

THE POLITICAL CULTURES OF AMERICAN STUDY ABROAD
INITIATIVES IN LATIN AMERICA AND SPAIN

by

Leslie O'Toole

Copyright © Leslie O'Toole 2018

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WITH A MAJOR IN SPANISH LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2018

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by *Leslie C. O'Toole*, titled *The Political Cultures of American Study Abroad Initiatives in Latin America and Spain* and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



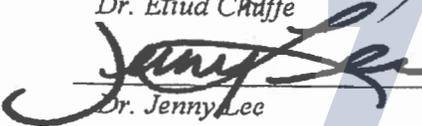
Dr. Malcolm Compitello

Date: April 9, 2018



Dr. Etud Chaffe

Date: April 9, 2018



Dr. Jenny Lee

Date: April 9, 2018

Dissertation member/special member name

Date: (Enter Date)

Dissertation member/special member name

Date: (Enter Date)

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.



Dissertation Director: *Dr. Malcolm Compitello*

Date: April 9, 2018

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This dissertation has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this dissertation are allowable without special permission, provided that an accurate acknowledgement of the source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his or her judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: Leslie O'Toole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would not have been able to complete this thesis without the help and support of many people. Most importantly, I would like to thank my advisor, Doctor Malcolm Compitello, who was constantly giving me support and suggestions to improve my dissertation.. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Doctor Jenny Lee, who was willing to work with me on this project, even through her busy schedule, and Doctor Eliud Chuffe who has always been a great source of support. I would like to thank my mentor Doctor Gianni Spera, I would not be here without him. He has continuously supported me, pushed me, advocated for me, and been the rock on which I have needed to lean on many times. His sacrifices for me will never be forgotten. Lastly, I would like to thank my family for their support through this process, without their constant encouragement and guidance I would not have made it this far.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	6
Chapter 1: A Brief Introduction to this Dissertation and a Brief History of Study Abroad in the US.....	9
Chapter 2: Culture is in the Eye of the Beholder: Representations of Latin America and Spain through Images and Text in US Study Abroad Marketing Materials	34
Chapter 3: Constantly Connected: How Student’s Personal Blogs Reflect Different Narratives from Study Abroad and Tourism Advertising	77
Chapter 4: Mirroring Rites of Passage: Narratives of Study Abroad in Young Adult Literature and Film	106
Chapter 5: Conclusion: What Does this Dissertation Mean?.....	146
Bibliography	150

Abstract

The production and representation of study abroad in Latin America is examined through the following theoretical framework: consumer culture, visual studies, media convergence, film analysis and critical discourse analysis.

The second chapter is an analysis of the representations of Latin America and Spain in modern study abroad marketing collateral. These materials range from paper pamphlets and brochures to online content on the various websites of different for-profit and not-for-profit study abroad agencies, as well as different universities. They are representative of three randomly selected for-profit study abroad agencies, and one randomly selected not-for-profit study abroad agency. For the universities, 6 different universities have been randomly selected and includes two small liberal arts colleges, two large research universities, 2 community colleges, and two historically Hispanic-serving institutions. This sample provides the most accurate data that surveys the largest possible variety of study abroad agencies in the field.

The third chapter analyzes a variety of travel blogs written by study abroad students and instructors and directors of study abroad programs in Latin America. These blogs are selected based on a narrow criteria: they are written by students, instructors, or directors of study abroad programs in Latin America; are written during the author's time in Latin America; the total number of blogs selected represent at least three different countries in Latin America. This chapter also evaluates the social media posts on Facebook and Twitter of students studying abroad in Latin America using Henry Jenkins' theories on convergence culture and participatory culture. Often study abroad students will create a Facebook group in order to connect with other students studying in the area or on the same program. This chapter aids in linking the discourse

analysis of the previous chapter together to provide a more holistic picture of how Latin America is portrayed in US study abroad discourse through its use of theories from Henry Jenkins, Edward Said and Mary Louise Pratt, among others. Specifically, this chapter is interested in exploring how students talk about these regions when writing for different types of audiences, for example: Facebook versus a personal blog directed towards family. The ways in which Latin America is represented and discussed on these different media platforms provides a certain insight as to whether or not study abroad programs are successfully creating global citizens or simply perpetuating stereotypes.

The fourth and final chapter of this dissertation focuses on how study abroad is represented in young adult literature. Each book portrays a teenage girl going off and studying abroad for a year in a different country, from Spain to Mexico. This final chapter seeks to glean how the representations of study abroad programs in their marketing materials and social media responses by students influence the representation of the culture of study abroad in these cultural manifestations. The use of Michel Foucault's definition of discourse, as well as Fredric Jameson's description of postmodernism, and Antonio Gramsci's hegemony, will all aid in the understanding of how the culture of study abroad manifests itself within cinema and literature.

This dissertation questions the representations of Latin America in study abroad discourse and how these visual and textual narratives are eventually represented in cinema and literature. Each chapter argues that a hegemonic form of discourse has shaped the nature and role of U.S. study abroad in Latin America, as well as, in cinema and literature. The chapters also point directly or indirectly at the role of policies and approaches from the top down in study abroad rhetoric, including the importance of global citizenship in program mission statements, the manner that students and program administrators discuss their experiences while studying

abroad on social media and blogs, and how study abroad is represented in cultural manifestations from cinema to literature. The interdisciplinary approach and triangulation of these topics expose a consistent history of hegemonic tropicalization and orientalism of study abroad destinations and calls into question the marketing techniques utilized by U.S. organizations to promote and sell their vision of study abroad. It is important to study the history of this rhetoric so that we may bring attention to it and, at some point, integrate alternative visions and narratives into its fold.

Chapter 1: A Brief Introduction to this Dissertation and a Brief History of Study Abroad in the US

Study abroad sojourn experiences continue to increase in their popularity and centrality to the mission of internationalization on higher education campuses across the US. The number of study abroad programs offered to students is endless. Students have a vast variety of choices among different types of short and long-term programs in countries around the world.

While there is much research on study abroad programming, it mostly focuses on topics concerning foreign language learning or cultural adjustment there is a gap in the literature with respect to the imaginaries present in different types of study abroad discourse, from marketing and advertising to its representation in literature and film. These imaginaries are important to investigate and understand because they not only provide insight into how certain study abroad locations are seen and sold, but also provide greater insight into how these practices may inform the way students view and talk about their experiences abroad.

This dissertation is located within a discussion of the nexus of study abroad discourse and the concept of imaginaries. In particular, this investigation approaches the concept of imaginaries as tourism and tourist imaginaries, since, as is described below, study abroad in the United States evolved out of a mixture of educational tourism jaunts across Europe and diplomatic goodwill programs. The concept of imaginaries used here draws from both anthropological theorists and academics and those in cultural studies. Parts of this dissertation reflects a semi-digital ethnographic study of how these tourist imaginaries are reflected within study abroad discourse in paper brochures and advertising, digital advertising on websites, and digital blogs and vlogs (video blogs). The concept of imaginaries is also used when looking at how study abroad as a concept and microcosm is described in young adult literature (YAL) and young adult cinema and how these imaginaries may be demonstrated and manifested in the

digital imaginaries of the students who choose to study abroad and journal their experiences on the world wide web. Therefore, the central questions in this dissertation are 1) How are certain Latin American and European locations (Spain) represented and marketed to students looking to study abroad? 2) How do these students talk about and represent these locations in their digital journals, and can one witness a process of growth in their intercultural sensitivity in these digital journals? And 3) How is the study abroad experience represented in young adult literature? Each chapter in this dissertation directly addresses one of these questions through the use of different qualitative investigative methodologies.

In order to investigate the different imaginaries present in this work—advertising techniques, blogs, and young adult literature—one must first look at the history of study abroad in the United States. One cannot separate the imaginaries and discourses present in today’s study abroad narrative without studying its academic and often political history, starting with historical global precedents and then focusing on the narrow confines of study abroad in the United States. This chapter begins with a short overview of this history before delving into a comprehensive definition of “imaginary” for the purposes of this dissertation. It also explores the different imaginaries investigated here and how they are, ultimately, interconnected and serve as a look into how these imaginaries travel through space and genres.

Historical Precedents to US Study Abroad

Traveling abroad in order to pursue knowledge and new perspectives outside of one’s “home” is not a new concept. It has been going on for many centuries, before the concept of ‘nation-states’, and as such, the concept of international education even existed. There is even a joke that states that Adam and Eve launched international education through their expulsion from the Garden of Eden due to their hunger for knowledge beyond what God had given them (Hoffa, O’Toole

A history of US study abroad: Beginnings to 1965 1). Centuries ago, “home” meant belonging to a local tribe, clan, or language group and it was common for members to seek out knowledge elsewhere, often as a rite of passage, journey of initiation or discovery, or vision quest.

Over time, the individuals who were sent out on these quests of new knowledge and wisdom learned about larger centers of learning, which grew around where teachers of ancient wisdom clustered. As these centers grew, they attracted more and more students to them from different cultural regions around the world. The University of Takshasila drew wandering scholars to their center from 600 BC to 250 AD, with Alexander the Great as one of its most famous students (Hoffa 43). There were many other centers like this, the University of Nalanda founded in northern India in AD 450, the University of Yikramasila founded in the eight century AD, the University of Jagaddala from 1100 AD, and the Persian University of Jundishapur from the fourth to the tenth centuries AD were all famous centers of universal learning that exerted great influence in both the East and West. Many of these centers were destroyed during Muslim invasions in the 13th century, and this renaissance in traveling to learning centers in Asia slowly declined as Islam grew and began to dominate the Middle East.

Even though some of these learning centers in India and the Middle East started to decline others in Greece and the Roman Empire sprung up around large libraries in Antioch, Cos, Nicaea, Rhodes, and Rome, among others. They drew students and scholars from afar and the Roman Empire also sent its young scholars to Greece to learn and appropriate Greek ideas and concepts. The decline and fall of the Roman Empire may have significantly reduced this ancient form of wandering for scholarly purposes but it did not end it. At this time it was mostly monk-scholars that traveled to find, read, and sometimes, retrieve or copy precious manuscripts.

The Renaissance represented a rebirth a Humanistic thinking and with it came a desire to rediscover the learning of the ancient world. To find these sources of knowledge, scholars had to travel often and far, one of the most notable of which was Marco Polo. His travels and explorations did not only represent a trade mission but also that of a traveling scholar who brought back valuable knowledge. The first universities developed out of cathedral and municipal schools of the urban centers of 12th-century Europe. These universities were put into place to serve the needs of the church, the crown, and the state, but without the well defined borders of modern large-nation states of Europe, students and scholars could more easily move from library to library, mentor to mentor, and university to university. Although eventually Guttenberg's printing press allowed for wider dissemination of manuscripts and books, but it would still take centuries before it was so widespread that for someone to be truly educated they would no longer have to study abroad. But the experience of living and learning in other countries in itself had a positive value. Sir Francis Bacon famously observed that "travel in the young is part of education; in the elder, a part of experience" (50). Within this observation there is a distinction between academic and experiential learning and this type of distinction would later re-emerge within the discourse of American study abroad (Hoffa 13).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this type of worldly travel for experience and knowledge was eventually characterized as the "Grand Tour," at least in England. It consisted of extended journeys organized by aristocrats for their children, mostly sons, to tour, visit with other families throughout the European continent, and gain an extended and more in-depth knowledge about what was going on in other regions. Some guidebooks and accounts of these Grand Tours emerged with James Howell's *Instructions for Forraine Travell* being one of the most notable. Howell states that true education abroad needs to go beyond simple sightseeing

and he warned that travelers also needed to know their own country well before they would be able to truly profit from traveling and studying in another. By the seventeenth century and beyond there had been such a number of guidebooks, journals, diaries, and letters written about this type of sojourn that it became ever more popular and reached its peak in the eighteenth century (Hoffa 15). The individuals participating on these Grand Tours were not the same as the wandering scholars of former times, but were gentlemen that sojourned for social, familial, diplomatic, and pragmatic reasons rather than the pursuit of traditional academic knowledge.

This type of Grand Tour sojourn increased throughout the nineteenth century and began to include not just the children of aristocrats, but also the nouveau riche middle class and well-chaperoned female travelers. The presence of women continued to increase and was often fictionalized in literature by Henry James' "Daisy Miller" (1878), and *Portrait of a Lady* (1881). Although these travelers continued to seek out culture, learn new manners and habits, and made the acquaintance of many foreign peers, a shift occurred during this time that "demoted the value of the journey" and turned it from a "learning experience to a pleasure experience" (Black 242-237).

US Higher Education and the beginnings of US Study Abroad

What set the stage for US study abroad to evolve as we know it is the unique structure of US higher education started to evolve by the 1920s with a general and broad curriculum, residential campuses, and modular course-credit system and its liberal educational philosophy, combined with the emergence of the US on the world stage as a global power after World War I (Hoffa 21). In the nineteenth century, there were already a few examples of faculty-led summer tours, the best documented of which is that by Indiana University and its "unconventional

summer tours” in the 1880s. This vacation excursion consisted of taking a university community group that included students on a “tramping” tour of Western Europe, visiting places of cultural and historical significance in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy and England. In the 1890s Indiana University catalog the tour had evolved to such an extent that a distinction was made between a tour for “sightseers” and one for “serious scholars” (Woodburn 32). These programs did not allow for students to earn academic credit through their participation but were meant as additional enrichment activities.

In addition to these types of tours, the idea of taking students around the world on a ship in order to expose them to cultures and ideas from other countries emerged in the late 1870s. James O. Woodruff Esq. and Daniel Macauley of Indianapolis announced a plan for “A Floating University” that was scheduled to depart from New York City on October 1, 1877. The vision was for it to be a two-year voyage where they would “study the arts, archeology and present conditions of better-known countries and the geology, geography, fauna and flora as well as the history and characters of the people of those less well-known” (qtd. In Hoffa 89). Approval was sought and received of the federal government to go ahead with the educational voyage, a four-year old steamship was leased, sufficient faculty was hired but the floating university did not draw in enough students in order to cover its costs and never ended up setting sail (Liebhardt 2). The idea of the “floating university” continued into the twentieth century with a “voyage for boys” in 1901 that proved unsuccessful due to the young men’s unwillingness to subject themselves to the naval discipline required for this experience, and a voyage around the world sponsored by Asa Chandler, of Coca-Cola fame, who’s ship proved inadequate for the task at hand (Liebhardt 2).

In the first decades of the twentieth century foreign universities and national institutes started setting up international institutes for foreigners, and especially US students, who did not want a touring educational experience but did not have the academic qualifications or language proficiency in order to properly matriculate in a foreign institution's degree programs. These institutions addressed these remedial needs, room and board, and provided a stepping stone to eventual matriculation in the university, but many US students chose to only spend a year abroad in this manner before returning to the States. Academic credit was still not offered as a part of participation in these programs, but often a certificate of participation was provided. The most famous of which was the London School of Economics General Course one-year certificate that was started in 1910.

Although the popularity of these programs greatly declined during World War I, there was a reaction of wanting to build international peace and understanding between nations. Programs such as the American Field Service's (AFS) Fellowships for French Universities—designed for students from France and the US to study in each other's countries,—Donald Watt's Experiment in International Living—a month-long, language and cultural immersion home stay with young people in Western Europe and a month of travel for US students, and vice versa for their Western European counterparts. In addition, the number of international students studying in the US increased due to the physical and economic destruction in European higher education and the Institute of International Education (IIE) was founded in 1919 as a response to the lack of a national entity that could act as a middle-man between different government policies and college and university programming aimed at these international educational exchanges. IIE was founded with a \$30,000 grant from the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and its mission was “To promote international understanding

through international education.” This mission has continued to guide international education in the US over the next century. IIE was instrumental to ensuring student mobility in all directions and eventually evolved into the largest and most influential private organization in the field of educational exchange between the US and other countries.

US study abroad, as defined by Hoffa and in this dissertation, is “an institutional and academic endeavor, taking place in another country and leading to credit toward a student’s home institution degree.” This type of study abroad programming truly began in the 1920s with three different program designs: the Junior Year Abroad (JYA), which consisted of a full year of language and cultural immersion and generally done during the junior year, students spent the first two years of their schooling in the US preparing them for this year abroad with specific coursework in the language, history, and culture of the country in which they would eventually study; the faculty-led study tour, which was often an extended faculty-led group tour that involved travel and visits to other countries with coursework being offered in English and taught by the faculty members from the US institution; and the summer study, where students participated in a short-term program that was created around a specific theme or discipline and was offered by the foreign or US institutions.

There are many example of the JYA in action in the 1920s, the first being that of the University of Delaware in 1923. Its JYA included a year of study in France and was conceived for their third-year French language majors. It was the first program of its kind because it permitted the students to receive academic credit for their studies abroad. University of Delaware President at the time, Walter Hullahen, was inspired to approve the program due to a variety of reasons—he saw that the plan might be a path towards greater international understanding and goodwill, create better qualified language instructors, and give his students

greater opportunities to secure prestigious business and government positions due to their exclusive foreign training (Kochanek 24). The first year of the program saw eight students sailing to France for a year, and word of its success spread so quickly that many students from other universities participated in the program or even transferred to the University of Delaware in order to take part in the program. In 1931 the program was extended to include a year in Germany at the University of Munich, and after World War II, the year in France was moved to French-speaking Switzerland. Many of the students that participated in this program formed an alumni association that met regularly in the major cities of the East Coast and eventually went into careers in international affairs (Hoffa 74). The longest running study abroad program that has been sponsored by the same institutions throughout its duration is the JYA started by Smith College in 1925. It very much mirrored the University of Delaware's program with home-stays, classes at the Sorbonne, and classes taught by faculty from the US institution, but included only women, as opposed to the University of Delaware's mostly men program. Smith started more JYA programs in Madrid in 1930 and in Florence in 1931 and began to accept students from other institutions to their programs. Many more universities started programs around the same time: Marymount College in Paris in 1924 and Rome in 1931; Rosary College in Switzerland in 1925; Montclair Teachers College in France, Austria, and Mexico in 1929.

The first long-term faculty led world tour for academic credit was the University Travel Association's (UTA) cruise around the world which included 504 students, 33 faculty members from universities across the US, and a large staff and crew. Students from 143 US colleges and universities were able to receive academic credit for their coursework during the seven-and-a-half month voyage. It inspired a rival competitor organization in the International University Cruise (IUC), which eventually merged with UTA due to low enrollment on both cruises and a

few years of cancelled voyages. These faculty-led world study tours differed from the original JYA in that their focus was on a more inter or transnational level of cultural, political, and historical study, exposing students to a geographical breadth of global study in a short period of time.

Short-term summer faculty-led study abroad programming was already well established by the 1920s but the more serious academic ones started to be developed and offer academic credit to their students in 1919 with Georgetown in Venezuela and Indiana University in Munich. Both of these programs were unique in their nature as the Georgetown program focused on strengthening relations in Latin America, and Indiana University's program focused on music and was outside of the regular liberal arts curriculum. Both programs seemed to end at the outbreak of World War II, as did the floating universities and JYA programs.

Postwar Study Abroad: 1945-1965

There was a brief suspension in study abroad efforts after World War II, but a renewed commitment grew as to the fundamental need of study abroad the natural development of international understanding and peace between nations. In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt encouraged all US citizens to learn more about the world in his Inaugural Address: "A nation, like a person, has a mind—a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understand the hopes and needs of its neighbors—all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world." Many efforts were made by the US government to facilitate the expansion of academic travel for diplomatic purposes, the establishment of the Fulbright program in 1946 being one of the most monumental and longest standing. This program was created to "humanize international relations" by replacing nations with people and creating better

communication and trust through the mutual exchange of students, teachers, and scholars (Laves and Thompson 43). More than 200,000 students have participated in this program over 150 countries worldwide.

There was a slow revival of pre-war JYA programming from the University of Delaware-Sweet Briar in France in 1948, Smith College in Mexico in 1944, and Marymount in Paris and Rome in 1947. New JYA programming also slowly began to emerge in other colleges and universities around the country but was considered as elite programs that were only for the best and brightest upper-class students, often language majors. Some variations in the traditional JYA programming also emerged with universities shortening the term to a second semester and summer abroad (Hollins College), three months abroad for the entire junior class (Lake Erie College), or changing to the quarter system and having a large scholarship fund set up to sponsor systems to study for two quarters abroad (Kalamazoo College). Branch campus programming started shortly after the war as well with Stanford opening branch campuses over the course of ten years in Germany, France, Italy, England, Austria, and Spain starting in 1958. At the time this was Stanford's only model of study abroad, and as did they, other universities also slowly expanded their study abroad programming to include a variety of options for their students. Some of these varietal programming options began with consortium programming where a group of universities banded together to form a consortia that offered different types of study abroad programming to their students. One of the first of these consortia was the Institute of European Studies (IES) which included the Associated Colleges of the Midwest, Great Lakes Colleges Association, Northwest Council on Study Abroad, University of California Education Abroad Program, and the Office of International Programs and the State University of New York. "The existence of the consortia framework seems to have been an impetus to evolve more and more

new programs and thus to provide a plethora of new opportunities for students” (Hoffa 184). IES began their first program in 1950 in Vienna, and a large part of their work included listening to their member institutions so see what kind of programming was needed, as well as setting standards and providing oversight to make sure that academic regulations were being met in order to warrant the students receiving academic credit for their participation in the programs. Other university systems followed suit and created their own consortia with models and missions similar to that of IES.

In addition to IIE, other not-for-profit organizations emerged after the Second World War, such as the Council on Student Travel (CST) which later became the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), Educational Travel Inc. (ET), and the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA). These organizations worked together with universities in a variety of ways providing them with guidance and new opportunities. IIE and NAFSA originally focused on international students studying in the US and later broadened their focus to include study abroad. They concentrated primarily on formal education where students would receive credit for their studies abroad. ET and CST were principally involved in the student travel movement, which included study, work, volunteer, and travel abroad. Their relationship with the universities was more synergistic as these organizations would not have developed without the internationalization efforts by different higher education institutions but also these institutions would not have developed their study abroad programming at such a fast pace without the guidance and opportunities provided by these organizations. Both ET and IIE published annual advertisement booklets to promote their programs. ET’s *Work-Study-Travel Abroad* consisted of about 100 pages and was originally free and eventually cost \$1 to defray publishing costs. It included an introduction on why students should travel abroad and extensive

sections on Tour Travel, Independent, Travel, Festivals, Study Abroad, Work Camps, and Special Events in Europe. ET functioned as a national center of information and guidance on study, work, and travel abroad. IIE's *Handbook on International Study* focused primarily on academic opportunities, most of which were at the graduate level. Unfortunately, a scandal that involved covert CIA funding of some of ET's international programs caused it to eventually shut down, at which point CST gladly filled the vacuum and started producing their own handbook called *The Whole World Handbook*. CST began its function primarily as a travel agency to help get groups of students across the ocean to Europe. As more and more universities became members in CST they created the Committee on Academic Programs Abroad (CAPA) in 1958 as a response to these members' specific interests in academic study abroad programming. The existence of CAPA and its focus on academic study abroad programs, its conferences and meetings held with European program directors to develop solutions to practical problems of program operation, eventually catapulted CST to eventually become CIEE a not-for-profit organization focusing solely on education abroad and not as a student travel agency as CST had beforehand. Council Travel Services (CTS) a separate legal entity was created to take over that part of the operations in order to not jeopardize CIEE's 501(c) status.

In 1960 there were a variety of national conferences debating the proliferation of education abroad programming and its quality. These conferences concluded that the programs must have clear academic objectives, a carefully prepared curriculum, no duplication by other universities, careful selection and preparation of students, as much immersion in the host culture as possible, low costs and plentiful scholarships available, and post-study evaluations for the students, institutions, and nation. They looked at what a "good" program should look like but

also saw that with such a proliferation of models study abroad could be done in a manner of different ways and did not have to follow the typical JYA model.

The Role of Geopolitics in Modern Study Abroad

In the latter part of the twentieth century study abroad began to move away from the individualistic agendas of different institutions and academic consortia and started to intersect with broader priorities like the nation's cultural diplomacy, initiatives that focused on enhancing contributions made by higher education to national security, and "criteria for international expertise established by professional accreditation bodies in higher education associations" (Keller and Frain 16). Study abroad participants were more and more often seen as "citizen ambassadors" who were international representatives of their country. One of the movements that helps foster this new concept of citizen ambassador was Eisenhower's People to People movement started in 1956. Its premise was that ordinary citizens could make a bigger difference abroad than governments. Eisenhower believed that the creation of simple international contacts by the citizen ambassadors has the capacity to build a web of international understanding. This was the beginning of study abroad and cultural exchanges being seen as a form of "soft power" that have the "ability to advance a nation's policies by attraction not coercion" (Nye 263). Starting in the early 1960s with the new industry of third-party providers, companies that dedicated themselves to help efficiently run and develop an increasing variety of study abroad programs, there was also an increase in programs in sites outside of Europe. A 1962 annual report by CIEE stated that "Europe no longer held a semi-monopoly on the activities of American educational institutions. Africa, Asia, and Latin America became areas in which programs were developing rapidly" (as quoted in *A history of CIEE: Council on international educational exchange 1947 to 1997* compiled by Mikhailova 2002, ciee.org).

During the Cold War the study abroad focus moved from the JYA framework to one that focused on the East-West divide and Cold War issues with the Carter administration continuing a policy of passive diplomacy with the Soviet Union that included an emphasis on international exchanges with the creation of a commission on foreign language and area studies that recommended the nation spend \$178 million on international education. From 1966-1979 there was an increase in study abroad programs and international education partnerships with the USSR and the Russian language that received funding from both public and private sectors. Also, as the US started to expand its involvement in Vietnam in 1965, President Lyndon Johnson was quoted as stating that, “Ideas, not armaments, will shape our lasting prospects of peace...the conduct of our foreign policy will advance no faster than the curriculum of our classrooms” (quoted in Keller & Frain 26). In 1966 Johnson presented a legislative agenda to improve international education in the US, which eventually became the International Education Act, passed in Congress and signed into law, but never funded. Over the next four decades an array of government and private sector initiatives that focused on international education and cultural exchanges heightened the saliency of geopolitics in study abroad. Programs such as the Fulbright-Hayes (1961), the National Defense Act, the National Security Education Program (1991), the Gilman scholarships (2001), the Freeman Asia grants (2001), and the efforts of the American Council on Education to promote extensive internationalization of higher education all stressed the importance of international education to the national security of the US as a soft power (Keller & Frain 28).

Diversification of the Student Profile, Curriculum, and Program Model

The profile of the majority of study abroad students has not changed much over the subsequent decades since the 1920s. Although the very first JYA programs mostly included

men, versions hosted by women's colleges quickly popped up and since then the numbers of women, attending higher education institutions, and studying abroad have slowly been outnumbering those of men. "In 1989 women received 53% of the Bachelor's degrees and in the twenty years leading up to 1990, the sheer number of women attending college more than doubled" (Stallman et al. 122). IIE started collecting data on students studying abroad and published in their *Open Doors* reports in the 1960s, and despite some brief hiatuses in this data collection between 1973 and 1977, these reports slowly became more in depth in their reporting and the 1978-79 report showed that 58% of students studying abroad were female and in 1979-80 that number jumped to 61% and has steadily been increasing (as reported in Stallman et al. 146). Race also seems to be a large factor in study abroad participation, and although there is not much data on this particular aspect from the 1960s and 70s, but the University of California's Education Abroad Program (EAP) consortia conducted a study in the 1970s focusing on students of color and those with financial need and found that during the 1977-79 timeframe of the minority students interviewed for the study 51% were Hispanic, 32% Asian, and 10% Black (Shorrock 10). Most research points out economic factors tend to be the main factor in the lack of minority groups' participation in study abroad programs (Carroll 1996; Cole 1991; Hembroff & Rusz 1993; Jarvis & Jenkins 2000; Mattai & Ohiwerei 1989), but more recent studies have shown the important role habitus, social networks and cultural capital play in a student's eventual decision to study abroad while in college, from federal grant vs. student loan recipients in Hispanic students (Salisbury et al. 2010), stereotype threat in African-American student numbers and the lack of peer networks that have also studied abroad and can help them navigate through the confusing system of applications and program choices (Kasravi 2009). IIE started to collect data on student ethnicity in 1993 and found that during that 1993-94 year 83.8% of study

abroad participants were White, 5% Asian American, 5% Hispanic, 2.8% African American, 3.1% multiracial, and .3% Native American. There has been a push to increase the numbers of minority students studying abroad through program design focusing on heritage seeking students. Heritage seekers are students with the goal of enhancing and increasing their knowledge of their cultural background by choosing their study abroad location based on their own cultural heritage (Szekeley 1998). The increase of these types of programs slightly augmented the demographics of the study abroad student profile due to the fact that more underrepresented students chose to participate in a study abroad program based on their ethnic and cultural background (Stallman et al. 136).

The types of educational abroad programs offered also started to vary greatly and increase over time. The first JYA programs were primarily marketed to future foreign language teachers, honors students, and liberal arts subjects. Some universities, as noted above, offered programs in the fine arts abroad as well, but not in STEM fields and even found to be of little value to students of the physical sciences (Mount Holyoke Conference 1960 in Hoffa, “History of US study abroad: 1965-present” 54). This attitude started changing as early as the 1970s with colleges such as the Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) implementing global engineering programs for their students in short-term (two month) sojourns where the students earned academic credit through project work, as opposed to a formal classroom. Even today WPI sends more engineering students abroad than any other university in the US—approximately 60% of their 2005-2006 graduating class (Mello, DiBiasio & Vaz 2007). Other universities followed suit in the 1980s and created programs in partnership with universities abroad (DeWinter & Rumbley 2010). In addition, IIE’s Global Engineering Education Exchange Program (Global E3 Program) has become one of the most popular initiatives. Starting in 1994 with 30 students,

today it has almost 90 institutions in 18 countries participating and 225-250 students participating in it annually. Health education has also seen a steady increase in education abroad programming with programs for nurses, doctors, and public health students. These programs have been increasing due to student demand to combine education with practical experiences in both developed and developing countries (DeWinter and Rumbley 91). Business education abroad has also seen a substantial boost in interest and development with significant changes made to the higher education business curriculum in the 1970s and 1980s and international experience being added as a component to many business schools in the 1990s. Many business schools added short-term study abroad programs into their curriculum at the end of a semester or during the summer, or an international experience as part of a class that ends with multiple site visits (DeWinter and Rumbley 94).

