattern was mostly observed among the interviews conducted with the 23 participants whose first international experience was the one at the MC. Sorin, (Romania, PASS) related this because the Marshall Center was his first multinational experience abroad. For this reason, he greatly appreciated being able to get in contact with people from other cultures or religions. Other respondents considered that throughout the programs in Garmisch, they perceived a higher desire to discover new traditions and habits. Saira Kyrgyzstan, Unassigned) reported not knowing English while at the MC, but she was always asking the interpreter questions related to American and German culture.

Figure 7.3: Deardorff (2006) pyramidal model of intercultural competence




Respondents' openness to intercultural learning and to people from other cultures is also reflected by their increased perception of withholding judgment. Interviewees particularly commented on diminishing prejudice and stereotyping of other cultures and countries due to their experience at GCMC. They believe that without a direct exposure to different people, different habits and customs, alleviation of stereotyping is not possible. George (Romania, PASS) stressed:

> If you are not directly exposed to an international environment, you cannot realize how many stereotypes you have. I can say with certainty about myself that after the course I had fewer stereotypes. With Afghanistan for instance, I understood that the problem there is more complicated than just one-fold conflict.… There are deep issues rooted into cultures and old differences.

Interviewees reported that any encounter with a different culture helps, but an encounter with tens of cultures at once is "an absolute unique and eye-opening opportunity," emphasized Matej (Slovenia, SSTaR). He continued with a concrete

example: “I recall that before the course I had many stereotypes about Muslim people and Islam;” however, upon attending GCMC classes and meeting people of many cultures, including Muslims, he reckoned, “I realized that there are fundamentalists everywhere.” Likewise, Pedro (Portugal, PTSS) acknowledged that the MC multicultural context made him feel humbled in his values and beliefs. He realized that he “was prejudiced against some nations.” Another alumnus from Middle East conceded that he was biased against Americans:

> I had a culture shock because I thought that Americans are cold, but during my first visit in America, I found out the opposite: people smile and let you inside their personalities and they do not keep distance. This is a warm environment. In the end, we are all human beings.

This reflects the importance of country visits and exposures, even of short length, to different cultures. Schools of long tradition, such as the NATO Defense College, have always included in their curricula field-studies abroad to enrich students’ processes of cross-culturalization. In fact, the MC respondents related that each of their intercultural experiences at the MC helped them deconstruct some of the stereotypes, which further contributed to a better interaction with representatives of different nations. Cedomir (Croatia, PASS) recounted how towards the end of the course he started to communicate better with his program colleagues from all over the world. He emphasized, “This stayed with me forever.”

These quotes indicate that participants not only change their attitudes toward and understandings of other cultures, but also adjusted their behavior. In Deardorff’s (2006) terms, a transition from the individual level of attitudes to the stage of external outcomes

and behavior occurred. Scholars in the field claim that this transition is an indicator that the intercultural competence processes are unfolding (Byram, 1997; Okayama, Furuto & Edmonson, 2001; Deardorff, 2006).

**2. Knowledge and Comprehension of One's Own and Others' Cultures**

It is agreed by many scholars in the field, as Deardorff's (2006) research emphasizes, that a significant component of intercultural competence process is acquiring cultural knowledge. As described in Chapter 2, the concept of cultural knowledge encompasses two equally important dimensions: comprehension of other cultures and awareness of one's own culture as well. Although respondents were not asked detailed questions on the two dimensions of cultural knowledge, interview data show that respondents commented on both when asked about the impact of GCMC multicultural environment on their personal, professional, and social lives.

**2. a. Cultural self-awareness.** First, a number of participants reported becoming increasingly aware of their own cultural beliefs and values while in Garmisch. They communicated that at the Marshall Center they found out how others perceive them and their countries. Aika (Kyrgyzstan, Unassigned) reported, "It was very interesting to find out how my country is viewed in the world by other people." Paul (Romania, EP) related, "You reach the conclusion that your value system is not the most powerful nor unique as you imagined before the Marshall Center." This leads, as Dragan (Croatia, SSTaR) noted, to a necessary self-check before every international mission, when people should ask themselves, "Am I capable enough to deal in international environment?" This self-check, in Dragan's view, should also remind individuals "to be more cautious and more tolerant to everything."

Likewise, Byram, Nichols, and Stevens (2012) argued that however tolerant of other cultures an individual may be, their beliefs, values, and behavior are deeply embedded and can create reaction or rejection. Therefore, the scholars recognize the need of individuals to be aware of their own values and how they influence their view of other people's values. They need, in Deardorff's (2006) terms, cultural self-awareness, or the ability to evaluate critically perspectives, practices, and products in one's own and other cultures.

**2. b. Awareness of otherness**. Second, along with cultural self-awareness, respondents also report gaining knowledge of other cultures. They portray the Marshall Center as "the best platform to know each other's thoughts and perceptions" (Dan-Romania, EP). Participants in the study underline the unique character of the GCMC as an environment where representatives of tens of cultures and nationalities gather and interact, and where there are free discussions that touch on the national features. Zoltan (Hungary, PTSS), who attended other schools and courses abroad as a student or lecturer, described his perceptions on the multicultural aspect of the MC:

> I think cultural exchange is a very strong part for the Marshall Center. In every international course, there is an exchange of cultural information, but here there is a different dimension. And maybe this is the best approach. The cultural possibilities are enormous here. First of all, colleagues are coming from more than 50 countries…. Here it is encouraged to bring what you are and your cultures … look at Culture Nights … culture is always behind everything here. You can see how people approach it very carefully, but with open mind. Good example: In Austria in Vienna I went to a two-week course about how concept of

> peacekeeping operations should develop. Very special subject … and we went to different technical issues…20-25 countries present there … and the culture issue was also discussed among others, but very different than here … I cannot even compare the two. Here I can see and understand the culture because I spend time with those people.

However, most importantly, participants gave an account of understanding the role of culture in the value and belief system of individuals. Davor (Georgia, LC) stressed that the GCMC experience "builds deep knowledge of other cultures and countries, because at the Marshall Center you get to understand other countries' views and political decisions by understanding those people's vision and mentality." Davor offered a concrete example by recalling that at the Marshall Center people from former soviet countries had the chance to "define themselves as independent nations." He did not hide the fact that between the representatives of these countries and Russia there were hard talks, but he described, "Learning to know each other as people contributed to understanding Russia's views and policies." Other respondents who represented countries in conflict at GCMC reported a similar pattern; they noted that the exchange of cultural knowledge had a significant impact on the way they viewed the conflict and "the other country." One alumna from the Middle East explained that Garmisch represented for her the opportunity to meet people from her region:

> I learned a lot about other countries in my own region. I don't mind mentioning names … like getting to know the Saudis was a whole new experience! I come from a conflict country and I am a female, so to find out how other countries in the region view my country and my position was an extraordinary experience.

> This impacted the way I understood them…. They have their own mind set, so I learned to adapt and to communicate…. The other experiences with the Iraqis and Lebanese also were very interesting…. So it opened my eyes to the region I belong to, my region. In particular because we cannot talk to each other. I cannot travel to Saudi…so Garmisch was my first contact to the Saudis. Going to Lebanon is the same … it is restricted … sometime it is allowed with conferences and special visas, but movement in the region is restricted.

Byram, Nichols, and Stevens (2012) stressed that to attain intercultural competence requires that one first acquire knowledge of other cultures. In this sense, critical thinking skills, such as the ones discussed above — abilities to analyze, to question credibility of a source, judge definitions, identify unstated assumptions, define terms, and make inferences — are essential. Second, individuals need to possess attitudes of decentering. This entails readiness to suspend disbeliefs about other cultures and beliefs about one's own. At the same time, it means willingness to relativize one's own values, beliefs, and behaviors (Byram, Nichols & Stevens, 2012). Being interculturally competent implies an ability to understand the origin of misunderstandings and the ability to visualize things from someone else's point of view.

**3. Desired Internal Outcome**

Deardorff (2004) argued that the acquired degree of components at the personal/attitudinal level determines the degree of intercultural competence exhibited at the interpersonal/interactive level. As described in Chapter 2, the degree of intercultural competence is an attribute of two outcomes: one external, which is observable in behaviors and communicating patterns, and one internal, which is represented by shifts in

frames of reference. Scholars in the field of intercultural competence argue that an individual can achieve external outcomes, such as effective behaviors[3], without having fully achieved the internal outcome of a shift in the frame of reference. However, without internal outcomes, the external outcomes will be more limited (Deardorff, 2006).

To this point, the interview data showed that respondents gave details of increasing respect and openness for other cultures; they also believe that they accumulated knowledge and comprehension about people having different cultural, social, and historical backgrounds. Consequently, the next question is 'Do perceived attitudinal changes reflect internal and external outcomes?' Looking first at internal outcomes, do respondents consider that the Marshall Center multicultural environment influenced their adaptability and flexibility to different communication styles and behaviors? Do they show the propensity to adjust to new cultural contexts?

It is important to reiterate that interview questions did not point in detail to the components of intercultural competence, but to participants' general perceptions regarding their exposure to an international environment. Nevertheless, interview data indicate respondents' view that the GCMC experience helped them to be more open-minded to other people's belief system and more flexible in using appropriate communication styles and behaviors. Dragan (Croatia, SSTaR) recalled his experience as an international officer in a foreign country:

> After the Marshall Center, I realized that I had to correct myself all the time…. I brought a lot of prejudice with me…. But after the Marshall Center it was different. In Sierra Leone for the first time I prayed the Muslim prayer and then the Christian prayer. The village elder said, 'OK, we had a great talk and we made

[3]As depicted in Spitzberg's (1989) work

> good decisions, so now let's pray for our plan to succeed.' I didn't say I am Christian I do not pray like that…. You make contacts, you make friends, and you are literally able to survive if you have this awareness.

Besides adaptability and flexibility, respondents reported an increased ability to empathize with other cultures. According to literature, gaining empathy is one of the critical internal outcomes in intercultural competence process. Tudor (Romania, EP) recalled that, as an international organization official, one of his duties was to discuss financial issues and budgets for missions in Central Asia. He explained that not only his whole background information and understanding of the region came from his interactions with Central Asian colleagues while at MC but he also that "became sensitive to Central Asians problems." Likewise, Maria (Romania, LC) posited:

> I have learned that if you want to respect and understand a person, you need to put yourself in his/her shoes; they may be ugly, they may stink … whatever … but you need to wear them in order to understand.

**4. Desired external outcomes**

Following definitions of external outcomes presented in Chapter 2, the data analysis identified patterns of answers regarding effective and appropriate behavior and communication (based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, attitudes) in intercultural situations (Deardorff, 2004; Spitzberg, 1989). The interview data show that respondents mostly perceive the impact of their MC multicultural experience at the behavioral level. They reported a multitude of instances where, due to their exposure to cultural diversity offered by GCMC, they learned how to better relate and communicate with people from different countries.

Due to their medium and high-level positions in their organizations, the MC alumni are often required to interact with international officials. Therefore, they communicated that they perceived an immediate improvement in their capacity to interact, communicate, and connect with representatives of other cultures and countries. Andrei (Romania, PASS) reported:

> Now I understand how other cultures think. This is crucial for my job, I know how they behave, and I know how to connect with them now…. I had beers with them…. I felt relaxed and comfortable in international environment after the Marshall Center.

Juan (Colombia, PTSS) pointed out that meeting a person from another country enables relating and communicating with any other individual from that country, because "you feel you know something about that culture." He believed that the strength of GCMC trainings is that "the Marshall Center gives participants the power of international communication." This power is specifically important in the military context, for, as Lukas (Czech R., PTSS) reported, the difficulties in communication due to cultural misunderstandings can lead to conflict:

> Before the Marshall Center I didn't know how different other people could think, but now I know; and this is good when you meet foreign coworkers…. Now I see how people don't understand each other because of their culture…. The better you know each other, the better you solve a situation together, especially in the military…. If people cannot communicate, they get into conflicts…

Respondents, who upon their graduations worked in international commandments, such as NATO or UN, related that their Marshall Center experience was "extremely

valuable." As Dan (Romania, EP) puts it, "the Marshall Center internationalizes social agents because it changes your setting so that you can function in an international environment." Johan (Austria, PTSS) explained that international experience at the Marshall Center positively influenced his communication with other nations in his current job with an international organization:

> I understood different traditions and cultures; this helped me in my career to relate to other nations because I understood their ways of dealing with topics.… I learned how they decide on solutions…. This is critical for my job.

This section found that participants' experience at the Marshall Center contributed to an increased awareness and openness to other cultures and to a higher ability to communicate, relate, and work with representatives of different countries and cultures. Overall, this led to an increased intercultural competence of alumni working in the field of global security. Intercultural competence facilitates cooperation among professionals having different cultural backgrounds and hence promotes the development of social capital.

