

SHORT-TERM STUDY ABROAD PROGRAMS:
WHERE THEY CAME FROM, HOW THEY WORK, AND WHY THEY OFTEN
DON'T

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation shows that the ideology of liberalism formed the basis of the Doctrine of Study Abroad (DSA). The DSA was formed in the 1940s and 1950s and teaches that any time spent studying abroad is beneficial and increases tolerance and world peace. The DSA was established by liberal policy makers within institutions of higher education as a method of liberal education to instill the principles of liberalism in the rising generation. The historically established DSA and its assumptions were tested against the contemporary short-term study abroad movement using three study abroad groups from Texas A&M University. Based on the results it is shown that short-term study abroad does not hold up to the assumptions of the DSA. It is therefore concluded that culture is not inherent in study abroad, that students only make shallow observations and interpretations of potentially meaningful cultural interactions when left to their own devices. It is suggested that “interventions,” such as “cultural coaching” and time set aside for focus and directed reflection be made within the process of student learning while abroad to enable students to have meaningful cultural interactions. This dissertation argues that suggestions proposed in this research and by the “learning centered” movement will not be incorporated into study abroad programs due to the historical inertia of the DSA and its influence within institutions of higher education.

The dissertation concludes that it is necessary to take a critical attitude toward the fundamental presuppositions of the educational paradigm one is investigating, that education research is important because education policy is prone to wishful thinking, and that making critical investigations are necessary to expose flaws in order to correct them.

*Dedicated to my wife, Brody, V., and possibly three, whom make me more than a
“dissertationist”*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION

This chapter provides an introduction to this dissertation by describing the objectives and working hypotheses of my research. It also provides a brief summary of previous research and common methods used in study abroad assessment. Finally, to acquaint the reader with the theoretical background of this dissertation the chapter provides brief descriptions of the ideology of liberalism and the Doctrine of Study Abroad (DSA), and presents a brief history of U.S. study abroad from the early 1900s to present. It concludes with a summary of the subsequent chapters.

Research Objectives and Hypotheses

The research objectives of this dissertation are: (1) to describe the origins and development of the ideology of liberalism, particularly with respect to the idea of a liberal education; (2) to explain how liberalism and the idea of liberal education gave rise to the DSA; (3) to test whether or not contemporary short-term study abroad programs actually have the effect predicted by the DSA; and (4) to offer suggestions for study abroad program development based on conclusions.

In order to realize these research objectives it will be necessary to answer the following questions: (1) what is liberalism; (2) did the influence of liberalism and liberal education lead to the establishment of the DSA; and (3) how does short-term study abroad affect students' intercultural competence? In order to answer question three, the

following variables will be measured against students' pre- to post- intercultural competence scores: (a) program duration; (b) amount of time students spent in immersive context abroad; (c) students' motivation for studying abroad; and (d) students' comprehension of a cultural experience.

Hypothesized answers are: (1) liberalism is a positive doctrine that seeks to create democratic citizens; (2) the DSA was constructed by liberals to facilitate the creation of democratic citizens; (3) changes in students' intercultural cultural competence due to a short-term study abroad are far more uncertain and variable than many assume. Hypothesized answers to the variables of question three are (a) as the duration of the program increases, students' intercultural competence pre- to post- will increase; (b) the more time spent in immersion the more likely students' are to increase in intercultural competence, as measured by pre- to post-; (c) students' intercultural competence pre- to post- will correlate with their motivation to study abroad; and (d) if students demonstrate a comprehension of cultural experience they are more likely to increase in intercultural competence pre- to post-.

Previous Research and Study Abroad

The predominant method to measure the impact of short-term study abroad is the post-program questionnaire (Hadis, 2005). Questionnaires or electronic surveys are typically sent to every participant after they return from a study abroad program. However, these surveys contribute little to the understanding of cultural learning outcomes because they tend to elicit only superficial information and are not conducted both pre- and post-trip.

(Hadis, 2005).

The value of questionnaires can be greatly enhanced if they are supplemented by ethnographic research methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus groups (Fuller et al., 2000; Hovorka and Wolf, 2009;). Klofstad (2005) states that questionnaires are unlikely to elicit *any* in-depth information, while interviews allow researchers to gain a deeper understanding of social phenomena. Hadis (2005) argues that the research literature on the cultural learning outcomes of study abroad offers a limited number of pre- and post- experimental designs, but that when a post test is given, it is almost always by way of an electronic questionnaire that assesses attitudinal change and not cultural learning outcomes (see also Stronkhorst, 2005). Indeed, almost all research that involves a post-study abroad interview has evaluated language acquisition and has neglected cultural learning outcomes (Allen & Herron, 2003; Freed, 1995; Magnan, 2007).

Recently the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), an instrument that measures intercultural competence, has been used to more accurately measure the cultural learning outcomes of study abroad. The IDI makes use of both pre- and post-surveys to evaluate change in intercultural competence (Anderson et al., 2006; Clarke et al., 2009; Jackson, 2008; Jackson, 2006; Pedersen, 2010). Pederson (2010) used the IDI to measure intercultural effectiveness of a year-long study abroad program. Jackson's (2008) evaluation of Asian students on a short-term study abroad program in the U.K. is the only research to have used the IDI along with participant observation to measure impact. Vande Berg et al. (2009) used the IDI in conjunction with post- interviews to

determine the relationship of cultural learning outcomes and language acquisition.

This dissertation seeks to develop this line of inquiry by using the IDI to measure intercultural competence before and after short-term study abroad programs, and to supplement these findings with the results of a full battery of qualitative ethnographic research methods. Using only one qualitative method in conjunction with the IDI does not provide sufficient data to explain and examine the process of developing cultural understanding because each method has its limitations. This research differs from previous research because no known studies have evaluated short-term study abroad programs using a pre- and post- evaluative survey, participant observation, focus groups, and interviews. One of the main purposes of this dissertation is to gain “deeper understanding” of *what* happened to the student that explains the difference in their pre- to post- IDI score.

The IDI

Although many ways exist to evaluate study abroad outcomes, most researchers regard the IDI as the “gold standard” for measuring intercultural competence and sensitivity (Anderson et al., 2006; Clarke et al., 2009; Hammer, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003; Jackson, 2008; Jackson, 2006; Jea-Eun, 2009; Pedersen, 2010). Paige et al. (2003), in an article that aimed to evaluate the validity of the IDI, state that the IDI “is a sound instrument, a satisfactory way of measuring intercultural sensitivity” and competence (p. 484).

The IDI is a 50- question survey that quantifies the extent to which a person is culturally competent and culturally sensitive by placing them on a continuum from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. Ethnocentrism is defined as a monocultural worldview in which other cultures are seen as either irrelevant or inferior. Ethnorelativism is characterized as a multicultural worldview, with an appreciation and comprehension of other cultures (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009).

The IDI is based upon the theoretical framework of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). The DMIS was created by M. Bennett (1986) and J. Bennett (1993) as “an explanation of how people construe cultural difference” (Hammer et al., 2003, p. 423). It is based upon the assumption “that as one's *experience of cultural difference* becomes more complex and sophisticated, one's potential competence in intercultural relations increases” (Hammer et al., 2003, p. 423). Both the DMIS and the IDI are, in other words, grounded in constructivist learning theory, which holds “that experience does not occur simply by being in the vicinity of events when they occur,” but that experience is, rather, “a function of how one construes the events” (Hammer et al., 2003, p. 423).

The IDI also operates on the assumption that the more “perceptual and conceptual discriminations that can be brought to bear” on an intercultural experience, the more it can be construed to be complex, which in turn leads to the development of cultural competence (Hammer et al., 2003, p. 423). Again however, the developers of the IDI stress that, just because time is spent interacting with another culture, an individual is not *certain* to progress toward cultural competence. The interaction must

be specific, focused and purposeful.

Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence is defined as “the ability to adapt to different cultural settings, the essence of being bicultural” (Ashwill & Oanh, 2009, p. 143). The phrase indicates an ability to function in an alien cultural context without personal discomfort or inconvenience to the host culture. The higher the level of functionality, and the lower the levels of personal discomfort or inconvenience to the host culture, the higher the level of cultural competence.

Researchers have suggested that “cross-cultural training” is necessary to facilitate intercultural competence in study abroad programs (Deardorff, 2009; Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). Storti (2009) writes that cross-cultural training can be implemented effectively on study abroad programs by teaching and learning five fundamentals steps. (1) Culture must be defined and explained. The easiest way to define culture and how it manifests itself through inter-cultural interaction is through the “iceberg” metaphor (Storti, 2009). Behavior, or what the IDI refers to as the perceptual aspect of culture, is the tip of the iceberg. The tip of the iceberg is the aspect of culture that we can see, “you’re not going to encounter someone’s culture; you’re going to encounter their behavior, the things that say and do” (Storti, 2009, p. 275). It must be taught that behavior is not accidental, it is a result of the underlying values and assumptions of that culture, the conceptual. Therefore there must be a general understanding of what those values and assumptions are. (2) Understanding values and assumptions of one’s own

culture. Students must be shown the underlying values and assumptions of their own culture before they can begin to understand values and assumptions of foreign cultures. This is often difficult because we are our culture, we have been conditioned to it, and so it is hard to see outside of it. (3) Understanding values and assumptions of the host culture. (4) Difference. Comparing values and assumptions between one's own culture and the host culture helps students to begin to understand how these values and assumptions effect behavior. It is important in this step to identify all the ways in which values, assumptions, and behaviors are different between the two cultures. Once these differences are brought to bear then strategies must be developed or thought-out by the student to enable them to deal with these differences. (5) Students must be taught how to deal with culture shock and the steps involved in culture shock.

Intercultural competence is most improved by *complex* cultural experiences, and complex cultural experiences take the student below the tip of the iceberg into the conceptual aspect of culture. This is why Storti's five basic steps may be used to increase the development of intercultural competence on study abroad programs.

Ethnographic Methods

Quantitative methods alone, however, are not sufficient to evaluate and explain the study abroad experience. I have, therefore, supplemented the IDI findings with those obtained by a qualitative mixed method approach, comprising participant observation, focus groups, and semi-structured interviews.

Participant observation is very useful in evaluating cultural learning outcomes

because one is able to observe what actually occurs to students when they observe and interact with an alien¹ culture. One is able to answer the “how” and the “what is going on?” questions because one is there observing the process (Jackson, 2008).

Focus groups can “provide insights that might not have been revealed” using other qualitative techniques, such as participant observation (Cameron, 2000). Focus groups supplement quantitative and qualitative data because they create a type of “synergistic” interaction that helps generate much more information than other research methods (Cameron, 2000). For example, one comment can have a chain reaction that triggers several other comments that in turn help the researcher understand and identify key themes.

Semi-structured interviews have been shown to further supplement qualitative methods and data collection. Dunn (2000) states that there are four main reasons to incorporate interviews into a research design: (1) to fill the gap in knowledge gained by participant observation; (2) to collect a diversity of opinion that may not present itself in a focus group; (3) to discover motivations behind certain behaviors and actions; and (4) to encourage informants to reflect on their experience. As Dunn (2000, p. 58) describes it, an “interview may also give the informant cause to reflect on their experiences,” and this might not have occurred “if they were simply being observed or if they were completing a questionnaire.”

Using this mixed method approach, it was found that the effect of short-term study abroad on students’ intercultural competence was very limited. One objective of

¹ Alien in this dissertation is defined as something that is unknown/foreign

this dissertation is to measure the effect of short-term study abroad programs on intercultural competence. Another is to understand why the development of intercultural competence has become a major educational objective of our society, and why it is widely believed (despite a paucity of evidence) that study abroad is an effective means to achieve this objective. The development of intercultural competence is a major educational objective of our society because it conforms to the dominant ideology of liberalism, and it is widely believed that study abroad is an effective means to achieve this end because many people have accepted what I call the DSA.

The Ideology of Liberalism and the DSA

Liberalism is an ideology that aims to liberate individuals from a chauvinist attachment to the values and interests of their native culture. This dissertation does not condemn liberalism, but it does seek to identify and examine the assumptions and aims of liberalism in order to better understand liberal social and educational policy. One of these assumptions is that exposure to an alien culture will reduce an individual's chauvinistic attachment to the values and interests of his/her native culture. This is the basis for what this dissertation refers to as the DSA.

I coined the term DSA as a way to describe the “doctrine” developed by liberal education theorists in the early twentieth-century that eventually became national policy after World War II. It is called a “doctrine” because, as I argue in the following chapters, it is something that is taught. The DSA proposes that interaction with an alien culture through study abroad will lead to greater tolerance and openness of participants

(Bishop, 2009; Doyle, 2005; Johns & Thompson, 2009; Zemach-Bersin, 2008). This doctrine is widely believed, and is used to justify large and growing investments in study abroad programs. Yet there is little empirical evidence to support the DSA (Clarke et al., 2009). In fact, little research has sought to measure the effect of any study abroad program on students' tolerance and openness, and almost no research exists on the effect of short-term programs. Instead, the DSA simply *asserts* that every student returns from his or her study abroad experience having learned more about non-U.S. cultures and societies, and that this knowledge necessarily leads to greater empathy and tolerance, not only for members of the culture visited, but for all alien cultures.

Brief Study Abroad History

For American students in the nineteenth-century, the Grand Tour was the primary form of studying abroad (Bates, 1964). This notion was borrowed from the European Grand Tour, a prolonged sightseeing experience undertaken by young aristocrats, usually accompanied by a tutor, used to gain prestige and an appreciation for art and the Renaissance (Coryate, 1905). The tour typically went along a path from London to Paris and eventually to Rome (Lambert, 1937). The children of American elites did likewise, so until the middle of the twentieth century, study abroad was largely restricted to “affluent young Americans who could afford to delay their entry into careers and adult responsibilities” (Hoffa, 2007, p. 31). Study abroad, in this fashion, constituted very few individuals and was an experience only undertaken by the American elite.

By the early twentieth-century, study abroad opportunities were organized by elite ivy league and liberal arts schools. Schools such as Princeton, Harvard, Barnard College, Amherst College, Smith College and Mount Holyoke College offered programs of study in Paris, London, and Rome, but this study abroad experience was still reserved for the American elite and “was owned by the wealthy” (Gore, 2009, p. 293).

By the 1960s, however, due to several governmental policies and post-World War II educational reforms (discussed in further detail in Chapter 5), study abroad began to be accessible to a larger number of students enrolled in institutions of higher education. No longer was study abroad reserved for the elite and wealthy, although the perception that this was the case continued for several decades (Gore, 2009). As accessibility to study abroad increased, so did the number of study abroad participants (Abrams, 1960). The numbers of students going abroad for a period of study increased steadily in every decade from the 1960s to present (IIE, 2011a).