The program model has also been shifting along with the diversification in the curriculum from the original year-long JYA model to shorter semester and summer programs. Universities can now offer a variety of options to their students from housing, curriculum, location, cost, and program length. One of the driving forces in the last twenty years that has seen a dramatic increase in student participation in short-term programs is economic in nature. As one of the purposes of many international education initiatives has been to increase the involvement of minority populations programs have had to find a way to cut costs and offer options that are more affordable. A semester or year-long program is often considered a far more expensive investment than a short-term summer program, even if it is not always the case. There has also been an increased interest in service learning and internship programs in the field of education abroad with internships becoming an increasingly popular part of the curriculum in the 1980s. Some universities now require an international internship as part of some of their degree

programs such as ASU and their Global Studies majors. Northeastern University has long argued that a rigorous hands-on learning experience is the best way for students to develop the necessary knowledge, perspective and confidence to excel in their fields anywhere in the world, especially within the areas of business, technology, communications, and international relations (DeWinter and Rumbley 78). The field of service learning programs grew out of the experiential learning movement in the 1960s and 1970s (Tonkin). The programs took on a new energy in the 1980s with the development of new organizations specializing in the field at home and abroad. A 2004 self-study by the Ford Foundation found that US study abroad students were “seeking out a greater range of experiences” (Tonkin 2). There has been some critique on the rapid development of these programs and that programs that are not effectively preparing the students before they go abroad, properly engaging them while they are abroad and providing the support they need when they arrive back home may have the unintended consequences of limiting the students’ personal and academic development, foster feelings of helplessness, and alienate the students.

Diversification in Geographic Locations

The most popular study abroad destinations have been fairly steady from 1965 to the present with Western European locations topping the list and Australia, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Japan rounding out the top 10 over the years (Ogden et al.). The most recent *Open Doors* report shows a large variety in destinations in the top 20—especially the 8-20 destinations—with locations such as India, South Africa, Israel, and many countries in Latin America making the list. The African region has experienced consistent growth since 2005/06, representing about 6.5% of the study abroad population (*Open Doors*) with Egypt, South Africa, and Ghana being the most popular destinations back in 2005/06. The programs in Egypt have dropped off

significantly due to political unrest, but programs in the African continent continue to grow in different areas such as Tanzania, Botswana, Kenya, and Nigeria. Asia has also shown steady growth with 9.3% of the study abroad population in 2005/06 and 11.9% in 2014/15. Japan, South Korea and India have seen a steady growth in programs and students studying there, whereas China has had a more volatile relationship with study abroad. China gained popularity with US business programs in the 1980s with its growth as a world superpower but the events in Tiananmen Square in 1989 and the SARS outbreak in 2003 significantly altered their popularity temporarily as a study abroad destination (Ogden et al. 2010). Latin America has always been an important location for study abroad programs. It was the second most popular region, after Europe, in 1977/78 and in 2005/06 it hosted 15.2% of all students studying abroad. Mexico has been the most popular destination in the Latin American region until the last decade, hosting 50% of all students studying in Latin America until recently. Currently the most popular destination in the region is Costa Rica with over 8,000 students and 3% of the world's total studying in this small Central American country. Other popular destinations include Argentina (4,301 students), Brazil (4,226 students), and Mexico (4,445 students).

The rise of nontraditional destinations in study abroad is due to a number of factors. The large number of students studying in Western Europe concerned practitioners within the field for decades and there has been a push to encourage students to pursue a program in a nontraditional destination. In 1984 a group of study abroad leaders met at the School for International Training in Vermont to discuss these concerns and came to the conclusion that it needed to be a national effort to diversify the programs offered internationally with a National Task Force by NAFSA. Research by Trooboff and Berg found that employers also preferred to hire students that had

studied in nontraditional locations because it suggested to that these individuals would possess desired qualities such as creativity, initiative, and teamwork.

Postmodern Imaginaries

Much of the cultural production discussed in the different imaginaries in this dissertation comes out of a postmodern perspective on colonial and postcolonial histories. Jameson describes this type of cultural production as a one that has been driven back into the mind as it does not have a true referent in the real world, but is condemned to “seek the historical past through [its] own pop images and stereotypes about the past” (Jameson, 10). He focuses on two features of postmodernism 1) the transformation of reality into images, and 2) the fragmentation of time into a series of perpetual presents (20). There has been a great expansion of culture and commodification into all fields—from politics too economics—and the drive of postmodernity has made the cultural economic and turned the economic into many different forms of culture (86). In this postmodern and commodified world individuals are bombarded with thousands of different images each day that they begin to have a very different relationship with space and time, history and cultural consumption. Culture is consumed throughout an individual’s daily life through shopping, different forms of media—from television and magazines to digital media—in the production of the market and in the consumption of the market and “in the most secret folds and corners of the quotidian” (111). Study abroad as a field is in the business of packaging and selling a cultural experience to students, one that often includes a good look at the history and cultural heritage of a location. Jameson posits that this history is nonrepresentable and nonnarrative, following the idea of the Lacanian Real, where history is unsymbolizable. And yet, as discussed in the first chapter, study abroad advertising attempts to do just that, create

a narrative and symbolize the histories of these locations, just as these locations are trying to create narratives around their own histories via heritage tourism.

Imaginaries

Scholars in many disciplines have written and studied the imagination (Brann; Kearney; Salazar & Graburn). Imaginaries have been conceptualized in a myriad of ways, from representing a culture's overarching ideology or the shared and unifying core perceptions of a society (Castoriadis), as the fantasies and illusions that are created in response to a psychological need (Lacan), and as cultural models of community or extensively shared inherent cognitive model (Anderson; Taylor). According to Ricoeur "the imaginary is both seen as a function of producing meanings and as the product of this function" (Salazar & Graburn, 3). Imaginaries that are shaped culturally may influence collective behavior, but public discourse does not usually acknowledge them as a contributing factor to culture, whether implicit or covert. These imaginaries are building on the inherent perceptions "that govern and make possible common practices" (Gaonkar 2002, 4). Imaginaries can become institutionalized but in the end the agents who imagine are individuals, and not societies (Salazar & Graburn 2014, 4). The power of imaginaries, versus personal imaginings, is due to the fact that they are shared extensively by individuals and then circulate through society and across the globe.

Imaginaries exist by virtue of representation or implicit understandings, even when they acquire immense institutional force; and they are the means by which individuals understand their identities and their place in the world. Shared imaginaries can be about other people, as with the 19th and early 20th European imagining of African peoples as cannibals. They can be about places, as with the

British colonial idea of 'the tropics' as steaming hot year round, disease ridden, and somewhat dangerous (Salazar & Graburn, 4).

Some academics have looked at the similarity between “myths”, as in traditional explanatory stories, and tourism imaginaries (Hennig; Selwyn). Echtner and Prasad identified three myths in tourism to developing countries that kept on reoccurring: the myth of the unchanged, the myth of the unrestrained, and the myth of the uncivilized. The modern myths—of nature, the noble savage, art, individual freedom, self-realization, and paradise—have all be shown to be manifested in the social practices of tourism (Hennig). These myths are “systemic public illusions, spontaneous or manipulated by the image-makers (Brann 1991 p.546 as qtd in Salazar and Graburn, 4). Different imaginaries are combined to sell various travels that attempt to legitimize the daydreams of individuals looking to travel to those locations (Salazar & Graburn). There are two basic characteristics that underlie all tourist imaginings: the escapism and desire for exoticism or difference, and the ego-enhancement and boosting and accumulation of symbolic capital (Dann). These desires are not internalized longings but part of these widely shared imaginaries that are expressed through patterns of media and social practice (Crouch et al.).

To some scholars (Said) these geographic imaginaries are a literal representation of how spaces are imagined, how these spaces are perceived, represented, interpreted, and how meanings are assigned to these physical spaces, and how knowledge is produced about these places. The ways tourists “see” places often differs from other representations because many places are being molded in the image of tourism (Hughes; Urry). The image of the Caribbean as “tropical” and “sensual” is propelled through a variety of these tourism imaginaries and practices (Sheller 2004; Aparicio & Chavez). The past is also being reshaped and reworked by designating, naming, and

O'Toole

historicizing cities and landscapes in order to boost their appeal to tourists. “Who represents what, whom, and how are critical and often contested issues for sociocultural insiders as well as outsiders.

The term “imaginary” has come into modern cultural studies through psychoanalysis, philosophy, and social theory through Jacques Lacan, Cornelius Castoriadis, and Charles Taylor. They each developed a conceptually unique version of the term, and are the most commonly cited by anthropologists and cultural studies academics. Hence, depending on the scholar and the intellectual lineage from which they may select the term an “imaginary” may refer to what is repressed, fantasized, distorted, or driven by psychological needs (Lacan); a composite image of a place or people taken from pop culture representations; the values and self-image of a group of people (Castoriadis); a large group of expectations and norms that are adhered to by members of a society for how things should be (Taylor); or “the imaginative capacity of an entire society or subgroup—which is how we get the potentially reifying constructions like ‘the image of the primitive in Western imaginary’” (Leite, 261). Here imaginaries are defined as “implicit schemas of interpretation, rather than explicit ideologies” (Strauss, 329). As one notes, these schemas of interpretation are often structured by a division that represents the world in paradigmatically linked binaries: nature/culture, inside/outside, local/global. The following chapters pay close attention to how these binomials are a product of the interaction of study abroad professionals, students, and the outside media with institutionally grounded imaginaries that imply a certain power, hierarchy, and hegemony.

This study hopes to help universities and study abroad professionals in the for-profit and not-for-profit sector identify and understand how they may be reproducing the types of tropes and tourism discourses. One’s they often criticize themselves and have pledged to educate

students to go beyond their shallowness on their paths towards intercultural competence and global leadership. The reality of academic capitalism and entrepreneurial practices in higher education make the complete elimination of these types of practices almost impossible, but it is important to strike an educated and conscious balance between these processes and the original mission of educating students to not reproduce these rhetorics themselves in their daily encounters with individuals from other cultures, at home and abroad.

Chapter 2: Culture is in the Eye of the Beholder: Representations of Latin America and Spain through Images and Text in US Study Abroad Marketing Materials

As the first chapter makes clear, study abroad has grown exponentially since the first *Junior Year Abroad* at the University of Delaware in 1923. The 2017 Open Doors report states that 325,339 students studied abroad in the year 2015/2016, a 3.8 percent increase of the previous year. “U.S. student participation in study abroad has more than tripled over the past two decades” (IIE, 2017). This study analyzes the discourse used in the pamphlets and websites of various public for-profit and not-for-profit study abroad organizations, as well as those from U.S. universities. For most students who are planning to study abroad these pamphlets and websites are often their first point of contact with their potential host destination (Zemach-Bersin 2009). The narratives and images they use often end up being reflected in how the students view and represent their own experiences while studying abroad. Some of these narratives, moreover, may be seen as problematic (Caton & Santos). Programs such as the *100,000 Strong in the Americas* have put an added emphasis on student exchange between the US and Latin America. Although it still one of the less popular regions for study abroad overall, it is important to investigate the representation of study abroad in the media and by the individuals studying in those regions. Within the discourse of study abroad there are larger factors at play. Does the mass media represent study abroad? What connections may be drawn from how these representations influence the way different study abroad programs and countries are marketed to students? This thesis focuses on filling in the holes between the research done by Caton and Santos, Zemach-Bersin, and Doerr on the discourse found among the images and text in study abroad programs from private and public US universities, not-for-profit study abroad organizations, and for-profit study abroad organizations. Specifically it scrutinizes the representations of Latin America in

these brochures and websites. Is there a difference in the rhetoric differing types of institutions use in their marketing publicity?

Since these pamphlets and websites are one of the first things students look at when deciding on a host country or city, the advertising techniques used therein are an important point of analysis. There are a variety of organizations that provide study abroad experiences to both, high school and college students. This study examines organizations that primarily market their services to university students because there is a larger number of these organizations and a greater variety among them. Principle among the kinds of institutions under examination are third-party not-for-profit and for-profit organizations, and those of the university's study abroad departments. Many studies have been done on the power of visual rhetoric in tourism advertising (Echtner & Prasad). Some scholars are beginning to use this frame to examine study abroad advertising techniques (Zemach-Bersin; Caton & Santos). This dissertation builds on this research, providing a more holistic analysis of a greater variety of organizations and advertising materials. It does not limit its study to visual images, looking also at the content and context of the texts within which the images are situated. An exploration of the power of visual rhetoric in tourism and study abroad marketing materials through a thorough review of previous literature is also part of this analysis. The stylized, visual practices involved in the representation of Latin America in study abroad marketing materials is analyzed through Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding method of communication, Roland Barthes' *Mythologies*, John Urry's development of the tourist gaze in *The Tourist Gaze 2.0*, Sharma, Sangeeta and Singh's planning and implementation of advertising in *Advertising: Planning and Implementation*, and Matthew Hartley and Christopher Morpew's influence of this type of advertising on higher education. The theoretical framework discussed next supports the analysis that follows, which include

tropicalized representations of Latin America and global citizenship. This chapter defines Antonio Gramsci's hegemony, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Edward Said's Orientalism, John Urry's tourist gaze, Aparicio and Chavez Silverman's tropicalization, as well as the main visual theories from Nicholas Mirzoeff and Gillian Rose. The review and framework described provide crucial, analytical methods for approaching cultural productions addressed later in this chapter. This research is essential in order to critically understand why and how the U.S. represents Latin America through its study abroad programs.

The subsequent part of this study has been broken up into four parts: the analysis of third-party study abroad marketing materials for Latin America; the analysis of third-party study abroad marketing materials for Spain; the analysis of North American university study abroad marketing materials for Latin America; and the analysis of North American university study abroad marketing materials for Spain. Within each of these analyses I have identified a number of rhetorical techniques being used by the different study abroad organizations. Most of these techniques are reflective of the type of problematic narratives present in tourism advertising.

There are many reasons for the exponential growth and interest in study abroad. Studying abroad is considered an important part of a student's cognitive and behavioral development. Kauffmann, Martin & Weaver found that areas of behavioral development that improved include intrapersonal understanding, interpersonal relationships, values, and life direction or vocation. Some studies have noted that self-awareness and cultural awareness are indivisible because understanding and overcoming culture is not something that can easily be accomplished without some degree of self-awareness. An IES-sponsored study found that almost all participating students reported an increase in self-confidence (98%), increase in maturity (97%), and increase in the ability to tolerate ambiguity (89%). The vast majority also

reported that studying abroad helped them to better understand their own cultural values and biases (98%), and has influenced them to seek out a more diverse group of friends (90%) (Dwyer & Peters). Other research has also identified increases in intellectual development (McKeown), GPA (Sutton & Rubin), and employability (British Council).

Another driver is political. Lee writes that as international students are increasing globally, so is the educational arms race to attract as many of the world's students. Yet as the absolute numbers are increasing, the US' proportion of international students decreases suggesting a weakening of the country's soft power (Lee). In an effort to change this tide, the White House intervened and recently created a U.S. study abroad office within the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, thus prioritizing internationalization (The Forum on Education Abroad). Other national strategies include the *100,000 Strong in the Americas Initiative* in 2011, to increase the number of students studying in Latin America and the Caribbean. This strategy comes from the *100,000 Strong Foundation*, whose mission is to promote and diversify the amount of students studying in China.

While politics is important, perhaps the biggest driver for study abroad is entrepreneurialism. Public and private institutions are becoming more and more reliant on revenue from student enrollments and fees, leading to increasing forms of "academic capitalism" (Slaughter & Rhoades). Research on marketing and branding in higher education has included university lookbooks (Hartley & Morpew), websites (Saichaie & Morpew), pamphlets (Urciuoli), and publicly displayed advertisements (Papadimitriou & Ramirez). Because of such revenue generating pressures, colleges and universities are constantly competing and trying to make themselves increasingly appealing to students (Papadimitriou & Ramirez). In this 'neo-liberal' mode of university marketing, students are often seen as sources of revenue, and—

subsequently—as consumers. Kavakas found that host country attractiveness and welcomeness were the most important factors for students when choosing a program, along with a program’s reputation, based on word-of-mouth and peer networks.

Zemach-Bersin is more critical, she believes that study abroad is nothing more than a reproduction of colonial fantasies and that the various programs perpetuate these ideals with the rhetoric of producing global citizens. Farrell points out that the study abroad industry has grown so extensively and so quickly that it has become more and more difficult to evaluate and monitor the thousands of different programs available. Trying to regulate the business side of study abroad, the State of New York passed several legislative bills in 2007 that require state universities to disclose the complete and actual costs of their study abroad programs. This bill was created due to the many cases all over the country of various university administrators and academics receiving perks and incentives from third-part providers to heavily promote their programs or go into “exclusive agreements” with them. These critiques display the great lengths to which various study abroad program providers go to in order to enroll students in their programs, making marketing an integral component to any study abroad program. Given that the attractiveness of the host country/city was at the top factor in a student’s decision-making process about a study abroad program (Kavakas), it is no wonder that the visual images and words about the host destination is central to marketing. Studies have found that using concrete, colorful imagery rather than abstract visuals are more effective in print and television advertising. Where these images are placed and that they be attention-holding images, rather than just attention-getting images also has a significant impact on the viewer. Attention-holding images are ones that capture a reader’s attention for more than 2.6 seconds and often require stimuli that are, in some way, relevant or familiar to the reader. Crane called this the “first

dilemma of message construction” as advertisers have to combine the familiar with something novel and attention-getting. McQuarrie and Mick also found that visual rhetoric—images and text combined—was able to produce a more favorable response in the consumer, as long as they are familiar with the semiotic and rhetorical systems within which the advertising text is located.

The power of visual rhetoric in tourism and study abroad marketing materials

Some tourism researchers have investigated the influence of images and verbal rhetoric used in mass tourism marketing materials. Telisman-Kosuta found that a destination’s image is a pivotal element of their tourism product and that the consumer’s choice of a vacation location is largely influenced by their perceptions of it. Another study illustrated that the visual content in tourism advertising can affect a tourists’ perception of vacation experiences through their association of certain types of imagery with particular experiences. Decrop writes that the use of text is useful for conveying information and arousing buyer intention and that, combined with visuals, can help to reinforce the advertiser’s message. Other tourism scholars have looked at the implications in the visual rhetoric present in tourism print materials. Echtner and Prasad found that mass-marketed tourism materials perpetuate colonial myths and stereotypes in their marketing of third world tourist destinations through their use of problematic imagery wherein locals from the host country are depicted as exotic and passive objects upon which to gaze. Buzinde, Santos & Smith determined that these same types of stereotypes are being perpetuated in tourist advertising of Northern countries when depicting their minority populations.

Less research has been done investigating the impact of visual rhetoric in study abroad advertising. One of the few studies is by Canton and Santos, who analyzed the images in the Semester at Sea (SAS) study abroad program’s 33-page brochure as a site of colonialist

discourse. They asked whether the portrayals of the places visited and people employed in the brochures of a nonprofit education tourism organization differs from those in the dominant tourism discourse and if such a program is aligning with its mission statement as agents of responsible international education or not? They found that the promotional material continued to perpetuate the colonial stereotypes found in research by Echtner and Prasad. Their research barely addresses this last point on whether the images reflect more entrepreneurial-driven practices over academic ones.

Zemach-Bersin, broadened her analysis to include the images, and the language used in a variety of study abroad marketing materials, from brochures to websites, and how they define and understand the concept of global citizenship. She also interviewed study abroad students and their understanding of the term “global citizenship” and how it aligned with the images they viewed. She found that the images and language used reinforced colonialist tropes of ownership, discovery, and easy accessibility of the world. Many of the students interviewed stated that they had chosen to study abroad in order to take a break from school, thinking of the semester abroad as a vacation and break from academic responsibilities. Zemach-Bersin continually refers to international education as something that is being consumed by the students and found that students interviewed shopped for the program in which they wanted to participate by looking through different brochures and catalogs, this makes the role of advertisements and images very clear in this process. Her investigation takes Canton and Santos’ research one step further, by demonstrating how important the advertisements are in student choice when deciding on a study abroad program and location. She does not look at a large number of marketing materials and only touches upon the types of images used. Doerr most recently studied two study abroad guide books and the language employed within them, finding that the rhetoric of adventure continues

to reinforce colonial and cosmopolitan visions and constructs spaces and subjects that are connected by complex relations of power.

Zemach-Bersin writes, from the moment they arrive on campus, higher education students are bombarded with numerous advertisements and promotions for study abroad programs. According to the author, almost all of these advertisements contain numerous images of the foreign locales they are selling and by the time undergraduate students finally look at a study abroad brochure and choose their program they have unconsciously and consciously been consuming the images and rhetoric of study abroad advertisements for many years. In our investigation, we pose the question of the extent to which study abroad images academically or entrepreneurially reflect a branding of the various programs, an aspect that has hitherto limited empirical research in the field of study abroad.

Representing the Other

The representation of the racial and cultural Other is an important element in the academic field of tourism research. Researchers see the touristic process as part of a discursive infrastructure that is based on complex social, historical and cultural systems (Pritchard 245). The representations are powerful elements through which one can understand the world and which indicate more about the culture that creates them than the subject that is being represented. They may be problematic due to the fact that they can reinforce stereotypes and tropes that privilege some dominant groups above other groups and thus caused the power between racial, ethnic and cultural groups to be unbalanced. These paradigms of power are not the work of some powerful and strong force, nor are they part of a conspiracy; they are the result of hegemony. Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* developed the idea of power and how some

groups may obtain and control this power over other groups. Violence and coercion are some of the methods of achieving this power but Gramsci reasoned that dominant groups maintain their power because they successfully use cultural channels, such as religion, the media, and the educational system in order to gain the consent of the privileged and marginalized members of a society. In western society, tourism is one of these channels (Caton 192). It is one of the most important sites of the construction and preservation of the discourses about persons, places and cultures which perpetuate this equilibrium and disequilibrium of power. The text and the images of the promotional tourism materials are important because—even though they do not, ultimately, determine what a tourist thinks of another person, place or culture—they mediate this process of discursive construction.

Said's theory of Orientalism proposes a useful framework for how the western media aids in this discursive construction of how Middle Eastern cultures are viewed, and by extension, other "exotic" parts of the world, which is discussed later in this chapter. One can think of Orientalism in two manners: first, as a theoretical structure that can aid our understanding of the way cultural texts are mediated throughout their production; and second, as an example of how a particular set of power dynamics function in specific historical contexts. *Orientalism* is one of the first works to interrogate this discourse of a hegemonic West over the countries in the East as a colonial discourse. Said's analysis demonstrates how the texts produced during the colonization of the East created a type of colonial discourse, which he named "Orientalism." He argues that the language used in this discourse portrayed the East as something mysterious, exotic, sensual, splendid, cruel, despotic and cunning. According to Said, this discourse served as a reflection of an ideology that underscored the superiority of the western world. His

framework created an opportunity for western academics to study the Orient through methods that are different from those reproduced by Western hegemonic powers.

His theory of Orientalism relates closely to the concept of Self and Other. It makes a distinction between the Occident (self) and the Orient (Other), since the analysis of the relationship between the Other and Self is essential to Postcolonialism. Postcolonialism is often defined in relation to the Self and Other, where the Self is privileged and has the power to reconstruct and define the passive and weak Other. “For instance Boehmer emphasizes that ‘Postcolonial theories swivel the conventional axis of interaction between the colonizer and colonized of the self and the Other’” (Moosavinia et al. 105). This relationship between self and Other leads to another concept that is at the heart of postcolonialism—binary oppositions. These binary oppositions can range from general binaries such as white/black and light/dark to more culturally produced ones such as woman/man, colonizer/colonized, and self/Other. The Self—whether it is constructed as white, male, and European—is usually designed as a positive term. Whereas, the Other—be it female, black, non-European—is described as its negative reflection (Childs & Fowler 165). For many postcolonial critics, including Said, the Self represents the colonialist and the Other the colonized. In Orientalism the Westerner is put in binary opposition to the Orient (a binary construct of the Western hegemonic intellectual powers) in a series of relationships where he/she never loses the “relative upper hand” (Said 7).

Another aspect of the process of Orientalism is the involvement of space. Said states that it is a universal practice to designate “in one’s mind a familiar space which is ‘ours’ and an unfamiliar space beyond ‘ours’ which is ‘theirs’” and that is a “way of making geographical distinctions that *can* be entirely arbitrary” which gives space an emotional or rational sense through a poetic process (54). This “imaginative geography and history help the mind to

intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away” (55). In other words, we create and intensify these binary oppositions of self (colonizer) and Other (colonized) across imaginary spaces created through the poetic process of language and time (history).

The comparison between the “rational West” and the “irrational Other” created the construction of a European identity that saw itself as superior to the non-European cultures and promoted colonialism and the continued dominance of the West over the East. As a result, this “us versus them” paradigm allowed these Western academics and scholars to depict the Orient or East as their binary “Other.” This relationship of power was defined through the borders created between the West and the East with a series of hierarchical binary oppositions, where the West is represented as advanced and progressive and the East as backward and at a standstill. Said concludes that juxtapositions such as these were used to stimulate and justify the exploration, exploitation, and colonization of the East. The process of Orientalism is a cultural desire designed to command, shape and behave in a hegemonic manner. Thus, the Orient is not a natural and inherent production but is a hegemonic cultural production of those in power. This production is in conjunction with exploration, settlement and expansionism. The “Other” is thus framed through language, images and intellectual formation. It is a “corporate institution for dealing with the Orient” and is a way of “dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (3).

Crucial to Said’s idea of Orientalism is the postcolonial or oriental gaze, which functions by creating a relationship between the subject and the object of the gaze, and permits the subject to place himself or herself in relation to the object as an “Other.” The gaze is a term made popular by psychoanalyst, Jaques Lacan, for the anxiety one feels when aware of the fact that

one can be seen or viewed. Foucault elaborated on Lacan's concept of the gaze to explore the dynamics in different power relations and discipline mechanisms in *Discipline and Punish*. He uses the concept of the prisons and schools and how surveillance, self-regulation, and disciplinary mechanisms are functions of an apparatus of power. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright write that the gaze is not something that someone has or uses, but is a relationship of power into which one enters, "The gaze is integral to systems of power and ideas about knowledge" (94).

Aparicio and Chávez-Silverman expanded Said's concept of Orientalism to include Latin America and the construction of the countries and people in this region by the North American and European hegemonic powers. The term they use to represent this type of colonial discourse is tropicalization. Tropicalization has its origins in the works of the Spanish *cronistas*, as well as Latin American and Hispanic poets and authors such as Víctor Hernández Cruz. They extend the notion of tropicality, originally determined more for the Caribbean, to include Mexico and Latin America. It has more of a geocultural rather than geophysical focus, because it can also be used to talk about cultures in United States and Canada. In contrast to Said's theory of Orientalism, where the dominant Occidental gaze, deprived of its own agency as this gaze was constructed purely by European discourses, represents the Orient tropicalization includes the dynamics of the colony from the perspective of the colonized (Spitta 160). Aparicio and Chavez-Silverman's definition of "tropicalization" is intimately linked to Fernando Ortiz's "transculturation". But they place it within Mary-Louise Pratt's concept of the "contact zone", which is a "social space where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power (Pratt 34). According to Aparicio and Chavez-Silverman, to tropicalize means "to imbue a space, geography, group, or nation with a set of qualities, images and values"

(8). This term is “intricately connected to the history of political, economic, and ideological agendas of governments and of social institutions” (8) in which the temperate North American culture is juxtaposed with the tropical culture or society. Their volume on tropicalizations is meant to be polydirectional and multivocal approach, where the process of tropicalization is not binary and can evade the colonial gaze. When used in a manner similar to that of Said’s Orientalism, i.e. positioned by mythic ideas of *latinidad* based on dominant expectations and fears, Aparicio and Chavez-Silverman have termed this to be a hegemonic tropicalization. But, in alignment with the polydirectional use of the term, when it implies a re-tropicalization or a self-tropicalization which includes a cognizant attempt to reconstruct and remodel the dominant’s representation of the Latin Other from inside their own discourse and language.

In addition, Aparicio and Chavez-Silverman expanded the concept of the gaze to include tropicalization, as a fixation of the people and cultures of the tropical climates—especially the Caribbean and Latin America—as sensual, lustful and lazy. This gaze is often conditioned and drawn by “geographical myths” (Manthorne 10) about Latin America. According to Stephen Benz one can notice a singular formula when looking at the many works representing a U.S. encounter with a tropical culture: “tropical lands are desirable, but tropical people are not” (52).

John Urry’s work employs Foucault’s theory of the gaze, constructed by the dynamics of the relationships of power and the disciplinary mechanisms of a society. For Urry the tourist gaze is developed because the tourist wants to have an experience and feel something different from his or her daily life. Daniel Boorstin also argues that individuals from the United States are unable to sense reality in a direct manner but feed themselves on pseudo-events (Urry 7). Urry suggest that the gaze stresses that seeing is a learned ability, one which is marked by social class, gender, age, education, nationality, desires, and expectations. The mass medias such as

television, cinema, magazines, literature, the internet, and music videos continue to construct, reproduce and reinforce this gaze. The tourist is a semiotician and reads these images for certain pre-established signifiers; a variety of signs constructs their gaze: a high-rise building from Dubai may insinuate the sophistication and modernity of a large city or a Tuscan villa the idyllic life in the countryside (23).

Visual Studies

There are many different methodologies that have traditionally been used when analyzing visual material and the field of visual studies has been increasing in popularity in the last 50 years. Roland Barthes in *Mythologies* describes a myth as the global sign that a signifier and signified have been assigned by a society. This meta-language can be treated the same way in both visual and textual form. He claims that the semiologist can treat writing and pictures in the same manner and that what he recognizes in them is that they are both signs, or what he calls language-objects. Kress and Van Leeuwen expand Barthes' singular and lexical definition of visual signs into a grammar, which analyzes the different elements within an image and within a series of images as part of a whole. They use a linguistic approach toward reading images, including the narrative and conceptual representations of an image and the modality markers involved in reading these images. Gillian Rose categorizes these different modalities as technological, compositional, and social. The technological modality defines a visual technology as anything that was designed to be looked at or enhance natural vision, whether it is an oil painting, television, or the Internet. The compositionality of an image refers to the content, color, size, and spatial organization of an image. Lastly, the social modality refers to the relationship between the economic, social and political practices around an image and through which one views and utilizes it. McQuarrie and Mick outline four approaches toward visual analysis in

advertising, each with its weaknesses—archival, experimental, reader-response, and text-interpretive. The archival tradition collects large samples of data and conducts content analyses that describe how often different types of visual elements appear, an approach they view as being too descriptive and providing only weak evidence of causality. The experimental approach is defined by a rigorous causal analysis that is combined with a theoretical specification but it lacks lengthy consumer responses. The reader-response method focuses on the meanings consumers draw from the advertisements but has a limited ability toward causal analysis. The text-interpretive approach pulls from semiotic, rhetorical, and literary theories to conduct a systematic and nuanced analysis of the specific elements in an advertisement, and treats both visual and verbal elements equally.