## Discussion

This chapter set out to test Hypotheses 3 and 4, and to explore the perceived values, norms, and practices that transfer to the Marshall Center course attendants and contribute to building social capital. Hypothesis 3 stated broadly that, "International security policy education (ISPE) and the social experience at the Marshall Center foster awareness and adherence to (shared) democratic values and norms." This hypothesis was confirmed by respondents' reports of increased awareness and acquire of democratic cooperative attitudes and norms. In this sense, participants related becoming more

tolerant and accountable, more appreciative of culture of dialogue, listening, debunking stereotypes, interest-based negotiations, and voluntary activities. They lead both to acquiring democratic values, but also to building social capital.

The second part of the chapter reports patterns related to perceived self-conceptions and professional outlook that together contribute to building shared understandings and knowledge of GCMC participants. Having a common global vision and critical understanding of security issues contributes to better communication among international professionals. This facilitates cooperation and collective action for mutual benefits, hence development of social capital.

The third section of this chapter tested Hypothesis 4 of the study. This asserted that international education and shared social experiences at the MC increase intercultural competence of international participants. Using Deardorff's (2006) model of intercultural competence, data analysis confirmed this hypothesis and showed that respondents reported changes at various levels of the pyramidal model. In this sense, several participants related that being exposed to a multitude of cultures at the Marshall Center increased their respect for and curiosity, readiness, and willingness to learn about other cultures. These attitudinal adjustments are fundamental for reaching intercultural competence at the behavioral levels as well. In international environments, this is necessary for cooperation, for it contributes to building the common understandings and knowledge necessary for building social capital.

# CHAPTER 8

## AGENTS OF CHANGE

*"Arab spring started, and we all realized that these operations are led by behind the computer…one of the seniors in my country came to the Marshall Center before…I found myself getting a phone call at midnight from the chief general who said: 'here is your office, pick your team, and make a cyber-unit.' I thought about external help, I talked to many of my friends but they were mostly from private companies so nobody was giving me the right beginning. Suddenly I remembered that I have a network that I can use. So I logged into the Marshall Center network and I found hundreds of thousands of articles about cyber issues, units etc.…So 90% of the material for the mission and vision about this unit came from the Marshall Center website. I used all information, translated it into Arabic, submitted it, and the same night I got approval for my budget…"* – Amir (Palestine, PTSS)

Research findings presented in previous chapters show that the Marshall Center alumni forge professional and social networks of cooperation, build interpersonal trust, and develop shared values, norms and practices. In other words, results indicate that international security policy education and experience at the Marshall Center contribute to building social capital among security professionals. However, another question arises at this point: What are the consequences of the formation of social capital? How and with what purposes do alumni utilize their new stock of social capital? Moreover, who are the alumni making use of it?

The objective of this chapter is to examine whether and to what extent attendance at the Marshall Center resulted in a desire of alumni to challenge long-standing patterns of social interaction in their countries upon return. Do alumni attempt to create new norms in their settings based on their international education and experience at the MC

and if so, how? This analysis does not seek to evaluate the impact of the MC or to assess previous patterns of interactions in the countries of residence of respondents.

To address the questions of this chapter, participants in the study were asked whether and how they applied their knowledge, experience, and norms acquired through the Marshall Center programs. The large majority of the respondents reported that they constantly employ the norms and values, critical and analytical thinking, as well as other professional skills gained while attending the Marshall Center courses. In Levitt's (2001) terms, these values, norms, and skills are called normative structures. About half of the respondents offered concrete examples of ways in which they applied the new values, norms, and skills in their home countries. These applications are entitled systems of practice (Levitt, 2001). Due to their active involvement in implementing new systems of practice, these alumni are described as agents of change and carriers of new norms and values into their homeland setting. Agents of change attempt to generate change and improve their own community and society.

This chapter is organized in two parts. The first section of this chapter examines the systems of practice mostly used by respondents. Examples are grouped based on the field of society where systems of practice were applied. The second part uses quantitative methods to examine the factors that contributed to the Marshall Center alumni becoming agents of change.

## I. Systems of Practice

Systems of practice, as defined by Levitt (2001), represent the actions shaped by norms. They may include organizational practices, such as socializing, goal setting, planning, strategizing, or establishing leadership styles and inter-agency links. They may

also encompass traditional practices, such as household habits or religious rituals (Levitt, 2001). In the context of this research, the systems of practice refer to practices employed by the MC alumni in the realms of security, political, and organizational culture as well as civil society. This section discusses the applied practices on two dimensions. The first one describes the specific systems of practice employed by respondents and the second dimension analyzes the normative structures that alumni intended to be transferred (see Levitt, 2001).

**1. Security Culture**

Gray (1999) argued the security culture of a nation is not a static concept, but it changes as society responds to factors arising from within or abroad. With the new geopolitical order resulting from the end of the Cold War, it is understandable why such factors as norms, identities or culture became more salient in defining the national interests and the security cultures of countries affected by the fall of communism (Katzenstein, 1996).

From a sociological perspective, new norms can operate as rules that define identities of states or as standards that prescribe their behavior (Katzenstein, 1996). Defining national and collective identities as well as the cultural features help define a country's security threats and interests. In this context, do the Marshall Center alumni attempt to delineate new norms, identities, and culture in their respective countries? If yes, what are the mechanisms through which individuals seek to alter the security culture? This section presents several systems of practice through which participants — based on their specific job responsibilities, positions in the security system, and

opportunities — attempted to contribute to the alteration of security culture in their country.

**1. a**. **Elaborating national strategies and policies.** Interview data revealed that respondents who hold advising or senior level positions directly participated to the elaboration and implementation of new national strategies and policies in their countries. Moreover, as participants reported, these new strategies were formulated based on the knowledge acquired at the Marshall Center and therefore encompassed the norms and values of the Marshall Center. Implementation of these new strategies and policies, according to participants, transformed the security culture of their countries by incorporating democratic and internationally accepted standards of state behavior. Pavel (Czech Rep., SES) reckoned:

> It is very important for people like us who make and contribute to decisions to come and get trained here at the Marshall Center. I see the benefits of my Marshall Center experience in my everyday decisions.

Some of the respondents reported being involved in the conceptualization of their country's national defense strategy. For instance, Markus (Lithuania, SES) recounted, "I learned the concepts, philosophy, and theory of strategy appropriate to the new geopolitical order at the MC." These concepts, he added, are now reflected in his country's strategic objectives in the areas of diplomacy, development, intelligence, counterterrorism, cyber security, and homeland security.

Likewise, the director of an intelligence unit in an Eastern European country related that he utilized everything he learned in the PTSS to formulate the national strategy for combating terrorism according to international standards. In this sense, he

highlighted the vital role of common international standards to ensure cooperation and coordination among units and nations in case of terrorist attacks. Likewise, Beni (Albania, PTSS) reported that upon graduating from the Marshall Center, he became one of the few counterterrorism experts in his country. Consequently, he takes an active part in all decision-making processes related to counterterrorism.

Respondents' involvement in implementing new strategies and policies at the national level has three major consequences for national security culture. First, it alters a state's norms of security as standards (Gray, 1999). In this sense, it facilitates the transition from communist to democratic concepts and philosophy of defense strategy, and enables implementation of new strategies to manage potential terrorist threats. Moreover, it influences the standards that define a state's behavior in the international arena (Gray, 1999). The second consequence concerns the change of norms as rules.

The new strategies and policies of countries delineate their new membership in alliances or simply their positioning as nation-states in the new international order. Thus, by designing defense strategies, respondents took part in redefining their country's national identity, interests, as well as potential security threats. The third implication refers to converging standards. When alumni employ the Marshall Center philosophy and concepts of strategy in the conceptualization of various national policies, they contribute to emerging shared transnational standards.

**1. b. Implementing training and educational programs.** A few respondents gave accounts of applying their MC experience in their organizations by implementing new training programs. These programs resemble those offered by the Marshall Center. Interviewees emphasized that while they adjusted the scope of the program accordingly,

they maintained almost unchanged the curriculum, objectives, and methods of training of the Marshall Center training courses. In fact, these alumni taught hundreds of other security professionals the MC unified practices and norms of international security. Alumni, who utilized trainings as particular systems of practice, reported appropriating from the Marshall Center the main guidelines, rules, and foundational norms for their trainings. Thus, the training's established goals are set out (a) to interconnect all institutions with roles in providing security, (b) to expose security agents to international legislation, rule of law, civil-military relations, and (c) to bring awareness to all training participants of the different capacities and responsibilities of other institutions and agencies with roles in the defense area.

For instance, a former military and OSCE employee (withheld identity to preserve confidentiality) recollected that in 2005 he was tasked to develop and implement a capacity-building program on combating terrorism. He stressed the relevance of PTSS in achieving his mission:

> Every single module of PTSS was significant for me … starting with the definition of terrorism, international and national legislation regarding terrorism, financing terrorism, measures of different institutions to combat terrorism…. How military, police, intelligence services address and combat terrorism…. All these were extremely useful for me. All I learned at the Marshall Center I applied in the OSCE programs. I implemented a series of courses with Georgia authorities, different agencies and institutions, and the civil society. The trainings were very well received. So, I worked with the Ministry of Security, Ministry of Interior … they all needed specialists on the issues of combating terrorism. After I started

organizing these programs, in two years Georgia signed three international conventions and ratified all international protocols that pertained to counter-terrorism.

Moreover, the PTSS graduate related that due to the high assessment of the training programs, they were subsequently offered to Central Asia and the Caucasus and implemented in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. Consequently, the security specialists in these countries were trained into the international standards, practices, and norms taught by the MC. Similarly, Victor (Romania, EP) related organizing, with the support of the Marshall Center professors, a symposium for a group of parliamentarians with duties in the defense and security area. The goal was to develop common international understandings and mechanisms of addressing issues of cyber-security, regional security, anticorruption, and institutional organization.

A different instance of applying the Marshall Center knowledge by organizing trainings similar to the ones conducted in Garmisch comes from Alin (Turkey, PTSS). He reported designing a training package for professionals in his police unit on different perceptions of terrorism based on cultural and geographical settings. From this perspective, he considered that the Marshall Center course was an "eye opening experience," because he realized the disjunction between the international and local understanding of terrorism:

> In my country, people think only of domestic terrorism, and I guess it is the same in every country…. This is not good, especially for police workers, because you cannot grasp the local implications without seeing the higher international context. For [my country's] police, when you talk terrorism, you talk state,

> regulations, policies etc. With my program I plan to take them out of the box … and make them think of alternative perspectives. One of the topic[s] I would like to develop is 'how do you talk with a terrorist' … you realize that they are rational people, not psychopaths. OK, you cannot get to the people at [the] core of the terrorist organization, but there are at [the] periphery people that you can touch and talk to … maybe they are in the organization because of the problems that you — the state — created, or because of personal problems. If you — the state — make mistakes, sometimes you can make people criminal and terrorist. It was [a] very interesting point that I got from the Marshall Center.

Interview data analysis revealed a significant pattern. Respondents such as Alin or Victor based their enterprise on the desire to diffuse in their environments the Marshall Center norms, practices, and principles. Some of these norms are cross-agency coordination and collaboration, compliance with international legislation, or civilian power over the military. Consequently, by implementing these training programs, participants remit the MC standards, practices, values, and norms to their community (Levitt, 2001). This occurs because alumni intentionally and systematically activate the mechanisms of social capital transmission upon returning to their homeland (Levitt, 2001). The theory of social remittances of Levitt (2001) supports previous findings regarding respondents' desire to bring change to their society.

However, once remitted, are the values and norms adopted or ignored by the receiving society/community? When the receiving culture shares norms consistent with those transferred by the MC alumni, they may be accepted. However, if cultural norms are in dissonance with values and practices of the MC, they are rejected (Levitt, 20011;

Frijda, Manstead, & Bem, 2000). In addition, viewing the training programs from a constructivist perspective, they represent the mechanisms of international institutions — the Marshall Center and OSCE, in this case — to teach and spread norms (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

**1. c. Establishing new security organizations.** Another mechanism with potential influence on the security culture of participants' home countries is founding new organizations based on the Marshall Center principles, norms, values, and practices. In this sense, the most illustrative example is a PTSS graduate (withheld identity to preserve confidentiality) who had the responsibility to design and implement a new national cyber security unit in his Middle Eastern country. He shared his story:

> Arab spring started, and we all realized that these operations are led by behind the computer…. One of the seniors in my country came to the Marshall Center before…. I found myself getting a phone call at midnight from the chief general who said: 'here is your office, pick your team, and make a cyber-unit.' I thought about external help, I talked to many of my friends but they were mostly from private companies so nobody was giving me the right beginning. Suddenly I remembered that I have a network that I can use. So I logged into the Marshall Center network and I found hundreds of thousands of articles about cyber issues, units etc…. So 90% of the material for the mission and vision about this unit came from the Marshall Center website. I used all information, translated it into Arabic, submitted it, and the same night I got approval for my budget.