Despite the growth in participation, however, study abroad participants remained a very small percentage of the students enrolled in institutions of higher education. Beginning in the 1990s, and continuing to present, policy makers and educators have therefore sought to get a higher percentage of the student population to participate in a study abroad, and more and more institutions of higher education have begun to see study abroad as an important part – even a requirement – of the undergraduate student experience (Biles & Lindley, 2009). Within the next ten years policy makers (Senator Paul Simon Study Abroad Foundation Act) hope to increase the number of study abroad participants to 1 million (NAFSA, 2011). The push to increase

the number of students who study abroad necessitated a decrease in the duration of the average program.

Contemporary Study Abroad: Program Duration

Contemporary trends in study abroad, in terms of program duration, have seen the exponential growth in short-term programs. Short-term is defined by the Institute of International Education (IIE) as being a summer term, January term, or a program lasting 8 or fewer weeks during the school year. The second largest increase has been in mid-length study abroad programs, which have increased in enrollment from around 30,000 students in 1993 to almost 100,000 students in 2008 (Bhandari & Chow, 2009). Mid-length is defined by the IIE as being a full semester, quarter, or two quarters. Long-term is defined as a full academic and/or calendar year.

Table 1 depicts the study abroad enrollment from 1993/94 to the 2009/10 school year. Despite the current economic situation, study abroad enrollments continue to increase, growing 4 percent from the 2008/09 school year to the 2009/10 school year. Table 2 shows the distribution by category of those enrolled in a study abroad program in 2009/10. The overwhelming majority of those going to study abroad are enrolled in a short-term program. Table 3 shows the percentages of students enrolled in either short-, mid-, or long-term study abroad programs from 2000/01 to 2009/10. All long-term and mid-length enrollments have shrunk in percentage from 2000/01 to 2009/10, while short-term study abroad has consistently increased its percentage share of the enrollments.

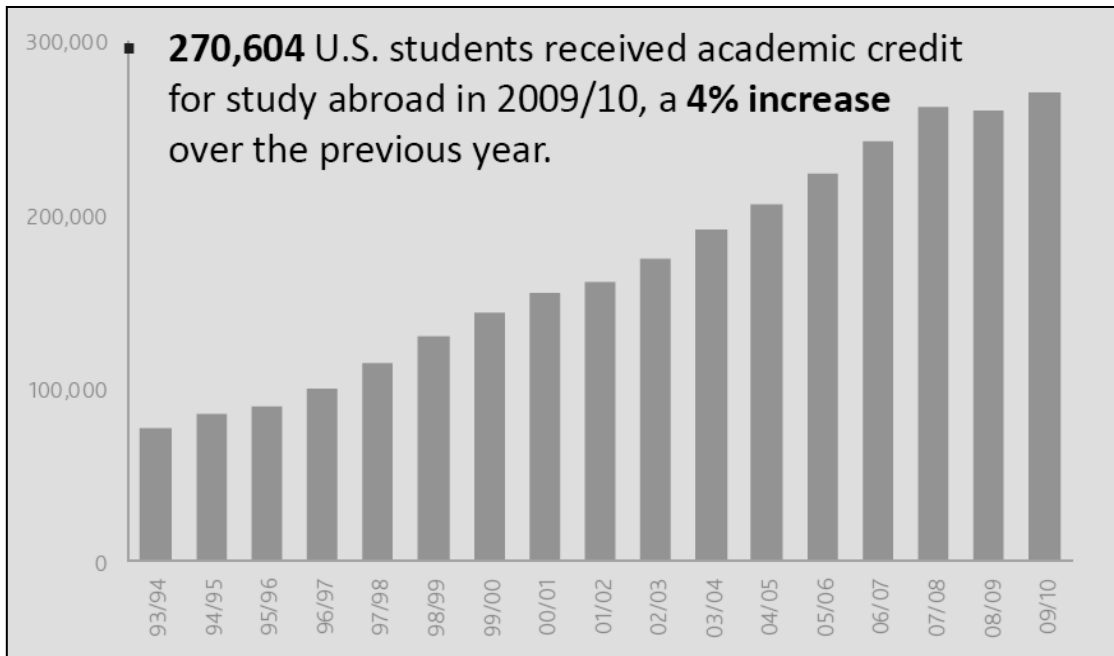


Table 1 Short-term study abroad enrollment 1993 to 2010 (IIE, 2011a, p. 24)

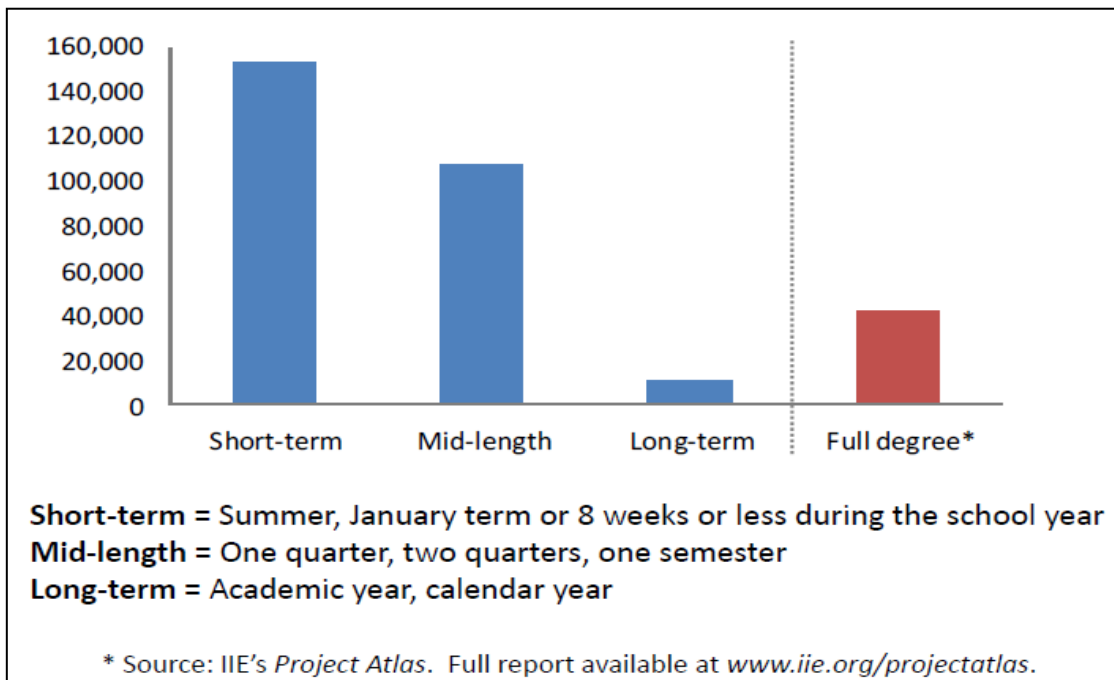


Table 2 Short-term, mid-length and long-term enrollments 2010 (IIE, 2011a, p. 29)

DURATION OF U.S. STUDY ABROAD, 2000/01 - 2009/10										
PERCENT OF U.S. STUDY ABROAD STUDENTS										
Duration of Study	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10
Summer Term	33.7	34.4	32.7	37.0	37.2	37.2	38.7	38.1	35.8	37.8
One Semester	38.5	39.0	40.3	38.1	37.5	36.9	36.3	35.5	37.3	35.8
8 Weeks or Less During Academic Year	7.4	7.3	9.4	8.9	8.0	9.5	9.8	11.0	11.7	11.9
January Term	7.0	6.0	5.6	5.7	6.0	5.4	6.8	7.2	7.0	6.9
Academic Year	7.3	7.8	6.7	6.0	6.0	5.3	4.3	4.1	4.1	3.8
One Quarter	4.1	3.9	3.8	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.1
Two Quarters	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.3	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4
Calendar Year	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1
Total	154,168	160,920	174,629	191,321	205,983	223,534	241,791	262,416	260,327	270,604

Table 3 Duration of U.S. Study Abroad 2000 – 2010 (IEE, 2011b, p. 10)

The trend toward shorter programs has been referred to by both William Hoffa (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010) and Ross Lewin (2009), prolific historians of study abroad, as the democratization of study abroad. Increased enrollment coupled with the shorter durations of time abroad have “commoditized” study abroad, with universities and students buying prepackaged experiences (Bolen, 2001; Shubert, 2008). The democratization, commoditization and commercialization of study abroad, however, “often [come] at the expense of academic integrity” (Lewin, 2009, p. xiv). Lewin (2009) goes on to explain that instead of creating global citizens, study abroad is actually creating global consumers through this commoditized experience. Careful consideration

is not always given to the organization of these experiences, many lack academic rigor and success is too often measured simply by the number of students sent abroad.

Contemporary Study Abroad: Assessment

Institutions of higher education are eager to promote internationalization. Their primary metric to measure the success of these efforts is the number of students participating in international programs, particularly in study abroad. No metric is routinely used to measure the actual effect of the international experiences (Green, 2012). Mckeown (2009) highlights several reasons why actual outcomes of study abroad seem to be “ignored” as research topics. The first is that study abroad “is one of those rare academic programs for which there is little or no organized opposition from boards, activists, or even disgruntled faculty members.” Second, study abroad is “sexy”: it has high promotional value to campus publicists and it makes for good reading in an alumni magazine. Third, study abroad is used as a recruitment tool in admissions catalogues, websites and television to increase university and college enrollment rates (Mckeown, 2009). In other words, administrators want to believe that study abroad is an effective means to produce intercultural competence, and so do not demand hard data to substantiate the DSA.

One example of study abroad as a university recruitment tool is a commercial produced by Texas Christian University titled: “Study Abroad Program TV Spot.” The commercial, which aired on national television in 2011, showed an airliner taking off, and in the voiceover stated: “Horned Frogs aren’t native to the rain forest; we have to

send them there” (TCU, 2009). Another example comes from Liverpool Hope University in the U.K. In an academic article the authors state that study abroad “assists with the recruitment of students and serves to raise the academic profile of the university” (Edmonson et al., 2009).

Mckeown (2009) goes on to write that the aforementioned reasons have complicated assessment efforts, “because the act of studying abroad can be seen...as a success unto itself, a kind of media darling that needs no further scrutiny.” Although administrators, parents, and even some scholars assume that students returning from a short-term study abroad have had a significant learning experience, actual learning outcomes are rarely assessed, and are therefore actually unknown (Edwards, 2009).

Contemporary Study Abroad: Philosophy

The change in study abroad in the past half-century is “not only numerical, but indeed philosophical” (Lewin, 2009, p. xiv). As the democratization of study abroad became ubiquitous throughout higher education, the philosophy that underpinned the elite Grand Tour and the early programs of exclusive liberal arts schools began to change. By the 1960s, and continuing into the present, the predominant educational philosophy in study abroad has been the traditional learning paradigm. Vande Berge and Paige (2009) define this paradigm as a “hands-off” approach to student learning that assumes students learn the most when left to their own devices while abroad. The traditional learning paradigm states that no specific learning interventions are needed, that students learn the same

when away as they do at home, despite the fact that they are navigating a foreign cultural system.

There are several reasons for the existence and prevalence of this “non-interventionist” learning paradigm. At this point it will suffice to say that institutions of higher education follow this paradigm and assume that *any* contact with a foreign culture in a foreign country is beneficial in breaking down a student’s traditional beliefs, making them into liberal citizens.

The shortcoming of the traditional learning paradigm is that students are left alone to navigate an unknown foreign cultural system. When left without tools or mentoring to understand a foreign system, students often obtain only shallow intercultural experiences due to their inability, despite being good students at home, to comprehend an alien culture.

Vande Berge and Paige (2009) argue that the traditional learning paradigm is, however, waning, and that a new paradigm is waxing – the learning centered paradigm. Although they are still the exception, learning centered programs have been proliferating since the late 1970s. Learning centered programs are based on constructivist and experiential learning philosophies. They deliberately implement certain learning, experience, and reflexive procedures during the program’s predeparture, in-country, and reentry phases. Programs informed by this paradigm are “based in the understanding that students learn more effectively abroad when we intervene in their learning” (Vande Berge and Paige, 2009, p. 433).

Conclusion

In summary, this dissertation describes the rise and present state of the doctrine of study abroad in American higher education and tests this doctrine against observations of Texas A&M University students on three study abroad programs in Brazil and Costa Rica in 2010 and 2011. Using pre- and post- evaluative surveys, participant observation, interviews, and focus groups, I measure the extent to which students interacted with the host culture and any resulting changes in students' cultural competence and sensitivity.

Chapter 1 provides a more detailed description and discussion of the methodology adumbrated in this introduction. Particular attention is given to the quantitative method of the IDI, and the qualitative methods of participant observation, focus groups and semi-structured interviews. The limitations of each method are also discussed.

Chapter 2 is an historical investigation into the ideology of liberalism. Following in the footsteps of Kenneth Minogue, Maurice Cowling, and Paul Gottfried the chapter first describes the philosophy of John Stuart Mill and his impact and contribution to liberalism as dogmatic negative doctrine. This is to say, a doctrine that seeks to free individuals from a chauvinistic attachment to the opinions and interests of their native culture. The chapter then, under the guidance of Kenneth Minogue and Paul Gottfried, describes the evolution of liberalism from a negative to a positive “commanding” doctrine that seeks to produce liberal subjects, largely through the education system.

Chapter 3 is an historical investigation and description of liberal education. The chapter argues that liberal education aimed to produce liberal subjects/democratic citizens by: (1) undermining the authority of religious institutions and tradition, (2) encouraging enthusiasm for progress (neoterism), and (3) promoting universalism. This chapter accepts the account of liberal education given by scholars such as Gottfried and Rushdoony as essentially correct.

Chapter 4 describes the origin and development of the DSA over the course of the twentieth-century. The chapter shows that the doctrine began in the writing and educational experiments of liberal educators, and was then codified in national education policy. The chapter argues that the DSA advanced through four distinct phases: Experimentation, Policy Development, Implementation, and the Traditional Learning Paradigm. I argue that the federal government established the DSA in institutions of higher education in an effort to liberalize the rising generation and eventually to liberalize those countries with which educational exchanges were being made.

Chapter 5 describes the data gathered on the three study abroad programs using the IDI and ethnographic methods. It also analyzes this data and finds that, with the exception of motivation to study abroad, these programs caused no significant change in the students' cultural attitudes and opinions.

Chapter 6 discusses these disappointing results, their importance, and how they relate to the DSA. Suggestions are given based on my observations and the learning centered movement within study abroad.

Chapter 7 draws conclusions between the research questions and the final conclusion proposed, with strong emphasis given to the influence of the DSA and liberalism on study abroad within institutions of higher education.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY: MIXED METHODS TO MEASURE INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

The research for this dissertation consists of two distinct but complimentary inquiries. The first of these is an historical investigation into liberalism and the growth of the Doctrine of Study Abroad (DSA) in the post-war period. The second inquiry measures the effect of study abroad experiences on three groups of Texas A&M students who participated in short-term study abroad programs in 2010 and 2011. It uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods to gain insight of the change in students' cultural competence and sensitivity and host culture interaction through study abroad participation.