Analysis of Study Abroad Marketing Materials

This chapter analyzes the different modalities and elements of the marketing materials through a combination of an anthropological and text-interpretive approach of visual analysis. This methodology has been chosen because it is important to conduct a nuanced analysis of both the text and visual features of these advertisements and do so while analyzing their social and cultural relationship to the intended readers. The analysis of these texts is relevant because as Said states:

A text purporting to contain knowledge about something actual...is not easily dismissed. Expertise is attributed to it...such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In times such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence

or weight, not the originality of the given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it (94).

The texts studied here sell a reality to their prospective students. The knowledge they create through this interaction follows these students on their programs can also have a lasting impact on the host communities and the ways in which the students interact with them.

Third-Party Study Abroad Marketing Materials: Latin America

Third-party study abroad organizations are the second-largest providers of study abroad programs in the United States, after the universities themselves. They are independent organizations that administer and facilitate a large variety of study abroad programs, and the organizations vary greatly in the way they are structured and the types of programs and services they offer. The major organizations are either for-profit or non-profit and offer services to middle school, high school, or university students. Most of the largest and most influential organizations that work with the majority of US universities are non-profit third-party providers. The third-party providers are involved in at least 25% of all students' study abroad experiences across the US every year (Chow & Bhandari). The market has grown exponentially over the years with a 400% increase in students studying abroad in the last 20 years (Heyl).

These providers' services vary between ones for universities and faculty on how to implement programs, to their own programs, most of which consist of a combination of hosts from universities to special schools set up in the host countries. In analyzing the brochures, websites and catalogues for their programs in Latin America display different rhetorics: adventure and discovery; exotification and tropicalization; and volunteerism. About 30% of images and descriptive text employ the rhetoric of adventure and discovery; 15% used the

rhetoric of exotification and tropicalization; and 50% of marketing materials that promoted any type of service learning experience utilized some form of what is later described as the rhetoric of volunteerism.

The rhetoric of adventure

There is a common thread of the use of words such as “thrilling,” “explore,” “treasure,” “venturing head on into the unknown,” “quest,” “looking for adventures,” and “seeking the thrill”. This type of language is accompanied by images of the students participating in extreme sports, such as snowboarding, surfing, mountaineering, rafting, and ziplining. After reading transcriptions and transcriptions of study abroad students’ stories of the self-discovery of a heroic individual or a group of heroes, Professor Benjamin Feinberg identified the source: Nike commercials and other televised advertisements displaying an “extreme” lifestyle—inspired by ESPN and the X-Games—in which the announcers encourage their viewers to play extreme sports and eat hamburgers (20). This language of adventure involuntarily evokes the language of colonialism, in that it places Latin America as a great adventure passively ready for the students to explore and where they can practice their extreme sports. It is important to mention that the inhabitants of these countries also participate in these sports and for many it is a part of their livelihood, but there is no mention of them in study abroad marketing, and the rhetoric of the marketing materials places the study abroad students immediately at the center of this adventure and exciting experience. The text used in these materials corresponds with the exotic nature of the images and the tourist rhetoric with words such as “explore” and “travel” were present in every brochure:

On this program, nearly one-third of your time is spent exploring Costa Rica's major tropical ecosystems. (*CIEE: Semester and Winter Programs 2015*)

Buenos Aires offers students many different settings to explore (*CEA 2014/2015 Study Abroad Catalog*)

I don't remember when I first discovered Valparaiso... (*CIEE: Latin America Study Abroad Program 2015*)

We are travelers seeking new horizons (*Semester at Sea 2015*)

Average SAS student gets 12 passport stamps from one voyage (*Semester at Sea 2015*)

I was standing on the edge of an amazing adventure and slowly beginning to solve the mystery (*API Semester/Quarter/Year/2015*)

This discourse of adventure and discovery echoes Doerr's findings that out-of-classroom learning is portrayed as unstructured and unsupervised and that is not reflected on nor evaluated, none of which are emblematic of educational discourse.

There was also a distinct rhetoric of pleasure, paradise and relaxation that is being used to market these programs, experiences, and destinations:

As the birthplace of Shakira, this fun-loving and friendly city is filled with a unique rhythm and pulse year round. (*ISA Year/Semester/Trimester/Month 2015*)

Students can choose to participate in ski or snowboarding classes, or simply relax and enjoy the beautiful views and a good meal. (*CEA 2014/2015 Study Abroad Catalog*)

You will enjoy pristine beaches, water sports, salsa music on the beach, spectacularly colorful sunsets... (*API: Summer 2015*)

This quirky port city is a water-lover's dream and is perfect for surfing and whale watching (*ISA Year/Semester/Trimester/Month 2015*)

These were just a few of the many examples that continue to exemplify the tourism rhetoric of the enjoyment, pleasure, and fun to be had on these study abroad programs, rather than the education to be received.

In addition, Doerr mentions that the lack of reference to the educational facilities of the host country or city has the effect of devaluating the educational institutions of these countries, as well as the knowledge imparted in these locations (262). This is in sharp contrast to the many mentions of the modern and educational facilities present in the marketing materials of North American universities. Without acknowledging if the program is operated by the home country or the host country institution, the knowledge about the host society—it's language, history, culture—is that which is generally taught in the classroom of the study abroad program, but in the discourse which values learning outside the classroom, this knowledge about the host society has less value than the mundane experiences which, nevertheless, are marked as "exploration".

The study abroad industry depends on the allure (or magnetism, attractiveness) of the West-East and the binaries between the Global North and the Global South. These are binaries in which individuals in privileged positions can define these differences and situate their own culture as the dominant and the other as something that can be appropriated (Barbour 59). This dynamic is evident in the inclination of the organizations to employ the metaphor of discovery, with phrases and words such as, "Students discover the heart of Chilean society..." "...this

hidden gem...” (Veritas), “Discover Viña!” (API), and “...discovering all that Costa Rica has to offer means getting out of the bus and venturing head on into the unknown” (EF). In addition, the word “explore” is used so often that it has become a tagline for some organizations. This rhetoric emphasizes imperialism because it marks the study abroad programs in the language of discovery and this gives the experience a position of mythic and prestigious proportions with roots in violent and destructive histories between the countries. It ultimately has the effect of ignoring the lives, accomplishments, and histories of the inhabitants of the host countries.

The descriptions of a world waiting for the students are reinforced with the tropes of discovery and the boundaries that they extend. The United States is a nation constructed on a narrative of discovery and expansion, and its popular culture frequently uses the term “discover” to refer to places already known and inhabited, thus rejecting the fantasies of property and authority that follow the act of discovery (Slotkin 423). The illusion of uncovering a new world has its roots in the collective imagination of the United States (Zemach-Bersin 307). One can see this language of discovery reinforced with references to Columbus’ exploration of the Americas without discussing the violent destruction that he caused in the formation of these countries. For example, the brochure for CIEE asks the students to imagine themselves in the scenes of “Ridley Scott’s *1492: Conquest of Paradise*” when they are in Costa Rica. This phrase not only refers to the discourse of discovery but directly centers the students as new colonizers.

Another brochure writes that “Columbus first ran into this island in 1492” and immediately afterwards describes the “azure waters, white sand beaches, and palm trees swaying,” effectively colonizing and exoticizing/tropicalizing the Dominican Republic in two sentences. The wording of discovery and exploration are reinforced in the photographs displayed in the marketing materials. The majority of the photos are of smiling students with a

variety of iconographic backgrounds. In this category of photos there are many students with their arms wide open and extended examining the natural or urban background, or with students seated, their backs to the camera viewing the historic space in front of them as if they were their first explorers. Most of these backgrounds—if they are places of nature such as the jungle, urban locations such as a view of a city from the mountainside, or iconic locations such as Machu Picchu—are devoid of people, except for the students themselves. All of them are filled with smiling students with the host countries and cities represented as a background present specifically for the students’ enjoyment against which they occupy a position of superiority. They resemble Mary Louise Pratt’s “seeing-man”, which she describes as a European subject in the landscape discourse, whose imperial eyes passively look and possess. Developing these expectations of the hegemonic Western culture abroad is to capture the students as being irreflexive travelers who can unconsciously contribute to neocolonial agendas.

The rhetoric of exotification and tropicalization

The exotification of the East is one of the most prevalent elements in literature of orientalism, according to Said. He states that Orientalism describes the East as a place of romance, exotic people, unforgettable memories and landscapes, and extraordinary experiences (5). This exotification has a long history in the creation of Latin America, according to Mary Louise Pratt, who wrote that Alexander von Humboldt reinvented South America as an extraordinary place of nature, a sight that had the capacity of surpass human knowledge and understanding (120). Von Humboldt’s version of Latin America is still very present in the marketing materials of non-profit third-party study abroad organizations in their descriptions of certain host countries. The country which receives the majority of this type of nature rhetoric is Costa Rica. It is always described with “lush cloud forests,” “majestic volcanoes,” “Paradise for

lovers of the outdoors,” “awe-inspiring volcanoes,” and “idyllically pastoral, with emerald-green mountain pastures” (API, CIEE, ISA, EF). The Costa Ricans are very proud of the nature in their country and the market is as such with the slogan “No artificial ingredients,” but this slogan does not only make reference to the nature that surrounds them but also to their pure and genuine personalities, culture and lifestyle. What is missing in the representations of Costa Rica and its nature in the study abroad marketing materials is the reference to the people and/or culture of Costa Rica. As in the history of the travel literature of Humboldt, Pratt states that there is an erasure of the human beings in these places in the examples of nature and scientific literature (125).

In addition, this exotification of nature extends to include a tropicalization of the countries and cultures of Latin America. Castillo states that this occurs in the moments when the European intellectuals wanted to conserve the simplicity of the Latin American fairy tale (87). The gaze of tropicalization is to fix the people and cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean as sensual, lush, and lazy (Aparicio 8). One can witness this tropicalization in the descriptions of the different Latin American countries in the study abroad marketing materials with words such as “laid-back,” “relaxed,” “mysterious,” “fun-loving,” “passion and fluidity,” with a “rhythm” and a “pulse” (CEA, API, CIEE, Veritas). These descriptions are reductive and reduce the people and culture to essential characteristics instead of celebrating the complex, profound and hybrid personalities of the different people of each country.

Another effect of this exotification and tropicalization is the “worlding” of the cultures and people of the host countries. Gayatri Spivak defines “worlding” as the consideration of the Third World as composed of remote cultures, exploited but with rich and intact heritages that are waiting to be recuperated, interpreted, and translated into English. This worlding occurs in the

palimpsest of the maps of the colonized countries. This overwriting of a place can also occur in the presence of a person in a colonized place. “He is actually engaged in consolidating the self of Europe by obliging the native to cathect the space of the Other on his home ground [that is, he is obliging the native to experience his home ground as imperial space]” (133). bell hooks also describes this worlding as a domination of one over the other like a relationship situated in a space contextual of the colonization:

No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still colonizer, the speaking subject and you are now at the center of my talk. (343)

Worlding is present in the exotic descriptions of the host countries in the marketing materials and also in the images of the inhabitants. As mentioned before there is a preponderance of photos of smiling students in front of picturesque locations but there are not many photos of the inhabitants of the host countries and even fewer images of the inhabitants interacting with the students.

There are few photos of the inhabitants of the Latin American countries and most of them depict indigenous people in their traditional dress or people in positions of entertainment, such as tango dancers or other folkloric dancers or musicians. One photograph in a Veritas brochure shows a group of indigenous Peruvian women who are weaving. One of the women is speaking to an individual who is not in the frame but the description of the image reads: “traditional Peruvian artisans explain their craft to students”. The problem with the image is that, first, the indigenous cultures are always described in relation to their crafts, as if that were their only contribution to

modern society, something to consume, a souvenir one can purchase and bring back to their family in the North. Also, in this image the women are marked as exotic beings, idealized, different and other than the viewer of the image—they are marked through their traditional and “vibrant” dress. This image is also an example of “people tourism” which, according to Jane Desmond, is a cultural tourism when one leaves one’s home in order to find cultural practices that are different than one’s own, done by individuals who are “different” from oneself (xv). This photo also allows the tourist to create their own touristic imaginary which includes themselves, just right outside the frame of the image (MacCannell 147). In the descriptions, which accompany these locations, rewrite the indigenous people in the imperialistic voice of the North in which one can “encounter the beautiful crafts, fine fabrics in alpaca wool and the Pre-Hispanic archeological remains in this magical place,” they are the remnants of the pre-Columbian cultures, the only thing that remains are the ruins and the crafts.

Another aspect of worlding the host countries and cities are the many references to anything North American and European in the descriptions of the cities and nature. Colonial literature in the Americas has a long history of comparing that which the authors “discovered” with Europe, such as Columbus and his comparisons of the natural beauty of the Americas with that of Andalusia or Seville (*Diario de Colón: libro de la primera navegación y descubrimiento de las Indias*). Here one can see descriptions of the Iguazú waterfalls through the eyes of Eleanor Roosevelt: “It is reported that when Eleanor Roosevelt saw the falls, she exclaimed, “Poor Niagara!” and La Romana, a city in the Dominican Republic, is described as “an artist community with an old-world Mediterranean vibe”. The descriptions of Buenos Aires always include an old tourist guide message of the “Paris of Latin America” but one brochure also describes it as “Its European roots give it an old world flavor...it is as vibrant as the best in the

New World.” In this description it is as if there never was a version of Buenos Aires or Argentina before the European immigrants, everything is described in relation to them. The Argentines are very proud of their European roots but to relate everything Argentinean only to Europe is to ignore the violent history that exists in this country and in all of Latin America thanks to the colonizers.

As mentioned earlier, there are very few representations of the inhabitants of the host countries. Of the infrequent images of the residents, the majority of them are of older women or children, men and young women appear only six times and only as tango dancers, musicians, or folkloric dancers. In these interactions where the inhabitants do not serve as entertainers for the students, and are only older women and children it is because these types of people are not viewed as threatening. They do not ask the tourist to question their perspectives and start a discussion about cultural misunderstandings or imbalances of global powers (Caton & Santos 201).

In addition, the text throughout the brochure paints the different Latin American countries in a poetically exotic manner:

Modern skyscrapers surge above palm fronds swaying in the tropical breeze. (Brazil)

Six million residents call this quirky capital home, reveling in its world-class cuisine, infectious energy, and exotic suburban parks (Chile)

During your travels you might find a donkey instead of a car in a parking spot (Chile)

Stroll through touristy Old Havana to see colonial monuments and Baroque churches, while salsa music and Cuban coffee and treats fill your other senses (Cuba)

To the northeast, you'll find luminous azure waters, white sand beaches, and palm fronds swaying (Dominican Republic)

Skyscrapers gleaming over swaying palm trees as azure waters kiss the beach (Dominican Republic)

Beyond just failed attempts at poetic language these descriptions continue to perpetuate the notion of Latin America and its inhabitants as exotic, sensual and, sometimes, eccentric.

Rhetoric of volunteerism

The rhetoric of volunteerism is present in many of the study abroad marketing materials since; with the growth of the discourse about global citizenship, many study abroad programs are offering more and more opportunities for service learning. Some of the issues with the descriptions of these volunteer programs are the references to people in economically and socially marginalized communities as “impoverished,” “underprivileged,” or part of the “underbelly” of the city. These terms are passive and imply that there is not real reason for their lack of privileges or riches and it is just and normal for some people to become “impoverished” and “helpless” (Mander 235). In addition, these relative terms situate the reader of the advertisement in direct relation to the “impoverished” and “defenseless,” another way of creating difference, and turn the Latin American people into the Other. One creates this Other by emphasizing their weaknesses, in this case, their impoverished and defenseless nature, and one uses it as a way to accentuate the supposed strengths of the individuals in power, using it to educate, civilize, or convert (Said). Phrases such as the following exhibit these relations of power:

You’ll explore the many development and globalization issues facing the region and **develop solutions for helping the country grow wisely.** (CEA)

Volunteer in **the impoverished** *favela*, Ladeira dos Tabajaras. You might teach English to adults who work in an occupation related to the tourist industry, **help underprivileged** women become more skilled in the workforce... (CIEE)

The majority of this wording may seem innocent but it passively implies that the inhabitants are incapable of learning, incentivizing, or helping themselves without the help of the North American students, thus placing the students in a position of power in relation to the native inhabitant “Other” of these Latin American countries. Jefferess also questions the missions of these volunteer programs at the University of British Columbia and how they sell the idea that to be a global citizen means to work towards creating a “better world” for others by “helping them,” but how the Canadians, and especially the economically privileged Canadians are in the position to “Go Global” or “Lead” is not part of the discussion (35). Focusing solely on what a global citizen needs to do for the Other, instead of discussing our relationship with others, emphasizes the symptoms of global inequality and not the causes of this inequality (37). Stevenson also writes that one of the problems with the discourse of “Make Poverty History” is the emphasis on the themes of poverty instead of the causes of inequality and neoliberalism (153).

Third-Party Study Abroad Organization’s Marketing Materials: Spain

When one scrutinizes the online and print marketing materials that these same organizations use to promote their program similarities in the rhetoric used become evident. Many of the images tend to focus on the antiquity of the locations presented,—Sevilla, Barcelona, Granada, Malaga, Salamanca, Santander, Valencia, and more—their architecture, and “world-renowned” art. On some occasions, there is a juxtapositioning of this “world-famous” history with their modern “nightlife,” “high-rise apartments,” “infrastructure,” and “commercial zones”. This is only the case with Madrid, Santander, Valencia, Alicante and Barcelona. With cities like Granada and Sevilla there is never any mention of their modern infrastructure. All of these cities are primarily celebrated for their rich historic heritage and architecture. The

language and large proportions of images used that include landscapes and architecture, generally devoid of people, suggest a focus on “heritage” tourism. Heritage tourism, according to John Urry, can camouflage the social and geographical inequalities, hide empty consumerism and commercialism and may even destroy some of the elements of the buildings and artifacts that are being conserved. This heritage tourism is especially problematic when it ignores the modern aspects of these cities because it situates them in the past and allows for a form of reverse colonialism or neo-colonization of Europe by the US—where US students are going to Europe for its rich history but also ignoring the fact that many of the southern European countries are very modern in their infrastructure. One of the critiques of study abroad is that it is little more than a form of educational tourism and that it echoes the antiquated practice of the Grand Tour where the social elite undertook a circuit of Western Europe for culture, education, and pleasure (Sowa). This section explores the type of culture that is represented in the marketing of these study abroad programs in Spain and how this often conflicts with what these study abroad agencies purport as their mission for these study programs.

The concept of heritage tourism has a long and contested history, gaining increased attention, and generating a growing body of literature with many academics and historical organizations celebrating it as a viable source of cultural tourism (with a capital C). Hollinshead found that cultural heritage tourism is the fastest growing sector in tourism. Heritage tourism has been defined in many different ways. Fyall and Garrod define it as an economic activity that attracts visitors through its use of socio-cultural activities. Hollinshead believes that the local traditions and heritage of the community can serve as attractions and that heritage tourism endorses and supports arts and crafts, folkloric traditions, social customs, cultural celebrations and ethnic history. Other academics define heritage tourism more narrowly as a phenomenon

which is based on the motivations and perceptions of the visitors instead of the attributes of the specific sites (Poria et al. 1047) and that heritage tourism is based on “nostalgia for the past and the desire to experience diverse cultural landscapes and forms (Zeppel & Hall 49).

More recently, there have been many critiques of heritage tourism and heritage tourism management. Lowenthal critiques heritage tourism for passing “on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose (128). Ashworth suggest that this is due to a discriminatory process between competing messages which ends up resulting in a heritage product that has a meaning only to its intended audience and often ignores authentic aspects of its history. In addition, heritage tourism is often marketed and manufactured like a commodity “which nobody seems able to define, but which everyone is eager to sell” (Hewison 9) and Cheryl Shanks claims that this commodification of culture “simultaneously preserves, transforms, and destroys it” (17). Scarpaci also found that heritage tourism in Cuba and Venezuela has created problems such as gentrification, residential displacement and other social difficulties.

Waterton and Watson found that the marketing of heritage tourism sites helps perpetuate these “officially sanctioned versions” of the heritage tourist sites. The syntagmatic link between the ‘leisure-aziation’ of heritage also creates a link between heritage and leisure products, activities and services (Waterton & Watson 58). They argue that heritage sites have become identified with certain kinds of leisure and have been manipulated to produce specific activities that produce value. Examples of this include English countryside heritage sites or small villages in Tuscany. The essentialized marketing of heritage sites also becomes a semiotic representation of the nation’s brand. Through the narrative construction present in these marketing strategies

places them as a performance of tourism practice that reflects the context to which the tourists respond when they are already at the location or when making the decision of where to go.

Before continuing this discussion on heritage tourism and its contested history, it is important to look at a definition of culture, as heritage tourism promotes, emphasizes, and commodifies certain aspects of a nation's culture. There are many different definitions of culture. This study finds Bennett's to be the most useful. He describes culture as something that we can place into two different and distinct categories, upper-case or objective culture with a "capital C", which encompasses the institutions of culture such as art, literature, drama, dance, and a nation's social, economic, political, and linguistic systems and history. Lower-case or subjective culture "writ small", refers to "the learned patterns and shared patterns of beliefs, behaviors, and values of groups of interacting people" (3). Most multicultural education focuses mostly on the objective mode of culture, whereas the theories of intercultural communication are based almost entirely on the subjective mode of this process of culture (Bennett). When looking at the mission statements from the various third-party study abroad organizations there is a definite focus on culture and intercultural competence as one of the outcomes and services they strive to provide their consumers/students:

The Bridging Cultures Program (BCP) encompasses the ISA on-site orientation delivered to all students in the first days of their ISA program, with key improvements in areas related to goal setting, intercultural awareness, diversity and professional development (ISA)

...is committed to promoting cultural discovery (ISA)

Our vision for the future remains connected to the original IES Abroad program in 1950...a world filled with interculturally competent leaders who have both the understanding and skills to effectively, humanely, and positively navigate across different cultures, in politics, education, business, or the non-profit sector. (IES)

To provide the highest quality educational and cultural exchange programs to enrich the lives of young people throughout the world. (API)

Along the way you'll learn to communicate across cultures. (CEA)

The various excerpts of the mission statements of the third-party organizations used in this research study focus on their use of the terms “culture” and “intercultural,” all of which would fall under Bennett’s definition of subjective or lower-case culture.

The concept of selling places reiterates these tourism practices of heritage sites and the types of Cultures and Histories that are represented, as opposed to “lower-case c” cultures and “lower-case h” histories (Philo & Kearns). Echoing Nora’s work on memory and history these monuments and historical heritage sites are “concerned with the celebration of a certain account of the past which seeks to legitimate certain developments in the present” (Philo & Kearns). This kind of legitimization of present developments can be witnessed in the gentrification of urban spaces that, once in decay, are now deemed important aspects of a city’s heritage, such as the Lavapies neighborhood in Madrid (Compitello), or the commodification of Barcelona’s heritage (Harvey) just to name a few. These are only a few examples of Harvey’s “art” of rent in practice where the creation of heritage sites “produce a level of distinction that assures the subsistence of monopoly rents” (Compitello 76) and are central to this process of gentrification. As mentioned above, Spain itself has a long history of tourism development from heritage

tourism and the selling of places. The study of the crossroads between leisure and tourism and heritage has inspired Hispanist scholars to confront some of the commonplace assumptions about Spain's delayed participation with modernity. Crumbaugh found that one such scholar, Adrian Shubert, "has interpreted the bullfight, the greatest emblem of Spanish leisure, not as an Iberian vestige of ancient bloodsport but as a highly commercial, modern spectacle and tourist attraction" (657). Here we can apply many of these tourism and marketing theories to the practice of marketing of study abroad destinations, specifically with regard to heritage tourism. There is a continuation of the poetification of these locales but instead of an exotic poetification is it a historical one:

...charm of its medieval Gothic Quarter (Barcelona, CEA)

Granada is a fairy-tale city, known for its unique historic, artistic, and cultural heritage (Granada, CEA)

Birthplace to flamenco and home to the largest Gothic cathedral in the world, its temperate climate, passionate displays of the bullfight, and unique architecture complement its rich roots, creating a distinct charm (Sevilla, ISA)

cultural wealth of the Cantabrian capital is enriched with the passage of the Pilgrim's Road (Santander, API)

This poetification of the heritage sites within the marketing of them continues this narrative of, not only manipulating the consumers of these study abroad programs but also training them how to view these sites when they are there and how to represent them in their subsequent blogs, vlogs, Instagram accounts and Snapchats.

The previous section discussed that many of the marketing materials wrote about Latin America in reference to Europe, thus re-colonizing these locations again. With respect to the

descriptions of Spain we can see a few examples of these third-party study abroad organizations describing certain locations of Spain in reference to the US or US authors:

Author Ernest Hemingway once said “If you were to visit only one city in Spain, this should be Granada.” (Granada, CEA)

Málaga is the southernmost “large” city in Europe, the 6th largest in all of Spain

The first of the two references is very clearly a reference to a US author but the second one is less clear but the quotation marks around the word “large” and the reference to Europe mean that the authors of this phrase do not consider European cities to be large. One can assume that they mean this to be in comparison to the cities in the United States, since that is what is familiar to their customer base. These comparisons and references to the United States, although few and far between do support the theory that, combined with the focus on heritage tourism, there is a narrative of neo-colonization present within this semiotic language and images. The students are being asked to compare their experiences in Spain to their every day experiences in the US, as well as focus mainly on the cultural heritage of their study abroad destination, as opposed to also learning about the modern and current culture and individuals living in these locations. In a preliminary study a professor of a faculty-led program himself noted that he did not encourage students to interact with locals because they do not have any knowledge of the cultural heritage sites they were studying for the program and that his students were far more knowledgeable than the locals on these sites. In his case, and that of some study abroad programs, especially those that travel from site to site within a short period of time and do not have the students stay with host families, this may be a valid and justified declaration, but through the use of certain language and images there is a semiosis where the performance of these textual and visual signs in the marketing materials send a similar semiotic message to the students about what parts of

their study abroad experience are more important or valuable. The use of the US as a reference when describing European study clearly informs us as to whom the intended audience of these advertisements is: US students.

NORTHAMERICAN UNIVERSITY STUDY ABROAD MARKETING MATERIALS

This thesis analyzes the discourse in these marketing materials to see if there is a difference depending on the producer of said marketing materials. For this section 11 pamphlets from one large North American research university were chosen, along with two websites of large research universities, three websites of universities that are in the top 10 for the highest Hispanic populations, and three websites of small liberal arts colleges with the highest study abroad participation rates. Universities with the highest Hispanic population were chosen because it is important to investigate how these universities might differ in their representations of Latin America in their study abroad programs. Small liberal arts colleges with high study abroad participation rates were selected due to the importance these schools place on study abroad as an integral part of their curriculum. The websites chosen had to have at least two faculty-led programs in Latin America and one faculty-led program in Spain, at least one image representing each program, and a short marketing description about the program that included more than just the basics of the program. Most of these marketing materials—websites and pamphlets—are significantly smaller in scope than those of the third-party not-for-profit study abroad agencies.

Based on study abroad mission statements at these universities and their frequent use of the words ‘cultural,’ ‘multicultural,’ and ‘intercultural/global competence’ one may hypothesize there to be more occurrences of images displaying the culture of study abroad locations and the interaction of study abroad students with this culture. What exactly is culture in this context?

Culture can be defined as “the sum of a way of life, including expected behavior, beliefs, values, language and living practices shared by members of a society. It consists of both explicit and implicit rules through which experience is interpreted” (Herbig 11), this definition would also fall under Bennett’s definition of subjective culture. Many of the mission statements refer to “cultural diversity,” “cultural exchange,” and “international cultural immersion,” and learning in a “different cultural context.” Thus, one can surmise that their meanings of cultural are more closely aligned with Herbig and Bennett’s definitions and the concept of developing intercultural competence in their students. Deardorff found that intercultural scholars and higher education administrators were able to agree on a number of points in order to create a consensus on the definition of intercultural competence. She defined it as “the ability to develop targeted knowledge, skills and attitudes that lead to visible behavior and communication that are both effective and appropriate in intercultural interactions” (247). Based on the definitions of culture and intercultural competence above one may infer that there would be a much larger proportion of images and text that support students interacting with the local culture in a manner that includes the heritage culture of the location, which one might learn about in a classroom, and the social culture of the community in which the students will reside for the duration of their stay abroad.

Upon reviewing the faculty-led study abroad brochures and marketing websites, there were mostly images of students in front of a landmark or picturesque scenery, and around 50% of images of scenery, architecture or landmarks, and very few—less than 10%--of images of local peoples and less than 5% of images of students with locals.

Analysis of North American University Study Abroad Marketing Materials: Latin America

The most common form of ‘culture’ and interaction with ‘culture’ displayed in the study abroad brochures is that of architecture and landmarks, or history. Dann did a study of tourist brochures in England and found that 40 % of the images depict tourists only in a clearly demarcated tourist ghetto, and with the emphasis on tourist groups enjoying activities together as a communal family. He found that 24 % of photographs displayed landscape, architecture and sights without people and only 7 % depicted locals. We can compare his findings to those of the brochures of these faculty led programs in Latin America where we find 39% of images of students in a group setting in front of a landmark, 51% of landscapes and architecture without people, and only 9% of local peoples. There were only two images showing students interacting with local people and culture, only one of those was in a service learning context. Of the 4 images of local people 3 were of people in traditional dress.

The large proportion of images of landscapes and architecture, with or without people in them, can be seen as another focus on ‘heritage’ tourism, as explained above. This type of tourism is problematic because it encourages a blind consumerism that isn’t always beneficial to the local community, and may camouflage societal inequalities by concealing parts of the local history that were ignored during the discriminatory process of selection of what is considered part of the local heritage. It represents the type of culture that the students are likely to encounter in their studies before they study abroad and also while in their host countries. But, because the images are often devoid of people, local or otherwise, it presents these locations as a blank slate upon which the students may envision their own cultural adventures, a popular marketing technique in the tourism industry.

