

## DGAP Transatlantic Paper

### Exchange Programs and Transatlantic Relations

#### Where They Stand and Why They're Essential

By Christina Tsafoulias

### Summary

Programs promoting educational and cultural exchange between Europe and North America are important building blocks in the transatlantic relationship and should continue to serve this purpose in the future. Without appropriate support and recognition from both sides of the Atlantic, however, transatlantic exchange programs risk falling prey to budget cuts and being overshadowed by other strategic national priorities. While priorities necessarily develop and shift over time, we should not lose sight of the overwhelmingly positive impact of transatlantic exchange programs. Programs will have to prove their worth and build innovative approaches in the future, but the fact remains that preparing the next generation of transatlanticists depends on them.

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#### Introduction

Transatlantic exchange programs may not be in vogue, but they have a long and important history dating back over six decades. Much like the transatlantic relationship itself, however, these tried-and-true elements of global educational and cultural training are mostly taken for granted. Exchanges between Europe and North America are often seen as standard fare – a nice experience for an individual to have at some point but not one that will necessarily influence international political discourse or the course of world affairs. As such, they have long since ceased to be considered a priority. Now, however, as governments reconfigure funding to align more closely with strategic goals, transatlantic exchange programs must demonstrate their worth. If they fail, they risk neglect, irrelevance and possibly even extinction.

The chief value of exchange programs continues to be the horizon-broadening effect they have on individual participants. Transatlantic programs specifically can help transform a general interest in Europe and its culture (or, in the United States and its culture, respectively) into a lasting interest in transatlantic relations. There is no doubt that over the past sixty years the personal intercultural experiences offered by US-European exchanges forged generations of transatlanticists, offering important precursors to dynamic, cooperative transatlantic relations at higher levels. Such programs need to stay robust – and robustly funded – if future generations of policy experts, diplomats, and business, media, and cultural leaders are to value the transatlantic relationship as

much as their predecessors. Otherwise these specialists could well become an endangered species.

This paper takes US-German programs as a case study. The US and Germany are arguably the two most important individual actors in the transatlantic relationship today. Germany and the US have long cooperated on a wide spectrum of policies and programming. Twenty years after the departure of the last American soldiers from Berlin, the dynamic is still evolving, but connections between the two countries remain of critical importance.

### Interest in Transatlanticism

A pair of crises has recently tested the US-German partnership: the National Security Agency affair and the Ukraine crisis. The revelation in 2013 that the NSA had secretly collected European (and other) citizens' data marked a nadir in the transatlantic relationship, threatening to shake to the core over a half century of cooperation and mutual trust. Germans, with their history of spying by the former German Democratic Republic's Ministry of State Security, felt especially hurt. While the roots of this problem still have to be adequately addressed, other factors have since intervened, including developments in Ukraine, which has seen transatlantic partners rally to the defense of Western values. Both the crisis in Ukraine and the threat of further Russian incursion require a unified front from the US and Europe.

Despite the tension, the US and Europe are still broadly viewed favorably by their transatlantic counterparts. While this does not translate directly into interest in exchange programs, it does speak to ongoing general good will that can facilitate cultural and educational exchanges. Polling data from the German Marshall Fund shows that 67 percent of EU respondents hold a favorable view of the US, while 57 percent of American respondents hold a favorable view of

the EU.<sup>1</sup> Majorities on both sides also support a display of strong international leadership from their transatlantic counterpart.<sup>2</sup>

However, Asia's rising significance has had an impact on public opinion. In a 2004 survey, the German Marshall Fund found that, when asked to choose which countries are more important to American national priorities – those of Asia or those of Europe – 54 percent of Americans chose Europe, while 29 percent chose Asia.<sup>3</sup> By 2013, however, 45 percent of Americans chose Asia while 44 percent chose Europe. This significant reorientation illustrates the extent to which Asian countries are viewed today as serious actors and reflects where American focus now lies: split between Asia and Europe. Europeans, on the other hand, chose the US as the more important player over Asia by 64 percent to 27 percent in 2013.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, in a different study conducted by the Pew Research Center (which centers on American opinion only), young Americans (ages 18–29) selected Asia (52 percent) over Europe (37 percent) as the more important area for the US to focus on.<sup>5</sup> While no comparable data set exists for younger Europeans, the numbers are worth watching for future trends. The fact is that Asia has an increasing influence on many countries' national priorities. This may be trickling down to affect young people's perceptions and the choices they make with respect to exchange programs. (The expansion of exchange programs to Asia is discussed below.)