Methodology

Historical Investigation Methodology

The method of the historical investigation was a process of six steps. First, I took a critical stance toward what many today regard as the self-evident value of study abroad. This is to say that I questioned whether this was so. Second, because the value of study abroad was not obvious I asked what unexamined assumptions were required to make study abroad appear self-evident. After reading through the electronic historical study abroad archives of the University of Delaware I decided that these unexamined assumptions were propositions such as: contact with an alien culture will remove

prejudice; the removal of prejudice will increase world peace. Third, I sought to discover where these propositions came from. My reading in political theory showed me that they came from liberalism. Because liberalism is, for most Americans, the natural or correct way to view the world, it was necessary to denaturalize liberalism by reading Kenneth R. Minogue (1968), Paul E. Gottfried (2002, 1999) and Maurice Cowling (1990). Fourth, having achieved critical distance from the doctrine of study abroad, its enabling unexamined assumptions, and its parent theory of liberalism, I was able to see the development of study abroad as an ideological program, not as a natural event. Fifth, through this investigation it became evident that the purpose of this ideological program was to produce the liberal subject. Sixth, the progress of this ideological program was studied by following its early theoretical development in journals of liberal opinion (e.g. *The New Republic* and *The Nation*) and its eventual incorporation into national policy.

I reconstruct the discourse of the DSA using online archives of government publications, academic journals, publications focused on higher education, books, newspapers, and leading magazines of public opinion. These primary documents are interpreted by way of content analysis in a theoretical context provided by critical studies of liberalism. Key words, topics, and ideas that are used in the content analysis to gain further understanding of the DSA are “liberalism,” “prejudice,” and “open-mindedness,” among many others.

The Study Abroad Experience

Data was collected from three study abroad programs. Each of these was a short-term program in which students were in the host country for four to six weeks. The first was a study abroad program in Brazil (Summer 2010), offered by the Department of Geography, Texas A&M University. This program was four weeks in duration, enrolled only Texas A&M students and was led by a geography professor. In Brazil the students traveled to six different locations. The second program was a summer study abroad program in Costa Rica, run through Texas A&M University, again by the Department of Geography. All of the students were from Texas A&M. Students in this program spent their first two weeks at the Soltis Research Center in the Costa Rican cloud forest, learning about physical geography and climatology. During the second two weeks, students were led by a professor of human geography and moved between four locations in Costa Rica. The third study abroad program involved a group of students affiliated with a Research Experience for Undergraduate (REU) program funded by the National Science Foundation. The REU was run by Texas A&M but enrolled students from universities all over the country. This program lasted six weeks, was sited at the Soltis Research Center in Costa Rica, and focused solely on independent research in physical geography and atmospheric science. This group had only limited time away from the Soltis Center during their six-week stay in Costa Rica.

Quantitative Methods

Quantitative data was acquired through the use of the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), a licensed and published survey (Hammer et al., 2003). This study administered a pre- and post-IDI to measure each student's intercultural competence and sensitivity before and after the study abroad program. The IDI measures both intercultural competency and sensitivity based on the assumption that the more competent the individual the more sensitive they are to other cultures. Therefore these terms are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation but they carry the same meaning.

Use of the IDI requires attendance at a qualifying training seminar. I received my qualification to administer this survey in April 2010. Published research finds that the IDI is a strong and reliable method to measure intercultural competence and intercultural sensitivity (Jackson, 2008; Paige et al., 2003), which is to say how well one is able to understand and interact with an alien culture. The IDI was developed from a cross-cultural sample of 591 respondents, and then later refined based on 4,763 respondents in a wide range of age groups and professions. Participants' answers to the IDI questions place respondents on a continuum ranging from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. This continuum is divided into five orientation categories; respondents' scores place them within one of the five orientations, indicating the respondents' intercultural competence and sensitivity. The IDI is scored between 55 and 145, with 55 being most ethnocentric and 145 being most ethnorelativistic. The five orientations are Denial, Polarization, Minimization, Acceptance and Adaptation, see Figure 1. Denial scores range between

55-70, Polarization 71-85, Minimization 85-115, Acceptance 116-130, and Adaptation 131-145. These five orientations are defined in more detail in the subsequent paragraphs.

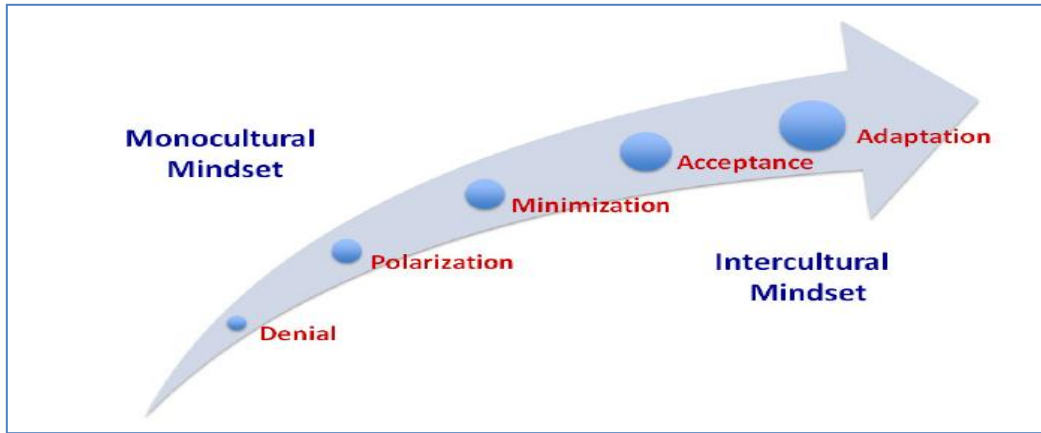


Figure 1 Depiction of the five categories of the IDI (Hammer, 2008)

The orientation of Denial is defined as having little to no recognition of complex cultural differences. Individuals who score within this orientation are typically unaware of the differences between cultures, and show a lack of interest in, and avoidance of, cultural diversity (Hammer, 2008). Denial² is most common in those who have limited experience with people of different cultural backgrounds. Because of this limited experience, they usually have preconceived notions and prejudices of the cultural “other.” Behavioral attributes of Denial are seeking the familiar and avoiding the culturally different.

² Example items for the Denial and Polarization-Defense scale are: “(1) It is appropriate that people do not care what happens outside their country, (2) People should avoid individuals from other cultures who behave differently, and (3) Our culture's way of life should be a model for the rest of the world” (Hammer et al., 2003).

Polarization is the “judgmental” orientation. It is characterized as being overly critical of cultural commonalities and differences. Individuals in Polarization perceive cultural difference as “us” and “them.” Polarization has two subcategories, Defense³ and Reversal.⁴ Defense is characterized as an “us versus them” mentality, as thinking that the “other” needs to assimilate and that “we” are better than the “other.” Reversal also thinks of cultural difference in terms of “us versus them,” but romanticizes the alien culture. Both categories are characterized by shallow understandings of the “other” and lead to the stereotyping of other cultures. Polarization is common in individuals who were previously in Denial and were forced to interact with the cultural “other.” These forced interactions tend to be superficial and often lead to stereotypic understandings of the “other.” The behavioral attributes of Polarization Defense is intentional avoidance of the cultural other. For Polarization Reversal it is intentional avoidance of one’s cultural group.

Minimization⁵ is the orientation that focuses on cultural commonality in an effort to mask differences and avoid conflict. It is an over-emphasis on human similarity (e.g. physical, psychological), as well as on universal values and principles. Individuals who

³ See footnote 4 for sample questions of this orientation

⁴ Sample items from the Polarization – reversal scale are: “(1) People from our culture are less tolerant compared to people from other cultures, (2) People from our culture are lazier than people from other cultures, and (3) Family values are stronger in other cultures than in our culture” (Hammer et al., 2003).

⁵ Sample questions from the Minimization scale include: “(1) Our common humanity deserves more attention than culture difference, (2) Cultural differences are less important than the fact that people have the same needs, interests and goals in life, and (3) Human behavior worldwide should be governed by natural and universal ideas of right and wrong” (Hammer et al., 2003).

minimize cultural difference do not recognize and appreciate what is alien in the alien culture, and tend to see tolerance as sufficient. To move from minimization into the next orientation one must “deepen understanding of one’s own culture (cultural self-awareness) and increase understanding of culture general and specific frameworks for making sense of (and more fully attending to) culture differences” (Hammer, 2008). Behavioral attributes of Minimization are the active support of universalistic principles, and the perception of cultural differences as being neutral.

Acceptance⁶ is the recognition of commonalities and differences between cultures. Acceptance comes about by deeper exploration and understanding of cultural differences. Hammer (2008) writes that acceptance comes with the ability to see “cultural patterns” from “the perspective of the other culture”:

As this develops, an appreciation of the complexity of cultural differences arises. From this vantage point, individuals are now able to experience their own cultural patterns of perception and behavior as one of a number of different, but equally complex sets of perceptions and behavioral patterns. Acceptance, therefore, involves increased self-reflexiveness in which one is able to experience others as both different from oneself yet equally human (p. 204).

⁶ Sample questions from the Acceptance and Adaptation scale are: “(1) I have observed many instances of misunderstanding due to cultural differences in gesturing or eye contact, (2) I evaluate situations in my own culture based on my experiences and knowledge of other cultures, and (3) when I come in contact with people from a different culture, I find I change my behavior to adapt to theirs” (Hammer et al., 2003).

Behavioral attributes of Acceptance are seeking knowledge about the cultural other and treating experiences in cultural terms.

Adaptation⁷ is the ability to shift cultural perspectives. This means that an individual has the capability to at least partially take the perspective of one or more cultures, bridge between different cultural systems, and change behavior in culturally appropriate and authentic ways” (Hammer, 2008, p. 205). Behavioral attributes of Adaptation are intentional perspective taking, and attempts to increase cultural repertoire.

The IDI cautions that “the primary task for further development is to reconcile the ‘relativistic’ stance that aids understanding of cultural differences without giving up one’s own cultural values and principles” (Hammer, 2008, p. 205). Bennett (2004) further stresses the need to resolve personal relativism to continue intercultural growth, stating that “resolution of the issue of value relativity and commitment allows you to take the perspective of another culture without losing your own perspective” (p. 67).

Apart from these five orientations, the IDI also measures “cultural disengagement.” Cultural disengagement⁸ is the sense of being disconnected and not feeling fully a part of one’s own cultural group. Cultural disengagement is measured on a scale of zero to 5.00. A score of zero to 1.99 is unresolved, 2.00 to 3.99 is resolution, and 4.00 to 5.00 is resolved.

⁷ See footnote 8 for example of questions for this scale.

⁸ Example items from the Cultural Disengagement scale are: “(1) I feel rootless because I do not think I have a cultural identification, (2) I do not identify with any culture, but with what I have inside, and (3) I do not feel I am a member of any one culture or combination of cultures” (Hammer et al., 2003).

The standard error of measurement along the 55 – 145 scale is 3.66. In an effort to further legitimize the use of the IDI for research, Paige et al. (2003) analyzed the IDI empirically. The analysis focused mainly on the Social Reliability, and the internal and overall reliability of the IDI. Due to the fact that the IDI is an attitude survey, it is possible that subjects rate items in what they believe is the socially accepted manner, rather than according to their own opinions. Paige et al. (2003) found that there was “no relationship between the way subjects answered the IDI and their level of social desirability,” meaning that the IDI score is not influenced by the respondent’s desire to express socially desirable attitudes. The overall findings of Paige et al. (2003) were that the “Intercultural Development Inventory is a sound instrument, a satisfactory way of measuring intercultural sensitivity.”

The pre- and post- results from each participant were analyzed using statistical analysis in SPSS to see if there was a significant difference in pre- and post- “orientation.”

Statistical Methods and IDI Research

Few studies incorporating the IDI (see Figure 2 for IDI scoring example) in research on the effect that study abroad and international experience have on intercultural competence and sensitivity (Ah Nam, 2011; Jackson, 2008; Janeiro, 2009; Keefe, 2008) have used rigorous statistical and interpretation methods to explain results and statistical significance. For example, Ah Nam’s (2011) research does very little to analyze the IDI data gathered. Instead of presenting significant statistical data it provides a mere

explanation of changes in participant's developmental orientation. The research claims that the results are significant but fails to test for statistical significance (Ah Nam, 2011). Other examples of statistical shortcomings and the IDI is research that uses the statistical method of paired-samples *t*-test to compare the IDI scores pre- to post- (Keefe, 2008; Janeiro, 2009). The paired-samples *t*-test is typically only suitable for statistical testing if the number of participants being tested (*n*) is representative of the general population upon which inferences are being made. Neither Keefe (2008) nor Janeiro (2009) have an (*n*) that is representative of the short-term study abroad population about which they make inferences, nor is their data proven to have an equal distribution that would allow them to meet the assumptions of the paired-samples *t*-test. Where sampling size is small and does not have an equal distribution, non-parametric statistics should be used. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use the non-parametric test of the Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test (Siegel, 1956), which is the non-parametric replacement for the paired-samples *t*-test, to accurately measure pre- to post- IDI scores for significance (significance being shown as $<\alpha$ (($\alpha = .05$))) on research with a small (*n*) and unknown distribution.

To continue with the comparison of the IDI to IQ, the IDI only assess the participant's competence at that moment. That is not to say that the student cannot regress or progress in the future. Much like someone's IQ score can if they do not continue to study and use their acquired knowledge. The IDI score will most likely go down if steps are not taken to continually sharpen cultural skills acquired through experience.

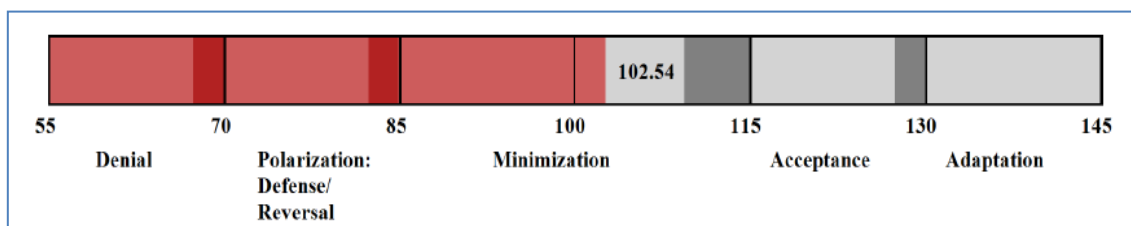


Figure 2 Second depiction of the five categories of the IDI. This is an example of a 102.54 score on the IDI, putting test taker in the category of minimization (Hammer, 2008).

Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods are used to measure the effect of four variables in research objective three: program duration; amount of time students spent in immersion; student’s motivation for studying abroad; and student’s comprehension of a cultural experience.

The qualitative methods used were ethnographic: participant observation, focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Ethnography is the study of people in natural settings; its primary goal is to gain a deeper understanding of the meanings of the behavioral practices of a people at a particular time (Jackson, 2006). Focus groups and semi-structured interviews in and of themselves are not typically labeled as ethnographic. However, this research aimed to understand the study abroad process as it was occurring in the “field;” thus interviews and focus groups in this sense became a part of ethnography because they were conducted in natural settings. For example, interviews were conducted on the beach while students were involved in their study abroad activities.