Moreover, upon starting the unit, the alumnus reported that the assistance and support from the Marshall Center continued to come: "wherever I turn here at the

Marshall Center everybody tries to help me, to introduce me to somebody who can assist me … and this is very good." The PTSS graduate insisted that he be able to explain the aspect of crisis for his country's security created by the collapse of Egypt, as he stated, "the strongest regime in security in the Middle East" — due to social media. For this reason, perceiving the regional context as an imminent danger for their national security and stability, the founding of this cyber security unit represented a matter of critical national security.

The Middle Eastern alumnus summarized what he called the three essential factors that contributed to the success of his mission. First, it was cyber training at the Marshall Center and the field study, and second, the visit of one of his country's high-level officials to Garmisch. During that visit, the official understood the significance of cyber security and the role that the Marshall Center plays in training professionals for this field. The third reason represented the access that the alumnus had to the Marshall Center database and network.

The establishment of the Resource and Information Center on NATO in a Central Asian country represents another instance of implementing new norms with potential influence on security culture. An MC alumna of that country narrated that she was in charge of founding the NATO Center. This is the first center of its kind in Central Asia, and although it functions under NATO, Masha highlighted the important role she and other Marshall Center alumni in her country have in organizing the activities of the center.

Similar to the case of implementing trainings, the focal point in establishing new security organizations and units is the transference, adoption, and dissemination of the

Marshall Center norms and practices. Organizations can be socializing agents through diffusing norms (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998), but also have the power to institutionalize concepts and principles. For instance, the existence of a cyber-security or counter terrorism organization at the national level raises the awareness of the public and institutions for these types of threats. Moreover, it institutionalizes the concepts in the sense that all other concerned institutions take responsibilities in the fields of cyber and terrorism security. For this reason, in a sociological framework, institutions are defined as "recognized patterns of behavior or practices around which expectations converge" (Young, 1983).

**2. Civil society**

Although most participants are employees of governmental agencies, respondents reported that their Marshall Center experience engendered an increased understanding of and an appreciation for the role and power of civil society. They also related that, upon returning to their country, they employed various systems of practice to attempt change in their country's civil society. This section describes the systems of practice employed by respondents in the civil society, and analyzes the normative structures (or norms) transferred to participants' homeland. Interview data analysis revealed the following main patterns of systems of practice.

**2. a. NGOs and media practices.** NGO and media practices were reported being employed to educate the civil society on its roles in the national security system. Many respondents reported that at the Marshall Center they grasped the capacity of civil society as a driving force for social change and as an important component of the security system. "At the Marshall Center I understood, said Paul (Romania, SES), "that the

civilian area should be as involved — if not more than the military — in the field of security." He mentioned two reasons: the civilian infrastructure is vital for national security, and the resources originate in the civilian sector. Paul reckoned:

> It has to be a perfect communion between the military and civilian sector when it comes to security. You need to understand who offers the resources. Who offers the resources has prevalence in making decisions. So everything that means defense and security has to be requests of civilian society. They have to define the needs for security. I can tell you that I still use at the maximum what I learned at the Marshall Center in my relation with the government, with the ministry of defense, and also with projects that we implement in this area of critical infrastructure.

Other participants also traced to the Marshall Center experience their belief that the security of a nation is not a state monopoly anymore. Flavius (Romania, EP) posited that the Marshall Center and the Alumni Association in his country provide an environment for "voicing out the security interests of civil society." Taking the idea even further, Gabriela (Romania, PASS) also realized at the MC that "not only public institutions structures have to do something for security." It is also the responsibility of civil society to address security issues, such as immigration health. As other alumni, she founded an NGO:

> With my experience at the Marshall Center and Georgetown, I understood how a think tank works, and therefore I established with another colleague from the Marshall Center a non-partisan NGO think tank…. We offer expertise and consulting in the civil security area, such as migration. Romania is on the

migration path between Middle East and Europe; with the revolution in the East, we are exposed to migration more than before.

Another initiative that she learned about at the MC refers to the building of unified standards. Her NGO therefore assists specialists in the field of immigration to address security issues in a unified manner. For instance, she developed a strategy to decrease the reciprocal hostility between hosting and migrant cultures "that have never understood each other and were historically antagonist." Employing non-governmental practices and programs, Gabriela and other alumni who entered the field of NGOs attempt to transfer norms aligned to those of the Western world in the civil society of her country. As Levitt and Lamba (2011) argued, NGOs constitute formal pathways for transferring social remittances. Moreover, she aims at constructing a unified normative structure to function across agencies with roles in addressing immigration issues.

Other respondents utilized media practices, such as publishing or interviewing, to disseminate messages aimed to educate civil society. They employed their expertise as gained through their Marshall Center training to speak as opinion makers on various security topics. For instance, Haris (Slovenia, PTSS) reported being solicited often to offer his opinion in the media on issues of terrorism in his country. He detailed one instance when he not only transferred his Marshall Center knowledge to the public, but also swayed judiciary decision:

> We had one case of lone wolf terrorist two years ago; he came from [a neighboring country] and was a military veteran…. He lost himself after the war, he had social issues, and he was very angry because of the Croatian-Slovenian border. So he took the weapons and bombs and went first to the buildings of

> government, parliament. Luckily, police caught him. My country was not used in the past to these events. The attorney wanted to sentence him because of the possession of weapons, because there was no precedent ... and no other law to use. It was actually me who came on TV and explained that he had a political motivation: to influence the border conflict…. He had a political agenda, and it was me who said all the time that what he did was more grave than possession of weapons … in the end they changed the sentence.

Both instances delineate actions aimed to educate civil society on security matters. They engaged different systems of practice to transfer the Marshall Center professional and social norms. While the NGO program's impact cannot be concluded from the data, the effectiveness of imparting the Marshall Center knowledge via media channels is indicted by the sway in judicial sentence.

**2. b. Community projects in collaboration with governmental institutions.** Although returning to their governmental jobs upon graduating the Marshall Center, respondents related becoming aware of a new norm — that of their accountability to the community and civil society that they serve. As Luis (Romania, PASS) pointed out, during communist times the judiciary institutions were perceived as a dominant and superior class that by no means delivered services to the benefit of the population. The mentalities did not change, Luis explained, and therefore people in his country still have a passive attitude toward governmental institutions. Being exposed to a very different civic context in Germany, Luis realized that it was his duty to educate the citizens, to whom he is accountable, into the new paradigm of community as beneficiary. He narrated:

> At the Marshall Center, I realized that in countries that viewed the application of law from a communitarian perspective, the relation between public institution and community as beneficiary is very different: the two should be equal. Between the two there has to exist a social contract.

In this context, Luis implemented community projects that had two goals. The first goal was to raise the awareness of the community for its rights and to educate the civil society to be demanding of governmental agencies to uphold their contractual agreements. One of the first tasks was the extensive use of the expression 'we are delivering you public safety services' in all projects and professional relations with beneficiaries. As Luis reported, it was useful to highlight the obligation of public institutions to provide high quality services to those who finance their day-by-day activity: the community. Despite his efforts to empower the community, Luis acknowledged that sometimes he encountered reluctance from several social actors in accepting this paradigm. He explained his being aware of the difficult process of mentality change. However, he reported being confident that his persistence and consistency in relating to his community would bring the necessary change.

Levitt and Lamba's (2011) research on immigration provides, in this sense, a theoretical framework to further explain my findings. According to the scholars, living in the US and dealing with phenomena such as red tape and protocol socializes migrants toward a more bureaucratic dimension. In this sense, they argue that migrants learn to abide more by legal norms, and therefore they become accustomed to demanding accountability or upholding contractual agreements. In this framework, respondents' exposure to clear patterns of relations and accountability between public institutions and

community encourage participants to import and apply this normative structure into their own setting. In Luis' case, community projects were utilized as systems of practice to attempt changing the social structure that define the interaction between his organization and the community it serves.

The second goal of community projects was, in Luis' terms, to develop a community consciousness. To implement this program, Luis used the concept of "urban hygiene" that, as he stated, he discovered during his stay at the Marshall Center:

> In Garmisch, I stayed in Building 104…. There were episodes that impressed me every single day. Reflecting on these episodes, I discovered new concepts … for instance, cleanliness. I realized that cleanliness is not only about the physical exterior aspect of a city, but urban cleanliness refers to a larger concept that includes the education of population on urban hygiene and cleanliness … includes therefore the education that every citizen of a specific community has/receives; this made me introduce this enlarged concept of cleanliness in a new educational program on crime prevention that I implemented in my community. So, I succeeded to discuss this urban hygiene concept with our beneficiaries/citizens: apartment owners, students, professors, educators, schools…. Of course the language and approach was adjusted accordingly for each age group. Again, they were the beneficiaries of our public safety and prevention services. Therefore, I made sure to explain to my community that along with the physical aspect of hygiene, education on urban hygiene — that includes the citizen thinking about community and not only himself — is just as important, if not more. This means that I will try not only to prevent a kid to draw graffiti on the public walls,

> moreover, I will try to teach him and others to develop a community consciousness.

Employing the same system of practice of community project, Luis aimed to develop community consciousness by engaging the community as partner in maintaining order. In Cohen's (2002) terms, these community programs use construction of symbols, such as urban hygiene, to regenerate the consciousness of the community. Cohen (2002) argued that, because symbols do not have an inherent meaning, community members engage together in supplying part of their meaning (Cohen, 2002). This leads to an increased sense of community.

A different instance of employing community projects comes from the Middle East. Leila (Israel, PASS) and another alumnus attempted to implement a program to bring social change in the entire society. She reported travelling to many other countries before the Marshall Center. Nevertheless, her Marshall Center experience was "unique and different in many ways." The MC made her "feel charged with desire and energy to make a difference" in her country. "Simply put," Leila stated, "we focused on making our country a quieter place." She recalled that, although they concentrated first on how to persuade people not to honk anymore, the project involved much more than that — it was about changing mentalities and attitudes of people in her country. She continued:

> Where I come from, culturally there is environmental noise. People honk in traffic…. My colleague comes from the Traffic Department. So, we said: 'look, in Garmisch no one honks the horn; people are not rude driving and bypassing, so, we have to do a certain outreach and send the message out to the average people at home to respect each other more.' … So, that's why we started planning here at

> the Marshall Center to implement this project to ban honking. It is very challenging, because a change as simple as that, to get people to stop honking the horn, is very difficult.

Although making her country a quieter place is desirable the ultimate goal, Leila pointed out, is to help people understand that they need to respect one another. Respecting your neighbor means for Leila, more tolerance and peace, and in her opinion, "starting with no honking is a good beginning."

**2. c. Education.** Education can be viewed as an additional system of practice intended to impact civil society, especially young generations. In their role as university professors who educate thousands of young people, respondents reported transferring to the students not only knowledge, but also the Marshall Center values. An alumna and university professor from Central Asia (identity withheld to preserve confidentiality) communicated that upon attending the Marshall Center she completely changed her methods of teaching. She now combines lectures with discussions in every class. Another alumna who now teaches in the United States reported that acquiring the skills of an interactive teaching style was one of the most important benefits:

> You have to listen to what students say, and, even if it is sometimes far from reality, you have to give them a chance … and make them know that you do not judge and try to understand them. In other words, show respect to their opinion and to their willingness to share their opinions with you. I still use all that and try to engage students as much as possible into discussions.… In general, I treat students in a way that they are partners and do not need to be taught, but just need to be slightly directed.

The MC graduates who are now professors teach their students "to think, discuss, and question," as Flavius (Romania, EP) recounted. They also use case studies (Davor-Georgia, LC) or simulations (Maria- Romania, LC) as teaching tools borrowed from the Marshall Center. Others, like Juan (Colombia, PTSS), used the Marshall Center teaching style to integrate into his classroom the cultural component and global view.

Moreover, alumni reported borrowing ideas and topics of instruction for their classes. In particular, when alumni held a high decisional position, they reported implementing the change throughout the entire educational system. For instance, in an Eastern European country, one alumnus used the Marshall Center curricula as a model to implement changes in the military academic programs. He therefore included in the curricula new topics of interest for the nation as well as some topics related to European security at large.

Other respondents focused on educating students of civil society on security and terrorism issues. Based on his Marshall Center experience, for instance, Haris (Slovenia, PTSS) built a curriculum on terrorism and intelligence to help his students distinguish between ordinary crime without political motivation and terrorism or insurgency. Lastly, Dan (Romania, PASS) shared an episode when he had to teach a university class:

> The problem was that I had to go right away…. My boss said to me: you are the best one to teach this class because you have so much experience…. So driving to the university I was making a plan on how to teach this class…. I was worried, but after all, I did know that topic perfectly…. So, it was all about how to present it. And I remembered of the Marshall Center … and I applied exactly the teaching

style from the Marshall Center: the interactive style centered on the interest of the student.