Urry and Larsen describe the different gazes present in tourism photography. Many of which appear in the images of these study abroad brochures. The first one they discuss is the

collective or “family” gaze. There is a creation of a familial and communal atmosphere in the images of the tourist group enjoying various activities together, it is a tactic meant to create an atmosphere of comfort and also to “guide the reader’s fantasies and make them seem realizable: this could be me!” (Osborne 85). One can see examples of the community and family gaze in the many (35) images of students in groups in front of a landmark or historic sight. This is one of the similarities between the brochures and web-based marketing materials of faculty-led study abroad programs and those of third-party organizations. This prevalence of images of students smiling in front of picturesque locations, always in groups with other students from the program, and often with their backs to the camera and their arms wide open as if they were embracing this new land as their own—which may remind one of the stance of a colonizer surveying their newly conquered empire—and seldom, if at all, interacting with local inhabitants of the host countries or cities. The majority of these programs write about some sort of interaction with local host country/city inhabitants such as host families, language exchanges, or activities with local students. One may argue that these group images are an example of “bonding” moments among the students but the lack of representations of students interacting with local individuals and the volume of images of students in groups in various locations around the host countries and cities that are empty of native inhabitants reinforces the discourse that these countries and cities are blank slates upon which the students may inscribe their adventures and experiences without contemplating or learning about the dynamic relationships that already exist in these places.

The exoticism present within the anthropological gaze which produces “extraordinary tourism geographies of mythic ‘Otherness’ (Urry 175) is also very problematic as it emphasizes the binaries of Self and Other. Various studies have shown how promotional images ‘freeze’ and stage ethnic Others, as pre-modern, exotic, sexual and available for visual consumption. “Such

images of exotic others are traditionally produced and consumed by a well-off white gaze and pictures of a relatively impoverished black body” (Urry 175). One may witness the presence of the anthropological gaze in the few images of locals, most of which have been isolated and exoticized in their ethnic dress, or are used as props in group shots. These images almost never represent the native inhabitants or students interacting with the locals. In the few photos of locals, they are represented as exotic beings in their traditional dress, including a brochure for a program in Mexico—with a focus on the nature, autonomy, and social justice in Oaxaca—that displays an image of a group of people in their traditional indigenous dress performing a type of ritual, without a description of it or the importance of the image to the study abroad program, it simply serves to bring a bit of local color to the brochure.

In comparison to the types of images used to depict the experiences the students would have while studying abroad, the language used to describe the programs rarely strayed from the educational. Most of the text used in these brochures described the content of the program and the courses or field of study offered in each particular program. With phrases such as:

Students will explore the relationship between natural resources, ecotourism and sustainable development in Costa Rica—a tropical, demilitarized country between two oceans and two continents. (Costa Rica)

An important component of this program is Community Based Learning, an irreplaceable opportunity to be exposed to experiential learning aimed at enhancing students’ language proficiency, social interaction with locals, and cultural awareness and understanding through the truly meaningful experience of volunteer and field work. (Buenos Aires)

...you will meet the Groups of Theater of the Oppressed (GTO's) that work in various locations with a wide range of issues, like domestic workers fighting against sexism and for union worker's rights (Marias do Brasil), mental health patients fighting against stigma and discrimination (Pirei na Cenna), black artist-activists fighting against racism (Cor do Brasil) and youth from favelas (slums) dealing with varying issues (T.O. na Maré). (Rio de Janeiro)

Nevertheless, this positive, educational rhetoric is juxtaposed with images of the exoticized local, students in familial settings, and iconic nature photography. This disjunction of text and images is representative of the academic capitalism and entrepreneurialism that has become more prevalent in our North American higher education systems. When analyzing college viewbooks, Hartley and Morpew (2008) found that universities overwhelmingly used similar images and texts to sell a specific type of college lifestyle and experience thus commodifying college choice. The university study abroad marketing materials studied here similarly commodify the Latin American destinations of their programs through the use of imagery more often seen in tourism advertisements.

Analysis of North American University Study Abroad Marketing Materials: Spain

The differences noted between Latin America and Spain in the third-party study abroad marketing materials are also present in the faculty-led programs' brochures and websites. There is an overt focus on Spain as a distinct destination of heritage culture and leisure culture. The idea of leisure culture may be more closely aligned with the educational institutions ideas of culture as expressed in their mission statements, with their use of terms such as "cultural immersion" and "cultural context."

Some of the less educational tourist discourses presented in these study abroad marketing materials are still visible in the use of words, such as “excursion” and “explore,” all of which are peppered randomly in different descriptions of the host countries and cities and perpetuated the rhetoric of the student as an adventurer and colonizer. As seen in previous sections, the term “excursion” was common when referencing the type of educational travel the students would be undertaking as part of their program costs. In the foreign-based study abroad marketing materials (unfortunately, this study does not include an extensive investigation of foreign-based study abroad marketing materials, due to a lack of said materials that are specific to the regions investigated here), this term was conspicuously absent. Instead, terms such as “field trip,” “study tour,” and “field studies” were used. When looking up the difference between these two terms in the dictionary one notices the absence of the “student” between the terms “excursion” and “field trip”:

Field trip: a trip by students to gain firsthand knowledge away from the classroom, as to a museum, factory, geological area, or environment of certain plants and animals.

(Merriam-Webster 2017)

Excursion: a short trip especially for pleasure (Merriam-Webster 2017)

Based on these two definitions, there was a distinct difference in rhetoric depending on the type of terminology used; an “excursion” employs a trip for pleasure, whereas a “field trip” involves learning away from the classroom. These types of lexical differences are important to note, as they set the tone of the type of experience each student is expected to have when studying abroad. Zemach-Bersin noted that students overwhelmingly viewed study abroad as a break from school and a vacation from the daily routines and stress of their college lives. These expectations and

intentions are continuously reinforced or weakened by the type of rhetoric, images, and language used in the production of these holistic representations of different study abroad programs.

CONCLUSION

The American Council on Education (ACE) identifies study abroad as a tool to produce knowledge connected to national, political, and economic power. This status goal aligns with the logic of Orientalism spelled out above as the executive summary of this group states that “The United States must invest in an educational infrastructure [identified as study-abroad programs] that produces the knowledge of languages and cultures...to meet the needs of government agencies, the private sector, and education itself” (ACE 2002 cited in Zemach-Bersin 98). The marketing brochures and websites of the third-party study abroad organizations reproduce this imperialist discourse. They recreate the binaries of colonialism of black/white, North/South, civilization/nature, primitive/modern in their texts and images when describing the host countries and their inhabitants with rhetorics of adventure and discovery, exotification and tropicalization, volunteerism, and heritage tourism. Derrida argues that all of these binary opposites are coded with values and concepts of power and superiority. These binaries are reductive methods with which to see the complexity of difference (Sturken 104).

These organizations are not responsible for creating these binaries or their popularity in North American popular culture and society. Books such as *Eat, Pray, Love*, television programs such as *Globe Trekker* and *Amazing Race*, movies, advertisements, magazines, blogs and other websites, and entertainment programs that follow celebrities around the world, all of these converge to construct fantasies about different places, and support their access by the consumer (Barbour 65). Henry Jenkins localizes this convergence culture in the minds of the individual consumers through their social interactions with others (3). One uses this information

O’Toole

which was collected from various media sources in order to construct personal and social mythologies that form popular culture and influence one's perception of the world.

The "new" media provides the university students with better access and cultural relevance, opening new avenues of participation in the social production of knowledge, but this new media also superimposes and involves itself with the "old" media—such as electronic books. Whether they are analog or digital, these books represent an important medium for the identification and interpretation of culture, situating themselves between the context of their own culture and encapsulating the culture of others in a discourse of difference. For this reason these organizations, be they third-party study abroad organizations or universities themselves, because they are educational organizations have the responsibility to break these binaries and create a space where the students can enter into a conversation about the causes of these binaries and the effects they have upon the cultures where they will live and study in their study abroad programs. But, these different organizations tend not to break these binaries but instead continue to perpetuate the same type of images and narratives that have been present in tourism advertising for hundreds of years. One of the reasons for this may be due to the rise in academic capitalism in the education sector, specifically universities.

Academic capitalism refers to the market-like and business-type behaviors on the part of the university and the faculty (Slaughter & Leslie). It is a concept that focuses on networks that link institutions as well as faculty, administrators, academic professionals and students to the new economy. The academic capitalist knowledge regime results from the structures of behaviors it is generating (Slaughter & Rhoades). In this new regime, colleges and universities seek to produce revenue from their core educational, research and service functions, ranging from the production of knowledge, such as research leading to patents, to the faculty's

curriculum and instruction, like teaching materials that can be copyrighted and marketed (Slaughter & Rhoades). Research education and the nonacademic experience of higher education become commodities and consumable items. One of the reasons why academic capitalism has been so widely embraced is due to resource dependence theory (Nixon), which contends that organizations depend on their outside environment for essential resources and that organizations deprived of crucial revenues will seek new sources. Academic capitalism is a response to the many budget cuts that have left universities scrambling for new sources of funding. Although faculty-led study abroad programs have been around for decades here we have seen how the marketing of these programs is very much influenced by the marketing of third-party study abroad organizations, their use of archaic and modern tourism narratives (from exotic tropicalization to extreme sport adventures). More research needs to be done looking at the exact financial gains made by different study abroad programs and how these might correlate to their marketing techniques in order to better prove that academic capitalism is definitely at play here, as well as a form of isomorphism in the field of study abroad as a whole. Thankfully, one is able to see some of these trends moving in the opposite direction, such as with service learning programs versus voluntourism. The fact that other scholars are also starting to question these problematic tourism narratives within study abroad discourse and university study abroad departments are becoming more selective with regard to the types of third-party providers they choose to work with are all positive trajectories for the field of study abroad in the United States. These changes, hopefully, will create isomorphic transitions within the field itself, both at the university level and the third-party level.

Chapter 3: Constantly Connected: How Student's Personal Blogs Reflect Different Narratives from Study Abroad and Tourism Advertising

There are over 7 billion inhabitants on Earth, and over 3 billion of them use the Internet, and 2.3 billion of them are active on a number of social networks. Over 56 million blog posts are published on WordPress, a popular blogging platform, every month, and US adults spend over an hour every day, on average, watching online videos on digital devices, with Facebook, Snapchat and YouTube as the top channels. It is estimated that two out of three internet users have watched a vlog and one in five have watched one in the past month. Around 50% of 16-34 year olds watch vlogs on a regular basis. A 2014 study has shown that US teenagers are more influenced by popular vloggers than they are by mainstream celebrities (Variety) and 93% of them are watching their favorite vloggers' videos on YouTube.

Social media use by students has notoriously been negatively characterized as having an adverse effect on student learning outcomes, development and interpersonal relationships. Thankfully, in recent years more educators and student affairs professionals have started to embrace various aspects of social media and integrated them into their classroom and college campuses. New technology platforms are not the negative spaces that have created a more narcissistic population where individuals are merely bullied and harassed. They are tools with which we communicate in a relatively new way. Social media nevertheless, is a reflection of the offline world. Just as any tool, social media networks are not the cause of any outcome, but may only be a way by which this outcome may be achieved (Junco). This is true when looking at both positive and negative outcomes, such as the idea of a more narcissistic generation, as well

as the idea that the use of social media in educational institutions and classrooms may aid in various aspects of student development.

To a greater extent universities are increasing their social media use in both classrooms and for administrative purposes. The use of undergraduate student vloggers and bloggers that are hired to help answer questions about life at their university, which, in turn, aids in the recruitment and retention of potential students, is one of the more popular ways to utilize new technology platforms to engage potential and current students. Instagram is often employed to elevate a university's profile with alumni, current students, and potential incoming students with artistically edited photographs of the campus, events, and student activities. Study abroad programs and offices are also growing their use of social media to promote their programs, as a tool for various aspects of student development, and language teaching. But students also actively write blogs and create vlogs outside of the classroom, either as part of their personal social media profile, or for the third-party organizations that hosted their study abroad program. Some of the most popular independent study abroad vlogs on YouTube have over half a million views and hundreds of comments. The most well known study abroad blogs received upwards of 800k visitors per month, thecolleetourist.com, thestudyabroadblog.com and goabroadblog.com are some of the most visited websites. They utilize a large array of bloggers from various universities who have cumulatively studied in a large portion of the world.

This chapter aims to investigate the ways in which students talk about, film, and edit their study abroad experiences in Latin America and Spain in their personal blogs and vlogs. In addition it explores the types of language and images used. It is interesting to see the correlation between what is shown and discussed in the students' personal blogs and vlogs and the marketing techniques of US study abroad organizations from the previous chapter. And lastly,

this chapter seeks to investigate if there is any evidence of a process of growth in intercultural sensitivity throughout the length of study based on the content in these blogs and vlogs.

The first part of the chapter reviews the literature on the use of blogs and vlogs in study abroad contexts, mostly in classroom settings, and the how social media and technology continues to shape students. It looks at conceptual frameworks that shape this study utilizing Henry Jenkins' and Manuel Castells' theories on digital media, participatory culture, and the information society, as well as, theories on intercultural sensitivity developed by Milton Bennett.

Over 50 different blogs and vlogs produced by domestic US study abroad students studying in Spain and various countries in Latin America is the body of work analyzed here. The blogs were selected from a variety of popular blogging sites for study abroad students, as well as lesser known wordpress blogs. The vlogs were primarily found on YouTube. The first part of the study scrutinizes the blogs and vlogs for their content with regard to how students talk about their experiences and whether or not they reflect some of the colonial tropes and tourist gazes present in the marketing techniques used by US based study abroad organizations and universities. For this section, as many blogs as possible were analyzed and divided by the type of forum for which they were created, as there may be a difference in representation of the host country depending on the audience. The second part of the investigation looks at the content of the blogs and vlogs with regard to process of growth of intercultural sensitivity that may be evident within them. Only blogs and vlogs that had at least five or more entries over the course of the program of study were included.

Literature Review

There is a substantive body of work on how blogs may be used to aid in foreign language learning while studying abroad. Blogs are also used in the classroom to foster intercultural competence while studying abroad. Program directors and instructors, additionally, may use them in other ways to enhance various aspects of the study abroad experience. The use of vlogs as part of the study abroad curriculum and/or programming is less explored but some research has been done on how vlogs may also aid in various aspects of student development. Much less work has been done with regard to the effectiveness of vlogs in student development in study abroad contexts. Blogs and vlogs have been used for over a decade in a variety of ways by educators as part of their curriculum in a foreign language learning or study abroad context. Their use has shown to be an effective way to enhance a program when employed in a thoughtful and holistic manner.

When looking at the rhetoric of these blogs it is important to consider the types of marketing materials students have been exposed to for years before deciding to study abroad in their host country. Given that the attractiveness of the host country/city was a the top factor in a student's decision-making process about a study abroad program, it is no wonder that the visual images and words about the host destination are central to marketing. Rossiter and Singh found that it is more effective to use concrete, colorful imagery instead of abstract visuals in print and television advertising. Rossiter explains the importance of the placement of these images and that they be attention-holding images, rather than attention-getting images. McQuarrie and Mick found that visual rhetoric—images and text combined—produces a more favorable response in the consumer, as long as s/he is familiar with the semiotic and rhetorical systems within which the advertising text is located.

Some tourism researchers have investigated the influence of images and verbal rhetoric used in mass tourism marketing materials. Telisman-Kosuta found that a destination's image is a pivotal element of a destination's tourism product and that the consumer's choice of a vacation destination is largely influenced by their perceptions of it. Olsen, Alexander, and Roberts point out that the visual content in tourism advertising can affect a tourists' perception of vacation experiences through their association of certain types of imagery with particular experiences. Decrop writes that the use of text is useful for conveying information and arousing buyer intention and that combined with visuals can help to reinforce the advertiser's message. Other tourism scholars have looked at the implications in the visual rhetoric present in tourism print materials. Echtner and Prasad found that mass-marketed tourism materials perpetuate colonial myths and stereotypes in their marketing of third world tourist destinations through their use of problematic imagery wherein locals from the host country are depicted as exotic and passive objects upon which to gaze. Buzinde, Santos & Smith determined that these same types of stereotypes are being perpetuated in tourist advertising of Northern countries when depicting their minority populations.

Less research has been done investigating this same impact of visual rhetoric in study abroad advertising. As reviewed in the previous chapter, Caton and Santos analyze the images in the Semester at Sea (SAS) study abroad program's 33-page brochure as a site of colonialist discourse. They asked whether the portrayals of the places visited and people employed in the brochures of a nonprofit education tourism organization differs from those in the dominant tourism discourse and if such a program is aligning with its mission statement as agents of responsible international education or not? They found that the promotional material continued to perpetuate the colonial stereotypes found in research by Echtner and Prasad. Their research

only barely addresses this last point on whether the images reflect more entrepreneurial-driven practices over academic ones.

Zemach-Bersin (2007) broadened this analysis to include the images and the language used in a variety of study abroad marketing materials, from brochures to websites, and how they define and understand the concept of global citizenship (Zemach-Bersin 2007). Study abroad students were interviewed about their understanding of the term “global citizenship” and how it aligned with the images they viewed. This study reveals that the images and language used reinforced colonialist tropes of ownership, discovery, and easy accessibility of the world. Many of the students interviewed stated that they had chosen to study abroad in order to take a break from school, thinking of the semester abroad as a vacation and break from academic responsibilities. Zemach-Bersin continually refers to international education as something that is being consumed by the students and found that students interviewed shopped for the program in which they wanted to participate by looking through different brochures and catalogs, this makes the role of advertisements and images very clear in this process. Her investigation takes Canton and Santos’ research one step further, by demonstrating how important the advertisements are in student choice when deciding on a study abroad program and location. She does not look at a large number of marketing materials and only touches upon the types of images used within them. A recent study by Doerr (2012) analyzed two study abroad guide books and the language used within them, finding that the rhetoric of adventure reinforces colonial and cosmopolitan visions and constructs spaces and subjects that are connected by complex relations of power.

The substantive amount of research analyzing the images in tourism marketing materials stands in sharp contrast to the few studies analyzing the same images in the field of study abroad. As Zemach-Bersin writes, from the moment they arrive on campus, higher education students are

bombarded with numerous advertisements and promotions for study abroad programs. Almost all of them contain images of the foreign locales they are selling. By the time undergraduate students finally look at a study abroad brochure and choose their program they have unconsciously and consciously been consuming the images and rhetoric of study abroad advertisements for many years.

As explored in the previous chapter non-academic US study abroad providers and universities use a variety of images when promoting particular destinations in Latin America and Spain. The rhetoric of adventure was most prevalent when advertising study abroad destinations in Latin America, with an emphasis on “exploring” and going on a “quest” when studying abroad where activities like ziplining, snowboarding, whitewater rafting, and other extreme sports take precedence over learning. It evokes a language of colonialism in which Latin America is relegated to a place that is passively welcoming these Global North students ready for their adventures with the exotic environment of their host countries.

There is also a rhetoric of paradise, relaxation, and pleasure that reflects mass tourism marketing materials of Global South locations, where students are invited to enjoy the “pristine beaches,” “relax and enjoy the beautiful views,” and explore the “rhythm and pulse” of the city. Of the various rhetorics used in marketing materials of US study abroad organizations, that of exotification and tropicalization is one of the most problematic. It recalls the writings of Alexander von Humboldt in his descriptions of the extraordinary place of nature when describing Latin America. It exemplifies an erasure of the human beings that inhabit these countries by exclusively emphasizing the exoticism of their natural beauty. The tropicalization, or exoticization as a strategy of Othering, of the Latin American and Spanish host countries is evident in the language used when describing them as “laid-back,” “relaxed,” “fun-loving,” and

their “passion and fluidity.” It represents a reductive and essentialized representation of the individuals living in the host countries and their respective cultures. There is also an aspect of worlding (Spivak) represented in the marketing materials. This worlding consists of recuperating, interpreting, and translating into English the exploited but rich and intact heritages of remote cultures. As mentioned above, the use of images of indigenous individuals in their traditional dress to the comparisons of Latin American cities and nature to Global North references like Paris, Niagara, or the Mediterranean are present throughout study abroad marketing materials. This type of imagery and referents are problematic due to their perpetuation of colonial tropes and exotification of indigenous peoples for the purpose of selling a product to North American students.

The rhetoric of volunteerism is also problematic in its presence in study abroad marketing materials. It refers to individuals in socially marginalized communities as “impoverished,” “underprivileged,” or part of the host city’s “underbelly,” placing the Global North students as an Other in direct relation to the individuals with a lower social economic status from the host country. This places the students in the position of a North American savior that comes into these socially marginalized communities to help them without ever asking these communities about what they want nor considering the long-term impact these service-learning programs may have on the communities. There is also little to no discussion as to what types of global, national, and local economic systems and governments have caused this type of marginalization and how the students’ home country may be involved in this process.

Heritage tourism is the last type of device used in the marketing techniques of US-based study abroad organizations and universities. This was most prevalent in the programs promoting Spain. Equally celebrated and contested a concept, its questionable use in study abroad

marketing materials lies in the fact that it commodifies certain aspects of a location's culture and/or history while ignoring others and at the same time promotes gentrification, residential displacement, and other social difficulties. It also places its sole focus on the architecture and history of a location, situating these communities in the past rather than the present, or even the future, within their advertisements, subliminally sending messages that they may not be as modern as the student's home country or that their importance lies not in what they can do for the future, but only in their illustrious—and often diluted—pasts. This focus on the heritage sites within the marketing of the host cities creates a continuation of a narrative which manipulates the consumer of these study abroad programs, and trains them how to view these sites when they are there and how to represent them in their subsequent blogs, vlogs, Instagram accounts and Snapchats.

Finally, this chapter explores the types of rhetorics used in mass marketing by different types of study abroad organizations and how these discourses represent the expression of social relationships and power dynamics evident in US study abroad students' blogs and vlogs. These relationships are emblematic of the power relationships that guide the evolution of multimodal communication systems (Castells). This chapter also analyzes the progression in the process of growth in cultural sensitivity that may be evident in the students' blogs and vlogs over the period of their studies abroad. It utilizes Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. This model describes six ethnocentric to ethnorelative stages that demonstrate the distinct experiences of difference that the students may undergo. Here the language used in the students' blogs and vlogs and how it may represent their progress in intercultural sensitivity, is what is under scrutiny.

Research has been done analyzing travel blogs, that are not study abroad related, exploring how the Other is framed in British overseas gap year narratives (Snee), representation of China in travel blogs and travel books (Calzati), the female tourist gaze in auto-diegetic narratives (Zhang & Hitchcock), and analysis of gazing onto the West from the East in Malaysian tourist blogs in Italy (Denti). There is limited research specifically analyzing student's study abroad travel blogs from a colonial studies perspective.

In sum, this chapter proposes to examine how students talk about their study abroad experiences in Latin America and Spain in blogs and vlogs. What kind of language and imagery do they use? What do they choose to highlight and what is left out, or unseen? All of this helps our understanding of how these blogs and vlogs may reflect the processes of cultural sensitivity these students are undergoing during their study abroad experience. The particular focus on Latin America and Spain is also significant; one is a traditional study abroad destination in Europe with 9% of all US students studying abroad living there during their stay, it is ranked as the third most popular destination in the world for US students (IIE Open Doors 2017), and the other countries comprise less traditional and less popular destinations that tend to cater towards a different type of student, one that seeks out a more alternative study abroad experience (citations). Is there a difference in how students in these different locations discuss or film their study abroad experiences?

Network Society

Manuel Castells refers to the type of communication we see in blogs and vlogs as 'mass self-communication' because it is a type of communication that is directed toward a global audience but, at the same time, consists of a self-generated message, that is directed at an audience chosen by the author, and contains an abundance of self-selected messages and content

taken from a variety of sources on the World Wide Web and the world at large. There is a cultural dimension to this type of mass self-communication that is developed at the intersection between two trends that may seem contradictory: “the parallel development of a global culture and multiple identity cultures; and the simultaneous rise of individualism and communalism as two opposing, yet equally powerful, cultural patterns that characterize our world” (Castells, *Communication Power*, 56). Different social actors are using these systems of mass self-communication to assert their own values and defend their interests in a variety of ways. Yet, no matter what their original intentions may be, these messages, once sent out, are prone to being received and interpreted in a countless number of ways by their eventual audience.

The sources of power, wealth, and meaning are mainly based on knowledge and information. But the value of information is reliant on how it is combined with knowledge for a purpose, and this type of knowledge is relative to each culture and society (Castells). In today’s North American US-based society there has been a lot of emphasis put on the importance of knowledge of global societies with terms like “internationalization” and “global citizenship” present in secondary schools, universities, community colleges, summer camps, large multinationals conglomerate corporations, and not-for-profit organizations. This means that knowledge of other cultures and places around the world is being prioritized by the upper echelons of this US-based society, and yet not everyone has the ability to go abroad and experience and learn about a new culture first hand. Even for the individuals that do so, it is often their very first time abroad and they or their families have many questions and concerns about what they may encounter when they are there. As a result, these blogs and vlogs are heavily trafficked and commented upon with questions and concerns, by potential study abroad students and/or their families. The potential information and knowledge communicated within

them combined with the experiences and knowledge of the individuals reading and watching them have the potential to shape how they view the world, interact with the cultures they encounter, treat individuals from other cultures that they may meet in the US, and how they may teach future generations about different cultures, places, and people.

Participatory Culture

One of the basic conceptual frameworks used in this study is that of Henry Jenkins' participatory culture (Jenkins et al). This concept is a continuation of a concept Jenkins developed earlier called convergence culture. In participatory culture the individuals of the general public do not merely consume the media that is fed to them via new technologies, but actively participate in the creation of new content that can then be consumed, and often, connects these users to other users via interactive comment boards, videos, etc. In participatory culture young people creatively respond to a variety of cultural commodities and advanced technological signals in ways that surprise their original authors. They find meanings and identities that were never meant to be there and defy those that complain about the manipulation or passivity of so-called consumers (Bowman & Willis). Henry Jenkins and co-authors Ravi Purushotma, Katie Clinton, Margaret Weigel, and Alice Robison in *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century* described participatory culture as one that has relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement; possesses a strong support system for creating and sharing one's creations with others; which includes some type of informal mentorship wherein that which is known by the most experienced is passed along to the novices; where members believe that their contributions have meaning; and where members feel a certain degree of social connection with one another. Not all of the members in this

participatory culture have to contribute to it but they have to feel as if they could contribute to the community whenever they want and that their contribution is adequately valued.

It has been argued that the new participatory cultures may represent ideal learning environments. These environments have been labeled “affinity spaces” (Gee) due to the fact that they draw people together based on a shared interest or engagement in an activity that supersedes class culture, race, ethnicity, or gender. Gee has argued that because these spaces often, but not always, occur online, and because people can participate in a variety of ways that depend on their skills and interests, and there is a dependency on peer-to-peer teaching where each participant is consistently motivated to expand their knowledge and refine their skills, these spaces offer powerful opportunities for learning. Jenkins urges us to not deal with the different technologies available to people today in isolation but to take an ecological approach. One where we think about “the interrelationship among all of these different communication technologies, the cultural communities that grow up around them, and the activities they support. Media systems consist of communication technologies and the social, cultural, legal, political and economic institutions, practices, and protocols that shape and surround them”

(http://henryjenkins.org/2006/10/confronting_the_challenges_of.html). This chapter explores the relationship between the different media systems involved in study abroad, from the rhetorical techniques used in the marketing to the ways in which students blog and vlog about their experiences in the host cultures.

At first sight, bloggers may seem like individuals that simply have too much time on their hands, but, according to Jenkins, they may be able to lower the barriers to cultural participation and perhaps even increase cultural diversity. Bloggers often expand the range of perspectives that are available to the consumer when they tune into the world around them via the World

Wide Web. One study found that there is an immense diversity in content and a variety of motivations and processes in how this content is produced (Nardi et al.). For the most part, blogging itself is a tool of personal self-expression, a way to share ideas, all of which is done in a space that is personalized and distinctive to each blogger (Blood). These spaces may have different intentions, distinct purposes, and diverse audiences, but they are always a public expression and mirror of the individuals that write the various blogs (Halavais). Most bloggers mention that they blog for themselves (52%), and a smaller selection state that they blog for their audience (32%) (quoted from Castells). This type of self-expression in blogging is evident when looking at blogs aimed at students' study abroad experiences. The purposes of the blogs themselves often vary in that some are written for a university study abroad page, a third-party study abroad organization's webpage or catalog, a student's personal blog, or a blog that was created as part of a class requirement. All of these distinct types of intentions, purposes, and audiences must be taken into consideration when analyzing the respective blogs as they may affect the way in which the students represent their respective host city and country. The variety of blog outlets also represent different types of students: a personal blog may give one a better overview of a typical student studying abroad, whereas a blog on a third-party organization or university webpage is most likely a student that was hand-selected as one of the best among the students studying abroad in that year's cohort.

Consuming representation

Consuming representation is a theory that was developed to explain the complex process between the interaction of consuming and producing by consumers themselves. It deals with how consumers engage with, read, and respond to signs, symbols, images (Schroeder). It can be said that after engaging with them, the consumer then goes out into the world and produces and

reproduces them in their own fashion in a variety of ways. Henry Jenkins has explored this re-representation in his book *Convergence Culture* where individuals create fan fiction, fan art, parodies and more based on their consumption and re-representation of different narratives. Culture jamming is another method in which individuals consume images, symbols, and signs; read them and then re-produce them in ways that subvert or disrupt the media culture, mainstream corporate advertising. Culture jamming is unique in that it is an active anti-consumer social movement that often aims at exposing questionable political assumptions behind commercial culture, but by using the mass media itself to call attention to and react against social conformity. The above mentioned representations are only some of the many ways in which an individual may consume and then produce and reproduce the many signs and symbols utilized by different corporations, advertisements, and narratives. Another way in which consumers represent what they consume is through photography (Schroeder). With the increasing popularity of apps such as Snapchat and Instagram, the surge in selfies, and rise in amateur food photos has contributed to images becoming the “preferred idiom of a new generation” (van Dijck 58). On many of these photo-sharing sites, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat, these images are not just used for communication, but have become one of the main ways by which these individuals construct their online identities. These images are representative of a carefully constructed digital self-presentation. Self-presentation itself is often motivated by a desire to create a positive impression on others, or one that coincides with one’s own ideals. Schlenker states that this type of self-presentation is characteristically concerned with impression management and the projection of an online identity (Schlenker). By using these images as a way of constructing their identity they directly influence others that look to them to inform their own understanding of reality. One can see this in the preponderance of similar selfies, food

photography on Instagram, and the ways in which fashion bloggers re-create each other's images on the same site. "Photographs are valued because they give information" and the information that people gather from these images affects and shapes their sense of reality (Sontag 16). As a result, photography, in the form in which it is most often used today—digital images that are broadcast online—has a powerful effect on communication, identity, and reality in our current era (Winston). The act of photographing is not a passive act but one that actively shapes the ways in which the photographer sees the world around him/her and decides to interact with it. Studies have shown that individuals are more likely to engage in events that are more pro-photographic (Lee). Tourists may decide to participate and visit certain locations specifically because they know that the photographs they produce will effectively capture and communicate the individual's experience (Winston). People also behave differently when they know that a camera is around and that they are being photographed or filmed. As a result, the act of photographing shapes the reality around it, affecting how people see and capture the world, and also how they behave when in the presence of this act.