Polling conducted last year indicates that, while the NSA disclosures damaged the US-German relationship, connections between the two countries remain strong on a citizen-to-citizen level. The bad news is that from 2013 to 2014 alone, the number of Germans who rated the US favorably dropped a full 10 percentage points from 68 percent to 58 percent, while 57 percent wanted Germany to set a more independent course away from the US (an increase of 17 percentage points in just one year).<sup>6</sup> The better news is that in a late 2013 study conducted for the German Embassy in the US, 59 percent of Americans surveyed reported holding either a good or excellent view of Germany, which was higher than the percentage reporting the same view of Europe as a whole.<sup>7</sup>

Americans also named Germany as the top non-English speaking country that shares their values. Meanwhile Germans' views of Americans are fairly generous, with 61 percent holding a favorable view.<sup>8</sup> According to these numbers, the citizen relationship appears to be relatively intact despite recent tension. As for exchange programs, it is perhaps too soon to see the impact of the NSA affair on participation.

### Language, Career Prospects, and Costs: Motivations and Barriers in Exchange Programs

What motivates young people to join international exchange programs? What are the barriers to participation? Certainly, many view an exchange program as an opportunity to immerse themselves in a new culture and understand the daily lives of those from another part of the globe. Many stakeholders also state that a more intangible element is also at play: the desire to have fun. For Europeans, and Germans in particular, a wish to study English more intensively is often an important factor. Living in an immersive environment can help consolidate language gains made in the classroom.

Today, professional motivation plays a part in nearly all types of exchange programs – whether those programs are strictly cultural, educational, or designed specifically with a professional (or internship) element at their core. In its survey of exchange program participants, the German Academic Exchange Service reports a noticeable shift in the last 15 years from an emphasis on “personal development” to “improving career prospects.”<sup>9</sup> A strong majority of German students now holds that study abroad is important to career advancement.<sup>10</sup> Programs with a professional emphasis anecdotally report receiving a rising number of applications.

Over the past fifteen years, colleges and universities have increasingly promoted exchange programs (specifically study abroad). Many actively encourage their students to spend a semester or year abroad and have expanded the array of

options available. This corresponds with a growing perception that global experience will contribute to success later in the workforce.

Given this new emphasis on the professional benefits of exchange programs, why are many still reluctant to take part? Several barriers and complicating factors contribute here.

One factor is language, which can prove to be as much a barrier as a motivation, particularly for Americans who may have not had strong foreign language study at either the secondary or post-secondary level. (This can certainly affect Europeans too, though in smaller numbers.) Another obstacle to study abroad is credit transfer. Students are generally unwilling to go abroad if their home institution will not give credit for the courses they take. (This problem is more frequent for students working in the hard sciences and in law programs.<sup>11</sup>) One reason for the great success of the Erasmus Program (a program established in 1987 that sends European students to study in other European countries) is that it guarantees the transfer of all credits earned at the partner university to the home university. On the US side, American schools like Duke University, New York University, Texas A&M, and Stanford University have established their own satellite campuses and programs abroad so that students can enroll directly through their home university and automatically earn course credits for courses taken as part of the program. This is an increasingly popular model.

Cost is perhaps the biggest barrier across the board. The exchange programs themselves are expensive, as is the cost of living in a foreign country.<sup>12</sup> Despite broad support from governments, foundations, and private companies, exchange programs are rarely free to participants and instead require either a significant personal contribution or external fundraising. For example, among international students studying in the US, only 7 percent receive government funding, while 64 percent rely on personal or family financing.<sup>13</sup> This is particularly significant given the high cost of American university education.<sup>14</sup> Other exchange programs (those not specifically focused on study abroad) also

have at least an element of personal contribution (such as the Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange for Young Professionals) or else are financed in theory entirely by the participant (e.g. some offerings from international exchange companies like Education First and Youth for Understanding). Proponents of exchanges point out that the fact that so many people must pay “out of pocket” for exchange programs and nevertheless choose to participate indicates just how highly such programs are valued.<sup>15</sup>

Lastly, difficulties obtaining visas can serve as a significant deterrent. In the US, for example, the visa process has become much more complicated since the attacks of 9/11. In some cases, processing fees increased as well. The entire visa procedure can seem opaque to foreigners. Some exchange programs help participants obtain visas (for example programs run by the non-profit organization Cultural Vistas to facilitate professional international exchange and internships). Others provide little in the way of official help. Stakeholders point out that since US visa reforms made the process more complex, many Europeans have chosen instead to meet their language goals within the EU, where student mobility has been dramatically simplified, or in countries like Australia with less stringent visa requirements.