To conduct this qualitative research in accordance with Institutional Review

Board requirements, I was obliged to make my intentions and research methods known to the study abroad participants. Before departure each student was debriefed on my role as a researcher and given a document to sign stating their approval to be a part of the observations, interviews or focus groups. I accompanied all study abroad programs to participate, observe, interview, and conduct focus groups during the duration of each of the three programs. I attempted to take a non-biased role in the study abroad programs, offering no suggestions to the students as to what to do or how to act. My role was merely to participate, observe, and conduct research without interfering with the study abroad curriculum.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was done to understand the “how” and the “what is going on?” questions (Jackson, 2008). Participant observation entails immersion in the group that is being studied and observation of students interacting with the cultural settings during their study abroad program. This research used the primary observation method, where the researcher is a “complete participant.” Kearns (2000) states that “observation is the outcome of active choice, rather than mere exposure,” it is the “what to see and how to see it.”

Participant observation is “difficult to describe systematically” (Kearns, 2000). It is hard to offer a step by step model because every situation is unique. According to Kearns (2000) participant observation has **three purposes** – counting, complimenting and contextualizing. This research incorporated all three. Counting is the “enumerative

function of participant observation. For this research I used this method to look back on my notes to see how much time students spent doing specific activities and whether those activities involved the “cultural other.” Complimenting provides “complementary” evidence to more structured forms of collecting data such as interview data, survey data or focus group data (Kearns, 2000). It adds a descriptive element to other collected data. Contextualizing constructs in-depth interpretation through direct experience (Kearns, 2000). The researcher becomes a participant and fully immersed in the social/temporal context of interest. This full immersion allows the researcher access to “in-depth” information that will then help the researcher “contextualize” observations.

Within participant observation there exists **two methods** of observation, controlled and uncontrolled. This research used the “uncontrolled” method of observation. Such a method is not without controls such as directed goals and ethical considerations, but it is uncontrolled as far as it is not restricted to noting only certain phenomena such as time spent by participants on the beach.

Tools such as a voice-recorder and notebook could be disruptive in the research setting so a researcher using participant observation must rely on recollection. It is the researcher’s role as an observer to become a part of the group being observed. This process allows the researcher to gain the confidence of participants over time. Participants who constantly see the researcher with a voice recorder or notebook are reminded of the researcher’s observation and may possibly modify their behavior. Thus, I made detailed notes every evening and most afternoons during times that the participants were in their hotel rooms. The “in-depth” interpretation of the study abroad

program has been recorded with these detailed notes; content analysis was used to analyze the data for key themes and key interpretations.

Although participant observation is key to understanding the how, it has many limitations. First, not everything can be observed; the researcher can only make assumptions from actual observations. In an effort to lessen the effect of this limitation I asked detailed questions about the students' activities when I was unable to observe. The students were always willing to answer such questions and never seemed timid about answering despite my position as observer. Second, although the researcher will be a participant conducting uncontrolled observation, it will be difficult to move from conducting "structured/formal" research in the form of surveys, focus groups, and interviews to the informal setting of observation. Kearns (2000) states that:

as we are based in, and representatives of, academic institutions, it is imperative that we be aware of the ways in which others' behavior may be modified by our presence. Because of the transition from formal research to observation, students may be less likely to trust the researcher and be less obliging toward the researcher trying to enter their "world;" undisguised observation is bound to alter behavior (p. 110).

To mitigate this limitation, I performed impression management; to manage student impressions of the researcher in such a way that allows for the most access. I helped students find similarities in our situation by pointing out that I was also there for

a study abroad experience; focusing on these true impressions helped me become a part of the group. This was done within the ethical qualifications of the IRB. Third, Kearns (2000) states that we have limitations because we all see through our own “lens;” the researcher must be aware of possible limitations of observing objectively due to gender, age, ethnicity, and religious beliefs. Fourth, the researcher must also be aware of possible biased observations due to interest in confirming the research hypothesis.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were held to gain a greater understanding of key themes presented throughout the study abroad in regards to cultural competence and sensitivity. The focus groups were conducted twice during the study abroad program, once at the beginning of the program and once more at the very end of the program with groups of four to six participants. The focus groups were moderated around predetermined questions; all questions were asked to every group. In certain circumstances, if themes were brought up in focus groups that the moderator deemed as important, they were then brought up in subsequent focus groups. All focus groups were audio recorded and notes taken. An abridged transcription (transcription of important themes and key sections) was made from the focus groups’ audio recording. The abridged transcription was analyzed using latent content analysis. Latent content analysis involves searching the transcribed document for themes. After themes were established they were then codified based upon apparent themes. Once codification was complete they were then amalgamated into sections of text that were coded the same way. The data was then reviewed by

themes.

Limitations of focus groups are that they tend to have relatively small numbers of participants and findings may not be applicable to a wider population. However, “combining focus groups with quantitative techniques is an extremely useful way of dealing with this issue” (Cameron, 2000, p. 87).

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews of students were conducted throughout the study abroad program to gain greater understanding of the participants’ experience. These interviews were a scheduled face-to-face, one-on-one, private conversation. Predetermined questions were asked to every willing participant, but flexibility was granted to students if they wished to expound on a topic or if the interview lent towards further questioning to gain deeper understanding of a certain topic. Interviews were audio recorded and notes taken during the interview to facilitate analysis. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the method of latent content analysis.

Variable One: Program Duration

The effect that duration has on students’ intercultural competence and sensitivity was measured based on the different time spent by each group in proximity to the host culture. Since the Soltis Center is isolated, time spent there is not used to calculate duration. The Brazil group duration was four weeks, the Costa Rica 1 group duration was two weeks, and the REU group duration was estimated at a week, based on their

weekend excursions away from the Soltis Center. Duration is shown in Table 4. It is hypothesized that as duration increases so will intercultural competency and sensitivity.

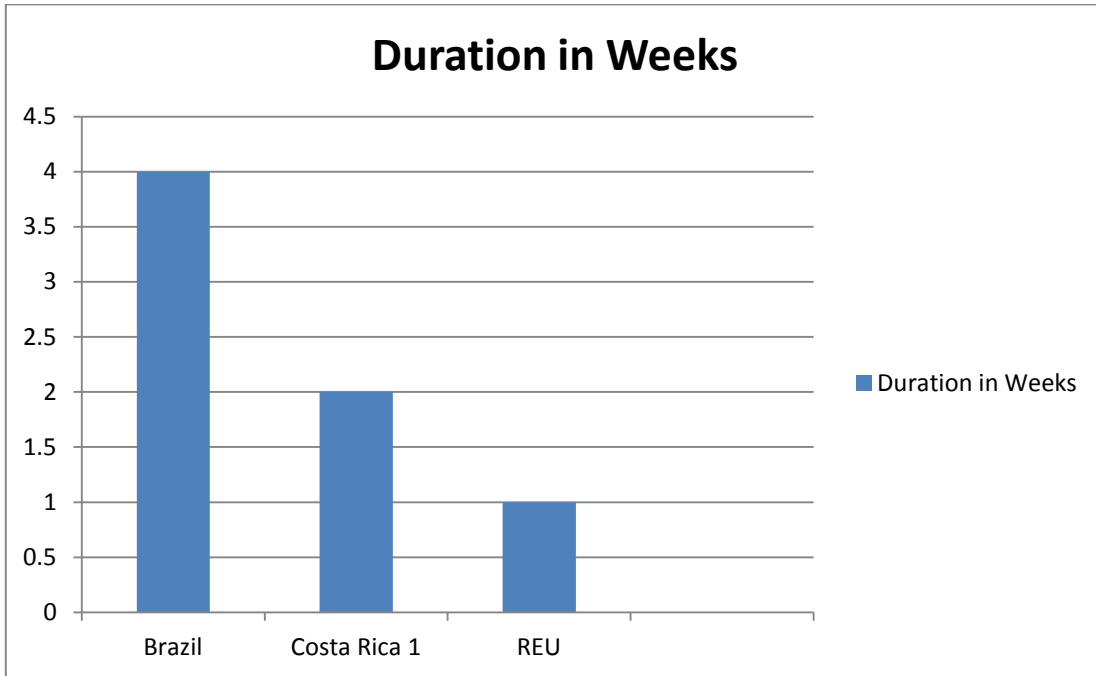


Table 4 Duration

Variable Two: Immersion

It was hypothesized that the more time spent by a participant in immersion the higher s/he would score in the IDI pre- to post-. Two methods of counting were used to measure immersion: (1) the amount of time spent by the participant involved in Potentially Meaningful Cultural Interaction (PMCI); and (2) the amount of time spent by

the participant involved in Potentially Meaningful Cultural Interaction of own volition (PMCI-O).

PMCI is defined as exposure to the cultural other where cultural interaction is possible, whether or not cultural interaction actually occurred. Based on this definition, observations were coded and time assigned to each student based on the time involved in PMCI.

The amount of time spent in PMCI could be in direct correlation with the activities the students were supposed to do, and therefore not a reflection of how the student spent their personal time. Consequently, another category is introduced here as PMCI-O. PMCI-O is the amount of time spent by the student outside of assigned activities in PMCI.

As noted in the limitations of participant observation, I was unable to observe everyone's movement and potential meaningful cultural interaction, especially as the student's tended to break into groups. I obviously could not follow and observe more than one group at a time. To be able to account for group activity that was out of line-of-sight, I would frequently ask follow-up questions to one or more members of the out of sight group post-activity. This follow up process was successful as students were always very willing to share their experiences. That being said, I still must emphasize that I was not able to witness all participant behavior. This especially became apparent during interviews and focus groups when participants used examples of some of their experiences that I had not witnessed nor heard about through follow-up questions. Therefore, the participant observation data are not definitive, nor does it account for 100

percent of participant behavior; it is limited to the observations I was able to make and data I was able to collect through follow-up questions. That being said, due to the high frequency of observations and data collected through the follow-up questions process, predictions can be made based on what was observed as “typical” behavior.

Variable Three: Motivation

In the pre-trip focus groups three questions were asked to understand the students’ motivations for studying abroad: (1) why study abroad; (2) why did you choose to study abroad in _____ (Brazil, Costa Rica); and (3) what are your expected outcomes from this experience? Student responses were categorized into themes based upon their responses.

Variable Four: Comprehension of a Cultural Experience

During the post-trip interviews two questions were asked to gain an understanding of students’ comprehension of a cultural experience: (1) What is a cultural experience? (2) What would be one (a cultural experience) for you? Student responses were coded based on their ability to give a competence definition and example. These coded responses were then measured against IDI scores.

Participant Selection

Participants were selected for this research study based on criterion sampling. Criterion sampling is a type of purposeful sampling where a specific criterion is met to be able to

select from a population. In this case the criterion was, of course, participation in a study abroad. All three groups were relatively small, with no group having more than 18 willing participants. This is an advantage to the researcher, as Jackson (2006) states that ethnographic research methods are “especially useful in small programs...in which the ethnographer has the capacity to gather ethnographic data while developing a close relationship with the participants” (p. 140). Conclusions derived from data analysis are not definitive or representative due to purposeful sampling and the small number of participants. Qualitative research is “not intended to be representative since the emphasis is usually upon an analysis of meaning in specific contexts” (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2000, p. 39).

The specific groups analyzed were also selected based upon criterion sampling. Although the groups differ dramatically in terms of scope, duration and purpose, they were ideal because each group’s focus on potential meaningful interaction differed in terms of duration.

Participant Description

Forty-one participants were involved in this dissertation research. Thirty-two students were enrolled in undergraduate programs at Texas A&M, eight students were enrolled in other universities around the U.S., and one student was enrolled in an international university. In terms of gender, there were 18 males and 23 females. Thirty students were between the ages of 18 and 21, eleven students were between the ages of 22 and 30. Thirty-four of the students had never lived in a foreign country; seven students had

spent more than three months in another country. Twenty-five students were geosciences majors, five biology majors, three international studies majors, one engineer major, and seven were unknown or undecided.

Program Description

Engle and Engle (2003) identify five levels of study abroad programs, based on duration, entry target-language competence, language used in course work, academic work context, housing, provisions for cultural interaction/experiential learning, and guided reflection on cultural experience. These five levels are: (1) the study tour; (2) the short-term study; (3) the cross-cultural contact program; (4) the cross-cultural encounter program; and (5) the cross-cultural immersion program. All three of the groups observed for this research were, according to Engle and Engle (2003), Level 1 study tour programs. These three groups were categorized as study tour programs because the duration was short, entry level language competence was elementary, course work was done and presented in English, academic work context was that of home institution faculty, housing was collective, no provisions were made for cultural interaction, and there was no guided reflection on cultural experience. These three groups did, however, participate in program-required experiential learning activities.

Brazil 2010 and Costa Rica I. Students were recruited for these two programs by way of advertisements (flyers posted in the geography department) and in-class announcements. There was no competitive selection process: those who signed up and

wanted to go, went, no matter their reasons for going. Pre-departure meetings and briefings were held in order to prepare the students to fill out documents, to teach them how to pack, and to teach them about safety procedures. No cultural preparation was required for these two groups. These two programs were not culturally focused and were centered around the geography courses for which the students received credit. These courses were *Workshop in Environmental Studies*: the study, understanding and solution of human-environment problems; and *Field Geography*: introduction to field methods.

REU. REU programs are very competitive, as they provide monetary compensation while the student conducts research within their respective program. There are tens of programs to which students can apply to, most of which are conducted in the continental United States. Over 100 applications were received for the Costa Rica 2011 REU program, and only 11 highly recommended and qualified students were accepted into this particular program from universities all around the United States. REU programs are highly specific in terms of research type and focus. Pre-departure meetings included briefings on research opportunities and equipment. There was, however, no focus on cultural outcomes or competency.

Autobiographical Information and Disclosure

It is important to disclose my background in regards to intercultural competence and international experience, especially as it pertains to my ethnographic data collection on

these three study abroad programs. This disclosure is important because the researcher interprets their observations based on their personal experience and background.

My international experience began in 2001 when I embarked for Brazil to serve a two year mission for my church. I was thrown in the proverbial “deep end,” since I traveled to Brazil having received no previous cultural or linguistic training. The first two months were spent isolated with other missionaries (Americans and Brazilians) in the Missionary Training Center – Brazil (MTC Brazil), learning about how to teach “the gospel” and the how to speak the language. After those two months I flew to my assigned mission region in southwestern Brazil. There I was assigned a companion. In our missionary service we are almost always paired in two’s, and we would switch companions and proselytizing areas, potentially every 6 weeks, with the possibility of staying up to 6 months. My first two companions for the first three months after leaving the MTC were American. Then for the majority of my mission my companions were Brazilian.