The conceptual framework of postcolonialism provides the frame for scrutinizing the rhetoric used in the blogs and vlogs. More specifically the theories of Orientalism and tropicalization developed by Edward Said and Aparicio and Chávez-Silverman respectively. These theories were defined and explained in the previous chapter and will be utilized to some extent here as well. Said's theory of Orientalism proposes a useful framework for how the western media is complicit in the different imaginaries and constructions of how eastern cultures are represented and, ultimately, viewed. Aparicio and Chávez-Silverman expanded Said's concept of Orientalism to include Latin America and the construction of the countries and people in this region by the North American and European hegemonic powers. They extend the notion

of tropicality, originally determined more for the Caribbean, to also include Mexico and Latin America.

This study also uses the framework of Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. In his model Bennett suggests a continuum of stages of personal growth that moves from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. The earlier stages define a denial of difference, defense against difference and a minimization of difference, whereas the later stages define the acceptance and adaptation of difference and integration of this difference into one's world view.

Data and Methods

The data used for this study comes from the World Wide Web and is comprised of 50 different blog entries by 20 different authors, and 20 vlog entries by 5 different authors. There is an almost equal representation between blog and vlog entries of students studying in Latin America and Spain.

The method used in this research is that of a Qualitative Content Analysis, with specific focus on the directive approach. The directive approach is used to extend and/or validate a theoretical framework. The idea is that existing theories can help focus the research questions, give one predictions about variables that are being investigated and provide clues about the relationship between different variables. The theoretical frameworks used also help in guiding the discussion of the findings, thus supporting and extending these frameworks. Hsieh and Shannon's directive approach is utilized here due to the theoretical frameworks used. These frameworks guide the coding scheme with regard to the particular types of references, images, text and developmental processes looked at in the aforementioned blogs and vlogs.

Analysis of Blogs and Vlogs

O'Toole

The blogs and vlogs analyzed here come from a variety of sources and location on the World Wide Web. Many of these blogs were found on the websites of third-party study abroad organizations or universities. Others were produced for larger study abroad blogging websites that compile some of the best student bloggers from all over the US. And one last category included blogs written by students for their own small blogging site. Each of these categories has within its scope a different audience in mind, and these different potential audiences shape how these bloggers write about their experiences abroad and how they decide to represent their host countries in their blogs.

The students that wrote their blogs and filmed their vlogs for their own websites and YouTube channels often had a variety of audiences in mind. Some students specifically mentioned their audience in the first post or video, such as their friends and family, or their followers on their channel. Many of the members of that audience were their peers, often other students that are thinking or planning on studying abroad in general or in the same country or city, as evidenced in the comment sections of the different posts and videos. In these blogs and vlogs there was often a much more significant reflection of the marketing techniques used by US study abroad organizations. The students often referred to their experiences traveling and exploring their host countries and cities, with little to no reference to the local people or customs. And when they or their customs were mentioned it was often in reference to how different they were, and not usually in a positive manner.

In the blogs and vlogs that were part of a series by the same author/s one could see a progression of interest in the host culture, family and other individuals with whom the students crossed paths. It is interesting to note that initially students seemed to treat their experiences

abroad as a form of travel, as opposed to study, with a strong emphasis on heritage tourism, shopping, and, in some cases, local nature.

Blogs and vlogs on Third-party websites

Many third-party study abroad organizations and universities have students write a blog post or series of posts for their websites. Often, these organizations and universities have a rigorous selection process where they eventually choose not only the top students at their university but also the top students in their respective study abroad programs. These students often are majoring or minoring in a subject with an emphasis on global competency, have taken a class on intercultural competency, or have been exposed to other cultures or countries already before embarking on their study abroad program. As a result, this investigation expects to find that these students write or film about their study abroad experiences in a very different manner than those students that were writing for a personal blog or YouTube channel.

These students often did not reproduce the different types of tourism narratives quite as abundantly as students from the other categories did. These narratives were still evident in the images chosen for their blogs and vlogs, but not in the language used when describing their experiences in their host countries or cities. There was a lot of discussion with regard to the differences between US customs, cities, and food and those of the host location; as well as the differences among diverse regions or cities within the host country. One of the underlying assumptions of Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity "is that as one's *experience of cultural difference* becomes more sophisticated, one's competence in intercultural relations increases" (Bennett *Developing Intercultural Sensitivity* 152). Each of the stages indicates a distinct "worldview configuration," with particular attitudes and behaviors that are

associated with each respective configuration. The model is designed to indicate changes in the development of the individual's cognitive structure as opposed to changes in attitude and behavior. "The statements about behavior and attitudes at each stage are indicative of a particular condition of the underlying worldview" (152). The first three stages display an ethnocentric worldview, where one's own culture is experienced as a central part of one's own reality. It consists of the stages of denial, defense, and minimization. The denial stage ignores the other culture as one's own is considered as the only authentic one. In the defense stage any difference in cultures is disparaged. And in the minimization stage one's own culture is seen as universal and other cultures are seen as essentially the same or related with regard to differences. The next three stages are seen as ethnorelative, where one sees one's own culture in the context of other cultures. It consists of the stages of acceptance, adaptation, and integration. In acceptance the individual sees other cultures as equally complex as one's own culture but as different versions of reality. Through adaptation one is able to shift one's reality enough that it may include the cultural worldview of another individual and one is able to switch perspectives between the cultural outlooks. In integration one's reality is expanded to include another worldview, so that one can view the world through the lens of the other culture, moving between the cultural lenses.

Madrileños— as they call themselves have interesting habits, that are not technically bad...but very different culturally. The people in the city don't walk with as much speed as I would wish and everyone seems to be obsessed with barbecue sauce and mayonnaise— both of which I don't particularly care for. I have been stared at and talked (audibly) about on the metro too many times to count and am finding it hard not to yell at everyone who brushes past me in the subway without pardoning themselves or asking me to move. That is the Spanish way. People are more frank, walk slowly, and think that saying "please," "thank you," and "excuse me," are a waste of time and unnecessary. I am finding it a bit harder this time to adjust as I notice more behaviors that are very

culturally different from what I am used to seeing in Philadelphia.

(<https://templeuabroad.wordpress.com/2016/09/17/same-deal-new-details/>)

This was a quote taken from the very first blog a student wrote about their study abroad experience in Spain for a university website. It clearly shows the student in one of the ethnocentric stages of Bennett's model, with her references to Spanish culture being different but "not technically bad" and how she is having a hard time adjusting to these cultural differences in daily behavior. This post has been categorized as between the stages of defense and minimization according to Bennett's parameters. One of her last blog posts included the following sentences about Spanish culture:

Finally, obviously, when the program is ending— I'm actually encountering what I have wanted this whole time. I am finally finding out how to not be bothered by the things that used to bother me and am still being determined and hard-working at soaking up the cultural experience as much as I can. I don't know if I could have said these things to myself earlier, although I wish I could have, but finally I have a sense of relief and that feels lovely. (<https://templeuabroad.wordpress.com/>)

Here one can see some of the process of her growth on Bennett's model, it is not as far as adaptation or integration, but she has moved out of the ethnocentric level into a more ethnorelative one of acceptance, and she is aware of her growth in this manner.

Another student studying in Brazil also spoke often of cultural differences. One of his first observations of Brazilian culture is:

Brazilians, being much more expressive, have a different way of getting to know new people, which at first can leave Americans shocked and uncomfortable. (<https://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/studyabroad/2012/11/06/not-so-awkward-touching/>)

Later on he comments more specifically on this discomfort he experienced and how he became adapted to it.

As an American who spent his first month in Salvador where awkward touching is custom, I felt extremely uncomfortable with people I didn't know rubbing my hands and telling me about their divorce. After moving to São Paulo where touching is less frequent, I became more accustomed, and entered a phase that I believe many Americans in Brazil probably go through.

[\(https://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/studyabroad/2012/11/06/not-so-awkward-touching/\)](https://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/studyabroad/2012/11/06/not-so-awkward-touching/)

He very clearly places himself on one of the ethnocentric stages of Bennett's model where he denigrates the cultural difference via his discomfort with them, but moves towards a more ethnorelative stage because he was able to move to another region of the country where this difference was not as strong.

What at first is invasive becomes warm and inviting. (<https://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/studyabroad/2012/11/06/not-so-awkward-touching/>)

Some are still extremely uncomfortable, some just accept it as a part of life here, while others are going to miss human contact as a sign of affection. For me, the awkward has become not so awkward, and while I sometimes crave physical separation and space to breathe, I'm really going to miss the unspoken manner of people showing they really care. (<https://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/studyabroad/2012/11/06/not-so-awkward-touching/>)

Here one can witness the student's process of growth toward acceptance, and later adaptation on Bennett's model. The student is experiencing a stage of acceptance with regard to behavioral relativism. There is a perception that different behaviors exist in a cultural context there is a pursuit of understanding the complex interaction between these contexts. First the student shows this through his observations of how people from different regions in Brazil interact with one another differently, and how this is also different from US culture. Later, he goes on to show that he is slowly adapting to this different culture via behavioral code-shifting. He shifts his behavior based on the host culture, and is even able to shift his frame of mind in different cultural settings.

There are many other blog posts from university websites and third-party organizations that demonstrate the student's process of growth according to Bennett's categories, most of whom start in one of the ethnocentric levels but they all move into an ethnorelative stage by the end of their experience. This indicates a level of cognitive development with regard to intercultural sensitivity during their study abroad experience.

Some of the students also make reference to one of the rhetorical narratives used by study abroad marketing, one of the most popular of which was the rhetoric of paradise, relaxation, and pleasure:

When I would tell people that I was going to the DR (Dominican Republic) to study abroad, the answer I would receive more often than not was, "Ugh, I'm so jealous, with those beautiful beaches and 80 degree weather, you will have the time of your life!" The reaction that I would overwhelmingly hear painted to me again and again was most similar to my experience at the beach resort in Punta Cana: a quite literal paradise. (<https://blogs.common.georgetown.edu/studyabroad/2016/01/31/from-punta-cana-to-villa-altagracia-deconstructing-stereotypes/>)

This statement is taken a bit out of context in the student's blog. The student is referencing other people's view of the Dominican Republic and its place in their worldview as a paradise with picture-perfect beaches. They compare this worldview to the one they experienced at an all-inclusive resort, the typical tourism narrative of a warm-weather, exotic locale with a beach. But, as the title of the blog indicates, she is trying to deconstruct the stereotypes of the individuals she meets throughout her program in the Dominican Republic, and this is one of those stereotypes that she has to deconstruct as part of her experience.

Personal blogs and vlogs

There were some notable differences between the blogs and vlogs written for third-party websites, like universities and study abroad organizations, and those written for a student's

personal blog on wordpress or vlog channel on YouTube. One of the most notable differences is the emphasis on travel in the personal blogs. Many of the students studying in Spain treat it as a jumping point for further travels around Europe and their blogs strongly reflect this fact as about 70% of the blog posts focus on their travels around Europe, as opposed to their life in their host city. When they do choose to talk about their host cities they do so with a shallow eye, focusing mostly on the art, architecture, food, and drinking or partying, without delving beneath the surface to learn about the local culture and people. The first two of these are considered shallow because they are reflective of heritage tourism, with an emphasis on the host cities' architectural and historical heritage, and little to no attention given to its other cultural heritages. As mentioned before, heritage tourism can be problematic because it is a selective process that often ignores the histories and heritages of marginalized populations, and also leads to a process of gentrification in areas that are suddenly deemed important due to their heritage and contribution to the majority culture. It also leads to an emphasis on luxury and pleasure tourism in areas of heritage tourism with an abundance of spas, exclusive hotels, elegant restaurants, and tour agencies surrounding these locations.

Let me tell you more about my home, Okay?

Now of course there is the amazing works of Gaudí, such as the Casa Batlló, Casa Calvet, Casa Milà, Park Güel, and my personal favorite, the Sagrada Família. Through Spanish Studies Abroad we visited Casa Batlló, Park Güel, and Sagrada Família in one day and still had time to spare in the evening...Did I mention Barcelona has amazing museums?? OH well yeah, Barcelona has AMAZING museums! Many are free if you go at the right time or on the right day! Learn about some Barcelona history; you'll appreciate the city so much more. FOOD FOOD AND MORE FOOD! In general, the food in Spain is amazing and it is even better in Barcelona! (<http://wheninspain-blog.tumblr.com/>)

Upon entering, my eyes were opened wide by the beauty of the architecture and hand-carved ceilings. The gorgeous view of Granada through the famous Arabic arches was something that I thought I could only dream about. I was...stunned. The history. The

landscapes. The architecture. It was all a beautiful cocktail that I sipped with delight. (<https://alexbartlow.wordpress.com/2016/10/31/columbus-caballos-creative-titles-well-sort-of/>)

Sagrada Familia. Holyyyyyy Jesus. If you think it looks amazing from the outside, wait till you see the inside! I actually wasn't planning on going inside while I was here (I know, stupid right?) because I've seen a bunch of historical churches and they all kinda look the same to me, no offense to religious folk. BUT I'm sooo happy I went inside Sagrada Familia, it's unlike any other church I've seen before. The doors, the walls, the ceiling, the pilars, the towers, EVERYTHING is just so artistic and detailed. Man, Gaudi really was a mastermind! (<https://blogginginbarcelona.wordpress.com/>)

These are only a few examples where students are in awe of Spain's history, art, and architecture. This type of reaction might be expected the first few weeks of a student's experience abroad but all of these blogs were written at least 2-3 months into the student's program abroad. This type of subject matter was not the focus of the blogs and vlogs written for third-party websites.

Another visible trend in these personal blogs and vlogs is the focus of tourism-type imagery. Many of the blogs and vlogs display a lot more photographs from the student's study abroad experience than the blogs written for third-party sites. Most of those images show heritage tourist locales, the students participating in adventure tourism, and images from the many trips they take to neighboring countries in Europe, or cities around their host country in Latin America. In the blogs and vlogs featuring Spain, at least 80% of the images and blogs topics focus on the weekend trips taken by the students to other European destinations, and read more like tourism or backpacking blogs than a study abroad experience.

Unfortunately, it was very difficult in this category of blogs and vlogs to discern any shifts and developments in the students' intercultural sensitivity based on Bennett's model, as described above. In some instances one can witness the level of intercultural sensitivity at which

the students begin their study abroad experience but because the subject matter of the blogs and vlogs tends to stay very shallow—food, architecture, basic historical facts, sights—it was almost impossible to witness any growth on Bennett’s scale of intercultural sensitivity. Generally, the students writing blogs, or producing vlogs, for their personal sites or channels on YouTube begin their journey at a much lower level on Bennett’s scale. One of the vloggers focused much of her denial of difference and denigration of Spanish culture on her relationship with the food in Spain:

“Look at this” It says flour on it. EWWW...It says ‘sin gluten’ EWWW...Who would eat that? I would not (looking at a stick of salami)

“They’re this little fish that some people have to eat in their homes. And they look, so, so disgusting, they’re little fish. Blehhhhh” (Studying Abroad in Spain-Day One in Salamanca [AlexaAbroad])

“Also, milk is not refrigerated...how disgusting” (Studying Abroad in Spain-Dia Haul + Catch UP [AlexaAbroad])

Another blogger focuses her attention on her and other study abroad students’ interaction with a local bus driver:

The guy ran off the bus to relieve himself in front of the building, within clear view of the bus (though by this time it was fairly dark out) and the bus driver shouted at him "Ay ay ay... hay mujeres!" (There are women on this bus!) Then my friend Mike ran off the bus to go, followed by at least 5 other guys, each about 10 seconds apart. It was pretty entertaining though, because the bus driver was a tad bit bothered, and would say something after each guy left, which all the rest of us passengers were laughing at. Then he honked the horn and told them to hurry up -- it was a *very* brief stop.
<http://www.madridnt.com/2009/10/alicante.html>

In both of these instances one would place the authors at one of the ethnocentric stages of Bennett’s model. In the first example, the vlogger would be placed at the second stage of Defense against Difference, of which there are three levels—denigration, superiority, and reversal. One does not go through all three of these levels but may experience only one of them,

and the first author's comments about her distaste for the Spanish selection of food and how to store their food would place her on the level of denigration where she is negatively evaluating those with different cultural behaviors or values. The second author with the story about the bus and the bus driver seems more on the scale of Denial of Difference. Bennett describes this stage—the first one on his model—as one in which an individual is simply “in denial” about cultural difference—they are unable to experience differences in other than extremely simple ways” (*A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity* 1). Individuals at this level might dehumanize others because they assume that “different behavior is a deficiency in intelligence or personality” (1). By laughing at the bus driver and his reaction of various males getting off the bus to relive themselves in public and then writing about it, thus emphasizing his reaction without actually asking or commenting on why he might be reacting in this manner, is a way of minimizing the cultural differences that might have led to his unscheduled stop for this student, and then annoyance when he decides to urinate in public and others decide to join him. The common focus by the different blogs and vlogs produced by students for their personal use, and not a third-party site, on shallow subjects such as tourism, food, travel, and nightlife would also place them on the first level of Bennett's model for they are choosing not to discuss any cultural differences they may be witnessing or experiencing except in the simplest of ways, ie. food or transportation.

Conclusion

As witnessed in the different blogs and vlogs that have been analyzed here there is a definite trend towards reproduction of familiar colonial tropes and rhetorical techniques borrowed from both tourism and study abroad advertising. There is also a very clear development of intercultural sensitivity occurring in these blogs and vlogs. In some, such as the

blogs produced for third-part study abroad organizations' and university websites, this development is much clearer and fast-paced, as the students often already begin their study abroad experience at a higher level of Bennett's model, thus advancing to the levels of acceptance of difference and integration of difference at a faster rate than students who were writing or filming about their study abroad experience for a personal blog or video channel. These students often started at the beginning of Bennett's model and advanced through some of the levels but rarely made it all the way to the level of adaptation or integration of difference.

Consuming representation was a recurring theme in all of the different categories of blogs as students often reproduced and re-represented the types of images, language, and narratives that they have been exposed to in a variety of media. This reproduction of meanings via consumption is typical of consumer culture:

Consumer behaviors such as putting together a wardrobe, assembling a library, creating a collection, making a home all employ production metaphors. In each of these activities, what is being produced is meanings—signs and symbols of identity—through consumption. This apparent paradox—production through consumption—characterizes consumer culture. The concept 'consuming representation' is an attempt to capture the complex interactions between consuming and producing representations (Schroeder 4).

One can witness the same type of consuming representation occurring in the different blogs and vlogs about students' study abroad experiences. What they have encountered themselves through mass media television, film, tourism advertising, and study abroad

marketing—both online and in print provides the basis for the ways in which they represent their host countries, the types of images they decided to produce and reproduce.

This chapter explored the different ways in which students represent their study abroad experiences online in their blogs and vlogs. There is a clear difference between university or organizationally sanctioned blogs and bloggers and their representations and growth on Bennett's chart of intercultural sensitivity and the blogs and vlogs produced independently by students for their personal sites and audience. The students emulate the same rhetorics present in the mass marketing materials produced by study abroad organizations. Although it is unclear which one is emulating the other, their presences and reproduction is problematic as it continues to reflect colonial tropes that one might expect the higher education system to work towards deconstructing instead of mirroring.

Chapter 4: Mirroring Rites of Passage: Narratives of Study Abroad in Young Adult Literature and Film

This chapter explores the intersection between the steadily large number of female study abroad students, their preferred regions of study, and the narratives present in different Young Adult study abroad literature and film. The field of Young Adult Literature (YAL), otherwise known as literature written for readers between the ages of 12 and 20, has grown exponentially over the last two decades with an increase of over 200% in YA titles from 2002 to 2012 and a 117% increase in Children's and YA ebook sales from 2011 to 2012 (Bowker Books). YAL as a field of critical study has also increased with a call for scholars to consider YAL as a separate canon from children's literature (Hunt). It is a canon worthy of critical analysis and one that is slowly producing more theoretically oriented criticism. There has also been a rise in the use of YAL in the secondary classroom as a way to teach critical thinking skills to students and an appreciation for reading. This appeal by scholars for teachers to consider YAL as an important part of a student's literary development that stands outside of the "classical canon" of literature is a developing trend that helps establish the value of YAL as a critical field of study (Alsup).

There are over 200 YA books that are shelved as having "study abroad" as one of their themes on goodreads.com. Goodreads.com is a "social cataloging" website owned by Amazon that allows its members to review, add books, create lists, annotations, create groups of blogs, polls, surveys, suggestions, lists, and more. Goodreads.com has over 55 million members, and 1.5 billion books have been added to the site. Of these 200 YA books that focus on study abroad as one of its themes the majority of them have female protagonists (85%) and are written by a female author. The majority of the study abroad experiences described in the novels took place in Europe (64%).

Most of the college and secondary school students that choose to study abroad for a year, summer, or semester with an exchange program, third-party organization, or faculty-led program are primarily young women. Over the past decades the number of women studying abroad has outnumbered men by a steady 60-66% versus 34-40% (IIE, Open Doors 2017). Some studies have shown that more women than men study abroad because men don't think of studying abroad as an important component to their university studies and plan to backpack around Europe or Latin America for a summer or an extended period of time after they graduate (citation). One in ten U.S. undergraduate students goes on to study abroad at one point in their college career and the majority of them in Europe (54%, NAFSA), with Latin America (16%, NAFSA) and Asia (11%) a distant second and third.

The pages that follow analyze 20 YA titles whose main theme is focused around a young woman, mostly a US secondary or college student, studying abroad as part of their official schooling. The selection criteria for the books selected were that the novel's protagonist was within the 14-21 age range, that the book received over 1,000 reviews on goodreads.com, and was published within the last 15 years. Most of the authors whose novels are investigated here have penned only one work of fiction, some authors have written trilogies. The Semester Across the Seven Seas (S.A.S.S.) series consists of 12 books, but a different author wrote each book.

This chapter also analyzes the popular film *The Lizzie McGuire Movie*, which was mentioned in a number of blogs written by female students studying abroad in Europe. As important as the field of YAL has become, unfortunately the majority of teenagers and young adults are not avid readers and the film industry often has a far wider range of influence. *The Lizzie McGuire Movie* was the second most popular movie at the box office during its release and grossed over \$55 million worldwide during its cinematic release. It was also nominated for

two Teen Choice awards and Hillary Duff received the Best Actress Award. The fact that it debuted at number two during its box office release, was nominated for a number of Teen Choice Awards, and that the blogs written by study abroad students mention it attests to its wide appeal and influence among the current generation of study abroad students.

Arnold van Gennep's rites of passage and Gallese's discovery of mirror neurons and its application in literary studies, along with Suzanne Keen's narrative empathy, are all important lenses from which one can see the importance of YAL as a critical field of study and the potential influence of these particular books with study abroad as a major theme on generations of young women and men who eventually choose to study abroad during their college years.

The majority of the narratives analyzed within this chapter are marketed and written for a specific audience—young (ages 13-19), Caucasian, and female. Here, these particular types of narratives are referred to as “cotton candy” narratives because they are fluffy (they take a basic concept and arc and fluff it out in a predictable manner), sweet (they almost always have a happy ending), and easily digestible (they are predictable and generally do not ask the reader to confront any of their own fears or uncomfortable experiences). These books also easily melt into one's brain just as cotton candy melts on one's tongue. John G. Cawelti would categorize the majority of these novels and the *Lizzie McGuire Movie* as formulaic narratives. These types of narratives encourage an intense and immediate involvement in the character's actions through their simple and emotionally charged style of writing (*Adventure, Mystery and Romance*, 19). This intense involvement and crude form of identification between protagonist and reader allows the mirror neurons and embodied simulation involved in this dispersion of ideas, feelings, and ideas of how a study abroad program experience should and can look like to be part of the traces these narratives leave behind. Not all of the narratives analyzed here follow the strictly

formulaic “cotton candy” theme, two of the novels were inspired by the tragic story of Amanda Knox and her roommate studying abroad in Italy, and one of the novels is a memoir in prose about a young woman’s struggle with a serious anxiety disorder. For the last novel mentioned I analyze only the 50 pages written about her study abroad experience in Paris, and although she struggles with a serious mental illness, it still echoes many of the themes of what a US study abroad experience looks like from the perspective of a young Caucasian female. Including these diverse texts make the reader aware of the fact that even in a formulaic “cotton candy” narrative many of the same themes regarding study abroad as a rite of passage are present.

There is also a difference in genres present within this chapter as there are many novels analyzed and one film. Literary imaginaries and how they have the ability to affect a reader’s emotional and subsequent physical response through various narrative techniques are discussed in the following pages. Study abroad is seen as a rite of passage by many researchers and one can also witness this liminal element of study abroad experiences within a small subset of YA literature and films.

Arnold van Gennep was one of the first anthropologists to develop the concept of rites of passage within societies. His evaluation posits that an individual moves from one subgroup in a society to another via a passage, much like a house with many rooms and hallways. An individual takes many different types of passages, such as adulthood and motherhood or fatherhood, but van Gennep also studies territorial passages like a crossing of borders into a culturally different region (*The Rites of Passage*). The rites that are associated with these types of passages are often divided into three stages; separation, liminality, and reincorporation. In the first phase, individuals often withdraw from their current group or status and begin to move into another status or group. According to Victor Turner this first stage of separation consists of

symbolic behavior that signifies a detachment from the earlier group. During the third stage, individuals are reincorporated into their new group in society, having completed the rite or rites involved with their passage. The liminal phase—or second stage—resides in between the other stages. Subjects go through a period and area of ambiguity, a social limbo during which their sense of identity dissolves to an extent, as it transitions to its new role in society. Often the third phase of incorporation includes phenomena, symbolic actions, and elaborate rituals that represent and celebrate an individual's reincorporation into society, with ceremonies such as debutante balls or graduations. (*From ritual to theatre*, 67).

Victor Turner and Mary Douglas modify van Gennep's theory of liminality adding the concept of the liminoid. Liminal experiences can be undertaken by an individual, group, or society as a whole during coming of age stages, group travels, or wars (Thomassen "The Uses and Meanings of Liminality"). Turner uses this concept as a way to further understand and discuss the ways in which liminality affects personal identity, but also within the concepts of time and space via multivocal symbols where "people 'play' with the elements of the familiar and defamiliarize them" (Turner 1974 "Liminal to Liminoid...", 57) This liminal passage is often accompanied by a geographical movement in space or pilgrimage. Liminal experiences are often structured and compulsory according to a particular cultural context, but are a stage of in-betweenness, where one is either metaphorically or literally separated from who they were before the ritual process began. The individual then advances into near chaos, one where the former rules and structures do not apply. Social relations, traditional customs, and expectations are often broken down and recombined, in ludic and spontaneous ways (Turner *Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, 27). This type of liminality only takes place in highly structured societies. This thesis argues that due to the "work" nature of a study abroad

experience—one that is structured, planned, and often represents a coming of age experience—that it has much in common with van Gennep and Turner’s liminal phase of passage rites.

Studying abroad may be considered an elective and not be overtly recognized as a significant transitional period in an adolescent or young adult’s life in our modern American society, as it can be cost-prohibitive and may not align with everyone’s ideological beliefs, but the concept of it being a rite of passage and even a liminal experience is not entirely new (Ybarra 1996; Williams 2001; Starr-Glass 2016; van Tine 2011). Rite of passage practices have caught the attention of educators actively seeking improved methods of teaching adolescents (Bell 41). Many of these educators have an idealistic fascination with the rite of passage concept, stating that participation in a rite of passage experience is an important element towards becoming a healthy and well adjusted individual (Brendtro, Bockern, & Clementson). Adventure Education programs have often been described as potential rites of passage due to their similarities with van Gennep’s rite of passage model of separation, liminality, and reincorporation. These adventure programs mimic a liminal phase in their structure where the rules and normal coping mechanisms from an individual’s previous roles are no longer sufficient. These new structures place the participants in a state where they are searching for new ways to succeed, and prepares them for new types of learning and critical thinking (Bell 44). Study abroad programs also incorporate a territorial passage with a crossing of international and cultural borders and promote contact between a local host country group:

The frontier, an imaginary line connecting milestones, or stakes, is visible—in an exaggerated fashion—only on maps. But not so long ago the passage from one country to another, from one province to another within each country, and still earlier, even from one manorial domain to

another was accompanied by various formalities. These were largely political, legal, and economic, but some were of a magico-religious nature (van Gennepe 15).

Study abroad programs grew out of the socio-political nature of spreading US goodwill and democracy around the world through the inception of programs such as the Fulbright Fellowship and the Peace Corps. Although they are no longer talked about as diplomatic nation-building programs where students act as citizen ambassadors, they can still be thought of as territorial rites of passage according to van Gennepe's definition.

Figure 1: van Gennepe's model of rites of passage

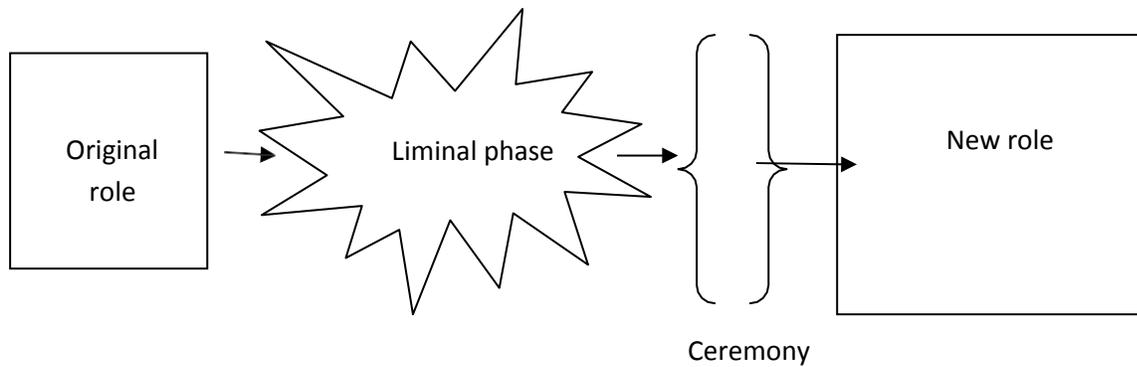


Figure 2: The contemporary rite of passage model compared to van Gennepe's model (Bell)



Some of the critiques of the structure of these programs have been that without the reincorporation phase the impact was dramatically reduced (Cushing). Bell presents more evidence that the lack of this third stage emphasizes these programs as modern and weaker version of the rites of passages. Many study abroad programs also mimic the modern version of van Gennep's rites of passage model where a student begins the first phase in a school in their home country, then moves to the liminal stage of leaving the community for an experience abroad in a foreign and, often, unknown culture, and is then reincorporated back into society but is searching for a new role. There is much critique surrounding the reverse culture shock many students experience after their studies abroad and the lack of tools they are given by the programs themselves to handle this process of reincorporation into their "home"¹ societies (Ybarra). Ybarra uses the "U-curve" describe the psychological and emotional stages a student goes through during their study abroad process. This U-curve consists of three stages of adjustment to the foreign culture: initial elation and optimism, a second period of confusion and frustration that can be referred to as culture shock, and the final stage of confidence and satisfaction (Furnham & Bochner). Lysgaard's U-curve is expanded by Gullahorn and Gullahorn into a "W-curve" that suggests a multi-stage wave response of adjustment and satisfaction in the process of acculturation and adopts the concepts of culture shock and a honeymoon stage. Ybarra uses a similar model that aids in completing van Gennep's model of separation, liminality, and reincorporation and the psychological and emotional phases a student must process throughout their rite of passage as a study abroad student. As one can see in Figure 3 and Figure 4 the models are very similar. Ybarra's version is much more simplified and lends

¹I use the word "home" in parentheses because many of these students now consider their host country as a second "home"

itself well to show the similarities between intercultural adjustment and van Gennepe's model of rites of passage when looking at students that are studying abroad. Ybarra uses her model to describe the experience of university students at Kalamazoo College but it is also applied here to describe the type of experience students of high school age have when studying abroad for the first time.