Therefore, alumni use teaching as a system of practice to disseminate not only knowledge, but also norms and conceptual frames, in Grewal's (2008) terms, to their students. By employing the Marshall Center teaching style — defined by respondents as using interactive discussions, critical thinking, and a culture of dialogue — participants diffuse norms of tolerance, respect, and freedom of speech. Moreover, they share conceptual frames (Grewal, 2008), such as ways of thinking, patterns of reasoning, or perceptions.

To conclude this section of implementing systems of practice in civil society, findings reveal that first, participants engaged in educating the civil society on its roles in the national security system. They utilized non-governmental organizations and media channels to achieve this. Second, other respondents took aim at empowering civil society by raising awareness of its capacities to produce social change and demand accountability from public institutions. These respondents employed community projects managed through their organizations. Third, participants in the study who hold academic positions focused on imparting knowledge, norms, and conceptual frames to their students through education.

**3. Political Culture**

As discussed in Chapter 2, political culture has been defined initially as a "subset of beliefs and values of a society that relate to the political system" (Almond & Verba, 1976). However, the concept has subsequently suffered numerous adjustments, mainly to address its holistic and static character. As a result, political cultures are looked at as

patterns of shared public symbols and styles of action emerging and consolidated through historical processes (Tosi & Vitale, 2009).

Similar to security culture, political cultures in countries of the Eastern Bloc have become open to change with the fall of communism in 1989. While this research did not seek to determine the role of the Marshall Center alumni in changing their societies' cultural or political facets, it does receive support from Melluci's (1996) findings. He argues that the new practices and forms of political action used by actors are factors of change in a political culture that take shape within the broader and more general processes of cultural change.

A number of respondents comment on ways of applying their Marshall Center experience in their home country environment. They report their beliefs that the political culture in their country changed due to the large number of people trained by the Marshall Center. Participants holding these opinions are mostly graduates of early courses held from 1994 to 2000. This finding is consistent with the Marshall Center curricula that emphasized an increased focus — especially until 2000 — on democratic practices and norms of political process.

For instance, as described in Chapter 3, the first courses at the Marshall Center focused on managing national security in a democracy and insisting on basic procedures of establishing and maintaining civilian control of the military (Marshall Center News, 1995). The programs also looked at civil-military relations from the perspective of the executive and legislative branches, principles of market economy, and the relations between the defense sector and the national economy. Later, due to the advance of

Eastern European countries in their democratic process, these objectives, although retained, had less emphasis.

"I think I use every day what I learned at the Marshall Center because it is all about political culture and framework of thinking," posited Kristofer (Estonia, EP). Kristofer graduated from one of the first courses at the Marshall Center and now holds a senior advisor position in his country's government. He added, "My country got a critical amount of people who went to the Marshall Center courses and other courses, and my country changed quite fast." Aleksei (Latvia, EP) believed that the Marshall Center had a role in the political development of his country. However, he also noted that the host country's political and social cultures needed to be receptive and in harmony with the Marshall Center values for the Center to be influential:

> The Marshall Center has helped Baltic States a lot in terms of expertise and training people; it is a close connection between country's policy orientation and the Marshall Center. My country wanted to become part of NATO, and the Marshall Center was very useful to us…. Other countries, like Belarus, took home very little from the Marshall Center because they do not want to change … the Marshall Center cannot do a lot if your values are not on the same line.… But even for those countries, when the change will be at the horizon, they will already have people ready to be used.

This finding is consistent with Levitt's (2005) theory that the transference of social remittances (ideas and practices) to a society depends on the host country norms. More specifically, if the "value structures and cognitive models" brought to the country are similar to those of the host country, new values and norms are likely to be

assimilated. Likewise, Victor (Romania, EP) highlighted that the role of the Marshall Center in a country is delineated by the political goals of that country. For countries that just exited communist regimes and tried to become closer to NATO and the EU, Victor believed that "the Marshall Center had the role to create bridges of cooperation toward, with, and among those countries."

Most importantly, Victor reported that, through its graduates, the Marshall Center contributed to developing the political culture across years and at various stages of political development. In this sense, Victor explained the goals of the Alumni Association before and after his country became a full-fledged member of NATO and the EU. Before accession to international organizations, the Alumni Association organized numerous activities that focused on explaining to people "what NATO and the EU were, and why NATO and the EU were important" for their nation. After becoming both a NATO and EU member, Victor related that the objectives of the Marshall Center Association slightly changed: "We did not talk about adherence, but integration in and alignment of values with these international alliances." Moreover, Victor stressed that all these activities were organized in partnership with state institutions, such as the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government, and Presidency.

In a country where the communist regime annihilated the culture of political participation and freedom of speech, the Alumni Association aimed to change participatory habits. This, according to Welzel and Inglehart (2008), along with tolerance and interpersonal trust, are essential indicators of societal commitment to liberal-democracy political culture. "We had the culture of democracy in our country before the Cold War, we just needed to slowly re-build it," commented Victor. By organizing these

events, the Alumni Association aimed to re-empower the masses and give them a voice in self-governance. As Della Porta and Tarrow (2005) argued, these types of social group actions that advance new political practices explain the changes in political cultures.

In other instances, although respondents did not report contributing to change in the political spectrum, they made note of political irregularities. Dan (Romania, PASS) recalled learning at the Marshall Center that "secret services should be under civilian control." He therefore decided to find out who retains the control of intelligence services in his country, taking advantage of his new position in the Parliament:

> Political would have been the right system in charge, but in [my country] I found out – being around the Parliament – that political is under the control of intelligence services. This is very unfortunate because things are not supposed to be like that in a democracy…. No later than yesterday in the European Parliament Senate a political official from my country submitted a legislative project to the EU Parliament that requested the removing of all secret service agents infiltrated in mass media organizations. The control of mass media by the secret service agencies to me is the first step to disaster. Why does this have to reach [the] EU Parliament? Here in Romania, mass media boosts itself with pride when they publish news obtained from secret services or from intelligence type of work done by the media workers … this is disastrous … when a secret service brings information to one media organization exclusively, they basically bought that media organization. I am totally against this practice.

As Dan and the other respondents' actions and thoughts suggest, alumni did not only acquire knowledge on democratic practices and norms of the political process, but

they also applied them. By implementing new practices and forms of political action, participants contributed to shaping — within the broader and more general context of cultural change — the patterns and styles of political action. For this reason, participants become agents of change in their country's political culture.

**4. Organizational Culture**

Due to the very general character of the question regarding ways of applying their Marshall Center experience in their countries, participants' responses varied significantly. Additional to the themes discussed above, the Marshall Center alumni taking part in the study also reported implementing other changes in their working and personal environments. These changes are the result of respondents acquiring cooperative values, intercultural competence, and new self-conceptions and professional outlooks. As discussed in Chapter 7 (Values), a large majority of participants posited applying their newly acquired skills of global vision and critical thinking every day, not only in their professional, but also personal lives. Moreover, respondents reported acquiring other normative structures at the Marshall Center that they applied in their own setting by employing various systems of practice, such as organizational, communicational, and leadership practices.

**4. a. Leadership practices.** Imran (Bangladesh, PTSS) believed the Marshall Center experience helped him better understand the value of freedom of speech in communicating with and leading his subordinate officers. He described that upon graduating the Marshall Center he implemented a system called "the 360 degree system" that encouraged his officers to speak freely. He acknowledged that this system not only helped him find and correct many flaws, but also increased the cohesiveness of his unit.

Focusing on the role of leadership in increasing unit cohesion and efficiency, Paul (Romania, SES) related that at the Marshall Center he understood the significance of social aspects. “I realized how important it is to combine the professional and social, and to know your people,” asserted Paul. Consequently, he reported that after the Marshall Center he started to allot 30% of his time to getting to know his subordinates better, for “your personal and unit’s success is limited without social relations.” Interested in learning new leadership skills, Denis (Romania, PASS) reported attending the “Leadership” elective while at the Marshall Center. A supervisor of a 15 people team, he reckoned that “every single day and hour” he applies the knowledge acquired during this elective. “Everything from gestures, look, attitude when you sit down, conflicts that you have to manage,” all these are critical in leadership, acknowledges Denis.

Ahmed (Afghanistan, PTSS) stated, “All values I took from the MC, they became my personal life.” He further stressed that he displays these values in his personal and professional environment through the power of example and leadership. In his opinion, one value stands out:

> I tell my family and people in my office every day: “please work for our country and love our country!” One thing I found here at the Marshall Center is that people love their job, country, and want to serve their country; but this does not happen in our country. My people spend their life working but they don’t love or serve their country. This is one of the biggest things I learned here … and, believe me, I am honest … it changed my life. In [my country] life is different, people say that they love their country … but they don’t.

In a very extensive interview, Ahmed shared that everything he learned at the Marshall Center was new for him because his country had been at war for years. “I learned that reading is very important and now I read one hour every night, although I read and research at work.” He explained that nobody told him to do so. However, seeing American and German professors at the Marshall Center studying during their free time was an example for him. Moreover, he added, “Here I learned politeness, honesty, and being on time.” He recalled a “memorable episode,” as he described it, when an elderly clerk from the Marshall Center accommodation facility spent more than an hour with him to help him exchange the room:

> I knew this was his job, but he did it with heart. This was a lesson of politeness and dedication for me that I carry through example everywhere I go. The change of a country starts with the change of one person … and I hope one day our country will be like that.

**4. b. Communication practices.** Several respondents reported that at the Marshall Center they improved their communication skills. This positively affected their jobs, especially when participating in international missions. Whether it is learning the culture of dialogue, understanding and utilizing persuasive elements of speech, or acquiring a new language, in respondent’s opinion they all contributed to their professional development. In Bogdan’s (Bulgaria, EP) opinion, “communication is one of the main things you learn at the Marshall Center.” For instance, Adis (Kosovo, PTSS) recalled that before attending the Marshall Center courses, he had difficulties in persuading senior management about changes necessary for his organization. However, upon attending the Marshall Center, Adis related becoming aware of “the ways and

methods to actually negotiate and use the most important information first, in order to communicate effectively."

Similarly, Dimitar (Bulgaria, SSTaR) related applying the principles of efficient communication and public speaking learned at the Marshall Center during public appearances at the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan. "If I did not have the Marshall Center experience, it would have been more complicated," appreciated Dimitar. Due to their increased intercultural competence, as discussed in Chapter 7, respondents also considered that their abilities to communicate with representatives of other cultures improved.

**4. c. Organizational practices.** Punctuality and organization of the course were highly valued by a large number of the Marshall Center respondents. During their Marshall Center tenure, the Marshall Center students were exposed to highly standardized norms and procedures. Amir (Palestine, PTSS) described his experience in Garmisch from the perspective of course organization:

> The preparation and planning here were fabulous. My field study was in the States. When you go there, you face 10-12 authorities. And we were 72 students. Some of the students would have never entered the States [due to their citizenship]. The level of preparation was very high level. This is not something that any organization can do. All was like a Swiss clock.

Luis (Romania, PASS) described his class study trip as an example of management. Murat (Turkey, SES) characterized it as having no single mistake, and Dimitar concluded, "The Marshall Center set the standards for organizational perfection." Respondents believed that a significant part of the success of the Marshall Center

programs is attributable to the detailed planning and preparation of activities. Therefore, I examined whether participants reported attempting to transfer and implement this norm in their own work environment. Stefan (Romania, SES), for instance, recounted employing the systematic model of planning from the Marshall Center in the trainings he organizes for his institution. Similarly, Denis (Romania, PASS) related that observing the level of organization at the Marshall Center "had a big impact," because in all activities that he currently organizes, he first questions, "How would the Marshall Center do it?"

Dealing with strict but clear bureaucratic rules, Levitt and Lamba (2011) argue, socializes individuals to develop better organizational skills. However, following the tedious steps of planning is not always an easy task, especially when the cultural setting is not receptive. As Levitt (2001) showed, there has to be similitude between the host country and newly imported structures of values in order for the new values to be assimilated. For instance, Khaled (Jordan, PTSS) recounted, "Timing at the Marshall Center is amazing." However, he also explained that despite his attempt to implement the discipline, "the culture at home is different." Along the same lines, Beni (Albania, PTSS) assessed that everything in Garmisch was "very well organized, like nowhere else." However, he also expressed his belief that "when you go back to your country, you tend to be like your people again."

**5. Challenges in Implementing Change**

Khaled (Jordan, PTSS) and Beni (Albania, PTSS) are not the only Marshall Center alumni reporting failure in their attempts to implement changes in their organizations. Returning to their jobs with increased levels of confidence, energy, and a desire to make a difference in their professional settings (see Chapter 7), a number of

participants in the study reported encountering resistance and opposition from their superiors. Andrei (Romania, PASS), a young officer, related being determined to fight nepotism and corruption in his unit. Upon returning from the Marshall Center, "I wanted to make changes at work." However, according to Andrei, due to his mid-level position, not only was he not successful, but in his words, "people looked at me like I was crazy."