### More Americans in Europe than Europeans in the US: Current Statistics on Transatlantic Study Abroad

Exchange programs today range from short trips for groups of high school students to a traditional year of study abroad, from topic-specific professional exchange to 1:1 exchanges of university professors – and everything in between. This paper’s focus on the subset of study abroad programs gives a reasonably representative overview of underlying trends and themes.

Despite the deterrents described above, global study abroad participation rates keep rising year after year.<sup>16</sup> The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates that international student mobility will reach 8

million students per year by 2025, having grown from just 1.5 million in 1995 to 4.3 million in 2011.<sup>17</sup> That said, the percentage of students who study abroad during their post-secondary education is far from maximized. For example, only 1 percent of American college and university students study abroad at any given time.<sup>18</sup> Exchange program administrators talk about “growing the pie” in this context, with new sections of the student population who have never taken part before representing new potential audiences for international educational programming.<sup>19</sup>

The US is a critical country in terms of study abroad, annually receiving more international students (765,000 in 2011–12) than any other country in the world. It also sends out a significant number of its own to study abroad.

The annual *Open Doors* survey published by the Institute of International Education (IIE) officially tracks these statistics for the US Department of State. *Open Doors 2013* reports that approximately 283,000 American students earned credit for study abroad in the 2011–12 academic year. Their programs ranged from short-term (8 weeks or less) to mid-length (one semester) and long-term (full academic year) stays. Short-term stays have become the most popular, now representing about 49 percent of all study abroad for Americans.<sup>20</sup> Some 53 percent of all American students studying abroad in 2011–12 went to Europe. In fact, four of the top five destinations for American students were European countries. (Europe for its part hosts 48 percent of the world’s study abroad students.<sup>21</sup>) Although American interest in other destinations – notably China – is developing rapidly, statistics show that a “traditional” interest in Europe still prevails.

As a whole, the number of international students coming to the US to study is actually much higher than the number of American students who go abroad. In 2011–12, the US hosted approximately 765,000 foreign students (4 percent of its total higher education enrollment), well over double the number of American students it sent abroad. Interestingly, however, only 85,000 of these foreign

students came from Europe.<sup>22</sup> This figure is particularly noteworthy when compared to the 250,000 European students who took part in the intra-European Erasmus program for that same year (see text box).<sup>23</sup> In short, more American students study in Europe than Europeans study in the US. The rates of growth, too, differ markedly. While more American students study abroad in Europe every year, the number of European students studying abroad in the US has held steady or slightly decreased over the last ten to 15 years. Unlike their counterparts in the US, exchange programs with the US simply are not viewed in Europe as a “growth industry.” While no study has yet analyzed why European interest in US study abroad is less robust, anecdotal evidence suggests that cultural perceptions and flagging American cultural hegemony play some role here (in addition to the aforementioned deterrents of cost, academic credit transfer, and visa hurdles). European students recognize the worth in choosing new destinations for their study abroad experience, and indeed, many EU students are choosing to study closer to home.

On the German side, around 265,000 foreign students were enrolled in the higher education system in 2011–12.<sup>24</sup> This represents 11.1 percent of the total higher education population in Germany – meaning that the country hosts a fairly large number of foreign students relative to its size. In contrast, 127,000 German students studied abroad during the same academic year.<sup>25</sup> The statistics on US and German exchange show striking parity. In 2011–12, some 9,400 American students went to Germany, while 9,800 German students went to the US – one of the most equitable balances available within the data set based on numbers alone.<sup>26</sup> Considering the two countries’ respective the populations, it is clear that Germany (ca. 80 million inhabitants) sends a higher percentage of its students to the US (population ca. 300 million). Both countries figure relatively prominently on the list of priority destinations for each other’s students. Germany ranks as the sixth most popular destination for American students, behind the United Kingdom (UK), Italy, Spain, France, and China.<sup>27</sup> The US is the fifth most popular place to study abroad for Germans, after Austria, the

Netherlands, the UK, and Switzerland and remains the top non-European destination.<sup>28</sup>