Figure 3: Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1962) model of Intercultural Adjustment

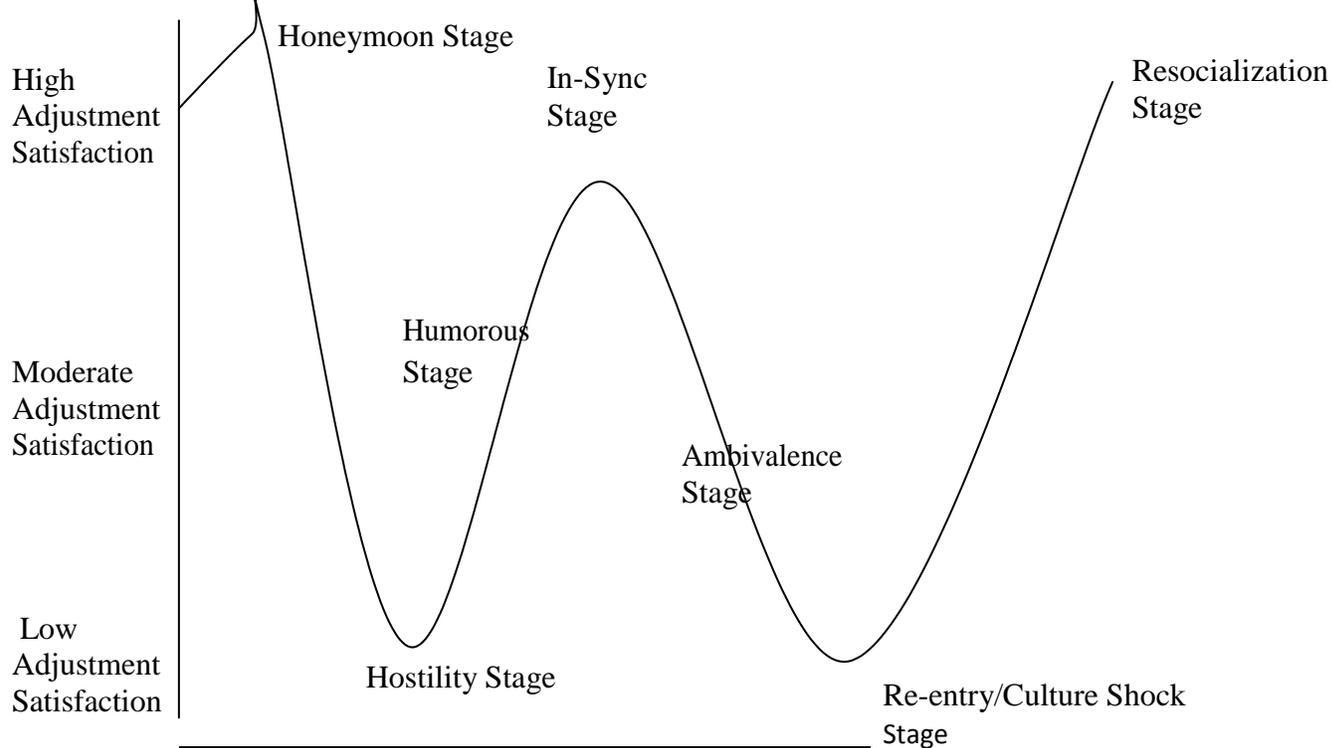
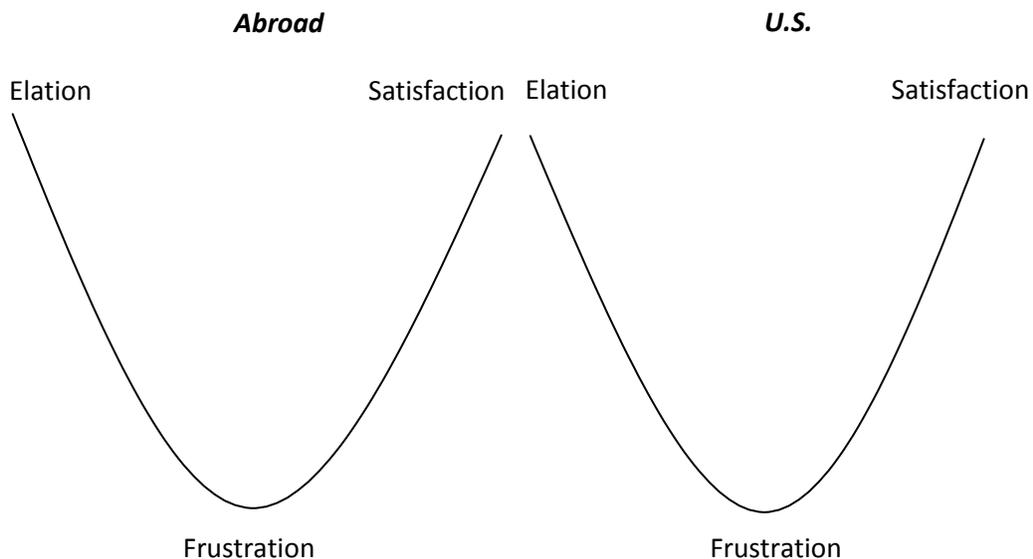


Figure 4: Ybarra's (1996) W-curve of Adjustment



But even in van Gennepe's descriptions of rites of passage not all of the groups and societies he studied had all three of the stages occur, nor was the order exactly the same in each type of passage rite. Overall, in comparison to van Gennepe's model of rites of passage, studying abroad falls short of the completeness of van Gennepe's description of some of the phases within the passage rites².

Some studies have researched the liminality or "betwixt and between" nature of study abroad and defined it as the phase in which international students come to terms with their host country's cultural surroundings through a variety of stumbling blocks or cultural symbols that

²I will not be discussing these criticisms here, but instead will argue for the liminal nature—the first half of the W-curve of adjustment—of the study abroad experience itself within the narratives of the texts studied here.

may hinder a student's ability to successfully interact with their new social environment (Williams 20). It is also considered as the most integral attribute of a student's study abroad experience because students act as neither indifferent tourists, nor as committed immigrants, but as novices in their new cultural surroundings with an obligation, albeit temporary, to learn and apply their host society's cultural norms during their time there (Ybarra 113). Other studies have shown that student's choosing to study abroad are often looking for a transformative experience, sometimes even one where they experience a culture shock—thus specifically seeking out liminal spaces and zones. While studying abroad students enter a period of liminality which gives them an opportunity to reconsider who they are and what they want to become. This is a space where they are often free of social and family pressures while, at the same time, they are exposed to alternative ways living, acting, and being (Nielsen). This thesis argues that these same processes of liminality described above are present in the works of fiction of YAL as this literature is often meant to be a reflection of life and the processes that adolescents are currently undergoing.

Study Abroad as a Rite of Passage in YAL

As illustrated above, a study abroad experience can follow van Gennep's process of a rite of passage with its stages of separation, liminality, and reincorporation. The separation of a student from their family, friends, and home country often results in a loss or questioning of one's identity in the new study abroad context in a foreign country or countries—as in a semester at sea program. This loss of identity is present as a common theme in all of the narratives. The majority of the books analyzed here come from the *Students Across the Seven Seas* series. These are a series of 14 YA novels written by 11 different authors and were published between 2005 and 2010. *Students Across the Seven Seas (S.A.S.S.)* is the name of the fictional study

abroad organization that arranges the different types of study abroad experiences that range in length from a few weeks to a few months. Each book centers on an American teenage girl and her experiences studying abroad in a foreign country. 9 of the books focus on a European study abroad experience and the other five focus on non-traditional destinations such as China, Japan, Mexico, the Caribbean—the Bahamian island of Nassau, the Honduran Bay Island of Utila, and the Dominican Republic—and Australia. Some of the other YA novels analyzed here also formed parts of a series, albeit shorter ones written by a single author. The *Flirting in Italian* series, *Anna and the French Kiss* series, *Love Stories: Year Abroad Trilogy*, *Off the Map* series, and the *Study Abroad* series of romance novels by Jessica Peterson are some of the many different series of YA novels that focus on study abroad and that are included in this analysis.

The 24 texts analyzed here offer a number of commonalities. They each feature a young Caucasian female character mirroring the real-life study abroad demographics where most students studying abroad are women (65.5% according to the 2016 *Open Doors* report) and Caucasian (83% in the 2016 *Open Doors* report). Every character struggles with a loss of identity either before or during their time abroad, but 93% of them successfully reintegrate back into their home society as a more mature woman. The social networks they belong to and form in their host country are the main reason for each character's successful or unsuccessful transitions during their rite of passage abroad.

In addition to these commonalities in their structure and protagonists, there is a very common theme of coming of age through the course of their study abroad experience. Even in the “memoir in prose” *I don't want to be crazy* by Samantha Schutz where only 50 pages of her 280 page book feature her study abroad experience she still evokes the ideas and motifs within the coming of age theme:

I have found my body
and come to terms with the space it takes up.
I am confident enough to know
that even when there is only blackness around me
and voices with no mouths---
that I still remain.
Before, I disappeared. (Schutz 155)

In this short passage she is describing her journey to a healthier version of herself, one where she is finally comfortable in her own skin and this was only possible by being in Paris, and slowly learning how to embrace the discomfort of being a foreigner in an unfamiliar country and setting.

In our complex and modern American society no one particular rite of passage is acknowledged as characterizing the entrance to adulthood. The skills and cultural knowledge that are acquired through such different, irregular, and often incomplete rites that do exist are not reinforced by any formal societal structures. As a result, they take on very individualistic effects and this may be well suited to American culture, given its emphasis on individualism and individualistic skills (Ybarra). Some of these individualistic effects that signify that an adolescent is going through the stages of coming of age have been marked as heightened maturity, skills for fostering intimacy in collegial relationships, self-confident decision making skills, heightened self-responsibility, an increase in self-awareness, development of critical judgment skills, willingness to admit ignorance, acceptance of responsibility, and a willingness to seek out others for knowledge and wisdom. As noted earlier study abroad literature suggests that students go through three stages of psychological adjustment and this analysis shows that a psychological and sociological progression through ritual stages that are similar in function and

form to those described by van Gennep parallels these stages. Using the W-curve in Figure 4 above one can consider six stages of a study abroad experience.

- 1) separation from the home country
- 2) incorporation into the host country
- 3) transition and liminality while abroad
- 4) separation from the host society
- 5) liminality at home
- 6) reincorporation into the home country (Ybarra 78).

Rather than forcing the analysis to fit within the design of set stages, here this thesis focuses on elements of liminality in rites of passages according to some of the recurring themes in all of the novels and the film analyzed in this chapter: Loss of identity, friendship, and ordeals.

Enrollment in local colleges, 2005

<i>Novel</i>	<i>Experienced a loss of Identity?</i>	<i>Friendships bring about change in character?</i>	<i>Experienced ordeals as part of transformation?</i>
The Great Call of China	Y	Y	Y
Getting the Boot	Y	Y	Y
The Finnish Line	Y	Y	Y
Swede Dreams	Y	Y	N
Pardon My French	Y	Y	Y
When Irish Guys are Smiling	Y	Y	Y
Heart and Salsa	Y	Y	N
Girl Overboard	Y	Y	N
Spain or Shine Abroad	Y	Y	Y
Anna and the French Kiss	Y	Y	N
Cartwheel	Y	Y	Y
The Sound of Munich	N	Y	N
Flirting in Italian Series	N	Y	Y
There I'll Be	Y	Y	Y
Upside Down: an off the map novel	Y	Y	Y
I don't want to be crazy	Y	Y	Y
Now and Zen	Y	Y	Y
Hello, I love you	Y	Y	Y
The American Girl	N	Y	Y

During a study abroad experience the program administrators and faculty act as “in loco parentis” where they guide their students much as their parents would, but with less personal attention and different sets of goals. Students take on the responsibility of their own daily life, but have frequent prompts (class schedules, deadlines for school work and registration, monitoring of their work by faculty, etc) and a complex organized support system (dorm living with resident assistants, host families with meals provided, or sharing apartments with other students). It is often a very structured environment, or at least attempts to be, thus mirroring the structures present in most rites of passages according to van Gennep and Turner. The change in the individual protagonists portrayed in the following 24 YA novels and the film, *The Lizzie McGuire Movie*, is a process that consists of a partial transition from child to adult through a series of events, that are both social and psychological in nature, and are similar to “rites of passages” in simple societies as described by van Gennep and Turner.

Liminality in study abroad contexts: Loss of identity

As mentioned above the concept of liminality is the second of van Gennep’s three stages that may take place during a rite of passage. Here I am specifically looking at the time described in these narrative works and argue that the entire time spent abroad during the course of the narrative consists of a liminal period in which the students are able to meet new people, experiment with new ideas, and integrate these experiences into their developing identities that are constantly being re-imagined in relation to their ever evolving social worldview. One of the first things the students experience during their coming of age process during this rite of passage is a loss of their previous identity. This loss of identity has been described in various definitions

of van Gennep's classic model as "formalized social interactions with a phasing which *separates* individuals from their previous identities, carries them through a period of *transition* to a new identity, and *incorporates* them into a new role or social status" (Dunham, Kidwell & Wilson 1986, 140). The different characters in the 21 narratives analyzed here refer to their loss of identity as "Talia 1.0" or the "old me", when referring to how they might have acted or reacted in situations before their studies abroad. Often this loss of identity is enthusiastically welcomed and embraced by the students themselves as they are trying to leave a part of themselves behind in their home country. Examples of this may be leaving behind an uncomfortable family situation such as Delk and her deceased mother and father with a new, young, pregnant bride; Elena with her overachieving brothers and sisters; Cal and her perfect twin sister; Mo and her famous family; Grace and her brother's death; and Talia and her dead sister and parent's subsequent divorce.

Liminality in Study Abroad Contexts: Friendships

One example of this is Delk's experience in Ireland in *When Irish Guys are Smiling* (Supplee). She escapes to Ireland after leaving behind a dead mother, newly-wed father, and a pregnant stepmother who is redecorating her dead mother's house. Delk's concept of family is changing and she is refusing to face it, thus her escape to Ireland to study abroad for a semester and avoid her friends' debutante balls without having her mother there to guide her through this coming out and coming of age process. While in Ireland she befriends a young man whose mother died when he was young but whose older sisters have all had to manage on their own without this maternal figure and grown to become mothers of their own. Through Delk's ability to interact with this family and see how they have redefined what family is and means to them, she is able to re-imagine what her family might look like for her when she returns from Ireland,

and she decides to act in a less hostile manner towards her new stepmother in her emails and embrace the idea of having a small half sibling to look after and enjoy.

Friendship is an important factor in these liminal transitional periods during a study abroad experience. Kirkpatrick studied Marquesean adolescent boys and saw that they enter a liminal period between leaving school at 14 and until they are recognized as an adult at 18. During this time, where they are between childhood and adulthood, and in the process of coming of age, they begin to assert their independence in a variety of ways, one of the most recognizable is their period of travel to new villages to meet new people and establish new friendships. These boys are no longer dependent on their families, but they have not created a new independent home for themselves. Kirkpatrick notes that due to these new experiences that “knowledge of the self as distinctive is recurrently heightened, disjunctures between self and social categories are felt deeply, and a view of self as seeking autonomy is embraced and given detailed content” (395). The youths follow multiple routes to possible different versions of their adult selves and here the liminal period of transition where they are temporarily removed from culturally and socially imposed norms that allow them this period of exploration and transformation parallels the same potential offered during a study abroad experience. These experiences present students with the potential to experience similar opportunities to establish profound friendship networks. Friendships are one of the main strategies through which students move towards successfully completing their self-transformation. The new friends join the student on their journey of self-discovery, much like the Marquesean boys, as well as their academic development. Together they have different social encounters that aid in the creation of various self-directed and sometimes serendipitous opportunities for learning and self-actualization.

None of the students follow the same path, much like the Marquesean boys, and as a result does not end up at the same “adult” identity. Even in these YA novels and film each character grows and re-imagines herself as a different version of the young woman who first arrived to the host country, but none of them end up with the same positive or negative outcomes. Most of the novels are meant to have happy endings but in the two tragic ones *Abroad* (Katie Crouch) and *Cartwheel* (Jennifer DuBois) the female protagonists are nevertheless described as going through a period of maturity and growth due in part to the different types of friendships they make over the course of their experience abroad. Furnham and Alibhai found that students are usually involved in three different types of friend networks during their time abroad: a mono-cultural network comprised of close friendships with other students who share ethnic, national, or linguistic characteristics; a bi-cultural network that is created between the students and nationals from the host country who are important to them, such as professors, host families, other students; and multicultural networks that are made up of general social interactions and recreational activities. We can see examples of all of these networks in each of the YA narratives analyzed here. In the S.A.S.S. series, although most of the novels are written by different authors they follow a very similar narrative and psychological arc for each of their protagonists. Some of the females characters come to their foreign study experience with excitement for the program or host country and some do not, but all of them leave an equally powerful network for friendships and relationships behind, which I discuss later. Upon arrival each of the girls first makes friends within their mono-cultural and bi-cultural networks.

The S.A.S.S. programs are supposedly comprised of students from all over the world but we only ever meet other European, North American, or Australian students in their programs. The U.S.

protagonists meet other students from around the world but not from the specific host culture—even though it is often European as well—I count these friendships as part of the mono-cultural network described by Furnham and Alibhai because although they may technically come from different but similar cultures, those differences are never referenced in the novels. The bi-cultural network is comprised of the students' host families, if they have one, or the young men they meet along their journey towards self-discovery. Often when the young women are placed into a host family there is another young person their age living there as well and this presents the protagonists with a conflict in their bi-cultural network, one which they must work through in order to truly achieve the self-actualization they need in order to work out the psychological issues with which they arrive. For example, Caitlin Wilcox in *Heart and Salsa* (Suzanne Nelson 2006) arrives in Oaxaca as part of a service learning program and is paired with a family that has a daughter her age, Itzel, who treats her with a negative attitude because she thinks Caitlin (Cat) is just like all of the other U.S. girls that are only in her country to party:

“I love helping to improve our city for my people,” Izzie said. ‘But sometimes the students in the program aren’t really here to improve things.’ She sighed. “The girls who came before you. In English, you call them . . . beaches?” . . . “They didn’t want to work. They just wanted to play. And in my country, people work to live. My family works to help our people survive. Those girls never understood.” She took a deep breath. “I thought you were like them.” (61)

This conversation is only able to take place after Cat was tested and initiated by Itzel through a lesson of hard work lifting stones and gravel for an entire day without breaks in order to build the orphanage the program is sponsoring. Once Cat has gone through the cultural rite of passage

placed in front of her by her host sister is she invited to learn more about her host country from an insider's perspective—Itzel's perspective.

Similarly in *The Finnish Line* (Linda Gerber) Maureen (Mo) is also placed with an antagonistic host sister, Kirsti. Both girls are competitive ski jumpers but Mo comes from a family of Olympians and Kirsti believes that she will be a stuck up princess based on how much her parents idolize Mo's father and talk about the importance of having someone with Mo's name stay as their guest. Kirsti even goes as far as to sabotage a romantic relationship with a *romani* Finnish boy, Leevi, because of her jealousy and racism towards Finnish *romanis*. Mo is in Finland to escape her family's fame and only faces more of it there, and until her relationship with Leevi is truly realized and her friendship with Kirsti formed does she learn how to escape from her family's shadow and become her own person.

There are other, non-negative friendships that are forged and part of the protagonists' bi-cultural network, such as those with other students at the school, their host parents, their romantic relationships with local adolescents, and those of their instructors and program directors. Each one of these individuals plays an integral role in shaping each of the girls into a young woman who has actively re-imagined herself through this journey of self-discovery. Delk, as mentioned above, leaves behind a less than ideal family situation with a dead mother, newly remarried father, and pregnant stepmother that seems—to Delk—to be actively erasing any trace of her mother in her maternal home. Delk has actively decided she wants nothing to do with her new stepmother and soon to be half-sibling and escapes to Ireland for a semester abroad. She decides not to tell any of her new friends about her dead mother as she is not seeking their pity, and is still learning how to re-imagine her future without her mother there—she died two years ago. Her mono-cultural friendship networks of other students at the school,

all of which are from the U.S. in this novel, initially serve to help Delk temporarily forget about her problems and encourage her to seek her own independence by traveling to different places in Ireland together as a group. The two most prominent members of her bi-cultural network, the Irish program director and the Irish adolescent boy, Pather, with whom she forges a romantic relationship, are the only individuals with whom she feels comfortable sharing the fact that her mother has died fairly recently. They are also the two people who have the most impact on her psychological development during this liminal period of self-discovery and self-adjustment by forcing her on a voyage of self-discovery on her own (the program director) to the village where Keats lived and wrote about, or by introducing her to a “broken” family with a long deceased mother that has found a way to heal and grow despite their tragic history—through Pather.

In *Spain or Shine* (Michelle Jellen), the protagonist’s bi-cultural network consists of her great-aunt and her family, and a young Spanish boy she meets. Elena is in Spain trying to escape the shadow of her over-achieving siblings, and wants to see if she has what it takes to seriously pursue her dream as a screenwriter. Elena is also part Spanish and is the only one in her family who takes after her Spanish ancestors with her dark hair and tanned skin. She puts off meeting with her great-aunt, who lives in Barcelona, while Elena is studying in San Sebastian, because she is continuously trying to forge her own path in life without her family’s help or guidance and is afraid that meeting her distant relatives will only stand in her way. She eventually goes to Barcelona for a weekend visit with her great-aunt Elena, an artist that has never married and lives alone but is surrounded by friends and family. There she learns that she “didn’t need to be away from her family anymore in order to do something really meaningful and big. In fact, now that she felt capable of doing those things, she wanted her siblings around to share them with her more than anything. They weren’t her competition; they were her support system” (207). This

revelation through the course of her semester abroad came about through the mono-cultural and bi-cultural friendships she formed with different students from the class, the teacher in her screenwriting class, and her newfound connection with her great-aunt.

This theme mono-cultural, bi-cultural, and even multi-cultural networks shaping the psychological journey of these female protagonists is not just present in the S.A.S.S. series but in all of the YA narratives analyzed here. In *Anna and the French Kiss*, Anna's father forces her to attend a French boarding school for English-speaking students and after initially resisting the allure of Paris, she eventually forms some mono-cultural and bi-cultural friendships with other students at the school. I divide these friendships into the two categories because, of the four friends she makes, two are traditional U.S. students like Anna, one is of Indian heritage, but it is not discussed enough to be considered part of a bi-cultural network, and the last, the boy she falls for, is, himself bicultural having a French father and U.S. mother and having been raised in England, California, and France respectively. He is the one that show Anna the “real” France—according to him—and this relationship gives her the courage to go on and discover and learn about France and French culture on her own. There is no host family—the students live in a dorm—to broaden her bi-cultural network. This text puts more focus on the multi-cultural network Anna establishes during her year in Paris. There is the school chef, from whom she at first timidly shies away due to her limited French linguistic abilities and their first encounter where he “barks” at her and her friend, Etienne. This negative first encounter causes Anna to avoid ordering food and just eating fruit, bread, and cheese at the cafeteria—things she can purchase without having to speak to the chef—but within a few weeks of the help of her other networks she becomes more comfortable and starts ordering food from the menu, at which point the chef kindly helps her through the process of ordering in French and says ““You’re welcome.

And I ‘ope you don’t skeep meals to avoid me anymore!’” He places his hand on his chest, as if brokenhearted” (55). Another prominent member of her multi-cultural network is the proprietor of a small Cinema which Anna frequents as she is a self-described film buff and future film critic. The theater serves as Anna’s lifeline back to the old life she left behind in the U.S., since she watches mostly old, classic Hollywood films there, and also her escape from her process of self-discovery and negotiation that she is undergoing due to her various ordeals, friendships and loss of identity. Through the help of these two members of her multi-cultural network Anna finds a way to shed her old self, the one that desperately wants to be in the U.S. with her mother and younger brother, and learns to embrace her independence and maturity as an adult.

In the two tragic novels, *Abroad* and *Cartwheel*, the protagonists don’t follow the path of having positive life-changing paths towards self-discovery but the different friendship networks they engage in are still a formative part of their rite of passage towards adulthood. Tabitha, Taz, in *Abroad* is an Irish girl studying in Italy for a year and finds herself getting involved with a group of English girls from her university that are, in her words “exclusive...magnetic” (34), and beautiful—the type of girls that would have never looked twice at her back in England.

Unfortunately these young women small-time drug dealers that sustain their lavish lifestyle by selling marijuana and zanopane—a drug invented by the author that simulates a synthetic and highly addictive form of LSD from which it is easy to overdose. Taz also has a U.S. roommate Claire, who is the opposite of her posh group of school friends and is afraid to introduce her to them. The juxtaposition of these two friendships is the catalyst for Taz’s path of self-discovery. By trying very hard to be a member of the exclusive, but eventually deadly, group of English girls she is trying to shed her old self as a boring and normal person. Claire continuously asks her to reevaluate the intentions of the English girls based on the way they treat Taz, but there is

an undercurrent of jealousy between Taz and Claire, as they unintentionally and intentionally fight for the affection of two different Italian men. Claire is also in Italy on a path of re-inventing herself by leaving behind the people who know her as promiscuous in Montana and continuing her promiscuity until she falls for Colin, an Italian-English graduate student working on his dissertation. Her relationship with him is ultimately the cause of Claire's demise as she is wrongfully arrested for Taz's murder, which was actually caused by her friendship with the drug-dealing English girls. All of this eerily echoes the Amanda Knox trial in Italy and is meant to evoke the reader's empathy for how a young U.S. study abroad student could wrongfully be arrested for her roommate's murder.

Similarly, in *Cartwheel*, Lily is also wrongfully arrested for her roommate's murder. This novel jumps between different narrative voices and from the present to the past, in order to explain Lily's character and the networks in which she is involved. Her mono-cultural network consists of Katy, her roommate, and Sebastien, her young neighbor, with whom she develops a relationship. Here Sebastien is considered a member of her mono-cultural network because he was born and raised in the U.S. but lives alone in a large mansion in Argentina after his parents died, he is Lily's age. He also fails to broaden Lily's cultural knowledge or experiences while living in Buenos Aires during the course of their relationship. These two relationships in particular are responsible for most of Lily's psychological awakening through their critic of her manners and mannerisms—Katy—and her process of falling in love for the first time but resisting it because she wants to be a modern, independent woman—Sebastien. Her eventual coming of age process of self-discovery unfortunately happens through her multi-cultural network during her arrest, interrogation, and eventual trial and incarceration where “she was

sorry for the way she was and what she had and who she'd been, and that she had learned her lesson, and that the world could afford to forgive her" (350).

A study conducted by Brooks found that students at the high school and university level make strategic friendship choices and that these friendships were strengthened due to the shared experience of "living away from home for the first time and facing problems together (461). This was true for both domestic and international students and they remarked that confidence in their own identity increased due to these friendships and that they thought they had increased their self-awareness, knowledge of other cultures and the world, by studying and living next to other individuals from completely different backgrounds (698). Nielsen states that these are the types of transformative results that one can expect from intercultural learning during a study abroad experience.

There are also the friendships that were left behind as the students proceeded on their rite of passage and the change that often occurs within these friendships is an important aspect of the liminal stage, as the students find themselves between two worlds and identities. As they are in the process of shedding one identity, the one they left in their native country, the nature of their old networks starts to shift, change, or no longer become relevant. The students begin to question where these old networks may fit into their world as they enter the stage of reincorporation. This is an aspect that is explored in some of the YA narratives chosen for analysis here but not all of them.

Symbols and Ordeals in Study Abroad as a Rite of Passage

The symbols that are present during traditional rites of passage represent the basic understanding regarding society, nature, and theology by the culture. In more complex, modern industrial society, this symbolism may represent the understanding about more limited areas.

The symbols and objects of both traditional and modern rites of passages can carry social messages that shape the perceptions of participants. The different ritual elements are there to command attention, psychologically prepare the individual for deep learning, reinforce the legitimacy of a particular ideology, or perpetuate old traditions (Van Tine 45). Some of these elements include ordeals and symbolic inversion. The YA narratives analyzed in this case study reveal common themes of ritual mechanism including ordeals and symbolic inversion.

Symbolic inversion is a tool that juxtaposes symbols—such as masks—during rites of passages, and does so in combinations that are not seen in everyday life, and are often the opposite of what is expected. These symbolic contrasts encourage reflection on cultural knowledge that individuals may have previously taken for granted. The overseas setting, as it is experienced and perceived by students, signifies a symbolic opposite to their everyday world. As a result, all types of experiences of foreignness have the ability to bring U.S. life, values, and personal identity into the forefront of consciousness (Hull et al.). Any perceived contrasts between the host country's culture and U.S. culture have similar effect to those of symbolic inversion during rites of passage. This process, like symbolic inversion during rites of passages, when it occurs during a study abroad experience, promotes an abstraction and reflection on cultural knowledge (Ybarra). These contrasts can be perceived by the student “as a conceptual shock that serves either to illustrate the rightness and value of one's own everyday social system or to illustrate its errors” (Ybarra, 87). Studies have found that during a study abroad experience this symbolic inversion seems to have the prevailing effect of renewing and strengthening a student's commitment to the way of life in the U.S. This conclusion is also similar to current theories in cultural studies which indicate that self-identity is formed through a contrast between the ‘norm’ and the ‘Other.’ During their study abroad experiences students often become self-

aware and reflect on their values and identity (Hull et al.). We can witness this symbolic inversion in the YA narratives I explore here, most notably in *The Lizzie McGuire Movie* where Lizzie is mistaken for an Italian pop star that looks just like her, but with brown hair. She is subsequently seduced into impersonating her Italian twin, thus tempting her to lie to her classmates and program director, give up her identity as a wholesome and innocent teenager, and eventually cause her best friend to lie for her, resulting in his expulsion from the program. This symbolic inversion resulted in Lizzie eventually reevaluating her principles as she becomes more self-aware of who she really is and of what she is capable.