Asked whether he applied his Marshall Center knowledge and experience to the benefit of his organization, Luis (Romania, PASS) told a similar story. With disappointment, he stressed, "My superiors are not interested to use me, and I am saying this with all accountability." Although aware of the lasting benefits of his education, he expressed worries that "knowledge erodes, unfortunately." His inability to use what he learned at the Marshall Center and to "contribute now" to changing his organization is the source of his frustration. Luis recalled:

> For instance, I participated in so many international educational programs, and I want to share with everybody what I learned there. So I proposed at work to allow me to organize working groups that each have different objectives or tasks … and these tasks should be very clearly defined and have a clear deadline. Therefore, these tasks and the deadlines could be easily measured; in the end, these measurements would be the performance of the group. I wanted to get people used to the measuring of their performance. If you don't change anything, then the mentality will not change. I told my bosses: challenge me!… Give me a project to do, and if I don't do it right, then I understand. But, if I do it right, task me with even more projects…. Again, this is not for my own gain, I don't care if my name is on that project or not, they could put the department. I don't care.

Despite many attempts to gain the leadership's support to operate changes at the organizational level, Luis reported being turned down a few times. Nevertheless, a couple of Luis' project proposals that concerned the department's relationship with the community were approved and are running; they are elaborated earlier in the chapter.

**II. Who are the agents of change?**

In the first part of this chapter, I examined the systems of practice employed by participants to remit their values and norms acquired at the Marshall Center into their professional, social, and personal environment. About half of the participants recounted undertaking concrete actions to apply the Marshall Center norms, processes, procedures, and values. I called them the agents of change. The second part of this chapter addresses the questions: What determined half of the respondents to become agents of change? Do respondents who became agents of change also share other characteristics? Does engaging in social or professional networks differently effect the capability of alumni to act as agents of change? Moreover, does the level of interpersonal trust or perception of acquiring various norms, practices, or values influence the likelihood of alumni to be agents of change?

This section employs the findings of previous chapters and uses statistical analysis to determine the relationships between several variables. On the one hand, there are variables, such as network involvement, level of interpersonal trust and perceptions of acquired practices, norms and skills. On the other hand, it is the probability of alumni to become agents of change. As discussed in Chapter 4, these variables resulted from transforming interview data into binary data. For instance, when respondents reported using professional networks, the variable "professional network" was assigned the value

"1." When respondents did not report using these networks, then the value of the variable was "0." The same steps were taken for the other patterns that were transformed into variables. Subsequently, I used logistic regression to test the relationships between the variables mentioned above.

**1. Professional and Social Networks and Agents of Change**

The results of the logistic regression on odds of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of change in their home countries (Table 8.1) show that involvement in professional networks has a positive and significant influence ($p<.01$). The value of Exp. (B) is 5.14. This shows that respondents involved in professional networks are more than 5 times more likely to be agents of change in their home country environment than respondents who are not. In terms of percentage change in odds, being part of professional networks increases the Marshall Center alumni's odds of being agents of change by 414 percent. A significant chi-square for the model informs that including professional networks as a predictor significantly enhances overall the performance of the model.

Table 8.1: Model Estimates of odds ratio for being agents of change (networks)

| | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Constant** | .28<br>(.51)* | .36<br>(.53) | .61<br>(.98)** |
| **Professional Networks** | 5.14<br>(.56)** | 6.55<br>(.63)** | 6.87<br>(.65)** |
| **Social Networks** | | .51<br>(.54) | .54<br>(.56) |
| **Age Group** | | | 1.90<br>(.28)* |
| **Cox-Snell R square** | .10 | .11 | .16 |
| **Chi-square Model** | 9.91 ** | 10.59** | 15.99*** |
| **N** | 90 | 90 | 89 |

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

After controlling for involvement in social networks, the effect of professional networks is even stronger than its uncontrolled effect, which I analyzed above. Taking respondents' involvement in social networks into account, I found that being active in professional networks increases the odds ratio by 6.55 times and boosts the odds of being agents of change by 555 percent.

On the contrary, controlling for professional networks, involvement in social networks shows a negative influence ($p = .22$) on the odds of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of change. Being active in social networks decreases the odds of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of change by 49 percent. Chi-square of the model is still significant, however this is due entirely to the professional networks variable; when social networks predictor was included by itself in the model, the influence was still negative, but not significant.

Finally, I included the variable age in the model. The results of logistic regression on the likelihood of the alumni to be agents of change show that involvement in professional networks has an even stronger effect, after controlling for social networks and age. In this sense, being active in professional networks increases the odds ratio by 6.87 times and boosts the odds of respondents being agents of change by 587 percent, when individuals are in the same age group and share the same involvement in social networks.

The value of Exp. (B) for age, 1.90, being greater than 1, communicates a positive relationship between age and likelihood of being agents of change. Comparing alumni showing the same level of engagement in social and professional networks, the model shows that increasing the age group with one category level will increase the likelihood

of being agents of change by 90 percent. The overall model's chi square, 15.99, shows high significance. This conveys therefore that — including all three predictors in the model — significantly improves the ability to predict the likelihood of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of change.

**2. Trust and Agents of Change**

Findings in Chapter 6 suggested that engagement in professional networks might positively correlate with interpersonal trust. The relationship did not show statistical significance. However, I raised the following question: Does the level of trust influence the likelihood of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of change in their countries?

Table 8.2: Model Estimates of odds ratio for being agents of change (trust)

| | **Model 1** | **Model 2** |
|---|---|---|
| **Constant** | .48<br>(.63) | .03<br>(1.21)*** |
| **Trust** | 1.96<br>(.39)* | 2.16<br>(.43)* |
| **Age** | | 2. 76<br>(.36)*** |
| **Cox-Snell R square** | .04 | .18 |
| **Chi-square Model** | 3.19 | 13.49 |
| **N** | 69 | 68 |

Note: *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01

As shown in Table 8.2, the level of trust has a positive effect on the odds ratio of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of chance, however at a low significance (p.< 0.1). I can therefore conclude with a 92 percent confidence that one unit increase in the level of trust increases the odds of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of change by almost two times. The model's chi-square level of significance is also low, this suggesting that including trust in the logistic regression does not significantly improve the prediction power of the model. Considering age, I found that the predictive ability of

the model improves considerably. This suggests that alumni that are more senior are more likely to be agents of change. In fact, one could argue that it is not the age *per-se*, but the seniority in one's own organizational hierarchy.

**3. Perceptions of Values and Agents of Change**

Next, I examine the relationship between the acquired values, practices, and norms — as they were discussed in Chapter 7 — and the likelihood of the Marshall Center alumni to be agents of change. More specifically, I examine whether respondents who reported (a) acquiring cooperative practices and norms, (b) changes in self-perceptions and (c) professional outlook, and (d) related an increased intercultural competence are more likely to be agents of change in their countries.

Table 8.3: Model Estimates of odds ratio for being agents of change (values)

| | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** | **Model 4** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Constant** | .93<br>(.27) | .75<br>(.23) | .69<br>(.36) | .89<br>(.43) |
| **Cooperative norms** | 1.26<br>(.24) | 1.08<br>(.45) | 1.04<br>(.46) | 1.10<br>(.46) |
| **Self-conceptions** | | 3.42<br>(.54)* | .3.40<br>(.54)* | 3.51<br>(.55)* |
| **Professional outlook** | | | 1.17<br>(.45) | 1.23<br>(.47) |
| **Intercultural competence** | | | | .59<br>(.46) |
| **Cox-Snell R square** | .01 | .06 | .06 | .08 |
| **Chi-square Model** | .31 | 5.91* | 6.03 | 7.61 |
| **N** | 91 | 91 | 91 | 91 |

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

The results of the logistic regression show that respondents who reported changes in their self-conceptions significantly (p<0.05) improved their odds of becoming agents of change in their home countries (Table 3). Therefore, according to the characteristics of

self-conceptions described in Chapters 2 and 7, increase in perceptions of self-efficacy and self-confidence significantly improve alumni's likelihood of being agents of change. After controlling for the other independent variables, I found that reporting increases in self-conceptions increases the odds ratio by 3.51 times and boosts the odds of being agents of change by 251 percent.

Conversely, acquiring more cooperative norms and attitudes, global vision and critical thinking, and improving intercultural awareness and compatibility did not significantly contribute to predicting the status of agents of change. More interestingly, while cooperative values, self-conceptions and professional outlook show an expected though not statistically significant positive effect on odds of alumni being agents of change, the variable intercultural competence has a negative influence. This has to be further examined in follow up research.

**4. An Inclusive Model**

The previous logistic regression models have shown that the three components of social capital — networks, trust, and perceived values — have a positive impact on the likelihood of the Marshall Center alumni to become agents of change. However, not all variables are significant. Therefore, I maintained the significant variables, and built an inclusive logistic model that tests their power to predict whether some alumni become agents of change and others do not.

Table 8.4: Inclusive Model Estimates of odds ratio for being agents of change

| | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Constant** | .28<br>(.51)* | .23<br>(52)** | .03<br>(.99)*** |
| **Professional networks** | 5.14<br>(.56)** | 4.66<br>(.57)** | 5.08<br>(.59)** |
| **Self-conceptions** | | 3.23<br>(.56)* | 3.18<br>(.57)* |
| **Age** | | | 1.99<br>(.28)* |
| **Cox-Snell R square** | .10 | .15 | .20 |
| **Chi-square Model** | 9.91 ** | 14.68*** | 20.03*** |
| **N** | 91 | 91 | 90 |

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

As presented in Table 8.4, involvement in professional networks and acquiring self-conceptions maintain their positive and significant power to predict the alumni's likelihood of being agents of change. More specifically, utilizing professional networks boosts the odds of being agents of change by 408 percent. In other words, alumni who engage in the MC professional networks are five times more likely to be agents of change in their own country[4]. Therefore, they are five times more likely to apply the values, norms, and practices acquired at the MC in their own environment.

The binomial regressions above were further conducted controlling for the country of origin. The goal was to test whether the large presence of Romanians in the sample skewed the previous findings. In this sense, country of origin was coded "1" for Romanian participants and "0" for non-Romanian respondents in the sample. The new regression model showed no significant effects of the variable "Romania" on the probability of alumni to be agents of change.

[4]Given the fact that the field of security is male dominated, I controlled the binomial regression for gender. This showed no significant impact on probability of alumni to be agents of change.

## Discussion

This chapter developed a two-fold analysis. On the one hand, it examined the consequences of social capital formation. In this sense, it assessed the mechanisms of social capital remittance and diffusion to the social, professional, and personal environment of respondents, and investigated the normative structures carried by these mechanisms. On the other hand, it looked at factors that influenced alumni to become carriers of norms and values, hence agents of change. Specifically, the analysis examined the extent to which involvement in professional networks, level of interpersonal trust, and acquiring personal values impact on the probability of the Marshall Center alumni to become agents of change.

Based on their Marshall Center experience, about half of the interview participants employed various systems of practice (Levitt, 2001) in an attempt to bring change into their own settings. This had two major consequences; first, at a national level, respondents challenged long-standing patterns of social interaction and potentially created new norms. Second, at the global level, they contributed to emerging shared transnational standards; this occurred because, although the systems of practice varied based on the setting in which they were implemented, they were instrumental in transferring common the Marshall Center norms, procedures, and principles.

For instance, respondents involved in implementing new strategies and policies at the national level contributed to changing states' security norms and standards. They became based on common Marshall Center democratic concepts and philosophy of defense strategy. Therefore, the national identity and security interests of more countries were defined based on common transnational norms. Moreover, a good number of alumni

in this sample implemented new practices and forms of political action in their countries, originating their actions in their common the Marshall Center set of norms and principles.

For this reason, participants contributed shaping — within the broader and more general context of cultural change — new patterns and styles of political action aligned with those of liberal democracy. All these accounts suggest that utilizing the social capital of the Marshall Center alumni might have influenced the building of new alliances as well as the level of collaboration and cooperation among emerging democratic states.

Similarly, alumni implemented trainings and established new security organizations and practices (leadership and communication) stemming from the Marshall Center principles. Consequently, new norms, such as coordination across agencies and borders challenged the old ones and became common transnational standards. This attempts to improve the operational communication among national and international agencies, as well as multinational cooperation.

Alumni also reported that they sought to implement projects in their home country civil society. Some have established NGOs and others involved the community they served into their programs. Employing non-governmental practices and community projects had the purpose to contribute to education of civil society on its rights and empowerment.

Interview data revealed that alumni do not apply right away what they have learned at the Marshall Center, unless they have a high level position in their security organization. This is not because they do attempt to do so, but mostly because their superiors do not allow them. Sometimes they report that many years passed until they had the opportunity to implement various changes.