### Is Erasmus “Stealing” Students away from US Exchange Programs?

The Erasmus program should be taken into account in a discussion of whether Europeans are interested in exchange with the US. Founded in 1987, Erasmus provides European university students with access to a large network of partner universities across Europe for 3–12 months of study abroad, which can include an internship.<sup>1</sup> It guarantees that participants receive full credit for all courses completed under the program and that they will not pay university fees to attend a partner institution, all while providing a monthly grant to help cover travel and living expenses. The main goal of Erasmus is to increase European cooperation. The program has sent around three million European students abroad since its inception and the number of participants has more than doubled in the last ten years, with over 250,000 participating continent-wide in 2011–12 alone. On average, one third of all German study abroad experiences are now done through Erasmus.<sup>2</sup> One question worth asking is: *has the growth of Erasmus in recent years siphoned off what would otherwise be interest from Europeans in US study abroad programs?* Stakeholders on both sides of the Atlantic believe it has not. More than anything, they say, it has “increased the pie” of participation in exchange programs. Erasmus, with its easy credit transfers and lower costs, has done a good job of empowering new segments of the student population – those who would otherwise be reluctant to leave their home university – to study abroad. Erasmus is a true growth engine for intra-European study abroad.

<sup>1</sup> “Erasmus Programme” <[http://www.erasmusprogramme.com/the\\_erasmus.php](http://www.erasmusprogramme.com/the_erasmus.php)> (accessed May 14, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> German Academic Exchange Service (2013), *Wissenschaft weltoffen*, W. Bertelsmann Verlag GmbH & Co.

### US-to-Europe Exchange Increases as American Funding Falls, and other Trends in Transatlantic Exchanges

Transatlantic exchange programs remain popular, but they have in recent years felt competition from programs in other parts of the world – namely, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Participation rates for European students in American programs have been fairly flat, increasing only slightly over the past ten years

from about 82,000 participants in 2001–02 to 85,000 in 2011–12.<sup>29</sup> These numbers dropped noticeably by 3–4 percent both directly after 9/11 and the start of the Iraq War but recovered eventually to equal and then surpass previous rates. American participation statistics are different but also highlight some ambivalence. There has been a steady rise in the number of Americans studying abroad in Europe over the past decade, amounting to an overall 50 percent increase: from approximately 101,000 students in 2001–02 to 151,000 in 2011–12.<sup>30</sup> However, the total percentage of Americans choosing Europe relative to other destinations has fallen from 63 percent to 53 percent in that same timeframe. The overall American “pie” of participation has grown significantly, and with it interest in programs in Asia and Africa, where participation rates have more than doubled. (The same can be said of European students’ increasing interest in Asia – specifically China.<sup>31</sup>) So, while Europe has welcomed an ever-increasing number of American students, its dominance as a destination for study abroad has waned. The most dynamic growth in study abroad lies elsewhere.

US-German exchange programs reflect some larger trends in participation rates and interest. After accelerating from the 1970s through the 1990s, the number of German students studying in the US peaked at approximately 10,000 in 2000–01 and has hovered between 8,500 and 9,500 per year ever since. Despite this, the US continues to be the top study destination outside Europe for Germans. On the other hand, the number of Americans studying in Germany has risen from about 5,100 in 2000–01 to 9,400 in 2011–12, but it still represents a relatively small portion of all Americans studying abroad.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, administrators of “non-study abroad” exchange programs (programs that for example target young people still in secondary education or just out of university) point to a trend of decreasing application rates from German participants but increasing application rates from Americans.

Budgets for transatlantic exchanges offer another way of measuring trends. Funding is more readily tracked in the US government, where jurisdiction for

such programs is generally consolidated under the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. In Germany, where almost every government ministry has a hand in exchange programs, insight into government funding is more anecdotal. The budget for US Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs increased from \$356 million in Fiscal Year (FY) 2005 to \$635 million in FY 2010 (the year of the American stimulus package) and then decreased again to \$560 million in FY 2014 due to financial constraints.<sup>33</sup> Much of this buildup was connected with the past decade's efforts to reach out to the Muslim world and to counter anti-American sentiment. The US Department of State placed greater emphasis on developing programs in Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, sometimes explicitly spelling this out in budget requests as it did most recently in FY 2015 with respect to reorientation of Fulbright Program resources. (European Fulbright programs were slated for a big cut.) It also incorporated the overall "pivot to Asia" into its exchange planning – illustrating the considerable extent to which national geostrategic priorities are reflected in exchange programming. European-specific exchange programs have not been expanded by the US government in recent years. For example, the flagship Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange Program (CBYX) has lost its line item in the Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs budget and has been either reduced or flat funded in each of the last five years.