I relate this point to show that I was completely “surrounded” in Brazilian culture. I would not say that I was immersed in Brazilian culture because, as a missionary, I did not take part in typical Brazilian culture practices like dating or participating in carnival. My own missionary experience could be summarized as this: I served a religious mission, preaching the gospel, and that happened to take place in Brazil. The purpose of my mission was not to assimilate to, adopt, or become part of the culture, or even to experience the whole culture, it was to preach the gospel.

That being said, I took an active role in learning about the culture, learned to

speaking the language fluently, and did “become” Brazilian to my fullest capacity as a missionary. I therefore had, what I call, a significant meaningful cultural experience, one that changed my worldview.

My other international experiences include living in the Mexican state of Quintana Roo, for four months, where I learned to speak Spanish, and a two month trip back to Brazil.

I am aware that my experience as an international sojourner is not typical or standard, and I recognize that, as a researcher, my earlier experiences gave me high expectations of the potentialities of international experience and possibly short-term study abroad. I had assumed that my interest in foreign cultures, and my ability to assimilate to foreign cultures, was normal, and that most students would respond to a foreign setting much as I did – even without careful cultural preparation. As my results show, obviously I was wrong about this.

Conclusion

No known research has incorporated these quantitative and qualitative methods into evaluating a short-term study abroad program. Previous studies have used the IDI and participant observation, but the use of these methods individually appears to leave substantial gaps in information and data collection. This research aims to close those gaps through the use of research methodologies commonly used in human geography.

CHAPTER III
THE AIMS OF LIBERALISM: FROM EMANCIPATION TO CULTURAL
CONDITIONING

This chapter seeks to define liberalism by (1) exploring its history, how John Stuart Mill came to be known as the “godfather” of liberalism, his upbringing and his philosophical background that aided in his interpretation and establishment of the dogmatic negative doctrine of liberalism. (2) To describe and demonstrate the evolution of the “commanding doctrine” of liberalism as a positive doctrine promulgated by a teaching authority. (3) How scientific moralism and the therapeutic were and are used by liberals to further propagate the doctrine and create liberal subjects.

Up until the Enlightenment (cir. 1650 A.D. – 1800 A.D.) the traditional Christian view was that all of creation was “fallen,” men included. Restoration of mankind and the world was possible only through supernatural grace. The Enlightenment view was that the natural world and social arrangements were highly imperfect, if not exactly fallen, but that men were essentially good-hearted and rational, and that their accidental imperfections would disappear once nature and society were rationalized. It was up to man to put in the proper system in order to eliminate imperfections to create a utopian society. The “system” investigated in this section is liberalism.

Liberalism

The “Godfather” of Liberalism

John Stuart Mill (1806 – 1873) is described by many as the most influential philosopher of the nineteenth-century. John Stuart Mill was brought up under the rigorous tutelage of his father, James Mill, and at times by philosopher Jeremy Bentham (Catt, 1873). This tutelage was informed by both James Mill and Bentham’s philosophy which became known as utilitarianism, Bentham being popularly known as the father of utilitarianism.

James Mill came from humble beginnings and decided that he could give his son a better education than he could pay for, an education based on the theories of utilitarianism. A letter written by James Mill to Bentham illustrates the importance that James Mill and Bentham put on John Stuart Mill’s education:

If I were to die any time before this poor boy is a man, one of the things that would pinch me most sorely would be the being obliged to leave his mind unmade to the degree of excellence of which I hope to make it. But another thing is, that the only prospect which would lessen that pain would be the leaving him in your hands. I therefore take your offer quite seriously, and stipulate merely that it shall be made as soon as possible; and then we may perhaps leave him a successor worthy of both of us (as quoted in Catt, 1873, p. 9)

This “poor boy,” John Stuart Mill, was only six at the time, and under the rigorous teaching of James Mill and Bentham his mind excelled. At age three he learned Greek, by four he was fluent in both Latin and Greek, and by age twelve he was a competent logician. James Mill regularly tested John’s intellect by organizing group discussions with men much older than John on the philosophies of men. These groups were led by James Mill, they discussed in depth the philosophies and logic of Du Trier, Hobbes, and Hartley (Catt, 1873). These discussions and teachings were based on Bentham’s and James Mill’s philosophy of utilitarianism, which can be described in four parts: (1) *Sociology*: human behavior is governed by two principles, pleasure and pain. All human behavior can be explained as pursuit of pleasure (a.k.a. “happiness”) and avoidance of pain, although ignorance causes many people to fail in this (i.e. to pursue illusory pleasures (i.e. heaven) and flee illusory pains (i.e. hell)). (2) *Politics*: public life should be ordered to minimize pursuit of illusory pleasures and flight from illusory pains, and to maximize the overall success with which people pursue *real* pleasures and avoid *real* pain. In other words, politics should maximize overall happiness. (3) *Morality*: That individuals should always act to maximize the happiness (pleasure) of the whole (This includes the principle that I can do anything I like so long as I don’t “hurt anyone.”). (4) *Psychology*: That actions not intrinsically pleasurable may be so by pleasurable “associations.”

The intense focus on the philosophy of utilitarianism from a young age to John Stuart Mill’s young adult life did not come without a cost, at age twenty, studying in the mornings and at night while working for his father at the East-India Company in

London, John Stuart Mill began to suffer with depression. Working with Bentham and his father on a philosophy to maximize happiness was not intrinsically pleasurable to John Stuart Mill. John Stuart Mill, in his depressed state, saw no point in pursuing utilitarianism if it made him unhappy. Under his father's system there was no motive for him to work for human happiness if it did not give him pleasure and spare him pain. Thus, the teachings of his father came into question, as described by John Stuart Mill (1873) in his autobiography:

I had always heard it maintained by my father, and was myself convinced, that the object of education should be to form the strongest possible associations of the salutary class; associations of pleasure with all things beneficial to the great whole, and of pain with all things hurtful to it. This doctrine appeared inexpugnable; but it now seemed to me, on retrospect, that my teachers had occupied themselves but superficially with the means of forming and keeping up these salutary associations (p. 136).

John Stuart Mill, hereafter referred to as Mill, felt as if he failed his education, that it was his fault that he was in this state of depression. But he could not make sense of his emotional state through his received education, he could not bring himself to feel joy. He described his mind as being "irretrievably analytic." He was given an intellect, but questioning his beliefs, he did not now know what to do with it, he said, "I was

thus...left stranded at the commencement of my voyage, with a well-equipped ship and a rudder, but no sail; without any real desire for the ends which I had been so carefully fitted out to work for: no delight in virtue, or the general good, but also just as little in anything else” (Mill, 1873, p. 139). Mill’s crisis showed him that his father’s philosophy of utilitarianism had to take a much more active role if it were to form “liberal subjects.”

Mill began to rebuild his personal beliefs, not leaving his father’s teaching completely behind, but building upon them further. Mill’s previous sole focus was “the ordering of outward circumstances, and the training of the human being for speculation and for action,” (Mill, 1873, p. 143) or in other words, creating the liberal subject. He moved to not throw this idea away but to build upon it further, he said, “I had now learnt by experience that the passive susceptibilities needed to be cultivated as well as the active capacities, and required to be nourished and enriched as well as guided” (Mill, 1873, p. 143). Mill continued, “I found the fabric of my old and taught opinions giving way in many fresh places, and I never allowed it to fall to pieces, but was incessantly occupied in weaving it anew” (Mill, 1873, p. 156). Thus Mill proceeded to build upon and weave the utilitarian ideas of his teachers with his new found inspiration of cultivating the feelings of the individual. Mill’s new found purpose was to create a philosophy, a philosophy of liberalism in which everyone could believe, one that not only constructed a “rational” society, but one that also got into the business of shaping the “heart” or “soul” or “mind” of men.

In 1824 Jeremy Bentham and James Mill established the *Westminster Review*, a journal for philosophical radicals. By 1828 John Stuart Mill, age twenty-two, was a regular contributor, writing within the political philosophy of his father with some of his new formed ideas. The journal was labeled as philosophically radical because James Mill and Bentham “saw immense practical evils existing in the government and social condition...that the cause of those evils was the...government” (Catt, 1873, p. 15).

Mill saw the government, as it was conducted, as an evil, not accomplishing the task that it was empowered to do, describing the situation of the government as a “collective mediocrity,” failing to instill the principles and morals of the “higher cultivation” to the general public (Cowling, 1990, p. 10). Mill believed that he was living in a transitional phase of world history, where “old opinions, old institutions, and the old religion were disintegrating” (Cowling 1990, p. 3). Mill believed that he was living in a “world in which the shells of old institutions continued to survive, but where the principles from which they had initially drawn their justification had departed” (Cowling, 1990, p. 4). In 1831 Mill asked:

Where is the authority which commands...confidence or deserves it...At all other periods there exists a large body of received doctrine covering nearly the whole field of the moral relations of man and which no one thinks of questioning, backed as it is by the authority of all, or nearly all, persons supposed to possess knowledge enough to qualify them for giving an opinion on the subject. This state of things does not now exist

in the civilized world...The progress of enquiry has brought to light the insufficiency of the ancient doctrines but those who have made the investigation of social truths their occupation, have not yet sanctioned any new body of doctrine with their unanimous, or nearly unanimous, consent (as quoted in Cowling, 1990, p. 4)

Mill saw the medieval Church as an example of this, providing a “generally received doctrine by which all actions could be judged, according to which all men could regulate their lives and to which they could expect their rulers to conform” (Cowling, 1990, p. 5). Although Mill saw the medieval Church as a false doctrine, the function was still successful whether true or not (Cowling, 1990, p. 5). However, by the seventeenth-century the Church was a shell of its former existence, and a hindrance to social progress rather than a promoter of it. Mill believed that it had ceased to perform its historic function and that it deserved to be dismantled as it was in the period of the Reformation. This situation in history, as conceived by Mill, called for social and political reform. Mill saw himself as being in the meridian of time, where everything that had come before in terms of a commanding doctrine had failed and where everything that might come after could be utopian if the correct doctrine were put into place. Mill was convinced that a new philosophy needed to be set forth, a philosophy to which everyone could subscribe, a philosophy to change the world and hearts of men, to “cure their evils.”

It is at this time and within this political and social atmosphere that Mill began to establish his ideas on liberalism, for which he eventually came to be described as the “godfather of liberalism” (Cowling, 1990, p. xlviii). Liberalism thus began as a negative philosophy, “a critique of everything that was hitherto held to be the objective truth” (as quoted in Marcuse 1955, p. 385), a critique of government, religion and any other doctrine not related to Liberalism that laid claim to being objectionably truthful.

Mill’s liberalism was advanced as a comprehensive public doctrine that would replace Christianity as the grounds of moral and political philosophy. It would, in other words, provide the dogmatic principles *from which* moral and political arguments were made. Rather than being grounded in divine revelation, as recorded in the Bible and interpreted in the doctrines of the Christian Churches, the new Liberal doctrine would be grounded in “reason” and “nature.” The deliverances of reason and nature proved, however, no less open to diversity of opinion than had the revelations of the Bible, and so no less in need of interpretation by a *teaching authority*. Liberalism was one such authority, but it was not the *only* secular ideology advancing an interpretation grounded in “reason” and “nature,” and the interpretation it advanced was not *obviously* the best. This meant that men and women who had been “liberated” from Christian doctrine in the first, critical stage of liberalism were not thereby certain to become good Liberals. They might just as well become sensual hedonists or Nietzschean *ubermenschen*. This is why Liberalism could not remain purely negative and critical, but had to become a teaching authority promulgating a positive doctrine and producing liberal subjects.

Liberalism as described by Minogue, Cowling and Gottfried

Liberalism is the public doctrine of the contemporary United States. Its dogmas are the principles from which most of our political and moral arguments are made. Its interpretation of “nature,” and more especially human nature, is what most of us are referring to when we use the word nature. Almost all of us are, to one degree or another, liberal subjects. It is our “subject position,” and it is of course very difficult for a subject to be its own object. There are, however, authors who can help us “denaturalize” liberalism and see it from the outside. Here I survey ideas advanced by Kenneth Minogue, Maurice Cowling, and Paul Gottfried, three such authors who have greatly influenced this dissertation.

Kenneth Minogue (1930 – Present) is currently professor emeritus at the London School of Economics where he began teaching in 1959. His publications focus on political theory and the problems with political theory. This section uses the “vintage books edition” (Minogue, 1968) of his originally published 1963 book publication, *The Liberal Mind: A Critical Analysis of the Philosophy of Liberalism and its Political Effects*, to interpret and give an historical analysis of liberalism

Maurice Cowling (1926 – 2005) was a British historian educated at Cambridge University and elected fellow at Cambridge from 1963 to 1993. He helped establish what became known as the “Cambridge Right” at Cambridge University, a body of intellectuals that contributed significantly to political theory at the time. The second edition of his book, *Mill and Liberalism* (Cowling, 1990), will be used in this section for further interpretation of liberalism and its history.

Paul Gottfried (1941 – Present) earned his PhD from Yale in 1967 and currently is Professor of Humanities at Elizabethtown College, PA. He is an historian and focuses on political theory. This section calls upon two of his books, *After Liberalism* (1999), and *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt* (2002).

Evaluation of Liberalism

John Stuart Mill saw the period in which he was living as mediocre. Through his “conversion” he sought to build upon utilitarian ideas to cultivate individual feelings. Mill felt that it was his historic mission to fulfill, the mission, as Cowling (1990) describes it:

To provide a body of *commanding doctrine* which, by stimulating the higher intelligence of all citizens, will produce, as a consequence, not individualistic anarchy, but that sense of *active participation* which well-regulated societies alone are capable of providing...A binding philosophy, a moral, ethical and social doctrine which will both *tell men what their duties are*, and induce that sense of common participation, of which the great changes in European society, and the decay of old opinions, have deprived them (p. 12, italics added).

This decree became the ideology of liberalism, to create a commanding doctrine to which every man can be educated to follow.

This section is a description of the “commanding doctrine” of liberalism and how it seeks to create social solidarity through national consciousness/public opinion. It will be described that to accomplish this, liberalism must, in essence, create liberal subjects. Liberal subjects being created through the process of public education, which inculcates liberal principles. It is through this educational process that liberalism breaks down the obstacles that stand in the way of creating a new ethical and social philosophy, these obstacles being generally regarded as morals and tradition. This section will continue by elaborating on how the educational process eliminates these obstacles by teaching students to think “rationally,” describing how rationalism breeds tolerance, which is the elimination of previously held morals and traditions, replaced with what will be described as scientific moralism (pre-1960) and the therapeutic (1960 – present). This section will show that once the obstacles are broken down, nothing stands in the way of creating a liberal public opinion, because once liberal subjects are created and taught to think liberally, they will adhere to that same commanding doctrine. This is the process of creating democratic citizens, liberal subjects, to establish and propagate the commanding doctrine of liberalism.

National Consciousness

National consciousness is the general agreement about the character of the good society, to which every citizen feels a political duty to uphold (Cowling, 1990, p. 25). Although Mill didn’t believe in the religious teachings of the Church, he used the medieval Church as an example of the process of establishing and maintaining national consciousness.