Finally, the present analysis shows that the agents of change, who take further their social capital forged at the Marshall Center, share important characteristics. They involve themselves in professional networks, exhibit an increased level of interpersonal trust, and report acquiring personal values while at the Marshall Center. This finding is critical for delineating future strategies of the Marshall Center, for it identifies the importance of alumni to remain engaged in the Marshall Center activities upon their graduation. In this sense, Alumni Associations and the Alumni Office at the Marshall Center have an important and shared responsibility in maintaining an active network.

# CHAPTER 9

# CONCLUSIONS

## *Marshall Center means more than networks*

The nature of threats in the new global security environment ranges from nuclear challenges to internal and regional stability to terrorism and cyber-crime. This requires new concepts and strategies of addressing these challenges. Old administrative hierarchy approaches are not appropriate anymore, because they do not contain the flexibility of the threats that they need to counter. The success of multinational security strategies and operations addressing the current complex challenges relies increasingly on building social capital stemming from networks of cross-agency and international security cooperation based on shared values, norms, and trust.

This project set out to determine whether, how and to what extent international security policy education and shared experiences builds social capital in the global security context. The study was conducted at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. A unique German-American partnership, the Center's mission is to create a more stable security environment by advancing democratic institutions and relationships, promoting active and peaceful security cooperation, and enhancing enduring partnerships among the nations of North America, Europe, and Eurasia. (Marshall Center website). Since its inception, the

Marshall Center has provided international security policy education to civilian and military security professionals from almost 140 countries.

This chapter will review the main findings of this research, discuss their implications, and provide recommendations for the future development of the Marshall Center, its programs and international security policy education more broadly. Lastly, it identifies several opportunities for future research.

## I. Findings

The main finding of this dissertation contends that the Marshall Center overall experience contributes to building social capital in the global security context. The Marshall Center programs facilitate forging social and professional networks, fostering trust, and promoting shared norms, values, and procedures among its participants. Moreover, the social capital developed at the MC bridges and enables the transference of values and norms between the Marshall Center and the participants' own personal and professional settings. Consequently, some alumni become active agents of change in their own home country environments.

Chapter 5 finds that evolving patterns of interactions among MC participants and alumni lead to the formation of social and professional networks as social structures. Engendering shared norms such as reciprocity, these social structures are charged with utility and become a resource investment for the Marshall Center alumni. One of the most important findings shows that the utility of the MC networks and the alumni's social capital increase with time. This occurs not only due to enlargement of networks but mostly because of the raise in rank, level position, and power of decision making of the MC alumni. The Marshall Center network consequently emerges into an "epistemic

security community" in Grewal's (2008) terms. Defined as a network of professionals having common norms and procedures, the epistemic security community possesses network power. This power is reflected into the ability to influence national decision-making, international cooperation, and globalization processes in the field of security.

Chapter 6 identifies that the Marshall Center shared experiences, involvement in sports, sufficient time to interact with colleagues, and rigorous selections of participants are contributing factors to establishing relationships based on trust. Furthermore, viewing trust from an interactionist perspective contributes to understanding the process of interpersonal trust spilling over into generalized trust. Findings show that the MC graduates trust not only their classmates but also other non-specific GCMC alumni (whom they have never personally met) and its affiliates. This finding has special relevance in the multinational security context, where cooperation and sharing information predicate the success of security operations. Trust is essential in networks that have no organizational authority, for trust is the only resource that allows members to cooperate effectively.

Chapter 7 shows that first, the Marshall Center alumni report perceptions of increased awareness of and adherence to shared democratic values and norms. They are tolerance, ability to listen and to debunk biases and stereotypes, appreciation for interest-based type of negotiation and for giving back. Second, developing common perceived self-conceptions and professional outlook contributes to building shared understandings, knowledge, and a global vision of security issues. Third, this research finds that the Marshall Center overall experience contributes to perceptions of increased intercultural competence of international participants. By extension, it also facilitates communication,

cooperation, and collective action for mutual benefits, hence development of social capital in the international environment of security.

Time appears as a recurrent theme in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Time is reported as a conditional factor for fostering trust and social networks, and for the degree of acquiring new values and norms. Graduates report that without a full immersion for a "long time" (in their words) in the MC environment, their attitudes would have not changed. Although this study cannot answer the question of how much time is sufficient for fostering trust and friendships and acquiring norms and values, it indicates that time is a necessity not only to overcome stereotypes, but also to overcome the need to express official views and subsequently to engage in discussions and explore alternatives. Without such time participants may return to their home countries with unconsolidated views of democratic processes and without potential solutions that might influence their organizational culture.

Chapter 8 found first, that alumni reported carrying, adjusting, and implementing the MC norms, procedures, and principles into their own professional, social, and personal settings. This has major security consequences at the local, national, and global levels. At the local and national levels, the MC alumni attempted to challenge long-standing patterns of social interaction and potentially create new norms in the security area. Because these new norms typically reflect the common core values from the MC they contributed to emerging shared transnational standards at the global level.

For instance, implementing new strategies and policies at the national level contributed to changing states' security norms and standards. They became based on common Marshall Center democratic concepts and philosophy of defense strategy.

Therefore, the national identity and security interests of more countries were defined based on common transnational norms. Similarly, alumni implemented trainings and established new security organizations and practices (leadership and communication) stemming from the Marshall Center principles. Consequently, new norms, such as coordination across agencies and borders challenged the old ones and became common transnational standards. This attempts to improve the operational communication among national and international agencies, as well as multinational cooperation.

Thus, the MC alumni sought to contribute to shaping — within the broader and more general context of cultural change — new patterns and styles of political and civic action aligned with those of liberal democracy. Interview accounts suggest that utilizing their social capital, the Marshall Center alumni built new alliances and increased the level of collaboration and cooperation across agencies, between established democratic countries and emerging democracies, but also among emerging democracies.

Second, using quantitative methods, this chapter identified the attributes that influence alumni to become agents of change in their countries. Analysis found that alumni who are involved in professional networks are five times more likely to become agents of change. Moreover, alumni who reported acquiring self-conceptions during their programs in Garmisch are three times more like to apply their MC experience in their own countries.

## II. Theory

This study proposes a definition of social capital for the context of global security. This definition builds on Putnam's (1995) view of social capital and encompasses (a) both social and professional networks, (b) mutual trust as well as (c) shared experience,

norms, and values that facilitate security professionals' cooperation for future mutual benefits. This project draws from theories on networks and sharing of information, interpersonal trust, and transference of values and norms (Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 2000; Grewal, 2008; McAllister, 1985; Kramer, 1999; Chua et al., 2008; Deardorff, 2006; Levitt & Lamba, 2011). However, these theories cannot explain all findings of this dissertation.

First, the analysis identifies that the MC alumni report helping one another unconditionally. Although research on category-based trust suggests that the Marshall Center alumni exhibit trust in non-specific GCMC alumni (whom they have not met personally, but who are part of network), it does not make explicit reference to unconditional help. This finding indicates that the MC professional networks can develop characteristics similar to those of communal (Mills & Clark, 1982) or even primary groups. This is particularly important for the context of global security, because it facilitates and expedites the process of exchanging information, for no expectation of returned favor exists. This can make the difference between a successful cooperative operation and catastrophic incoordination.

Second, as mentioned above, this research suggests that the stock of social capital established at the Marshall Center increases in value with time. This does not refer to the effects of enlarging one's network, but at their contacts' future enhanced standing in the organizational hierarchy. This is consistent with Lin's (2001) theory. However, this research finding regards the predictability of increasing social capital. One may know that the Captain they met at the MC today will be a Colonel tomorrow. This occurs because alumni are previously selected by their home country organizations based

exactly on their potential to be promoted. This may become important in selecting one's new connections.

Likewise, the study finds that senior level alumni make more use of their MC ties and social capital than their younger counterparts do. Therefore, social capital becomes more important with the promotion of one's contacts (as described above), but also with one's own promotion. The fact that GCMC alumni make use of their alumni network years after they have graduated combined with the fact that they are now making important decisions shows the long-term utility of the MC socialization and network. From here, it can be argued that the MC needs to focus on those attributes that professionals will utilize in the long run and not only on "flavor of the day" threats. Especially since alumni seem to value and trust other non-specific alumni, an indicator that what the MC stands for is more important than the specific skills conveyed during a short training.

Third, the analysis suggests that alumni who have attended other international courses prior to the Marshall Center programs show more involvement in and usage of professional relationships. Although the statistical difference is not significant, this finding may be of importance for building social capital in an international environment. It indicates that international exposure contributes to professionals' increased awareness of the unique opportunity to build new professional ties while attending international courses. They consequently focus more on fostering and using professional ties than their colleagues who do not have previous international experience.

Fourth, the research finds that building intercultural competence is a critical component for the development of social capital in the context of global security. Using

Deardorff's (2006) theoretical model of intercultural competence, the study reveals that international experience at the Marshall Center increased the perceived intercultural competence of its alumni. Findings show that attitudinal and behavioral adjustments *vis-a-vis* other cultures contribute to building common understandings and knowledge in the realm of international security. This in turn facilitates cooperation and enables the enhancement of social capital in multinational contexts.

Fifth, and in close relation with previous findings, this research suggests that the formation of social capital in the global security context may lead to the development of what Deutsch (1957) called pluralistic security community. This is explained by the fact that countries participating in the MC programs work on developing compatibility of core security values. They also communicate constantly in order to develop shared understandings and transnational values. Compatibility of values and mutual trust contribute to forming shared collective identities (Adler and Barnett 1998).

Sixth, to assess the impact of the MC overall experience on personal, social, and professional environments of the alumni, this dissertation used two complementary theories. Fukuyama (2001) indicated that education is probably the area with one of the greatest direct abilities to generate social capital because of its power to build shared norms and rules. Once acquired, Levitt (2001) argued that these norms and practices are transmitted to the original settings of individuals through specific channels. While she considers that social capital is remitted with the social remittances, this study asserts that social capital represents the support (networks and trust) that enables the circulation of social norms and practices.

Lastly, this research found that international security policy education at the Marshall Center enables alumni to become aware and adhere to new democratic norms, values, and practices. This suggests that the MC international participants experience a type of second socialization, and the MC becomes a reference group for the international security professionals who attended the MC programs. Analysis also found that there is a remittance and application of democratic norms and practices from the MC to the home countries of alumni. This contributes to a better alignment of national and international norms not only in the field of security, but also in other areas such as civil society.

## III. Limitations

One of the main limitations of this research originates in the type of sample. First, participants were selected from alumni who were invited by the MC to attend various activities in 2012. This means that these participants already showed a higher commitment and involvement with the Marshall Center network and activities. Second, the sample was self-selected, implying that only alumni who had strong opinions about the GCMC experiences might have contributed to the study. However, both purposive and self-selected samples are important advantages in qualitative research (Byram, 2012), because they lead to collection of sufficient depth of data that allow a meaningful analysis. The third sampling limitation is related to the Romanian participants. The Romanian Marshall Alumni Association is the largest, but also the most active Marshall Association founded in participant countries. However, controlling for the overrepresentation of Romanians in the sample, the quantitative analysis showed no significant change. Although respondents are not representative of the MC alumni population, they do provide critical information for understanding the nature of personal,

social, and professional experiences that leads to the formation of social capital in the global security context.

The retrospective character of this research causes another limitation. Participants were asked to recall their experiences and perceptions as they experienced them months and sometimes years prior to the interview. Therefore, the recall bias can threaten the validity of research. To mitigate this limitation, a large number of interviews with representatives of various countries have been conducted to look for similarities of patterns and themes in the reports of respondents.

Conducting the interviews not in the native language of participants also represented a limitation of this study. Most of the interviews were conducted in English. However, the large majority of respondents were not English native speakers. Therefore, nuances and detailed description (Gareis et al., 2003) of events and perceptions might have been missed due to language constraints.

Lastly, another limitation refers to inability of this research to test the extent to which the MC experience build shared values and norms. As mentioned in Chapter 7, this research did not attempt to evaluate the efficiency of the Marshall Center in transferring values, but to analyze respondents' perceptions on acquiring and building new and shared values. These research findings identify that mostly alumni from younger democracies (for instance, Eastern and Central Europe, Central Asia) report acquiring new democratic values and practices. The same respondents attempted to implement change in their own environment. Therefore, did the MC enable emerging shared values, norms, and practices or just the transfer of democratic values from old to young democracies? Due to the nature and size of the sample and its qualitative approach, this study could not determine

the extent to which the circulation of values occurs because of transference or emergence of values. Further investigation is necessary to examine this issue in more detail.

## IV. Recommendations

One of the most surprising findings of this research is the effect of the Marshall Center experience on the values and norms system of respondents. As discussed above, alumni report adhering to, acquiring, and carrying new norms and values to their home country settings. Several respondents even reported being "different persons" upon graduating from the Marshall Center. They attribute this change to the shift in their matrix of thinking and understanding the world. Some become agents of change and force multipliers of the Marshall Center values and norms (new philosophies of security strategy, new norms and practices of political and security actions, new institutions, and organizations aligned with principles of liberal democracy).