While this is not to say that the US government does not value transatlantic exchange programs, anecdotal evidence from a variety of stakeholders indicates that the German government currently devotes proportionally greater funding to these programs. Those involved in US-German exchange programs agree that German government funding is more stable year-to-year, in part because it is not subject to the yearly appropriations battle within the US Congress. Some even stress that this illustrates true bilateral cooperation, as the German government has picked up slack in funding when the US has fewer resources to devote. Others argue that strategic priorities speak for themselves. This begs the question of what would happen if the German government decided to decrease

its funding for transatlantic exchanges. Programs would suffer across the board at a time when they can least afford it.

It is likely that greater participation in exchange programs, particularly among Americans, is also influenced by the rise of English-language Bachelors and Masters programs offered throughout continental Europe. This number has risen from 560 such programs in 2002 to 5,500 in 2012, with the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden leading the charge.<sup>34</sup> These programs offer a full course of study in English for a degree and therefore appeal to a wider audience than the traditional study abroad subset. The proliferation of such courses has also increased the number of options available to students seeking one-to-twelve month exchanges, allowing them access to the European education system without the need to learn a foreign language. These developments do not of course affect only North Americans. Many Europeans are also fluent in English and can take advantage of English-language courses in other countries where they may not speak the native language. Some experts in the exchange community laud these developments for their democratizing effect on intercultural exchange because they appeal to a much wider audience. Others, however, decry the loss of language instruction as a key component to opening up the worlds of other cultures.

German language instruction has been curtailed significantly in American secondary schools in the past decades.<sup>35</sup> Teachers report that, without a language class to serve as a point of entry, it is more challenging to interest young Americans in Germany and its culture. In Germany, on the other hand, English continues to be widely offered at elementary and secondary levels. Language instruction can be a critical factor, and the language in which a program is offered can have a very real impact on the numbers and social make-up of participants. The rise in English-language offerings in Europe has no doubt helped to increase overall participation.

Looking ahead, it is clear that exchange programs will continue to increase the number of options given to participants – such as a variety of time frames for programs that fit into individual study and work schedules and more English language programs. These efforts have already attracted more applicants, and there is greater consensus within the exchange community about offering more choices and flexibility. Transatlantic programs will, however, have to justify themselves even more moving forward. They must prove their relevance among competing international priorities that lean increasingly towards Asia and other parts of the world. It has become more difficult for “legacy programs” to articulate why they are unique and necessary when appealing for support from relatively limited sources of funding.

## Conclusions

Programs for transatlantic exchange continue to play a key role in the transatlantic relationship, exposing young people to the cultures, customs, and innovations of their partners on the other side of the Atlantic. While participation in European-American programs has remained steady or increased in recent years, more dynamic growth is occurring in areas of “newer” interest like Asia and Africa, and such programs will likely expand in relation to their transatlantic counterparts. Transatlantic programs will therefore have to prove their relevance among competing international priorities that lean increasingly toward Asia in particular. The rapidly expanding number of Americans and Europeans choosing exchanges in Asia (especially China) reflects larger national strategic priorities.

Despite strains to the transatlantic relationship at various points in the last 15 years, hundreds of thousands of people still take part in transatlantic exchange programs each year. Certainly their experiences have differed greatly from those of their Cold-War-era predecessors. Environmental concerns and terrorist attacks on domestic soil – notably the impact of 9/11 in the US and of the

Madrid and London train bombings – have given rise to new experiences for exchange program participants. For instance, an American living in Germany, noting organic food shops on every street and seeing firsthand the connection between the German countryside and national identity, can better grasp the impact of German environmental attitudes on international trade treaties. Likewise, Germans living in the US experience the everyday ramifications of 9/11 – from stringent airport security to the sheer difficulty of entering public buildings – and thereby gain insight into the deeply felt, near-constant security threat that informs much American policy today. For the next generation of transatlantic stakeholders, the internalization of such “little things” could well inform future policy decisions and diplomatic relations more generally.

The long history of US-European exchange has been central to the transatlantic relationship, and it should continue to serve this purpose in the future. Without appropriate support and recognition from both sides of the Atlantic, however, transatlantic exchange risks falling prey to budget cuts and being overshadowed by other strategic national priorities. While priorities necessarily develop and shift over time, we should not lose sight of the overwhelmingly positive impact of transatlantic exchange programs. Programs will have to prove their worth and build innovative approaches in the future, but the fact remains that preparing the next generation of transatlanticists depends on them.

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## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings 2014* (2014) p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Note that opinions about the EU as an intergovernmental organization do not correspond precisely to opinions about Europe as a continent or group of nations.