The Church was a defender of its members, “the Church was the means whereby medieval society provided itself with a body of common principles” (Cowling, 1990, p. 5). These common principles, as upheld by the Church’s members, created national consciousness. Mill saw this as the function of the clergy, to teach these principles, defend them, and hold their members accountable to them. Mill saw the clergy as paramount to the upholding and propagation of the Church’s teaching authority upon which this national consciousness was based. Mill described the Church’s teachings as the “large body of received doctrine covering nearly the whole field of the moral relations of man and which *no one thinks of questioning*, backed as it is by the authority of all, or nearly all, persons supposed to possess knowledge enough to qualify them for giving an opinion on the subject” (as quoted in Cowling, 1990, p. 4). As stated above, Mill hoped to achieve this same outcome of national consciousness through a more “perfect” teaching of doctrine than that of the Church, one that would last through the generations and would be self-perpetuating instead of fracturing like the medieval Church. As the medieval Church, this doctrine needed to be preached, defended and upheld, and in place of the religious clergy, Mill sought to instill a secular “clerisy” – educators (Cowling, 1990, p. 15).

The Clerisy and Education

The first step toward creating and controlling national consciousness is the establishment of an educational system that is available to all that inculcates the same principles as the desired doctrine to be followed. Mill (1874, p. 80) states, “tremendous is the power of

education; how unspeakable is the effect of bringing people up from infancy in a belief, and in habits founded on it.” Mill (1874, p. 81) continues by saying, if children can be taught to follow the commands of God, “it is reasonable to think that any system of social duty which mankind might adopt, even though divorced from religion, would have the same advantage,” the advantage of inculcating, from childhood, a more perfect doctrine. Mill describes this process as taking the “chance” out of education, the chance that education might enlighten an individual to the point of accepting a “rational” and “common sense” doctrine (Mill, 1874, p. 80 – 81). If the system of education can be made to educate the youth from an early age in similitude of the proposed doctrine, then those children, maturing into adults, would be less likely to stray from their childhood education. Thus, education is tantamount to promulgating the desired commanding doctrine, it instills “the general principles by which vocational skills and professional competence should be guided” (Cowling, 1990, p. 35). Cowling (1990) states that the clerisy is not merely composed of educators but also of professional journalists. Hence, the business of education and higher journalism becomes the provider of general culture, to influence everyone everywhere to become acculturated to its principles.

The basis of this system of education is rationalism, as described by Mill. Mill “attributes to education...the task of persuading people who, when they think rationally, want to be persuaded to it” (Cowling, 1990, p. 36). Rationalism in this sense is “a body of definitive opinions whose authority is no longer in doubt because they have been reached by agreed, rational, self-evident reasoning” (Cowling, 1990, p. 31). The process of arriving at rational thought and the basis of what is rational is established by the

“clerisy,” the intellectual elites. These elites define the rules and processes of critical questioning and the scientific method. Hence, the public is taught to think rationally, and by this process they can arrive at the same rational decisions/ideas. Reaching rationalism through this process is much like solving a maze, it appears that you have myriad choices and liberties, but only the correct path, as designed by the artist, will lead you to his/her desired destination. Minogue (1968, p. 65) states that “the area in which this element of Liberalism is most at home is the intellect...to call it rationalism falsely suggests that free criticism is spun out of the presiding faculty of reason like honey from a bee.” Cowling (1990) criticizes liberal rationalism as being a “rigged game.” Cowling (1990) argues that it teaches men and women to “think for themselves” but controls their thought by stipulating the dogmatic principles from which it is “rational” to argue and the inferences that count as “rational” inferences. If all are “taught” to think rationally, with rationalism being determined by the clerisy, then all will arrive at the same rational conclusions, giving these bodies of opinion an unequivocal appearance. Rationalism, consequently, becomes seemingly definitive according to the arguments of Cowling (1990) and Minogue (1968).

In this sense, rationalism is hostile toward tradition and morals because it sees them as being irrational, having no apparent scientific basis, failing to understand the unequivocally established opinion of the clerisy. If all can be taught to think using the same process then all will arrive at the same conclusion. Those whose morals are different because they are based on non-liberal principles find themselves subject to ridicule because it seems that they are failing to be “rational.” Thus Liberalism seeks to

eliminate differences amongst people by portraying non-liberal principles as being obsolete, which in turn eliminates opposition to Liberalism itself.

Liberal Tolerance

Not all differences can be eliminated through the process of rationalism, for example, differences in human appearance cannot be changed by rational thought, however, the way that appearances are viewed can be changed by encouraging tolerance. Liberal tolerance seeks to educate its subjects toward a particular kind of tolerance, a tolerance that helps Liberalism reach its objective of eliminating opposition. Liberal tolerance does not mean “live and let live,” but rather approval of what James Fitzjames Stephen (1873), in his critical response to Mill’s *On Liberty* (1869), called “experiments in living.” Liberal tolerance is to create a positive view of *social experimentation*. This liberal tolerance sees tradition and morals as being intolerant. Liberal tolerance forces traditions and morals to conform to the “rational” way of thinking instead of being based on custom or traditional authority. Gottfried (1999, p. 84) explains that “Liberals...see old worldviews and ingrained attitudes as obstacles to their own social projects.” Minogue (1968, p. 131) writes, “indeed, the liberal objection to morality can be summed up in the formula: morality condemns, liberalism tries to understand.” This process of rationalism and tolerance eventually creates a suitable replacement for old traditions and morals, something for people to subscribe to that is agreeable to Liberalism, what Minogue (1968, p. 131) calls “scientific moralism.”

Scientific Moralism

Scientific moralism can best be described through this quote of Greaves (1958, p. 124) as cited by Minogue (1968):

Rules against adultery, . . . instead of being rested on authoritative dogmas can claim rational acceptance as being grounded in the need and desire for permanent marital relationships and the demonstrably damaging effects of its breach upon this. And “thou shalt not commit adultery” is transformed from a commandment, rested on fear and aimed at restraining “natural” desire, into a commonsense guide to behavior, grounded in demonstrable psychological facts in the field of the causation of attitude and habit, and which by rationally establishing the behavioral conditions of happiness tends to direct desires along channels leading to its achievement (pp. 130 – 131).

Scientific moralism is a particular liberal view of morality. Basically, it is the upholding of moral values based on rational scientific enquiry. Minogue (1968, p. 132) explains further by saying, “whereas the earlier grounds offered for these moral rules were confused, dogmatic and subject to endless dispute, the new grounds are irresistibly rational and must appeal to all men.” By replacing “moral dogmas” with rational justification, liberalism assumes the place of traditional authority, is given license to say

that “scientific morals” apply to all men, and is allowed to change these morals through manipulated rationalization as seems utile.

The beginning of scientific moralism is marked with the 1867 publication of the book *The Culture Demanded by Modern Life* (Youmans et al., 1867). This book explained how culture needed to be based on scientific inquiry instead of “passive acceptance of mere...authority” (Youmans et al., 1867, p. vi). Gottfried (2002) explains that this process of social engineering, by way of scientific moralism, was dominant up until the 1960s, where it was then replaced with a more behavioral type of social engineering know as the “therapeutic.”

It was through this process of education, rationalism and increased tolerance by way of scientific moralism that Liberalism sought to eliminate barriers that potentially stood in the way of the creation of liberal subjects, who, in turn, propagated Liberalism.

The Therapeutic

In the first half of the 20th Century the creation of liberal subjects was done through what has been explained above as “science.” The second half of the 20th Century saw a different method of social engineering, which Gottfried (2002) explains as the “therapeutic.” Since the 1960s the “administrative state” has been about “fairness,” “caring,” “openness,” and other ideals that are attached to behavioral policies (Gottfried, 2002, pp. 4-5). Gottfried explains that these policies have moved to delegitimize the possible barriers that remained in the way of, what he refers to as, the managerial state. The managerial state is defined as a state with complete managing control over its

subjects because all possible barriers and allegiances have become subsequent to it. Gottfried (2002, p. 7) explains that “equally necessary for social engineering is the malleability of those upon whom it is practiced.” In other words, for a liberal education to take root, the student must be conditioned first. Post-1960s, the therapeutic was this conditioning process.

Gottfried (2002) defines the therapeutic in a multifaceted way. These facets will be described in greater detail in the subsequent paragraphs. First, the therapeutic is the “replacement of traditional ethical values by a cult of psychological normality” (Gottfried, 2002, p. 12). Second, it is the growing influence of psychological experts in connection with public administration. Third, these mental health experts use their growing control to “silence unwelcome dissent and in humiliating its bearers” (Gottfried, 2002, p. 13). And fourth, it is the establishment of the “victim” class to encourage “the building of a multicultural society, pledged to ‘diversify,’ by treating citizens as objects of socialization” (Gottfried, 2002, pp. 14-15). This multifaceted process diverges from the origins of Liberalism that sought to control national consciousness. This process instead creates, controls and informs public opinion. The be-all and end-all of the therapeutic is to subjugate existing core values and peoples, who may otherwise stand in opposition, to the managerial state.

The first facet of the therapeutic is the “replacement of traditional ethical values by a cult of psychological normality” (Gottfried, 2002, p. 12). Traditional ethical values are seen as a hindrance to the managerial state, they are seen as an institution that carries the potential of keeping the managerial state in check. This “institutional” power comes

from strong established values that are held by an influential number of people, potentially leaving people immalleable in regards to state control. These traditional ethical values have traditionally taken priority over state rule. To give an example, a citizen might say, first is my religion and second is my allegiance to country. The problem, in the state's eyes, is when a conflict arises between state and institution, the institution wins because it has traditionally taken priority. The solution to this problem is to replace the institution's values with a liberal "psychological normality," or non-judgmentalism. Psychological normality is the basis of how we feel. Psychological normality means to feel normal, rather than like a deviant, a sinner or a freak. However, normal is of course subjective. When institutional values are seen as an obstacle or contrary to the managerial state, the managerial state deems those values as being out of bounds with psychological normality because those institutional values cause people to feel abnormal – deviant. Under a liberal managerial state almost everyone has a right to feel normal, no matter how they act or react. The managerial state eliminates the obstacle of institutional values by redefining what is "normal," maligning the institution and consequently making it appear illicit, judgmental and intolerant. This first step only comes to pass by way of the second and third facet.

The second facet is the growing influence of psychological experts in connection with public administration. Since the 1960s governmental policies "have focused on fighting discrimination, removing stereotypes, and promoting 'diversity' (Gottfried, 2002, p. 71). These policies for behavior modification have their roots in the wars against authoritarian and fascist cultures since the 1930s (Gottfried, 2002). The Nazi

and fascist movements of the early 20th Century sparked a research agenda aimed at discovering the reasons behind people's desires to align themselves with an authoritarian political party. These results would then be used to eliminate such personality traits in an effort to eliminate the dangers of Nazism and fascism. The most influential study was done by Adorno (1950) at Cal Berkeley, the findings of his work were published in the book *The Authoritarian Personality* in 1950. The discovery and elimination of these dangerous personality traits was "thought to require state control of social relations, to be guided by 'social professionals'" (Gottfried, 2002, p. 72). These social professionals were social scientists, sociologists and psychologists that focused on the elimination of these targeted personality traits by way of behavior modification. Gottfried explains that it was because of these studies during the mid-20th Century that "the connection between public administration and coercive social and psychiatric services" was made (Gottfried, 2002, p. 72). Gottfried (2002, p. 72) continued by saying, "one reason this cooperation has progressed is that social ideologues, working hand in glove with the state, have been able to depict unfashionable thinkers and retrograde views as 'pathological.'" In other words, the methods used to modify certain behavioral traits worked, and this established a burgeoning partnership between these social scientists and public administration.

Third, the state encourages and uses the growing control of mental health experts to impose their judgments "in the guise of advancing mental well-being," to "silence unwelcome dissent and in humiliating its bearers" (Gottfried, 2002, pp. 12-13). This third facet is the culmination of establishing a psychological normality. With the objective to replace traditional ethical values the state sought to modify behavior to the

point that traditional ethical values were seen as being outside of psychological normality and thus losing their institutional power. With the growing control of mental health experts the state moved to delegitimize existing institutions by pathologizing their foundational basis of traditional ethical values. To establish a new psychological normality the state needed to show that the existing normality was “sick.” In *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno, 1950) it was demonstrated that the world *was* sick, and that this sickness had caused the recent world wars. This sickness was labeled as prejudice, hatred and difference, which were to be replaced by fairness, caring and openness; all behavioral traits that were subjectively defined by the state, giving the state control to modify behavior as psychological experts redefined psychological normality. Any opposition to the new normality was seen as being behaviorally “sick” because it was now abnormal. All strong institutional values that were in opposition to the state were seen as not being willing to conform and discriminatory. The institution through this process was either coerced to conform or face the “humiliation” of being labeled as “pathological.”

Fourth, the establishment of a victim class through the multicultural movement. The state and media label certain disadvantaged groups as needing protection, “protection that must come at the expense of others” (Gottfried, 2002, p. 14). Disadvantaged groups are highlighted, elevated and celebrated by the state in an effort to encourage diversity and multiculturalism. This “celebration” of disadvantaged groups comes at the expense of traditional institutions who are not celebrated and are further

pathologized as diversity becomes the norm and any celebration of traditional institutions or voiced opposition to this diversity movement is seen as pathological.

The therapeutic seeks to create, inform and control public opinion instead of national consciousness. Public opinion differs from national consciousness in the sense that national consciousness was the exercise of more direct influence by the liberal state. Public opinion is a “soft power,” where the therapeutic managerial state creates, informs and controls public opinion instead of exercising a more direct influence that the maintaining of national consciousness required. Controlling public opinion further confirms in the mind of liberal subjects that they are free to act as they desire, since the mechanism of control is almost unperceivable.

This whole process of the therapeutic is illustrated by an example given by Gottfried (2002). In 1999 John Rucker was a pitcher for the Major League Baseball team Atlanta Braves. During that same time Allen Iverson was a basketball player for the NBA team Philadelphia 76ers, Gottfried (2002) explains:

John Rucker, who made disparaging remarks...about gays, blacks, and Third World travelers he had encountered on Subway Train 7 in New York, was delivered, after a media outcry, to psychiatric care. What would seem more brutal insults directed against whites, policemen, and women by...basketball star and black rap singer [Allen] Iverson did not bring forth a comparable demand for psychiatric solutions. Unlike Iverson's vocal artistry, Rucker's comments, it was decided, were

‘prejudiced.’ They were unguarded sentiments of a rural white Southerner, which were aimed at politically protected groups and were therefore symptomatic of a sick personality. Not all insults directed at minorities, as seen from this starkly ideological perspective, are ‘pathological.’ Such an epithet is reserved for what the political class does not wish to hear or have said (p. 72).