This symbolic inversion can also highlight the foreign contrasts in everyday functions, from food and transportation, to energy use. This inversion serves as a mechanism to make the students more aware of American values and identity (Ybarra 128). Studies found that students begin to reflect on and analyze their own cultural values, alongside those of the host culture and that they critiqued and formed independent opinions on American cultural values and ways of doing things (Ybarra). This aspect of symbolic inversion is also evident in many of the books analyzed here. From Cee Cee in *The Great Call of China* being exposed to the contrasting American cultural values of second generation Chinese-American teenagers and their parents' expectations, to Cat in *Heart and Salsa* being reminded that water is a precious resource that is not to be wasted on silly games, there are many different ways in which the young women studying abroad in these novels experience this type of symbolic inversion that eventually asks them to reflect and critically re-evaluate their American values and approaches to doing things.

Ordeals are described in rites of passage literature as physical, mental, or emotional strains that are placed on the participants, and which serve to psychologically open them to transformative learning. Van Gennep describes that these ordeals can range from long marches

to body mutilations or complete isolation. Some of the more classic ordeals in initiation rites involve an aspect of “testing” with tests or trials of endurance as a requirement before one may receive the status of an adult. Being able to overcome these ordeals has been shown to fill the initiates with renewed self-confidence and a feeling of success from overcoming the hurdles of the particular life passage. Often study abroad experiences are represented by frustration and confusion—mental ordeals—similar to the difficulties typical of rites of passages (Ybarra). Mental ordeals of this type are represented in the many different novels with examples ranging from the frustration of language barriers, culture shock, feelings of isolation, and even to the extremes of dealing with the law in a foreign context. In the more lighthearted S.A.S.S. series of novels these ordeals vary in their context from dealing with hostile host siblings, loneliness and homesickness, language barriers, and cultural misunderstandings but each of them through the physical or mental stress caused by their individual ordeals found a way to “open” themselves up for deeper emotional experiences (86). A similar psychological opening may result in an acceptance of new cultural material, evolving and new social roles, or new ways of thinking about one’s own culture (Ybarra 87). Learning of this kind is often thought of to have a lasting impact on the individual because emotions etch it deeply into the mind.

This type of impact is evident in *Pardon my French*, where Nicole copes with a number of physical and mental ordeals, such as trying strange food, getting lost, losing her house keys, dealing with an overeager French man her host family employs, a host family that is too stressed and busy to help her acclimate to her new and strange surroundings, and her general unwillingness to really try to overcome her culture shock and learn about her new host culture. Her reluctance to embrace or try anything that screams “French” to her while in Paris, is due to her home peer network ridiculing everything foreign and French before coming to France which

is where her parents forced her to spend the semester abroad. One of the catalysts towards her psychological opening caused by these ordeals was her friendship with two girls, one Australian, and one Swedish, who get her to try crepes, which she at first refuses to try due to their foreignness, but once she tastes them she realizes that perhaps some of the other “French” things she has been refusing might be just as good as crepes. In the end, Nicole leaves France with newfound insight into her own American culture and her “supposed” friends’ ways of thinking through a variety of events and ordeals both in France and at home.

One can also witness different ordeals having similar effects on all of the protagonists, some of the ordeals are a bit more in line with Nicole’s experience and others are somewhat more dramatic with drugs, murder, and the legal court system getting involved (*Abroad*, *Cartwheel*, *The American Girl*). In each of these novels the protagonist undergoes a slightly different than expected psychological opening due to her physical and mental ordeals. Both *Abroad* and *Cartwheel* seem to be modeled after the Amanda Knox story of a young female college student studying for a semester abroad and getting tangled up in a love-triangle that involves sex and drugs and eventually ends in the death of the student’s roommate. In *Abroad*, the protagonist is the roommate that is eventually murdered, and the book is told through her voice and point of view. The psychological opening she goes through is one that she reflects upon in the afterlife while telling her story. Besides the obvious physical ordeal of death that she endures, she also goes through a variety of emotional ordeals in dealing with her new group of upper-class English girls she meets during her year abroad in Italy. Unbeknownst to her, these girls are dealing drugs throughout the small Italian town and using her as their translator. Taz, the protagonist, also goes through the ordeal of living with an American and two Italian female

roommates, whose cultures, personalities, and attitudes often clash and result in a number of hurt feelings over various romantic relationships with different Italian men they meet.

In *Cartwheel*, the story is told through the lens of four different characters; Lily (the protagonist), her father, Sebastien (her lover), and the prosecutor. Lily is studying in Argentina for the year and has trouble with her host family through, what the reader discovers, a variety of cultural misunderstandings. Her American roommate, Katy, is eventually murdered through an unfortunate series of events, but Lily finds her body and proceeds to be the first and primary suspect, eventually convicted and then overturned. In the beginning of the novel Lily is often described as free-spirited, self-assured to the point of arrogance, and someone in flux, who barely knows herself. Her attitudes and free-spirited nature are something that is not always understood in the text's description of the more conservative surroundings of Buenos Aires. The title springs from the cartwheel Lily makes during her interrogation when she thinks no one is watching, she explains that it was a way for her to assure herself of her ongoing autonomy, even in this situation. This act of free-will and self-assuredness during the interrogation ends up being the single point upon which the prosecutor, Eduardo, fixates to make his decision of her guilt. Sebastien, her lover, is the one who notes the psychological change in Lily when he sees her on television in the courtroom throughout her trial (insert quote about how Sebastien sees Lily's transformation here).

These symbolic inversions and ordeals are two ways of the liminal space into which the study abroad characters enter through their journeys abroad. This liminality is a stage of reflection and "in those ideas, sentiments, and facts that had been hitherto for the neophytes bound up in configurations and accepted unthinkingly are, as it were, resolved into their constituents" (Turner 105). Through the course of their ordeals and experiences of their

symbolic inversions the students reach a point of psychological awakening that asks them to critically reconsider their former values and methods of dealing with things in their lives prior to this rite of passage.

Mirror Neurons and Narrative Empathy in YAL

While these adolescents are undergoing these coming of age rituals from first kisses to graduation, these rites of passages are also reflected in the YAL they read today. But not all of the readers are undergoing those exact processes at the exact time that they are reading these books. Some of them may experience their first rites into adulthood weeks, months, or even years after reading about them in a book. Through a theory of narrative empathy and mirror neurons it can be argued that these young adults take the experiences they read about with them into their real life expectations of what they should experience when they finally get to participate in those coming of age rituals.

The recent discovery of mirror neurons in our brain has led to many different theories on the role that empathy plays on our understanding of literary works, art, theater, film, and even virtual reality. This discovery has widened our understanding of both human and animal cognition, while also shedding light on our affective lives—our capacity for empathy and intersubjectivity (Gallese 3). Mirror neurons are found in the premotor cortex and are motor neurons that activate when an individual performs a goal-related and purposeful act like kicking a ball, but they also activate when someone looks at that same action being done by another person. After discovering the existence of mirror neurons, Gallese and his team became increasingly more interested in our understanding of one another, our intersubjectivity, and the part mirror neurons play. Embodied simulation plays an integral role on the effect mirror neurons have on emotion. Gallese describes emotions as something that refer to “a

multidimensional aspect of our life” (37). Experiencing an emotion is subsequent to subjectively living within one’s own body in states of varied intensity, and these states can surface with different degrees of explicitness, in the way of external behaviors which are often confined to specific areas of the body, such as the face (Gallese). Embodied simulation is a functional process that “mediates our capacity to share the meaning of actions, intentions, feelings, and emotions with others, thus grounding our identification with and connectedness to others” (524). This notion of simulation is used in many different areas of expertise, whose meanings do not always overlap. In the philosophical domain it is characterized as a state of pretend that is adopted by an individual in order to understand another’s behavior—thus describing a process of empathy.

It’s not always on purpose that you try to put yourself in the mental or emotional shoes of the other, so to speak; rather, it is something that often happens automatically, non-consciously—something that can then be modulated cognitively and consciously. In other words, you don’t understand the type of emotion that another person is experiencing by relying in the first place on inference by analogy. You don’t need to rely on introspection. Empathy, then, is not a matter of reasoning that in a similar situation perhaps you would behave in a similar way, and that therefore you would map what you would do into the mental shoes of the other as you recognize it...Empathy is the result of a direct experience of another person’s state (action, emotion, sensation), thanks to a mechanism of embodied simulation that produces within the observer a corporeal state that is—to some degree— shared with the person who expresses/experiences that state. And precisely the sharing of some of the corporeal states between

observer and observed allows this direct form of understanding, which we can define as “empathic.” (Gallese 7)

Through the study of mirror neurons one can see that these neurons produce a state of embodied simulation in an individual when they see an action being done by another, thus producing a state of empathy within themselves. It has been studied that individuals with highly active mirror neurons score higher on empathy tests (Dr. Christian Keyser, qtd in Keen 201).

Gallese’s cognitive approach to empathy is also present in the literary form through emotional contagion. Emotional contagion is the communication of one’s emotions or mood to others and is often done through the automatic mimicry of one another. This emotional contagion is an important component of our reactions to narratives (Keen 209) as they ask us to feel with others or imagine ourselves in a physical location or situation. Keen (2006) explores the hypothesis that empathy leads to altruism and how this might be applied to the experiences of narrative empathy. To her narrative empathy invokes both cognitive and emotional states and is related to aesthetics’ empathy as it involves a fusing of an individual and an object—“which may be another person or animal, but may also be a fictional character made of words, or even, in some accounts, inanimate things such as landscapes, artworks, or geological features” (Keen 213). The cognitive and emotional fusing involved with these narrative characters or landscapes may have an effect on readers when deciding to study abroad someday and how they expect that study abroad experience to look like. Narrative empathy is described as the sharing of feeling and perspective that is induced by reading, viewing, hearing, or imagining narratives of another’s situation or condition (Keen “the living handbook of narratology”). Authors may use a variety of narrative techniques and strategies in order to invoke the empathy of their intended audience. Some of these strategies include “bounded strategic empathy,” “ambassadorial strategic

empathy,” and “broadcast strategic empathy” (Keen 206). Bounded strategic empathy is described as operating within an in-group and stems from mutual experiences and may lead to a feeling of familiarity with others of that group. Ambassadorial strategic empathy means to address certain chosen others and aims to nurture their empathy for the in-group. Broadcast strategic empathy asks every reader to feel with members of a certain group and does so by emphasizing common hope and vulnerabilities through a variety of universal themes and representations (Keen 195). These different types of narrative techniques are also typical of formulaic narratives and especially specific popular genres that follow a particular formulaic pattern (Cawelti). “The pleasure and effectiveness of an individual formulaic work depends on its intensification of a familiar experience, the formula creates its own world with which we become familiar by repetition” (Cawelti 10). Keen argues that paratexts that cue readers in to understand that what they are reading is fictional unleashes their emotional responsiveness despite the history that works of fiction mimic non-fictional and testimonial forms of literature. Her research finds that “readers’ perception of a text’s fictionality plays a role in subsequent empathetic response, by releasing readers from the obligations of self-protection through skepticism and suspicion” (Keen 220).

This chapter theorizes that although much of YAL is purchased by adults outside of the normal YA age-range, the particular set of narratives explored here have a very specific audience and strategic empathy in place by their authors and publishers—bounded strategic empathy. This bounded strategic empathy follows the rules set forth by the popular genre of YALromance novels where good formulaic writers are able to give new vitality to stereotypes and are capable of inventing new touches of plot or setting that are within the limits of their formula (Cawelti 11). Employing these stereotypical characters that belong to this bounded in-group but with the

ability to breathe new life and interest into them is a crucial component of creating a strategic empathy from the reader for the protagonist. The 20 novels that were chosen for this analysis had the highest ratings on goodreads, an Amazon company, for YAL about study abroad. The film, *The Lizzie McGuire Movie*, was one of the top grossing movies of 2003 and peaked at number two in the domestic box office. All of the characters in the books and movie in this analysis were young, white, females, the majority of which were engaging in their study abroad experience during their high school years—with the exception of three books where the characters studied abroad in college, and Lizzie McGuire studying abroad between junior high and high school. As noted above the majority of study abroad students in college are women (66%), and most of them are Caucasian (72%) (NAFSA 2015-2015). These YA narratives are describing a very specific in-group of individuals and are using bounded strategic empathy to get other individuals of that specific group to empathize and inhabit the same spaces as their characters. One of the critiques of narratives that use bounded strategic empathy is that individuals outside of the target audience that are trying to enter those spaces critically will often criticize a work for not living up to their expectation. This chapter argues that these motifs may have impacted the way the young women who have participated in these narratives, by reading or viewing them, picture and expect their own study abroad experiences to look and feel through techniques of embodied simulation and empathic narrative strategies.

One can witness much evidence of Keen's bounded strategic empathy as one of the paths with which the authors activate the reader's mirror neurons, in these YA novels. In bounded strategic empathy the author is speaking to an in-group and activates the feeling of empathy towards their characters from their intended audience. This in-group is comprised not only of the individuals who are the same age and gender as the protagonists, but also individuals outside of

this classification that are avid readers of this popular genre and who are familiar with its formulaic strategies. This type of strategic empathy often occurs in YAL since the intended audience is of the same age group as the characters. Studies have found that different empathic strategies allow readers to relate to the characters and even empower them from inertia to action in some genres (Morton & Lounsbury). Another study found that females spend more time reading fiction than males and tend to pay more attention to cognition, affect, and intention within the narrative. Keen's bounded strategic empathy is often used in the beginning of each book from the S.A.S.S. series. The first two pages of each book are comprised of an application that each S.A.S.S. student has to fill out but there are the answers they gave and the "Truth" underneath in parentheses:

Describe your extracurricular activities:

(Truth: I spend most of my time either hanging out with my best friend Claire or daydreaming about the boys I'm going to meet in Spain) (*Spain or Shine* 4)

(Truth: Nate, Nate, and more Nate. Oh, with a side order of shopping, gossiping with my three best friends, and pizza) (*Pardon My French* 5)

This "Truth" is meant to be an insight into what is really going on in their minds, as opposed to the answers they are giving, which are what they think the program coordinators want to hear. This technique allows the readers to connect with the characters, since the inner workings of their minds are being revealed in a manner that allows them insight into who they really are, and what they really care about. Their true motives for studying abroad are revealed in this manner, and reflect some of the recent reasons for studying abroad discovered by Zemach-Bersin where students in college often treated study abroad as a mini vacation from their regular school responsibilities. Keen finds that my naming and quick situation the protagonists at the very

beginning of the narrative, readers are then primed by the “story-receiving circumstance” to be ready to empathize. She states that “the mirrorneuron manifold for shared intersubjectivity may be activated by simple cues announcing the existence of another being” (Keen *Empathy and the Novel* 70). This type of empathetic strategy is very clearly and effectively employed in the “Application” page at the beginning of every S.A.S.S. novel which introduces the female protagonist and her “official” and “true” reasons for studying abroad and what she hopes to gain from her experience abroad.

The author’s may also use a variety of narrative techniques to evoke identification with the characters by the reader. One of these is to create a variety of similarities between the character and the reader. Creating similarities between the reader and the protagonist and other characters is often done by using universal human themes and characterizations in ambassadorial or broadcast strategic empathy or indentifying a specific in-group for whom the author is writing in bounded strategic empathy. In these YA study abroad “romance” novels the author’s are clearly writing to a specific in-group. In series such as the S.A.S.S. series, which is written by a number of different author’s, it is easier for the intended audience to find at least one character in the series with whom they might potentially identify. There are characters that come from homes with overbearing parents, competing siblings, absentee parents, or divorced parents. Some of the characters are studious bookworms, social party animals, yoga-loving hippies, or artists trying to find their voice. Ideally there is a character for every reader with whom they could identify and empathize on a deeper level through the use of this technique.

It has also been intuited that flat characters—those that are easily comprehended and recalled—have the ability to play a large role in reader’s engagement because they are “likely to make category-based judgments about fictional characters, and to emphasize attributed

dispositions of characters over their actual behavioral situations” (Keen 218). Many of the characters in the novels and the film analyzed here might easily be described as flat. Their motives, thoughts, and emotions are not complex and the plot throughout the narratives easily follows their adventures easily. Yet the characters are easily recalled through these methods and they are easily recalled.

The narrative situation also plays a role in evoking reader empathy through “first person self-narration, figural narration (in which the 3rd person narrator stays covert and reports only on a single, focal center of consciousness located in a main character) or through authorial (omniscient) narration that moves inside characters’ minds” (Keen 219). 98% of the novels in this investigation use one of these narrative techniques in order to give the readers a prolonged inside view into the protagonist’s mind. All of the S.A.S.S. novels use figural narration to lead the readers into the mindset and emotional world of the protagonists. Other novels, such as *There I’ll Be* use first person self-narration to involve the readers into the complex emotional world of a character that has recently lost her older brother and is trying to follow in his footsteps by reliving his study abroad experience through his journals. The *Anna and the French Kiss* series uses authorial narration to reveal the inner-most thoughts and emotions of its lead characters, most of who are struggling with the various reasons they were sent to a boarding school in a foreign country, and adjusting to their new culture, surroundings, and social situation.

The narrated monologue is another technique that can be used in all of the above narrative situations to represent a character’s consciousness, create easy transitions between a narrator’s generalizations about the character’s mental states and interpretations of their inner thoughts. It does so in language that often retains the tense and person of the narration and provides “‘privileged information about a character’s mind,’ free indirect discourse, [and is]

especially likely to cue literariness and invite empathic decentering (Miall “Necessity” 54)” (Keen 219). Narrated monologue has also been called “empathetic narrative” (Adamson 56). This type of monologue shows most of the story through the eyes of the protagonist and insures that the readers travel with the lead character, rather than stand against them. This is especially useful when describing flawed characters that are not always and immediately likeable. Narrated monologue is especially useful in *Getting the Boot* where Kelly is described as a party girl that scoffs at her studious friend and ends up partying too much, breaking curfew, getting herself in some unfortunate situations due to her behavior, and is shunned by the other students. She decides to work hard and turn her attitude around and through the narrated monologue the reader becomes more empathetic to her situation and roots for her throughout the novel.

Readers of different backgrounds and dispositions may experience character identification and empathy in various ways, and their experiences may change depending on the novel, author, or their age and condition while reading the work of fiction. It has been found that college students are more likely to empathize with a character’s negative affective states, especially those provoked by persecution, suffering, grieving, and undergoing painful obstacles. The experiences of these young readers additionally confirm the observation that one can have an empathetic connection with a character or situation even when there isn’t an exact match to their own identity or experience (Keen 207). Texts that elicit readers’ deep fears seem to be the most successful in provoking empathy. The novels and film discussed here all discuss the types of fears students may have when deciding to study abroad—alienation, loss of friendships back home, culture shock, changed romantic relationships. Each of the characters undergoes a trial and coming of age process during their study abroad experience wherein they encounter and work through a few or many of these different obstacles. They take the reader on a journey

through their own experience abroad and in turn the readers may mirror these experiences and choose similar destinations and programs when they decide to study abroad themselves. Miall implies, through his research, that a readers' empathy may produce verifiable results in the actions and beliefs of a certain number of readers (as found in Keen 207).

Conclusion

Scholars such as Ybarra and Nielsen have studied study abroad as a version of van Gennep's rite of passage in recent years using student accounts to describe the change they undergo. For an even longer period, authors have been using the study abroad genre, within young adult literature, as a way for their characters to journey through their own rites of passage ordeals. This chapter has shown how a number of these authors have utilized formulaic narratives as a way in which to evoke their reader's empathy, thus activating their mirror neurons. This chapter hypothesizes that these readers, when they decide to study abroad themselves, try to emulate some of these same experiences and hope to undergo a similar rite of passage and subsequent transformation through their study abroad experience.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: What Does this Dissertation Mean?

Throughout the pages of this work, this dissertation attempts to create a meaningful analysis of the discourses and imaginaries present within US study abroad discourse. These chapters have primarily focused on the representations of Latin America and Spain within US study abroad mass marketing materials and student blogs and vlogs. A third chapter explored the ways in which young adult literature (YAL) has represented study abroad as a rite of passage whose narrative imaginaries seek to provoke their reader's natural empathy and spark their mirror neurons into action.

Within and across the chapters in this dissertation, the imaginary and imaginaries invoked are multifarious through rhetorics, images, stereotypes, fantasies, intercultural frameworks for interaction with others (and Others), the imaginings and expectations of the individual student, representational narratives, and the reflections of these narratives within the sojourning student themselves. These tourism imaginaries are also collective, intersubjective, individual, and tenacious. They shape and reflect the assumptions of the institutions that represent them and the continuous generations that reproduce them, yet “there are as many tourist imaginaries as there are tourists” (Di Giovine 155). Because one can only witness these imaginaries through their effects, scholars such as Sneath, Rautenberg, and Bruner have stated that there is a risk of overestimating their reach and consistency, or exemplifying them as independent entities. But Leite argues that the only way in which one can truly capture a fluid and dynamic phenomenon, that is also collective, is through detailed research that builds on multiple channels of evidence. Evidence derived from its material presences and verified through “careful attention to the commentary, assumptions, and behavior of individual people thinking and acting in the world-out-there” (262). The chapters in this dissertation have demonstrated this painstaking attention

O'Toole

to detail and material evidence (mass marketing materials in chapter 2, and young adult literature in chapter 4) and verifying it through an investigation of the behavior and assumptions of individual people (representations in student blogs and vlogs in chapter 3).

The imaginaries in this work vary in their relative abstraction and generalization. Chapter 2 explores the perpetuation of the “imaginary” or the postcolonial Other within different advertising rhetorics in study abroad marketing. This imaginary is embedded within a long tradition of postcolonial studies and as such can be mapped onto any location. The argument that by focusing on heritage tourism within Spain, the US, a former English colony, is recolonizing Europe through a different mechanism of postcolonial imaginaries. These study abroad tourists, faced with the global present and the compression of time and space, are being sold that the only way in which they can experience the cultural differences they are seeking is by locating their host country in the past. The second chapter analyzes the ways in which the students themselves as agents of their own study abroad experiences reproduce these imaginaries. But some of these students also manage to move past the imaginaries that have been sold to them by the study abroad advertising, and grow towards a level of intercultural sensitivity that inhabits a new tourism imaginary. This new tourism imaginary intersect with the local culture in a way that the mass marketing materials fail to, and yet, the mission statements of the organizations that produce these advertising products claim to do so. If these organizations and higher education institutions could find a way within their advertising to balance the rhetorics they reproduce with the goals of their mission statements, then one could argue that they would be working towards deconstructing these imaginaries while also using them in an entrepreneurial manner, if that is even possible. Chapter 4 examines the narrative tourist imaginaries present within formulaic fiction. These imaginaries are constructed as a rite of

passage from youth to adulthood through the course of a study abroad experience. The reader's then mirror these imaginaries and reproduce them again later in life when they choose to study abroad themselves.

The local and national power struggle described in Chapter 2's accounts of heritage tourism over globally circulating tourism imaginaries that seek to redefine people and places acknowledges that the social construction of these spaces is, in part, a process of local meaning making, judicial control, and economic development. Although many imaginaries have singular histories, one has to be careful to acknowledge the agency and autonomy of those represented, because this imaginative movement has not had a straightforward and one-way path (Salazar). In order to be more inclusive and overcome ethnocentric tourism imaginaries, it is important for the field of study abroad to pay closer attention to the "ways in which values, meanings, and forms of knowledge can be altered, changed, and renegotiated at all points, from prior expectations, to the point of purchase and beyond, and the ways in which different forms of knowledge are (re)constructed" or do not change at all (Salazar & Graburn 17).

While study abroad is often characterized as a holiday away from the rigors of school (Zemach-Bersin), moving beyond an imaginary, blind to whom the Other really is, is still a possibility, one, as witnessed in Chapter 3, which offers intercultural personal growth. To be a study abroad student, but also a study abroad service provider, is to be both moving and temporal and to become involved in the worlds and lives of other, even if it is only superficially. While Chapter 2 has shown that study abroad tourism often stands for the commoditization of a location and the exoticization and eroticization of the culture and natural environment of a place, Chapter 3 has shown that it can also foster interpersonal relationships that involve genuine intercultural exchanges. And studies have shown that study abroad experiences have the

possibility of creating positive relations among individuals who were previously unconnected, thus it becomes a fundamental challenge to recognize and identify the current and dominant tourism imaginaries present within its discourse, but also to actively create and activate new images and discourses that contest and replace these persistent imaginaries. These tenacious imaginaries are socially shared, widely circulated, and constantly reproduced in different medias and settings, which is exactly what makes them so powerful and worthy of critical analysis.

Bibliography

- Abubakar, Abubakar Mohammed, Belal Hamed Taher Shneikat, and Akile Oday. "Motivational factors for educational tourism: A case study in Northern Cyprus." *Tourism Management Perspectives* 11 (2014): 58-62.
- Adamson, Sylvia. "Subjectivity in narration: empathy and echo." *Subjecthood and subjectivity: The status of the subject in linguistic theory* (1994): 193-208.
- Adler, Peter S. "The transitional experience: An alternative view of culture shock." *Journal of humanistic psychology* (1975). 54-89.
- Allaway, William H., and Hallam C. Shorrock. *Dimensions of international higher education: the University of California Symposium on Education Abroad*. Westview Pr, 1985.
- Allen, Heather Willis. "What shapes short-term study abroad experiences? A comparative case study of students' motives and goals." *Journal of Studies in International Education* 14.5 (2010): 452-470.
- Alsup, Janet, ed. *Young adult literature and adolescent identity across cultures and classrooms: Contexts for the literary lives of teens*. Routledge, 2010.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: New York: Verso, 2006.
- Aparicio, Frances R., and Susana Chávez-Silverman, eds. *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad*. Hanover; London: UP of New England, 1997.
- Apelqvist, Eva. *Swede Dreams*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2007.
- API. *API Semester/Quarter/Year/2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015.
- API. *API: Summer 2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1996.
- Ashworth, Gregory, and Peter Larkham, eds. *Building a new heritage (RLE Tourism)*. Routledge, 2013.
- Ault, Susanne. *Survey: YouTube Stars More Popular Than Mainstream Celebs Among U.S. Teens*. Variety Magazine. August 2014. <https://variety.com/2014/digital/news/survey-youtube-stars-more-popular-than-mainstream-celebs-among-u-s-teens-1201275245/>, Accessed October 14, 2016.

Back, Michele. "Using Facebook data to analyze learner interaction during study abroad." *Foreign Language Annals* 46.3 (2013): 377-401.

Balcar, Mark JO, and Douglas G. Pearce. "Heritage tourism on the west coast of New Zealand." *Tourism management* 17.3 (1996): 203-212.

Barbour, Nancy. "Global Citizen, Global Consumer: Study Abroad, Neoliberal Convergence, and the *Eat, Pray, Love* Phenomenon." Diss. Oregon State, 2012.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Trans. Richard Howard and Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 2012.

----- Roland. *Image-Music-Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.

Behschnitt, Wolfgang, and Magnus Nilsson. "Multicultural literature'in a comparative perspective." *Literature, language, and multiculturalism in Scandinavia and the Low Countries*. 71 (2012): 1-15.

Bell, Brent. "The rites of passage and outdoor education: Critical concerns for effective programming." *Journal of Experiential Education* 26.1 (2003): 41-49.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of/Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. London: Penguin UK, 2008.

Bennett, Milton J. *Developmental model of intercultural sensitivity*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1998.

Bennett, Tony. *Culture: A reformer's science*. Sage, 1998.

Bhandari, R., & Chow, P. *Open doors 2007: Report on international educational exchange*. New York: Institute of International education. 2007.

Blood, Rebecca. "Weblogs: A history and perspective." *Rebecca's pocket* 7.9 (2000): 2000.

Bloom, Kristen, and Kelly Marie Johnston. "Digging into YouTube videos: Using media literacy and participatory culture to promote cross-cultural understanding." *Journal of Media Literacy Education* 2.2 (2010): 3.

Boorstin, Daniel. "From traveler to tourist: The lost art of travel." *The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America* (1961): 77-117.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Social Definition of Photography." *Visual Culture: The Reader*. Ed.J. Evans and S. Hall. London: Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1999. 89-115.

Bowman, Shayne, and Chris Willis. "We media." *How audiences are shaping the future of news and information*. 2003.

Brann, Eva TH. "The World of the Imagination (Savage, MD)." *Rowman and Littlefield* 25 (1991): 292.

Brendtro, L., Bockern, S. V., & Clementson, J. Adultwary and angry: Restoring social bonds. *Holistic Education Review*, 8.1 (1995): 35- 43.

Brindley, Roger, Suzanne Quinn, and Mary Lou Morton. "Consonance and dissonance in a study abroad program as a catalyst for professional development of pre-service teachers." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 25.3 (2009): 525-532.

Brooks, Rachel. *Friendship and educational choice: Peer influence and planning for the future*. Springer, 2004.

Bruner, Edward M. 1996. "Tourism in Ghana: The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora." *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 2: 290–304.

Buzinde, Christine N., Carla Almeida Santos, and Stephen LJ Smith. "Ethnic Representations: Destination Imagery." *Annals of tourism research*. 33.3 (2006): 707-28.

Cadd, Marc. "Encouraging students to engage with native speakers during study abroad." *Foreign Language Annals* 45.2 (2012): 229-245.

Calzati, Stefano. "Power and representation in Anglo-American travel blogs and travel books about China." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 14.5 (2012): 20.

Carroll, Allison Veronica. *The participation of historically underrepresented students in study abroad programs: An assessment of interest and perception of barriers*. Diss. Colorado State University, 1996.

Castells, Manuel. *Communication Power*. Oxford: New York: Oxford UP, 2009.

----- Manuel. *The network society A cross-cultural perspective*. Edward Elgar, 2004.

Castells, Manuel, and Gustavo Cardoso, eds. *The network society: From knowledge to policy*. Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2006.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1987. *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Trans. Kathleen Blamey. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Caton, Kellee, and Carla Almeida Santos. "Images of the Other: Selling Study Abroad in a Postcolonial World." *Journal of Travel Research*. 48.2 (2009): 191-204.