As described above, alumni who are involved in professional networks are five times more likely to become agents of change. Moreover, alumni who report acquiring self-conceptions during the MC programs are three times more like to be agents of change. For this reason, agents of change may be of high interest for the MC. However, these findings need to be tested with a survey administered on a large sample of alumni (See Future research). Should the findings be confirmed, the Marshall Center should attempt to identify and intensify relationships with the potential agents of change. As the Marshall Center cannot influence too much of the process of the selection of its international participants, it needs to focus on identifying them upon their arrival in Garmisch.

To achieve an initial evaluation of participants' potential to become agents of change, a set of questions related to professional networks and self-conceptions may be included in the surveys that are administered to all international participants at the beginning and toward the end of the Marshall Center courses. Additionally, instructors' recommendations are also valuable, as long as they are based on the same indicators. Moreover, the process of screening and identifying potential agents of change should continue even beyond graduation, when they become alumni. Analysis found that alumni who are active in the Alumni Association of their country and have senior level positions have higher chances to be agents of change. Their role in further imparting the MC values is critical.

Findings also show that the length of course may enhance the degree of trust attributed to relationships established in Garmisch. As the level of trust influences positively the probability of alumni to become agents of change, it may be argued that the length of course may also positively affect the probability of alumni to become agents of change in their countries. If this relationship is confirmed by quantitative analysis of a large survey, this may mean that recent decisions to shorten long courses may undermine the possibility of the MC to develop its graduates as agents of change. If the goals of the Marshall Center courses are centered on the transmission of values and norms, more research is necessary to determine the impact of shortening courses on the likelihood of participants to become agents of change.

Another recommendation results from the finding that alumni do not apply right away their learned experience in their home country environments. For this reason, it would be useful to survey the MC alumni at not only the end of the program and a year

after but also a few years from their graduation. This would enable a better understanding of the types of values that the MC alumni draw from their MC experience. It would facilitate gaining insight about how and when during their professional career they apply these values and norms, and finally, the extent, to which they become agents of change in their home countries

## V. Future Research

A follow-up project will provide statistical analysis on the extent to which the Marshall Center experience builds social capital. This approach attempts to include the entire GCMC alumni network consisting of approximately 10,000 officials from more than 140 countries. This research will provide a quantitative view of the network formation and fostering of trust among the MC alumni, and will examine whether the MC experience is a facilitator of transferring democratic values or emergence of new and shared values and norms.

It will also assess the extent to which the patterns resulted from this dissertation are found in the large population of the GCMC alumni. Additionally, it will analyze the level of interpersonal trust, adherence to shared values, and extent to which the MC experience was applied in the original settings based on the following: the length/type of course, year of graduation, country of origin, job-level position, organization, and educational level.

Subsequent research will aim to compare the influence of international security policy education on two types of populations: (a) international participants attending programs of regional centers, where the national representation is balanced, and (b) international participants attending courses in American military institutions, where the

large majority of participants are American. What is the effect of unbalanced international representation on international participants?

Finally, another study will examine the impact of international security policy education on the level of intercultural competence of its participants. In this sense, a quantitative research will use the Intercultural Developmental Instrument to compare the levels of intercultural competence of security professionals who attended a form of ISPE with those who did not.

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APPENDIX A

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT THAT ESTABLISHED THE MARSHALL CENTER

Department of Defense

# DIRECTIVE

**NUMBER** 5200.34
November 25, 1992

USD(P)

SUBJECT: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies

References: (a) Title 10, United States Code
(b) DoD Directive 5010.16, "Defense Management Education and Training Program," July 28, 1972
(c) Unified Command Plan
(d) DoD Directive 5100.3, "Support of the Headquarters of Unified, Specified, and Subordinate Joint Commands," November 1, 1988
(e) through (h), see enclosure 1

## 1. PURPOSE

Pursuant to the authority vested in the Secretary of Defense under Chapter 6, Title 10 (reference (a)), this Directive establishes the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (hereafter referred to as "the Marshall Center"), with mission, organization and management, responsibilities, functions, relationships, and administration as prescribed herein.

## 2. APPLICABILITY

This Directive applies to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Military Departments, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Joint Staff, the Unified and Specified Combatant Commands, the Inspector General of the Department of Defense, the Defense Agencies, and the DoD Field Activities (hereafter referred to collectively as "the DoD Components").

3. MISSION

The mission of the Marshall Center shall be to foster understanding of and appropriate cooperation on defense matters in the context of political democracy, human rights and freedoms, and free enterprise economy and, to that end, the Marshall Center shall:

3.1. Serve as a forum for defense contacts.

3.2. Provide defense education to civilian and military personnel of the United States and, to the extent permitted by law, of European nations and the new independent states on the territory of the former Soviet Union, in accordance with DoD Directive 5010.16 (reference (b)).

3.3. Conduct research on security issues affecting the United States, European nations, or the new independent states on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

3.4. Conduct conferences, seminars, and other information exchange activities with civilian and military personnel of the United States and, to the extent permitted by law, of European nations and the new independent states on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

3.5. Conduct foreign area officer and language training in accordance with the requirements of the Military Departments.

3.6. Support North Atlantic Treaty Organization activities involving personnel of European nations and the new independent states on the territory of the former Soviet Union, to the extent permitted by law.

4. ORGANIZATION

4.1. The Marshall Center is hereby established as an element of the United States European Command.

4.2. The Commander-in-Chief, U.S. European Command (USCINCEUR), with the concurrence of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (USD(P)), shall appoint a Director of the Marshall Center, who shall report to the USCINCEUR.

4.3. The Marshall Center shall, with the permission of the Government of Germany, be located in Germany.

4.4. The Marshall Center shall be authorized such personnel, facilities, funds, and other resources as the Secretary of Defense deems appropriate.

5. RESPONSIBILITIES AND FUNCTIONS

5.1. The Commander-in-Chief, United States European Command, shall:

5.1.1. Exercise authority, direction, and control over the Director of the Marshall Center;

5.1.2. Ensure that the Marshall Center's activities are consistent with policy guidance issued by the USD(P) under section 5.2., and with the mission assigned to the USCINCEUR under the Unified Command Plan (reference (c)); and

5.1.3. Ensure that the Marshall Center meets the foreign area officer and language training requirements of the Military Departments.

5.2. The Under Secretary of Defense for Policy shall:

5.2.1. Issue policy guidance relating to the Marshall Center's activities involving foreign powers;

5.2.2. Accomplish necessary departmental and interagency coordination for matters concerning this Directive.

5.3. The Secretary of the Army is responsible for the administrative support of the Marshall Center in accordance with DoD Directive 5100.3 (reference (d)). In the exercise of this responsibility, the Secretary of the Army shall:

5.3.1. Provide and maintain facilities for operating the Marshall Center;

5.3.2. Provide administrative, logistical, medical, programming, and budget support to the Marshall Center; and

5.3.3. Include the annual budget of the Marshall Center, as developed in consultation with the USD(P), as a separate line item in the Department of the Army budget and financial plan. The Marshall Center program and budget shall include all Marshall Center civilian manpower and operations cost requirements, except as provided for by DoD Directive 5010.16 (reference (b)), DoD Directive 4000.19 (reference (e)), DoD Instruction 7230.7 (reference (f)), DoD 5105.38-M (reference (g)), and DoD Instruction 7290.3 (reference (h)).

5.4. The Heads of the DoD Components shall nominate personnel for assignment to staff the Marshall Center and to attend the Marshall Center in non-staff capacities. The USCINCEUR shall approve personnel for assignment to staff the Marshall Center and to attend in non-staff capacities, after coordination with the USD(P).

5.5. The Director of the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, shall:

5.5.1. Exercise authority, direction, and control over the Marshall Center and all assigned resources in accordance with this Directive; and

5.5.2. Submit Marshall Center program and budget requirements as directed by the USCINCEUR in accordance with applicable DoD Directives.

## 6. RELATIONSHIPS

6.1. In the performance of assigned missions and exercise of authority granted by this Directive, the Director of the Marshall Center shall use established facilities and services of the Department of Defense and other Federal Agencies, whenever practicable, to avoid duplication, achieve efficiency, and accomplish missions effectively.

6.2. The Heads of the DoD Components shall coordinate with the USD(P) and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on matters relating to the mission and activities of the Marshall Center.

## 7. IMPLEMENTATION AND EFFECTIVE DATE

7.1. The Under Secretary of Defense for Policy may issue instructions to carry out the USD(P)'s functions under paragraph 5.2. Instructions to the Military Departments shall be issued through the Secretaries of the Military Departments. Instructions to the Commanders in Chief of the Unified and Specified Combatant Commands shall be communicated through the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

7.2. This Directive is effective immediately.

RICHARD B. CHENEY
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Enclosures - 1
E1. References, continued

E1. ENCLOSURE 1

REFERENCES, continued

(e) DoD Directive 4000.19, "Interservice, Interdepartmental, and Interagency Support," April 15, 1992
(f) DoD Instruction 7230.7, "User Charges," January 25, 1985
(g) DoD 5105.38-M, "Security Assistance Management Manual," October 1, 1988
(h) DoD Instruction 7290.3, "Foreign Military Sales Finance and Accounting," May 8, 1991

APPENDIX B

EARLY REPORT ON THE MARSHALL CENTER

# The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies


The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, located in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, is dedicated to stabilizing and strengthening post-Cold War Europe. Founded June 5, 1993, by the United States Department of Defense with German government support, it helps the aspiring democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the new Republics of the former Soviet Union to develop national security organizations based on democratic principles. To this end, the Center instructs senior defense officials in international and national security affairs, conducts research and holds conferences on the region's security issues, and offers regional studies programs and language training courses for United States military personnel.

The Marshall Center has three academic divisions: the College of Strategic Studies and Defense Economics, the Research and Conference Center, and the Institute for Eurasian Studies.

## The College of Strategic Studies and Defense Economics:

Twice a year, the College presents a five-month core course to eighty high level military officers and civilian officials from the countries of the former Warsaw Pact and the new republics of the former Soviet Union. Taught in English, German, and Russian, the course has two parts. First, the Department of Democratic Defense Management examines the ways in which democracy affects defense

planning and organization. Then, the Department of Eurasian Security Studies analyses the region's contemporary strategic problems in their post-Second World War historical context.

Those eligible to attend the College include military officers at the rank of Lieutenant Colonel or above, civilian officials of comparable grade, parliamentarians, and administrators at military colleges or academies. All students have dormitory-style rooms on Marshall Center premises, and meals are provided.

## The Research and Conference Center:

The Research and Conference Center conducts and sponsors research on security issues affecting western Europe and the countries of the former Warsaw Pact and former Soviet Union. It also provides a forum for conferences on those issues, focusing particularly on ways to promote democracy and a market economy, and to strengthen ties within the regional community of democratic nations.

The Partnership Support Program provides custom-designed short courses at the request of Partnership for Peace members. The Research and Conference Center runs the courses, drawing on the academic expertise and supporting resources of Marshall Center faculty and staff, supplemented as required by external specialists.