In short, according to Gottfried (2002), Liberalism uses the “therapeutic” techniques to reward its friends and punish its enemies. If you are a friend of liberalism (in other words the managerial therapeutic state), it will protect your freedom to express yourself and do its best to guarantee a feeling of “psychological normality.” The managerial therapeutic state protects you (as you are, at least potentially, a member of a “victim group”), so long as you are a loyal client of the managerial therapeutic state. If you are an enemy of liberalism and the managerial therapeutic state, on the other hand, therapeutic theories will be used to discredit your ideas as the foul fruit of mental illness.

The therapeutic, as explained above, is a process of creating liberal subjects by way of behavioral controls and conditioning. The therapeutic became the vaccination against opposing institutions, giving the state further control by limiting and potential delegitimizing the voice of potential opposition of traditional institutions.

Liberalism Conclusion

Liberalism has long since ceased to be a negative doctrine of political, personal, or mental liberty, and has instead become a positive doctrine promulgated by a teaching authority. That teaching authority is vested in the clerisy, which is a combination of higher journalism and the educational system. This positive doctrine doesn't just liberate as it sought to do did originally, it eventually gets around to inserting new beliefs. This process of insertion seeks to eliminate social and cultural barriers to facilitate and enable Liberalism to create liberal subjects. Inserting new beliefs could only be done through education – a liberal education.

CHAPTER IV

LIBERAL EDUCATION: THE PROGRAM TO PRODUCE LIBERAL SUBJECTS

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the development of the modern concept of a liberal education. It is hypothesized that since 1830 liberal education has aimed to produce liberal subjects/democratic citizens by (1) undermining the authority of religious institutions and tradition, (2) encouraging enthusiasm for progress (neoterism), and (3) promoting universalism, to create a single national, and after that international, consciousness. The instrument liberals hoped to use in this project was a national education system.

In essence liberal education is the deconstruction of its respective parts. Liberal, derived from the Latin root *liber*, means to free. Education, derived from the Latin root *educere*, means to draw out, or guide. Thus a liberal education was meant to free by guiding or drawing out with the end of creating a liberal subject. This chapter also seeks to find from what and/or whom a liberal education seeks to free us.

To understand liberal education we must investigate not only its fundamental principles but also its development and evolution over time, and the purpose it is meant to serve. Through this chapter we see that liberals sought to replace received opinion, brought about through religion and tradition, with schools.

Section 1: Freedom from Religious Education

The Free Enquirer

The Free Enquirer was a radical publication from 1828 to 1835 that represented liberal thought and was a part of the beginning of the liberal movement in the United States. Its writers were political organizers who focused on and directed their comments toward the working class and politicians to help incite revolution toward secularization by way of public education. The “paper opposed evangelical religion and advocated more liberal divorce laws, more equal distribution of wealth, and widespread industrial education; it was at the centre of radical free thought in New York” (“Robert Dale Owen,” 2012, p. 1). *The Free Enquirer* was established by the social reformers Robert Dale Owen and Francis Wright in New York as a weekly journal in 1828 (Brownson & Brownson, 1889, p. 94).

Robert Dale Owen (1801 – 1877), co-founder and editor of *The Free Enquirer*, grew up in New Lanark, Scotland. New Lanark was a model industrial and self-sufficient socialist community, a community that was developed by Robert Dale Owen’s father and English reformer, Robert Owen. Robert Owen was successful in reforming New Lanark and this success helped establish him as a leading social reformer, in fact a pseudonym for him soon became “the Lanark patron of reform” (Martin, 1953, p. 11). Robert Owen’s socialist philosophy was based on the idea that people were products of their social circumstances, and if the circumstances were controlled then the people could be molded/changed into the desired product. The two basic principles of Owen’s philosophy were: “firstly, the urgent necessity for a new, secular millennium, i.e. a

second coming of a new age without vice, poverty, crime and other evils and, secondly, the crucial role of education in bringing that about” (McLaren, 2000, p. 108). This new millennium was referred to as a “new world order,” which was “founded on what he believed to be a new concept of citizenship and only education could produce the correct kind of citizen” (McLaren, 2000, p. 108). In 1816 Robert Owen (1927) stated:

I know that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without poverty, with health greatly improved, with little, if any, money, and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundredfold, and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment, except ignorance, to prevent such a state of society becoming universal (p. 120).

In Owen’s view, ignorance was the only obstacle preventing this utopian society from flourishing and ushering in a new millennium, and his plan of education to replace ignorance with enlightenment seemed to bring this plan to fruition.

So with his success in New Lanark, Robert Owen immigrated to the United States to set up another self-sufficient socialist community in New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825 with his sons Robert Dale Owen and David Dale Owen. Their followers were called Owenites and they arrived to New Harmony by the hundreds with the promise of establishing a utopian society based on the submergence of individualism for the common good, a controlled social environment where everyone put aside self-interest for the greater good and the prosperity of the community. This controlled experiment

promised to eliminate conflicts and violence, poverty and suffering. But individualism and diversity proved too strong.

After just two years the community of New Harmony failed. Josiah Warren was one of New Harmony's first residents, and considered himself to be a devout Owenite and fellow social reformer. He shared his opinion as to why the community failed, and failed so quickly:

It seemed that the difference of opinion, tastes and purposes *increased* just in proportion to the demand for conformity. Two years were worn out in this way; at the end of which, I believe that not more than three persons had the least hope of success. Most of the experimenters left in despair of all reforms, and conservatism felt itself confirmed. We had tried every conceivable form of organization and government. We had a world in miniature. We had enacted the French revolution over again with despairing hearts instead of corpses as a result. ...It appeared that it was nature's own inherent law of diversity that had conquered us ...our 'united interests' were directly at war with the individualities of persons and circumstances and the instinct of self-preservation... and it was evident that just in proportion to the contact of persons or interests, so are concessions and compromises indispensable (as quoted in Martin, 1953, p. 10)

Warren went on to say further that because of the “collective” situation, people were left feeling no individual initiative or personal responsibility (Martin, 1953, p. 9). It became apparent that New Harmony failed because people were not willing or able to put aside their own personal beliefs, desires and well-being for the “greater/common good.”

Robert Dale Owen adopted many of the attributes of his father’s ideology into his own ideology. From his experience in New Lanark and New Harmony, Robert Dale Owen believed that this ideology still rang true, but that the method of social control needed to be more powerful and that the people, not the ideology, needed to be changed in order for it to work as a precursor to the “new millennium.” People’s personal beliefs needed to be changed and ignorance eliminated in order to enact this “new world order.” The barriers that were keeping people from acting for the greater good needed to be abolished and broken down. Thus Robert Dale Owen’s philosophy turned to focus on the need for common public education as an effort to prime citizens for the reception of the new world order.

Frances (Fanny) Wright (1795 – 1852) was also Scottish born and was highly educated. She was “a woman of rare original powers, and extensive and varied information” (Brownson & Brownson, 1889, pp. 89-90). She immigrated with the Owenites to New Harmony, Indiana with the intention of conducting an experiment “for the emancipation of the negro slaves” (Brownson & Brownson, 1889, p. 90). Along with New Harmony her experiment to further the cause of emancipation failed. Like Robert Dale Owen, she was convinced that Americans needed social reform but that

they were not properly educated to receive it. In the late 1820s Wright went on a speaking tour that sought to cure the evil of the American mind, “to emancipate it from superstition, from its subjection to clergy, and its fear of unseen powers; to withdraw it from the contemplation of the stars or an imaginary heaven after death, and fix it on the great and glorious work of promoting man’s earthly well-being” (Brownson & Brownson, 1889, pp. 91-92).

During her public speaking tour Wright was unjustly criticized because she was a female speaking in public, but she used this to her advantage to draw more crowds to her events because they saw her as a spectacle. Despite the anti-suffrage critics, it was her ideology that sparked the most criticism and “although she was a marvelous public speaker, her ideas prompted caricatures such as ‘A Downwright Gabbler, or a Goose That Deserves to Be Hissed’” portraying Wright as a gabbling goose (Akin, 2012, p. 1). Despite being a wonderful orator, Wright was strongly criticized because of her liberal remarks against religion, tradition and the family. Francis Wright did a lot for women’s rights and the emancipation of slaves, but it was her approach to what she saw as the root of the problem (religion, tradition, the family core) that caused her the most severe criticism.

In 1828 Frances Wright moved to New York with Robert Dale Owen and started *The Free Enquirer* in an effort to not only chop down the tree but to kill the root of what they saw as the barrier to their social reform.

“Spiritual Tyranny”

Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright believed that social reforms were not being made because (1) the “church” controlled public opinion and (2) the “church” directed people’s thoughts to unreal spiritual questions rather than real social questions. The “church,” as described by Owen and Wright, is understood to mean the hegemonic power of religion at the time and not any specific denomination. Liberals saw the church as being at odds with the socialization process that they thought should be found in the schools.

According to liberal thought in the 1820s and 1830s, as represented in *The Free Enquirer*, the United States was corrupt morally, the nation was sick with intolerance and hypocrisy, with a thousand evils of ignorance, carelessness and neglect (Owen, 1832a; Owen, 1829b; Owen, 1829c). The liberal activists said that this moral corruption was due to religion, the clergy “rule in all our schools, seminaries and colleges. The clergy are the teachers of our youth; they seize on the infant mind, and plant their own unearthly seed in its fair and virgin soil. They puzzle the ingenuous mind of childhood with their dogmatic mysteries” (Owen, 1829d, p. 22). If the nation was corrupt, as stated by the liberal movement, then the root of the problem laid in the socialization process which they said was dominated by religion. This religious domination was labeled as “clergy education,” “mischievous steeple”(Owen, 1829d), “spiritual tyranny” (Owen, 1829b), “the yoke of ecclesiastical domination (Jennings, 1830), “a *chimera*,” and “clerical craft” (Wright, 1830a).

The writers for *The Free Enquirer* continued in more detail about religion and why its influence was “evil.” Frances Wright wrote that “the suspicion is afloat, that religion, as publicly taught in this land...is a *chimera*; that the clerical hierarchy, and clerical craft, which have been elevated upon this chimera, are the two deadliest evils which ever cursed society” (Wright, 1830a, p. 305). She continued in another article by saying that “Religion is nothing more than speculation, equal to that of a fictitious novel or a fairy tale. Fancying religion is harmful to mankind, it is nothing more than a dream and no two dream alike” (Wright, 1830b, p. 311). Robert Dale Owen elaborated on this point by saying that we cannot see spiritual things, therefore we cannot obtain spiritual knowledge, we must focus on the things that can be seen, this is “the voice of truth,” we need “freedom from ghostly dreams and disquieting imaginations...you will be happier without your superstitions” (Owen, 1832a, p. 313). Owens continued by saying that “the field of human virtue is rank with the tangled growth of superstition, and must be cleared before it can be cultivated,” this “craft” stretches weighty chains across your minds” (Owen, 1832a, p. 313).

The predominate thought was that the nation was sick, this sickness was caused by the “craft” of spirituality, and this “craft” could do nothing to cure it (Owen, 1832a; Jennings, 1830; Wright, 1830a). Speaking on these religious “abuses” Owen (1829b) said:

How shall they be remedied *at all*, if we reach not the seat of the disease,
– the human heart? What avails it that our present monopolies are
destroyed, if the ignorance remain that first permitted and may again be

cajoled to permit them? What would it profit us...if the ignorance remain that first produced and would soon reproduce it (p. 353).

Jennings (1830, p. 127), another contributor to *The Free Enquirer*, concludes this thought by posing the question, “what shall we do to shake off the yoke of ecclesiastical domination?” He offers a suggestion, the “thing to be done is to introduce another and a better system of education...the moral government of youth.”

National Education: Taking Young Minds

The liberal movement saw public education at the national level as the cure from “tyranny” and the “illness” that it spread. Owen made a plea for help in bringing about an antidote for this spiritual venom, he said, “we must call in more efficient assistance, if we will re-establish the national health. But here is the great question: What assistance shall we call in? What substitute do ye propose for religion? How will ye set about reforming?” (Owen, 1832a, p.313). The great antidote for this venom, the substitute for religion, according to this early liberal movement was, science, common sense, rationality, reality; things that could be seen and observed. Religion could not merely be supplanted through legislation, that would only prune its branches, said Owen (1832a):

ye would suffer the root to remain, again to put forth new shoots, and again to bear, perhaps with fresh vigor, the same old anti-republican fruit.
No! Ye must have some better substitution for religion than moral

preaching or agrarian laws. Ye must touch the root of the evil... Ye must take human mind...the pure, unstained, unwritten mind of infancy. And there ye must engrave those characters of rational wisdom and republican virtue...Less than this is but trifle with reform. Less than this cannot rescue the national character or cure the national disease. If this country is to be redeemed, National Education, extended through all her states, must be her redeemer (p. 313).

Owen (1832b) continued by saying:

Let us, then, take the infant mind; let us seclude it from the temptations that corrupt its tender virtue...from the ignorance that confounds its nascent conceptions...let us take the infant mind, and train it from youth to manhood in seclusion from the corruption of a vicious age, to reason and virtue, and then we shall have an intelligent and happy world (p. 321).

Frances Wright illustrated this point using her example of what she called a Muslim boy. She writes that if the boy is found in the right circumstance and is taught science and enquiry to enlarge his mind, it may help him to know “that beyond what the human senses can observe he can know nothing, and that beyond the reach of his knowledge it is very useless to imagine...he confesses ignorance...”(1830b, p. 311). In

referencing these same “ignorances” Owen (1829b, p. 353) asks “How shall these be removed, but only by an equal, national, intellectual and practical education for all the young citizens of our republic?” Owen (1830, p. 89) continued by saying that “to awaken the public mind to the general importance of the subject, is the first step; to investigate what National Education ought to be, the next.”

The liberal thought was that one only needed to “visit...orthodox temples of religion, and calculate the intolerance they contain and the hypocrisy they engender” to be able to see the problem; that national education was needed to replace our corrupted morals, to replace religion, or what the liberals called “spiritual tyranny” (Owen, 1829b, p. 353). Owen (1832b, p. 321) concluded this thought by saying, “Glorious will be the day which witnesses” the replacement of religion with national education, “the laying of its foundation; and happy the nation whose youth shall be trained, in its courts, to self-respecting virtue, to gentle morality, and to happiness.”

Unification through Obfuscation

The liberal thinkers of the time said that we must be united through national education, that through this unification we might become more powerful. Wright (1830a, p. 305) wrote that Man’s power is great, so great that it influences “even nature’s phenomena... , seeing, then, how great the powers of man, and seeing what those powers have effected, we may all conceive how immense must have been his progress had he applied them with uniform wisdom.” Through this national education we also might be taught the same and understand the same “truths,” that through this “liberality” we might be so

tolerant to obfuscate, forget, or even be reeducated to eliminate our differences. They saw this process through national education as the ultimate cure; it would be so all encompassing that any difference left would be negligible; says Owen (1829a, p. 349), when “free enquiry for ourselves, and...rational instruction...are gained, we may sit down under our own vine and under our own figtree, to discuss in peace and kindness all that may still remain of difference in our theoretical opinions.” Owen (1829b) further illustrated the point of unification and the elimination of difference:

I proceed to give my reasons for proposing A SYSTEM OF EQUAL NATIONAL EDUCATION, as the *first* measure which the people should unite to carry. In the first place, it is a measure for which all honest republicans and all not unprincipled parents *will unite*... people *cannot* lose their power, except by disunion. Whatever the people of this republic unite to carry, they *will* carry – against riches, against patronage, against sophistry, against intrigue – against every power which sharp wits, rendered yet sharper by the sense of personal interest, can bring in array to oppose them (p. 353).