<sup>3</sup> German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends 2004: Top-line Data* (2004), p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings 2013* (2013), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Pew Research Center, *America's Place in the World 2013* (2013), p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings 2014*, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Frank N. Magid Associates, Inc., *Perceptions Of Germany and the Germans among the U.S. Population* (New York, 2013), p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Pew Research Center, "Global Indicators Database" (2013), <<http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/1/survey/all/>> (accessed May 13, 2014).

<sup>9</sup> German Academic Exchange Service, *Wissenschaft weltoffen 2013* (Bielefeld, 2013), p. 77. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, most respondents to the survey emphasized the importance of "personal development" over "improving career prospects" when describing the benefits of exchange programs. Today professional gains have equaled or overtaken personal development as a key motive.

<sup>10</sup> German Academic Exchange Service, *Wissenschaft weltoffen 2014*, (Bielefeld, 2014), p. 59.

<sup>11</sup> *Wissenschaft weltoffen 2013*, p. 79.

<sup>12</sup> *Wissenschaft weltoffen 2014*, p. 92.

<sup>13</sup> Institute of International Education, *Open Doors 2013: Report on International Educational Exchange*, <<http://www.iie.org/opendoors>> (accessed May 7, 2014).

<sup>14</sup> For the 2011–12 academic year, prices for undergraduate tuition, room, and board were estimated to be \$14,300 at public institutions, \$37,800 at private nonprofit institutions, and \$23,300 at private for-profit institutions. National Center for Education Statistics, *Fast Facts: Tuition costs of colleges and universities*, <<http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=76>> (accessed May 14, 2014).

<sup>15</sup> Some resources do exist to assist participants with costs and to direct them to scholarships and funding opportunities provided in part by governments, foundations, and public-private partnerships. American students taking part in study abroad are also increasingly able to apply their financial aid packages, especially when they enroll directly through their university's programs abroad.

<sup>16</sup> *Open Doors 2013*.

<sup>17</sup> OECD (2013), *Education at a Glance 2013: OECD Indicators*, OECD Publishing, p. 306, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2013-en>> (accessed May 7, 2014).

<sup>18</sup> *Open Doors 2013*.

<sup>19</sup> One area in which transatlantic exchanges are likely to see growth and innovation is in outreach to minorities, who have typically been underrepresented in such programs. Minority voices are extremely relevant to the conversation, and a recent uptick in creation of programs designed to appeal to minority participants could signal a new direction.

<sup>20</sup> *Open Doors 2013*.

<sup>21</sup> *Education at a Glance 2013: OECD Indicators*, p. 305.

<sup>22</sup> *Open Doors 2013*.

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- <sup>23</sup> Euronews, “Record Year for Erasmus Exchanges,” July 8, 2013, <<http://www.euronews.com/2013/07/08/erasmus-programme-reach-record-breaking-statistics-in-the-year-2011-2012/>> (accessed May 7, 2014).
- <sup>24</sup> *Wissenschaft weltoffen 2013*, p. 7.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63. Note that 2011–12 is the most recent year for which such data is available.
- <sup>26</sup> Institute of International Education, *Open Doors 2013: Report on International Educational Exchange*, <<http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/All-Places-of-Origin/2011-13>> (accessed May 7, 2014)
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>28</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt (2013), *Deutsche Studierende im Ausland: Statistischer Überblick 2001–2011* (Wiesbaden, 2013), <[https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/BildungForschungKultur/Hochschulen/StudierendeAusland5217101137004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/BildungForschungKultur/Hochschulen/StudierendeAusland5217101137004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)> (accessed May 7, 2014).
- <sup>29</sup> *Open Doors 2013*.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> *Wissenschaft weltoffen 2013*, p. 41.
- <sup>32</sup> “US Study Abroad, All Destinations,” in *Open Doors 2013*, <<http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/US-Study-Abroad/All-Destinations>> (accessed May 7, 2014).
- <sup>33</sup> See budget documents from US Department of State at <<http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/c6112.htm>>
- <sup>34</sup> StudyPortals, “Study Abroad Embraced by EU Students to Flee Recession Test,” August 15, 2012, <<http://www.studyportals.eu/media/press-releases/391/press-release-study-abroad-embraced-by-eu-students-to-flee-recession-test.html>> (accessed May 7, 2014).
- <sup>35</sup> Nancy C. Rhodes and Ingrid Pufahl, *Foreign Language Teaching in U.S. Schools: Results of a National Survey* (Washington, DC, Center for Applied Linguistics, 2008).