Cawelti, John G. *Adventure, mystery, and romance: Formula stories as art and popular culture*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.

CEA. *CEA 2014/2015 Study Abroad Catalog*. n.p. n.p. 2014

Chew, Matthew M. "Cultural sustainability and heritage tourism development: problems in developing bun festival tourism in Hong Kong." *Journal of Sustainable Development* 2.3 (2009): 34.

Chhabra, Deepak, Robert Healy, and Erin Sills. "Staged authenticity and heritage tourism." *Annals of tourism research* 30.3 (2003): 702-719.

Childs, Peter and Roger Fowler (eds.). *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*. London & New York: Routledge, 2006.

Ching, Erik, Christina Buckley y Angélica Lozano-Alonso, eds. *Reframing Latin America: a Cultural Theory Reading of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Austin: U of Texas P, 2007.

Choney, Suzanne. "Facebook use can lower grades by 20 percent, study says." 2010.

Chowdhury, Gobinda, Alan Poulter, and David McMenemy. "Public Library 2.0: towards a new mission for public libraries as a "network of community knowledge"." *Online Information Review* 30.4 (2006): 454-460.

CIEE. *CIEE: Semester and Winter Programs 2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015

CIEE. *CIEE: Latin America Study Abroad Program 2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015

Compitello, Malcolm. "A good plan gone bad: From operation Atocha to the gentrification of Lavapiés." *The International Journal of the Constructed Environment* 2.2 (2012): 75-94.

Cole, Denise. "Exploring the sustainability of mining heritage tourism." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 12.6 (2004): 480-494.

Cole, J. B. Opening address of the 43rd International Conference on Educational Exchange. In *Black students and overseas programs: Broadening the base of participation* (pp. 1-8). New York, NY: Council on International Education Exchange. 1991.

Colón, Cristóbal, Christopher Columbus, and Bartolomé de las Casas. *Diario de Colón*. Cultura Hispánica, 1968.

Crane, Edgar. *Marketing communications: decision-making as a process of interaction between buyer and seller*. John Wiley & Sons, 1972.

Crouch, David, Rhona Jackson, and Felix Thompson, eds. *The Media and the Tourist Imagination: Converging Cultures*. London: Routledge. 2005.

O'Toole

Crouch, Katie. *Abroad*. New York, NY. Sarah Crichton Books. 2014.

Crumbaugh, Justin. *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*. SUNY Press, 2010.

Cushing, P. J. Completing the cycle of transformation: Lessons from the rites of passage model. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Experiential Education*, 9.5 (2005): 7-12.

Dann, Graham. "The holiday was simply fantastic." *The Tourist Review* 31.3 (1976): 19-23.

Davis-Floyd, Robbie. *Birth as an American rite of passage*. Diss. University of Texas at Austin, 1986.

Deardorff, Darla K. "Identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization." *Journal of studies in international education* 10.3 (2006): 241-266.

Deardorff, Darla K., Hans de Wit, and John D. Heyl, eds. *The SAGE handbook of international higher education*. Sage, 2012.

Decrop, A. The influence of message format on the effectiveness of print advertisements for tourism destinations. *International Journal of Advertising*, 26.4 (2007): 505-525.

Decrop, Alain. "Triangulation in Qualitative Tourism Research." *Tourism Management*. 20.1 (1999): 157-61.

Denti, Olga. "Gazing at Italy from the East: A multimodal analysis of Malaysian tourist blogs." *Lingue Culture Mediazioni* 2.15 (2015): 47-68.

Delucchi, Michael, and Kathleen Korgen. "'We're the customer-we pay the tuition': Student consumerism among undergraduate sociology majors." *Teaching sociology* 30.1 (2002): 100-107.

Desmond, Jane. *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999. Print.

Di Giovine, Michael A. "The Imaginaire dialectic and the refashioning of pietrelcina." *Tourism imaginaries: Through an anthropological lens* (2014): 147-171.

Doerr, Neriko Musha. "Study abroad as 'adventure': Globalist construction of host-home hierarchy and governed adventurer subjects." *Critical discourse studies*. 9.3 (2012): 257-68.

Dron, Jon. "The blog and the borg: A collective approach to e-learning." *E-Learn: World Conference on E-Learning in Corporate, Government, Healthcare, and Higher Education*. Association for the Advancement of Computing in Education (AACE), 2003.

- duBois, Jennifer. *Cartwheel*. New York, NY. Random House. 2013.
- Dunham, Richard M., Jeannie S. Kidwell, and Stephen M. Wilson. "Rites of passage at adolescence: A ritual process paradigm." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 1.2 (1986): 139-153.
- Durand, Gilbert. *The Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary*. Trans. Margaret Sankey and Judith Hatten. Brisbane: Boombana Publications. 1999.
- Dwyer, Mary M., and Courtney K. Peters. "The benefits of study abroad." *Transitions abroad* 37.5 (2004): 56-58.
- Echtner, Charlotte M., and Pushkala Prasad. "The Context of Third World Tourism Marketing." *Annals of Tourism Research*. 30.3 (2003): 660-82.
- EF. *EF 2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015.
- Elkins, James. *Visual Studies: A skeptical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Elola, Idoia, and Ana Oskoz. "Blogging: Fostering intercultural competence development in foreign language and study abroad contexts." *Foreign Language Annals* 41.3 (2008): 454-477.
- Feinberg, Benjamin. "What Students Don't Learn Abroad." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. 48.34 (2002). B20.
- Fellner, Terry, and Matthew Apple. "Developing writing fluency and lexical complexity with blogs." *The Jalt Call Journal* 2.1 (2006): 15-26
- Ferris, Aimee. *Girl Overboard*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2007.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972. Print.
- Furnham, Adrian, and Stephen Bochner. "Culture shock. Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments." *Culture shock. Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments*. 1986.
- Furnham, Adrian, and Naznin Alibhai. "The friendship networks of foreign students: A replication and extension of the functional model." *International journal of psychology* 20.3-4 (1985): 709-722.
- Fyall, Alan, and Brian Garrod. "Heritage tourism: at what price?." *Managing Leisure* 3.4 (1998): 213-228.
- Gaonkar, Dilip P. "Toward New Imaginaries: An Introduction." *Public Culture* 14.1 (2002): 1-19.

- Gallese, Vittorio, and Alvin Goldman. "Mirror neurons and the simulation theory of mind-reading." *Trends in cognitive sciences* 2.12 (1998): 493-501.
- Gallese, Vittorio. "The 'shared manifold' hypothesis. From mirror neurons to empathy." *Journal of consciousness studies* 8.5-6 (2001): 33-50.
- Gallese, Vittorio. "Mirror neurons, embodied simulation, and the neural basis of social identification." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 19.5 (2009): 519-536.
- Gallese, Vittorio. "Being like me": Self-other identity, mirror neurons and empathy." *Perspectives on imitation: From cognitive neuroscience to social science* 1 (2005): 101-118.
- Gee, James Paul. "Semiotic social spaces and affinity spaces." *Beyond communities of practice language power and social context* 214232 (2005).
- Gerber, Linda. *Now and Zen*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2006.
- Gerber, Linda. *The Finnish Line*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2007.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1972.
- Gullahorn, John T., and Jeanne E. Gullahorn. "An extension of the U-curve hypothesis." *Journal of social issues* 19.3 (1963): 33-47.
- Halavais, Alexander. "Scholarly blogging: Moving toward the visible college." *Uses of blogs* (2006): 117-126.
- Hall, Michael, and Heather Zeppel. "Cultural and heritage tourism: The new grand tour." *Historic Environment* 7.3/4 (1990): 86.
- Hapka, Cathy. *Pardon My French*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2005.
- Hartman, Eric, Cody Morris Paris, and Brandon Blache-Cohen. "Tourism and transparency-navigating ethical risks in volunteerism with fair trade learning." *Africa Insight* 42.2 (2012): 157-168.
- Hartley, Matthew, and Christopher C. Morpew. "What's Being Sold and to What End?: A Content Analysis of College Viewbooks." *The Journal of Higher Education*. 79.6 (2008): 671-91.
- Harvey, David. "The art of rent: globalisation, monopoly and the commodification of culture." *Socialist register* 38.38 (2002).
- Hawthorne, Rachel. *London: Kit & Robin*. New York, NY. Bantam Books. 2000.

---. *Paris: Alex & Dana*. New York, NY. Bantam Books. 2000.

---. *Rome: Antonio & Carrie*. New York, NY. Bantam Books. 2000.

Haynes, Carolyn. "Overcoming the study abroad hype." 2011.

Hembroff, Larry A., and Debra L. Ruzs. *Minorities and Overseas Studies Programs: Correlates of Differential Participation. Occasional Papers on International Educational Exchange: Research Series 30*. Council on International Educational Exchange, New York, NY, 1993.

Henderson, Lauren. *Flirting in Italian*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2013.

---. *Kissing in Italian*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2014.

Hennig, Christoph. "Tourism: Enacting modern myths." *The tourist as a metaphor of the social world* (2002): 169-187.

Herbert, David. "Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience." *Annals of tourism research* 28.2 (2001): 312-333.

Herbig, Paul A. *The innovation matrix: Culture and structure prerequisites to innovation*. Praeger Pub Text, 1994.

Hewison, Robert. "The heritage industry Britain in a climate of decline." (1987).

Hoffa, William. *A History of US study abroad: Beginnings to 1965*. Washington, D.C.: Forum on Education Abroad, 2007.

Hollinshead, Keith. "Heritage tourism under post-modernity: Truth and the past." *The tourist experience: A new introduction* (1997): 170-193.

Hooks, bell. *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990.

---. *Teaching Critical Thinking: Practical Wisdom*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Horsley, Kate. *The American Girl*. New York, NY. William Morrow. 2016.

Howell, James. *Instructions for Forreine Travell: 1642*. No. 16. A. Constable, 1895.

Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang, and Sarah E. Shannon. "Three approaches to qualitative content analysis." *Qualitative health research* 15.9 (2005): 1277-1288.

Hughes, George. "Tourism and the Geographical Imagination." *Leisure Studies* 11.1 (1992): 31-42.

Hunt, Peter. *Criticism, theory, and children's literature*. B. Blackwell, 1991.

O'Toole

ISA. *ISA Year/Semester/Trimester/Month 2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015.

Iser, Wolfgang. *The act of reading*. Johns Hopkins. 1978.

Jameson, Fredric. *The cultural turn: Selected writings on the postmodern, 1983-1998*. Verso, 1998.

Jarvis, Sarah, and Stephen Jenkins. "How much income mobility is there in Britain?." *The Economic Journal* 108.447 (1998): 428-443.

Jefferess, David. "Unsettling Cosmopolitanism: Global Citizenship and the Cultural Politics of Benevolence." *Postcolonial Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education*. Eds. Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti and Lynn Mario T.M. de Souza. New York: Routledge, 2012. 27-46.

---. "Global citizenship and the cultural politics of benevolence." *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices* 2.1 (2008): 27-36.

Jellen, Michelle. *Spain or Shine*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2005.

Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: NYU P, 2006.

---. "Fans, bloggers, and gamers: Media consumers in a digital age." *Nova Iorque: New York University Press*. 2006.

---. *Confessions of an Aca-Fan*. Henryjenkins.org. October 2006.
http://henryjenkins.org/2006/10/confronting_the_challenges_of.html. Accessed October 17, 2016.

Jenkins, Henry, et al. *Confronting the challenges of participatory culture: Media education for the 21st century*. Mit Press, 2009.

Jones, Jenny B. *There You'll Find Me*. New York, NY. Thomas Nelson. 2011.

Junco, Reynol. *Engaging students through social media: Evidence-based practices for use in student affairs*. John Wiley & Sons, 2014.

Kasravi, Jinous. *Factors influencing the decision to study abroad for students of color: Moving beyond the barriers*. University of Minnesota, 2009.

Kauffmann, Norman, Judith Martin, and Henry Weaver. *Students Abroad, Strangers at Home: Education for a Global Society*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural P, 1992.

Kavakas, Dimitris. *Students as Consumers: Identifying Study Abroad Destination Choice Influences for Marketing Purposes*. Thessaloniki: American College of Thessaloniki, 2013.

Kearney, Richard. *Poetics of imagining: Modern to post-modern*. No. 6. Fordham Univ Press, 1998.

Kearns, Gerry, and Chris Philo. "Culture, history, capital: A critical introduction to the selling of places." *Selling places: The city as cultural capital, past and present* (1993): 1-32.

Keen, Suzanne. *Empathy and the Novel*. Oxford University Press on Demand, 2007.

---. "A theory of narrative empathy." *Narrative* 14.3 (2006): 207-236.

Keough, Elizabeth Betsy. "Heritage in peril: A critique of UNESCO's world heritage program." *Wash. U. Global Stud. L. Rev.* 10 (2011): 593.

Keller, J., and Maritheresa Frain. "The impact of geo-political events, globalization, and national policies on study abroad programming and participation." *A history of US study abroad*(1965): 15-54.

Kelm, Orlando R. "Social media: It's what students do." *Business Communication Quarterly* 74.4 (2011): 505-520.

Kinging, Celeste, ed. *Social and cultural aspects of language learning in study abroad*. Vol. 37. John Benjamins Publishing, 2013.

Kirkpatrick, John. *The Marquesan notion of the person*. No. 3. UMI Research Press, 1983.

Klineberg, Otto, and Frank W. Hull IV. "At a foreign university: An international study of adaptation and coping." 1979.

Kochanek, Lauren. Study abroad celebrates 75th anniversary. *UD Messenger*, 7.2 (1998). 5.

Kress, G. R., & Van Leeuwen, T. *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. Psychology Press. 1996

Lacan, Jacques. "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I." In *Écrits: A Selection*, trans. Alan Sheridan, ed. Jacques Lacan. New York: W. W. Norton. 1997

Lee, J. J. Beyond borders: international student pathways to the U.S. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 12.3 (2008): 308-327.

---. Internationalization as acquisitions, mergers, and synergy. *Institute for International Education Networker Magazine*, (2014):25-27.

---. Tides shifting in global soft power influence: International higher education as a form of soft power. *University World News*. 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20141204095256823>

Lee, Lina. "Promoting intercultural exchanges with blogs and podcasting: A study of Spanish–American telecollaboration." *Computer Assisted Language Learning* 22.5 (2009): 425-443.

---. "Blogging: Promoting learner autonomy and intercultural competence through study abroad." *Language Learning & Technology* (2011). 214-256.

Leite, Naomi. "Locating imaginaries in the anthropology of tourism." *Tourism imaginaries: Anthropological approaches*(2014): 260-278.

Liu, Cynthia. *The Great Call of China*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2009.

The Lizzie McGuire Movie. Directed by Jim Fall. Buena Vista Pictures, 2003.

Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/postcolonialism*. Routledge, 2007.

Lowenthal, David. *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Lysgaard, Sverre. 1955. Adjustment in a foreign society: Norwegian Fulbright grantees visiting the United States. *International Social Science Bulletin*, 7: 45-51.

MacCannell, Dean. "Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings." *American journal of Sociology*79.3 (1973): 589-603.

---. *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1976.

Mander, Harsh. "12| Rights as struggle-towards a more just and humane world." *Reinventing Development?: Translating Rights-Based Approaches from Theory Into Practice* (2005): 233.

Manthorne, Katherine. "The Quest for a Tropical Paradise: Palm Tree as Fact and Symbol in Latin American Landscape Imagery, 1850–1875." *Art Journal* 44.4 (1984): 374-382.

Martin, Fran, and Fatima Pirbhai-Illich. "Service learning as post-colonial discourse." *Contesting and constructing international perspectives in global education*. SensePublishers, Rotterdam, 2015. 135-150.

Mattai, P. Rudy, and Godwin Ohiwerei. "Some Mitigating Factors against African-Americans in the Rural American South Opting To Study Abroad." 1989.

Maxwell, Richard. *Culture Works: the Political Economy of Culture*. Minneapolis: U of Minneapolis P., 2001.

- McKeown, Joshua. *The First Time Effect: the impact of study abroad on college student intellectual development*. Albany, NY: SUNY P., 2009.
- McQuarrie, Edward F., and David Glen Mick. "Figures of rhetoric in advertising language." *Journal of Consumer Research*. 22.4 (1996): 424-38.
- Mello, N., D. DiBiasio, and R. Vaz. "Fulfilling ABET outcomes by sending students away." *Proceedings of the 2007 American Society for Engineering Education Annual Conference & Exposition*. 2007.
- Miall, David S. "On the necessity of empirical studies of literary reading." *Frame: Utrecht Journal of Literary Theory* 14.2-3 (2000): 43.
- Mikal, Jude P., and Kathryn Grace. "Against abstinence-only education abroad: Viewing Internet use during study abroad as a possible experience enhancement." *Journal of Studies in International Education* 16.3 (2012): 287-306.
- Mikhailova. *A history of CIEE: Council on international educational exchange 1947 to 1997*, 2002.
- Mills, Michael R. "Stories of politics and policy: Florida's higher education governance reorganization." *The journal of higher education*. 78.2 (2007): 162-87.
- Moosavinia, S. R., N. Niazi, and Ahmad Ghaforian. "Edward Said's Orientalism and the Study of the Self and the Other in Orwell's *Burmese Days*." *Studies in Literature and Language* 2.1 (2011): 103.
- Morton, Lindsay, and Lynnette Lounsbury. "Inertia to action: From narrative empathy to political agency in young adult fiction." *Papers: Explorations into Children's Literature* 23.2 (2015): 53.
- Murray, Kristine E., and Rhonda Waller. "Social networking goes abroad." *International Educator* 16.3 (2007): 56.
- Nardi, Bonnie A., et al. "Why we blog." *Communications of the ACM* 47.12 (2004): 41-46.
- Neill, J. T. (2001). *Creating healthy, guided rites of passage for adolescents*. Unpublished manuscript, University of New Hampshire, Durham
- Nelson, Suzanne. *The Sound of Munich*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2006.
- . *Heart and Salsa*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2006.

New Study Abroad Branch Announced at Forum Annual Conference. Forum On Education Abroad. March 2015. <https://forumea.org/tag/bureau-of-educational-and-cultural-affairs/>. Accessed August 20, 2016.

Nielsen, Katherine. *Study abroad: perspectives on transitions to adulthood*. Diss. University of Sussex, 2014.

Nixon, Gordon. "Academic capitalism forces and successful college leadership." (2003).

Nora, Pierre. "Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire." *Representations* (1989): 7-24.

Nora, Pierre, and Lawrence D. Kritzman. "Realms of memory: Rethinking the French past. Vol. 1: Conflicts and divisions." *Trad. Arthur Goldhammer*. New York: Columbia UP (1996): 1-20.

Nye, Joseph S. *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. Public affairs, 2004.

Oberg, Kalervo. "Cultural shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments." *Practical anthropology* 7.4 (1960): 177-182.

Ogden, Anthony Charles. "Education abroad and the making of global citizens: Assessing learning outcomes of course-embedded, faculty-led international programming." (2010).

Olsen, J. E., et al. "The impact of the visual content of advertisements upon the perceived vacation experience." *Tourism services marketing: advances in theory and practice. Special conference series, volume II, 1986*. Academy of Marketing Science, U of Miami, 1986.

O'Malley, Maureen. 1992. "Scenes From Cairo's Camel Market." *Inscriptions* 6: 134-52

Open Doors 2017 Executive Summary. January 2017. <https://www.iie.org/en/Why-IIE/Announcements/2017-11-13-Open-Doors-2017-Executive-Summary>. Accessed June 9, 2018.

Osborne, Brian S., and Jason F. Kovacs. "Cultural tourism: Seeking authenticity, escaping into fantasy, or experiencing reality." *Choice* 45.6 (2008): 927-937.

Ostow, Micol. *Westminster Abby*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2005.

Paige, R. Michael, et al. "Study abroad for global engagement: the long-term impact of mobility experiences." *Intercultural Education* 20.sup1 (2009): S29-S44.

Perkins, Stephanie. *Anna and the French Kiss*. New York, NY. Dutton Juvenile. 2010.

Peterson, Jessica. *Spanish Lessons*. New York, NY. Peterson Paperbacks. 2017.

- . *Lessons in Gravity*. New York, NY. Peterson Paperbacks. 2017.
- . *Lessons in Letting Go*. New York, NY. Peterson Paperbacks. 2017.
- . *Lessons in Losing It*. New York, NY. Peterson Paperbacks. 2017
- Pike, Graham and David Selby. *In the Global Classroom 2*. Toronto: Pippin Pub., 1999.
- Pitman, Isaac. "The Evolution of Distance Education." 2010.
- Poria, Yaniv, Richard Butler, and David Airey. "Clarifying heritage tourism." *Annals of tourism research* 28.4 (2001): 1047-1049.
- Porter, Benjamin W., and Noel B. Salazar. "Heritage tourism, conflict, and the public interest: An introduction." *International journal of heritage studies* 11.5 (2005): 361-370.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: travel writing and transculturation*. London: New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Pritchard, Annette. "Tourism and representation: A scale for measuring gendered portrayals." *Leisure studies* 20.2 (2001): 79-94.
- Rautenberg, Michel. 2010. "Stereotypes and Emblems in the Construction of Social Imagination." *Outlines: Critical Practice Studies* 2: 126–37
- Reisberg, Liz, and Laura E. Rumbley. "Redefining academic mobility: from the pursuit of Scholarship to the pursuit of revenue." *The Forefront of International Higher Education*. Springer, Dordrecht, 2014. 115-126.
- Ricoeur, Paul. "Imagination in Discourse and in Action." In *Rethinking Imagination: Cult*. 1994.
- Rochat, Magali J., et al. "Responses of mirror neurons in area F5 to hand and tool grasping observation." *Experimental brain research* 204.4 (2010): 605-616.
- Roberts, Celia. "Ethnography and cultural practice: Ways of learning during residence abroad." *Intercultural experience and education* (2003): 114-130.
- Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual materials*. London: Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2011.
- Rossiter, John R. "Visual imagery: applications to advertising." *Advances in Consumer Research*. 9.1 (1982): 101-6.
- Saichaie, Kem, and Christopher C. Morpew. "What College and University Websites Reveal

about the Purposes of Higher Education." *The Journal of Higher Education*. 85.4 (2014): 499-530.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Salazar, Noel. *Envisioning Eden: Mobilizing Imaginaries in Tourism and Beyond*. Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2010

Salazar, Noel B., and Nelson HH Graburn, eds. *Tourism imaginaries: Anthropological approaches*. Berghahn Books, 2014.

Salisbury, Mark H., Michael B. Paulsen, and Ernest T. Pascarella. "Why do all the study abroad students look alike? Applying an integrated student choice model to explore differences in the factors that influence white and minority students' intent to study abroad." *Research in Higher Education* 52.2 (2011): 123-150.

Scarpaci, Joseph L. *Plazas and Barrios: Heritage Tourism and Globalization in the Latin American Centro Histórico*. University of Arizona Press, 2005.

Schlenker, Barry R. *Impression management*. Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1980.

Schroeder, Jonatn E. "A visual approach to consumer research." *Representing consumers: Voices, views, and visions* (1998): 193.

Schutz, Samantha. *I don't want to be crazy*. New York, NY. Push. 2006.

Selwyn, Tom. *The tourist image: Myths and myth making in tourism*. Wiley, 1996.

Semester at Sea. *Semester at Sea 2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015

Sharma, Sangeeta, and Raghuvir Singh. *Advertising: planning and implementation*. New Delhi: PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd., 2006.

Sheller, Mimi. "Demobilizing and Remobilizing Caribbean Paradise." In *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*, ed. Mimi Sheller and John Urry. London: Routledge. 2004.

Shively, Rachel L. "From the virtual world to the real world: A model of pragmatics instruction for study abroad." *Foreign Language Annals* 43.1 (2010): 105-137.

Singh, Surendra N., and Gilbert A. Churchill Jr. "Arousal and advertising effectiveness." *Journal of Advertising* 16.1 (1987): 4-40.

Skjoldager-Nielsen, Kim, and Joshua Edelman. "Liminality." *Ecumenica Journal of theatre and performance* 7.1/2 (2014): 29-35.

- Slaughter, Sheila, and Larry L. Leslie. *Academic capitalism: Politics, policies, and the entrepreneurial university*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4319, 1997.
- Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. *Academic capitalism and the new economy: Markets, state, and higher education*. JHU Press. 2004
- Slotkin, Michael H., Christopher J. Durie, and Jarin R. Eisenberg. "The benefits of short-term study abroad as a blended learning experience." *Journal of International Education in Business* 5.2 (2012): 163-173.
- Smith-Paríolá, Jennie, and Abíódún Gòkè-Paríolá. "Expanding the parameters of service learning: A case study." *Journal of Studies in International Education* 10.1 (2006): 71-86.
- Sneath, David, Martin Holbraad, and Morten Axel Pedersen. 2009. "Technologies of the Imagination: An Introduction." *Ethnos* 74, no. 1: 5–30.
- Snee, Helene. "Framing the Other: cosmopolitanism and the representation of difference in overseas gap year narratives." *The British Journal of Sociology* 64.1 (2013): 142-162.
- Sontag, Susan. *On photography*. Macmillan, 1977.
- Sowa, Patience A. "How valuable are student exchange programs?." *New directions for higher education* 2002.117 (2002): 63-70.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Three women's texts and a critique of imperialism." *Critical Inquiry*. 12.1 (1985): 235-61.
- Starr-Glass, David. "Internalizing cross-cultural sensitivity: Reflective journals of migrant students." *Journal of International Education in Business* 7.1 (2014): 31-46.
- Stevenson, Nick. "Making Poverty History in the Society of the Spectacle: civil society and educated politics." *Postcolonial perspectives on global citizenship education*. Eds. Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti and Lynn Mario T.M. de Souza. London: New York: Routledge, 2012. 140-57.
- Stewart, Julia Aguilar. "Using e-Journals to Assess Students' Language Awareness and Social Identity During Study Abroad." *Foreign Language Annals* 43.1 (2010): 138-159.
- Stout, Katie. *Hello, I Love You*. New York, NY. St. Martin's Griffin. 2015.
- Strauss, Claudia. 2006. "The Imaginary." *Anthropological Theory* 6, no. 3: 322–44.
- Strauss, Peggy Guthart. *Getting the Boot*. New York, NY. Penguin Random House. 2005.
- Sturken, Marita and Cartwright, Lisa *Practices of Looking: an introduction to visual culture*.

Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.

Supplee, Suzanne. *When Irish Guys are Smiling*. New York, NY: Penguin Random House, 2008.

Sutton, Richard C., and Donald L. Rubin. "The GLOSSARI project: Initial findings from a system-wide research initiative on study abroad learning outcomes." *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* 10 (2004): 65-82.

Szekely, B. B. "Seeking heritage in study abroad." *Open Doors* (1998): 107-109.

Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Telisman-Kosuta, Neda. "Tourist destination image." *Tourist destination image*. (1989): 557-561.

Thomassen, Bjørn. "The uses and manings of liminality." *International Political Anthropology* 2.1 (2009): 5-27.

Tiessen, Rebecca, et al. "Global citizenship and study abroad: It's all about US Critical Literacy." *Learning and Volunteering Abroad for Development: Unpacking Host Organization and Volunteer Rationales*. Vol. 18. No. 3. London: Routledge, 2018. 1-12.

Tompkins, Jane P., ed. *Reader-response criticism: From formalism to post-structuralism*. JHU Press, 1980.

Tonkin, Humphrey, ed. *Service-learning across cultures: Promise and achievement*. International Partnership for Service-Learning and Leadership, 2004.

Trooboff, Stevan, and Vande Berg. "Employer attitudes toward study abroad." *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* 15 (2008): 17-33.

Turner, Victor. "Betwixt and between: The liminal period in rites of passage." *Betwixt and between: Patterns of masculine and feminine initiation* (1987): 3-19.

---. "Liminal to liminoid, in play, flow, and ritual: an essay in comparative symbology." *Rice Institute Pamphlet-Rice University Studies* 60.3 (1974).

---. *From ritual to theatre: The human seriousness of play*. Paj Publications, 1982.

Urciuoli, Bonnie. "Excellence, Leadership, Skills, Diversity: marketing liberal arts education." *Language & Communication*. 23.3 (2003): 385-408.

Urry, John and Larsen, Jonas. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. New York: Sage, 2012. Web.

Van Gennep, Arnold. *The rites of passage*. Routledge, 2013.

O'Toole

van Schooten, Erik, K. De Glopper, and R. D. Stoel. "Development of attitude toward reading adolescent literature and literary reading behavior." *Poetics* 32.5 (2004): 343-386.

Van Tine, Rebecca E. "Liminality and the short term study abroad experience." Thesis. U. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. 2011.

Venable, S. F. Adolescent rites of passage: An experiential model. *The Journal of Experiential Education*, 20.1 (1997): 6-13.

Veritas. *Veritas: Summer 2015*. n.p. n.p. 2015.

Waterton, Emma, and Steve Watson, eds. *Culture, heritage and representation: Perspectives on visibility and the past*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010.

Weiler, Betty, and Colin Michael Hall. *Special interest tourism*. Belhaven Press, 1992.

Williams, Tracy Rundstrom. "Exploring the impact of study abroad on students' intercultural communication skills: Adaptability and sensitivity." *Journal of studies in international education* 9.4 (2005): 356-371.

Winston, Johnny. "Photography in the Age of Facebook." *Intersect: The Stanford Journal of Science, Technology and Society* 6.2 (2013): 1-11.

Ybarra, C. M. Kalamazoo College in Madrid: study abroad as a rite of passage. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University. 1997

Young Adult Books Attract Growing Number of Adult Fans. Bowker Books. September 2012. <http://www.bowker.com/news/2012/Young-Adult-Books-Attract-Growing-Numbers-of-Adult-Fans.html>. Accessed November 1, 2016.

Zemach-Bersin, Talya. "Entitled to the World: the rhetoric of U.S. global citizenship education and study abroad." *Postcolonial Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education*. Eds. Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti and Lynn Mario T.M. de Souza. New York: Routledge, 2012. 87-104. Print.

---. "Global Citizenship and Study Abroad: it's all about US." *Critical Literacy: theories and practices* 1.2 (2007): 16-28. Web.

---. "Selling the World: study abroad marketing and the privatization of global citizenship." *The Handbook of Practice and Research in Study Abroad: higher education and the quest for global citizenship*. Ed. Ross Lewin. New York: Routledge, 2009. 303-20. Print.

Zhang, Yang, and Michael John Hitchcock. "The Chinese female tourist gaze: a netnography of young women's blogs on Macao." *Current Issues in Tourism* 20.3 (2017): 315-330.