## The Institute for Eurasian Studies:

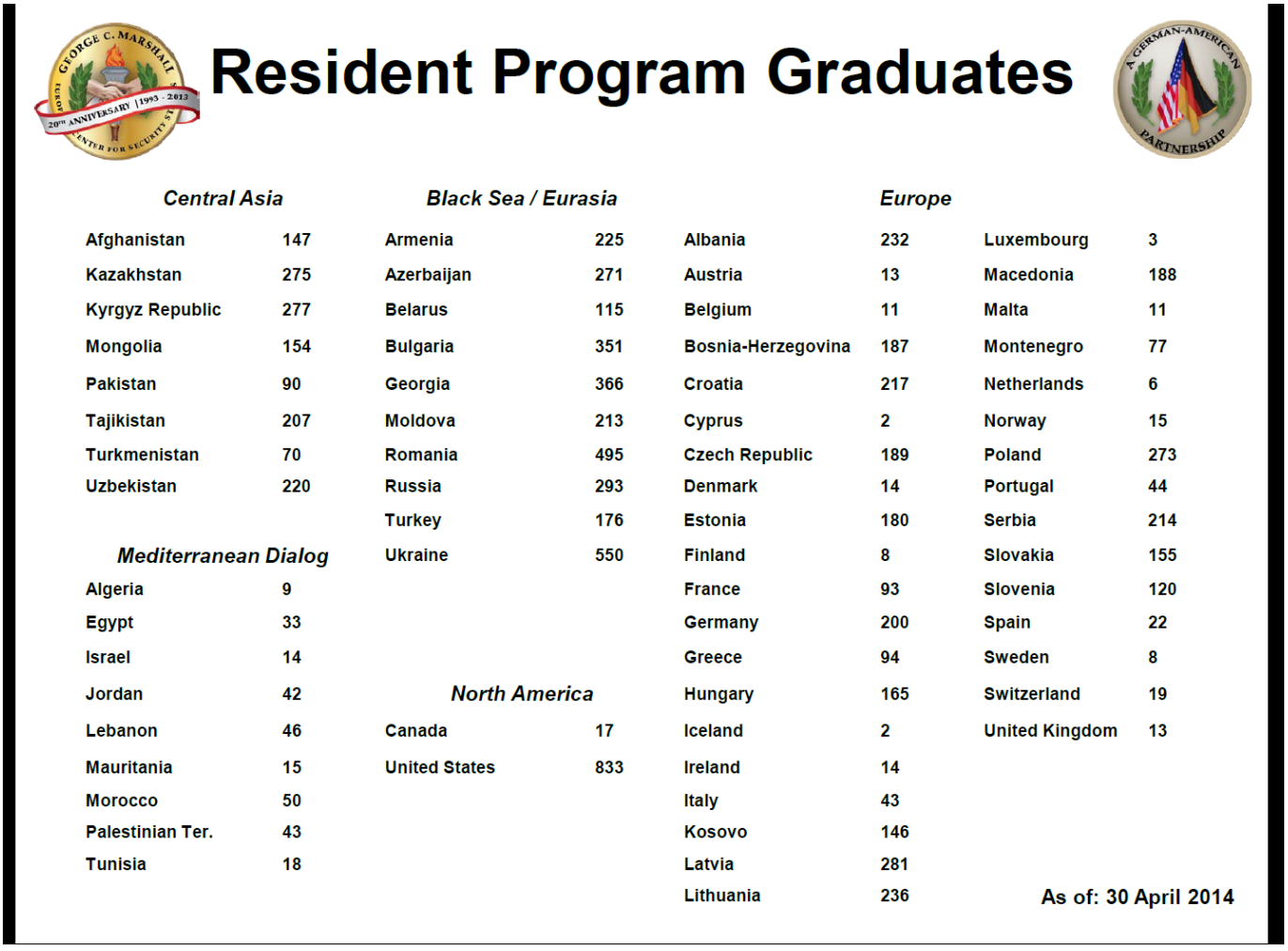
The Institute for Eurasian Studies evolved from the former United States Army Russian Institute, founded in 1947. The academic program has four divisions. The first, the Foreign Area Officer training program for the region of the Commonwealth of Independent States, has a redesigned curriculum to reflect the altered international security environment. The second, the Foreign Language Training Center Europe, provides short language refresher courses for United States European Command personnel in Russian, Polish, Czech, German, French, Arabic, and Serbo-Croatian. Approximately 500 students participate annually. The third division provides English language training for students in the College of Strategic Studies and Defense Economics. Fourth, the Institute provides specialized language training related to arms control and peacekeeping. This program serves the United States' On-Site Inspection Agency, elements of the European Command, and member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

**The Marshall Center is founded** on three assumptions: (1) that even peaceful, democratic governments require an effective national defense; (2) that regional stability will be enhanced when legitimate defense requirements are planned and organized within the framework of democratic governance; and (3) that a network of compatible democratic security structures will enhance the continent's prospects for harmony and stability. By providing defense education for senior policy makers from Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and by sponsoring activities that promote defense cooperation, the Center aims to help lay the groundwork for closer military ties and greater openness between the armed forces of NATO and its Cooperation Partners.

*ECMC-PA 10-18-95*

APPENDIX C

RESIDENT PROGRAM GRADUATES PER COUNTRY



# Resident Program Graduates

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 7 | Ethiopia | 2 | Mali | 13 | South Korea | 7 |
| Australia | 24 | Gabon | 5 | Mauritius | 5 | South Sudan | 1 |
| Bahamas | 9 | Gambia | 2 | Mexico | 20 | Sri Lanka | 14 |
| Bahrain | 1 | Ghana | 17 | Mozambique | 1 | Sudan | 1 |
| Bangladesh | 20 | Guatemala | 7 | Namibia | 1 | Surinam | 1 |
| Belize | 10 | Guinea-Bissau | 1 | Nepal | 8 | Swaziland | 9 |
| Benin | 4 | Guyana | 1 | New Zealand | 1 | Tanzania | 26 |
| Botswana | 11 | Honduras | 2 | Niger | 2 | Thailand | 19 |
| Brazil | 13 | India | 30 | Nigeria | 45 | Togo | 3 |
| Burkina Faso | 8 | Indonesia | 25 | Oman | 5 | Trinidad/Tobago | 6 |
| Burundi | 20 | Iraq | 34 | Panama | 7 | Uganda | 36 |
| Cambodia | 14 | Jamaica | 1 | Paraguay | 7 | U. Arab Emirates | 1 |
| Cameroon | 20 | Kenya | 25 | Peru | 19 | Uruguay | 16 |
| Cape Verde | 1 | Kuwait | 1 | Philippines | 23 | Vietnam | 1 |
| Chile | 5 | Lesotho | 9 | Rwanda | 7 | Yemen | 7 |
| China | 1 | Liberia | 6 | Sao Tome/Principe | 2 | Zambia | 3 |
| Colombia | 33 | Libya | 6 | Saudi Arabia | 26 | | |
| Congo (Kinshasa) | 5 | Madagascar | 1 | Senegal | 18 | | |
| Djibouti | 8 | Malawi | 2 | Seychelles | 4 | | |
| Dominican Rep. | 3 | Malaysia | 8 | Sierra Leone | 2 | | |
| El Salvador | 4 | Maldives | 9 | South Africa | 28 | | |

**Total Alumni: 10,036**

As of: 30 April 2014

# APPENDIX D

## CONSENT FORM

Contact information: Eliza Markley, emarkley@kennesaw.edu, Kennesaw State University

The following points have been explained to me:

1. The purpose of this study is to evaluate how your Marshall Center (MC) experience influenced perceptions and formation of trust and social networks among MC students.
2. You will be asked several demographic questions (age, rank, region of origin etc.), as well as personal opinion questions regarding your experience at the MC. All questions should be easy to answer and require no special knowledge or preparation. The interview is expected to last about 45 minutes and will be recorded.
3. Participation entails no known risks. However, if you feel uncomfortable at any point during the interview, you can stop your participation in the study or refuse to answer particular questions.
4. Your active participation in this study is completely voluntary, and will be critical to the success of this research project. Your honest responses will be instrumental in making adjustments and improvements to the MC experience for both international and American students.
5. The results of this participation will be **confidential** (instead of your names, pseudonyms will be used), and will not be released in any individually identifiable form. Names are kept separate from the research at all times, and data are maintained in a locked file.

*Please note that the MC has approved this study, and will use the information obtained in the future development of its International Fellows program.*
The results of this research will be made available to you upon completion of the project.
Please note you must be **18+** years of age to participate in this study.

The purpose of this research has been explained, and my participation is entirely voluntary. I have the right to stop participation at any time without penalty. I understand that the research entails no known risks and that my responses are not being recorded in any individually identifiable form. By completing this interview, I am agreeing to participate in this research project.

_____
Signature of Investigator, Date

_____
Signature of Participant, Date

_____
Please initial here, if you agree to be digitally recorded

**PLEASE SIGN BOTH COPIES, KEEP ONE AND RETURN THE OTHER TO THE INVESTIGATOR**

For questions about the survey or the research project in general, please contact Dr. Volker Franke, vfranke@kennesaw.edu or 770.423.6127.

Research at Kennesaw State University that involves human participants is carried out under the oversight of an Institutional Review Board. Questions or problems regarding these activities should be addressed to the Institutional Review Board, Kennesaw State University, 1000 Chastain Road, #0112, Kennesaw, GA 30144-5591, (678) 797-2268.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Demographic questions

When did you graduate MC?
Have you attended other international courses before MC?
Age
Gender
Military? If yes, Rank.

What do you think you took from the MC experience? What were the consequences of the MC experience for you?

Networks

1. Did you make friends at the Marshall Center?
2. Were these friends mostly from your seminar/ country/ region/ or other countries in the world? Why?
3. How did you make friends while in Garmisch? Was it easy to make friends at MC? Why?
4. Do you think you established lasting friendships? Why/why not?
5. Have you kept in touch with your GCMC friends since you graduated? Why or why not? For how long?"
6. Did you establish professional relations while at the Marshall Center? How about after you graduated? Do you have working relations with other GCMC alumni?
7. Have you ever used your relations with other Marshall Center alumni to solve a task/ complete a project?
8. Have you ever collaborated with former colleagues/instructors/other contacts from the Marshall Center? Can you elaborate? Please give me examples.
9. Were these collaborators mostly from your country/ region/ or other countries? Please give me examples.

Values/Norms

1. Do you feel that the MC changed you in any way? How? Which experience had a stronger impact? Why?
2. What did you get from the MC experience? What was the impact of the MC on your life/work? What do you think you brought home/ in your family/friends/ work?
3. Have the MC affected positively or negatively your development/reputation? Why?
4. What did you like the most/least about the MC experience?

International competence

1. How many countries were represented in your seminar/ program? How did you feel about having so many international colleagues?

2. How did you relate with them at the beginning of the course and then at the end? Any difference? In what ways? What helped/ hindered your relations with participants from other cultures?
3. ADDED LATER: Have you had representatives of conflict countries in your seminar? Have you noticed differences in terms of their relation at the beginning and at the end of course? What did you like the most/least about the MC experience?
4. Do you believe that by being exposed to the cultures and conflicts through the lenses of people who lived the conflict, you received a different perspective and understanding about the conflict?
5. Do you believe that by being exposed to so many cultures you have gotten a different perspective on conflicts in general?

Trust

1. Do you think that you built relations with other Marshall Center colleagues/instructors based on trust while at MC and after? Why or why not?
2. If you contact one of your former classmates at the GCMC and ask for help (that does not involve illegal or secret information, do you believe he/she would help you?
3. What did you get from MC experience? What was the impact of MC on your life/work? What values do you think you brought home/ in your family/friends/ work?
4. Have MC affected positively or negatively your development/reputation? Why?

What did you like the most/least about the MC experience?

APPENDIX E

CODED NODES IN NVIVO (SELECTION)

| Nr. | Nodes and Child Nodes | Sources | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Networks | 79 | 380 |
| | Professional | 70 | 180 |
| | Domestic | 49 | 80 |
| | International | 44 | 82 |
| | Regional | 6 | 6 |
| | Social | 61 | 100 |
| | Domestic | 14 | 14 |
| | International | 45 | 68 |
| | Regional | 10 | 10 |
| | Trust | 72 | 139 |
| | Category | 10 | 12 |
| | Interpersonal | 69 | 113 |
| | Sense of belonging | 6 | 7 |
| | Values | 87 | 795 |
| | Agents change | 46 | 95 |
| | Civil society | 5 | 6 |
| | Institutions and policies | 31 | 49 |
| | Political culture | 8 | 14 |
| | Teaching philosophy | 12 | 15 |
| | Conflict countries | 22 | 29 |
| | Democratic and social values | 22 | 38 |
| | Impact | 76 | 205 |
| | Best experience | 21 | 27 |
| | Career cornerstone | 24 | 43 |
| | Different person | 35 | 40 |
| | Intercultural competence | 56 | 102 |
| | Personal values | 52 | 140 |
| | Dialogue culture | 18 | 22 |
| | Free to express | 11 | 12 |
| | Giving Back | 7 | 13 |
| | Self-confidence | 6 | 11 |
| | Self-efficacy and spirit | 11 | 15 |
| | Tolerance | 31 | 39 |
| | Skills | 67 | 184 |
| | Communication | 8 | 11 |
| | Critical think | 39 | 56 |
| | Global vision | 38 | 63 |
| | Professional | 38 | 49 |

# APPENDIX F

## INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

8/30/2012

Volker Franke, Ph.D.
Eliza Markley, Ph.D. Student
Department of Political Science& International Affairs
1000 Chastain Road
Kennesaw, GA 30144-5591

RE: Your application dated 6/3/2011, Study number 11-357: Building Social Capital in the Military

Dear Dr. Franke:

I have reviewed your request for continuing review of the study listed above. This study qualifies for expedited review under FDA and DHHS (OHRP) regulations.

This is to confirm that I have approved your request for continuation. The protocol is approved through completion of an online survey. The original study has location has been changed to the George C.
Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. The data set associated with this study is considered limited.

You are granted permission to continue your study as described effective immediately. The study is next subject to continuing review on or before 8/30/2013 unless closed before that date. Two weeks prior to that time, go to http://www.kennesaw.edu/irb and follow the link to close or continue your study.

As with the initial approval, changes to the study must be promptly reported and approved. Contact the IRB at irb@kennesaw.edu or at (678) 797-2268 if you have any questions or require further information.

Sincerely,

Christine Ziegler, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Chair

APPENDIX G

CHAIN OF SUBORDINATION OF THE MARSHALL CENTER - 1995