If we teach all the youth through a system of national education and teach them to ignore difference by way of obfuscation then we will be united because difference will be swept under the proverbial rug. This national education was based on the

premise of liberalizing the minds of the youth, to socialize the student, to create a liberal subject.

Liberalization

National education was based on the method of liberalization to create liberal subjects so that these subjects (1) thought about the sensible world, (2) sought to reform that world and (3) viewed all men as brothers, equal, regardless of creed.

Liberal writers thought that National education was to be structured to free the masses from religion. To do that they first relegated the importance of spirituality by calling it a tyrant, a dream, fictitious, speculation. They aimed to replace “speculation” with what they deemed to be reality – the sensible world. National education will help the rising generation “think with the enlarged and liberal views of a disciple of science, and speak with the eloquent perspicuity of a man of letters” (Owen, 1829c, p. 353).

Wright (1829, p. 67) further emphasized this point of a sensible world by saying that the movement’s object is to lead men “to truth and virtue, by the paths of sound knowledge, fearless enquiry, and above all, by the national education of youth.”

Once taught by science to see the world “sensibly” through this process of liberalization, it was then hoped that students would seek to reform that world based on their new “liberal” worldview. As stated by Owen, “that we might reeducate ourselves from the cradle upwards, checking the rising vice and cultivating the nascent virtue, bending the pliant habit to reason, and mastering the evil passion at its birth, how gladly would we grasp at the offer!...” shall not the nation “do for its citizens” what the

affectionate parent would do for its offspring? (Owen, 1832b, p. 321). This “offer,” as suggested by Owen is the offer of world reform.

On the importance of liberalization and viewing all men as brothers Owen (1832b, p. 321) wrote that we must teach the children liberality, “when I speak of liberality...I mean enlightened and amiable courtesy that can welcome a fellow creature without enquiring into his creed,” so that “young citizens may grow up uncorrupted by superstition, and untainted by bigotry” (Owen, 1829d, p. 22). To eliminating difference by seeing everyone as a brother/sister was to eliminate a barrier to the social reform that the liberals, especially Owen and Wright, sought.

Omnipotence

The liberal movement was convinced that once students were liberalized through national education, that education based on science would then take on the God-like quality of omnipotence, that science would fully replace not only religion but the role of God as conceived in the religious mind. The definition of science as used by the liberals in this context was the receipt of knowledge based on reason and experimentation and not based on testimony, authority, or what is referred to as faith. Owen (1829b, p.353) stated that it is this national education based on science and rational “which will decide *every thing*...it is not only easily attainable, but omnipotent when attained.” He continued, “what parent is there so lost alike to duty and affection, or so degraded by vitiating habits, that he feels not the desire to see his children saved from the pit into which he has fallen?” (Owen 1829b, p. 353), “If this country is to be redeemed, National

Education, extended through all her states, must be her redeemer” (Owen, 1832a, p. 313). Owen (1830, p. 89) continued even further emphasizing the point of God being replaceable through science: in the future, “science, like the republican sun, shall shed her light with universal and unflinching impartiality; and...intrigue shall be deprived of his stoutest ally – IGNORANCE. It needs not a prophet’s eye to foresee all this.” It is so clear, “who doubts the omnipotence of National Education? ...children of this nation shall be trained from infancy to maturity...citizens of one republic.” (Owen, 1832b, p. 321). When people are “trained” then things can be predicted, when things can be predicted then the method used takes on an omnipotent quality, the power to prophesy, the power to control. The nation has yet to learn “the omnipotence of reason” said Owen (1829c, p. 353).

Freedom from Religion Conclusion

Through the 1820s and 30s the liberal thought became not freedom *of* religion, rather, freedom *from* religion. They wanted to replace religion with education, with science and common sense. What was this national education to be; once religion was replaced what would the national education look like? As with most radical ideologies, this liberal thought had all the questions and critiques but offered few solid answers. They first wanted to create the “revolution,” and after that was done they then wanted to discuss what the actual replacement would look like; to reemphasize Owen’s (1830, p. 89) quote, “to awaken the public mind to the general importance of the subject, is the first step; to investigate what National Education ought to be, the next.”

National education was to be based on an idea, an idea of not merely liberating one from religion but of liberating the mind from “vice” and “shackles” to “reason.” Once the youth were all brought under the same umbrella of education they would then be unified by increasing their tolerance and minimizing difference. Once all are “trained” or “liberalized,” the educational system would create a sense of omnipotence through predictability, or control, replacing a Godlike figure with...what?

Section 2: Neoterism

In this section neoterism is understood as the attitude by which ideas of traditional education are replaced with novelty; where the mind is constantly undergoing “reform,” trained to be receptive towards the new – to embrace innovation of the future instead of being adverse to it in an effort to hold onto traditional learning. Neoterism, as defined by the conservative author and Michigan State professor Russell Kirk (1918 – 1994), is “the lust for novelty, ... forming every opinion merely under the pressure of the fad, the foible, the passion of the hour” instead of forming opinion based in the beliefs of our forefathers (Kirk, 1981, p. 347).

By the 1860s liberals were not only interested in the secularization of education but also in the liberation from classical/traditional education. As liberals began to reduce the importance of churches as instruments of socialization, they had to “reform” educational institutions to make room for liberal education in the curriculum.

In 1862 the passing of the Morrill Act, by the federal government, helped establish Land Grant institutions across the United States. This act was a “major boost

to higher education in America” and one of the first steps toward establishing governmental influence over national education, or “popular education” as it was referred to (Lightcap, 1998). By 1867 this “Popular Education” was gaining influence and momentum (Youmans et al., 1867). However, “the movement which led to it proceeded from the feeling of a *want to be supplied*, rather than from any clear perception of the character of the thing wanted” (Youmans et al., 1867, p. v). This brought to pass what Robert Dale Owen (1830, p. 89) stated almost 40 years earlier when he said, “to awaken the public mind to the general importance of the subject, is the first step; to investigate what National Education ought to be, the next.” But, as we will see, the definition and character of a liberal education or even national education remained elusive because liberal idealists use this as a tool to incite constant change, enthusiasm for the novel, the unending revolution – neoterism. Once religious socialization began to be supplanted by a national education, the next obstacle was classical/traditional education.

Classical/Traditional Education

During the 1800s higher education was based on the principles of Greek and Latin, the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. To obtain a higher degree one had to be well read in the “classics;” be trained in grammar, logic and rhetoric (*trivium*); trained in geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy (*quadrivium*), and able to read and write Latin or Greek. This reflection on the past helped maintain certain forms of instruction within higher education. Separate but not detached from classical education was traditional

education that was found in the home. Traditional education also reflected on the past to maintain certain standards and customs. Classical and traditional education enabled traditions to be passed down from generation to generation through this educational process.

The liberal movement saw classic/traditional education as being antiquated. Liberals didn't necessarily want to completely get rid of classic/traditional education, however they wanted to eliminate what they called the "prejudice" that the general population had toward novel ideas; and this "prejudice" was thought to be instilled in the general public through classical/traditional education. Liberals deemed classical/traditional education as backward looking and unable to adapt, that it reinforced ignorance and prejudice.

In 1867 Youmans et al. published the book *The Culture Demanded by Modern Life*. This book sought to answer the question that was deemed more important than the post-civil war questions of "Reconstruction, Suffrage, and Finance." The question, "*What kind of culture shall the growing mind of the nation have?*" (Youmans et al., 1867, p. v). The answer? A culture based on scientific inquiry instead of "passive acceptance of mere...authority...; in place of much that is irrelevant, antiquated, and unpractical in our systems of study, there is needed a larger infusion of the living and available truth which belongs to the present time (Youmans et al., 1867, p. vi). Thus classical/traditional education was deemed as unimportant, to be replaced by neoterism – the *present* "living and available truth" (Youmans et al., 1867, p. vi).

Classical/traditional education was looked upon as being a major hindrance toward the

“perfection of culture” (Fiske 1868). As John Fiske (1868) stated, tradition is in contrast with the rational and needs be replaced with reason.

“A College Fetich”

As religious education was attacked as a “chimera;” the attempt by liberals to render classic/traditional education unimportant came by way of being called a fetish. Fetish in this sense is understood to be idol worship. Adams (1883) in an address to the Harvard chapter of Phi Beta Kappa said that a fetish worship is being performed in colleges; a “fetich worship” of classic/traditional education at the expense of the real and practical. Adams (1883) continued by saying:

nearly the whole cultivated world is still indulging in a most important feature of its higher education, in ‘fetish-worship’; in an absurd and unreasoning attachment to studies which are not suited to present wants, nor conducive to present success—which are not only a waste of time, but by their compulsory requirement are excluding better studies, it is the right and duty of any earnest man to challenge the claims of such studies; and the more securely they have become entrenched by custom and prescription, the greater is the duty of those who see or think they see their real hollowness and comparative worthlessness, to expose and denounce the pretensions and false claims by which they have been supported (as quoted in Chamberlain et al., 1884, pg. 8)

To replace this “fetich worship” Adams (as quoted in Chamberlain et al., 1884, pg. 8) says that universities must “seek fresh inspiration at the fountains of living thought;” that if we must chose – and chose we must – we should “rather learn something daily from the living who are to perish, than daily muse with the immortal dead.” Adams (as quoted in Chamberlain et al., 1884) goes even further by saying:

We are not living in any ideal world. We are living in this world of to-day; and it is the business of the college to fit men for it. Does she do it?...I do not see how she can do it now. It seem to me she starts from the radically wrong basis. It is, to use plain language, a basis of fetich worship, in which the real and practical is systematically sacrificed to the ideal and theoretical (p. 9).

In an effort to further relegate classic/traditional education to the sidelines, liberals emphasized that education existed to “fit” men for the world of today, and this could not be done by musing with the dead.

Neoterism Conclusion – Freedom from Tradition

It is plain to see the idea of neoterism being used in an effort to supplant traditional education. The focus is on today and the future: “living and available truth” (Youmans et al., 1867, p. vi), “present wants,” “present success,” “fresh inspiration,” “fountains of

living thought,” “daily from the living,” “we are living in this world of to-day” (Adams, 1883).

Neoterism focused on modern society and innovation in an attempt to make traditional education seem inutile. This effort sought to make tradition irrelevant to a modern existence by saying that we cannot learn from the dead what we need to know for the future, that traditional education has turned into “fetich worship.” The overall purpose of neoterism, as used by the liberal movement at this time, was to make it easy to instill new knowledge, used as an attitude to “liberate” from tradition and “mold” a person into the “ideal” citizen. Thus we see the changes made in a liberal education to “free” us from tradition by way of fostering the attitude of neoterism.

Section 3: Universalism

By the early 1900s, liberals, through liberal education, had supplanted religious dominated education and were working toward preempting classic/traditional education entirely. The liberal movement then focused more intently on eliminating difference. As discussed in previous sections, “difference” is described as the differences that arise out of the conflict between tradition (customs and moral values) and the liberal/rational way of thinking as tradition does not conform to liberalism and appears ignorant, prejudiced and intolerant toward this liberal movement. In the new era of the 20th century, liberals sought to eliminate this difference by socializing students into a state of national consciousness that minimized differences by cultivating tolerance and open-

mindedness through liberal education, later, universalism became an attempt at not only national consciousness but international consciousness.

Dr. Charles Eliot (1909, p. 1), former President of Harvard University, iterates this liberal movement sentiment by saying that “the best acquisition of a cultivated man is a liberal frame of mind or way of thinking,” and that this liberal frame of mind must be cultivated in the American family. Here a “liberal frame of mind” means an open mind; the ability to transcend one’s native cultural milieu and view it objectively, and to sympathetically enter into an alien cultural milieu and view it as an insider.

Although a theologian of the mid-1800s, John Henry Newman’s writings were revitalized in this liberal movement (Woodbridge, 1909; Mathews, 1874) to emphasize the importance of a liberal education to disabuse this perceived prejudice. Liberals used Newman’s teachings to show that liberal education should lead to the gradual elimination of prejudice; they quoted Newman (1852) saying that through a liberal education a man should know:

how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them. He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class (p. 286).

The Nation thought that this removal of prejudice should begin sooner rather than later “in the place where it can most easily be obtained – our colleges”, so as to make the

youth more “adaptable” and tolerant toward universalism (Pollak, 1916, p. 403). *The Nation* article called for further reforms, saying that the colleges were not fulfilling their role as liberal education institutions, “Is there not something amiss in a college curriculum which leaves the average student his graduation day as hopelessly ignorant... as his teachers privately confess him to be?” (Pollak, 1916, p. 403). Without the proper liberal education the “undergraduate leaves his *alma mater* very much as he entered it” – ignorant (Pollak, 1916, p. 403).

An article in *The New Republic* suggested a way to eliminate this difference, to give meaning to this liberal education by way of “unification” (Meiklejohn, 1922). In this article Alexander Meiklejohn (1922, p. 2) says “Out of the purposes and acts of many men, society must make a plan, a scheme of common living. Out of the thoughts of many men, our scholarship must make a plan, such common dominating scheme as can be made.” Meiklejohn suggests a unity of thought, a national consciousness, brought to pass by the unity of curriculum; a liberal education to replace difference with tolerance, “war” with “peace.”

Speaking further on “peace” by way of unification through liberal education *The New Republic* (“Peace by Education,” 1924, p. 59) said, “The only education which will qualify the ordinary American citizen to pass intelligently on questions of war and peace is one which improves his general moral and mental outlook. That is a kind of education which he rarely, if ever, gets.” The article stated that religion and tradition get in the way of this needed liberal education, that “the education which [religious organizations] receive and hand down is limited to the realm of traditional ideas or habitual conduct and

information or of activities which are determined by ideas” (“Peace by Education,” 1924, p. 60). The article continued by saying that these “ideas” and this type of education create and foster “prejudice,” that “such an education is too merely intellectual, too special, too paternal, too mechanical. It prepares its victims to be more or less intelligently prejudiced or credulous...” (“Peace by Education,” 1924, p. 60). Thus, a liberal education is a means to bring about peace through unification, to eliminate old ways of instruction and traditional institutions which are said to produce prejudice and difference.

Cure for Difference

John Dewey, the renowned American education philosopher, is described in *The Nation* (Niebuhr, 1935) by the following:

No one in America has a more generally conceded right to speak in the name of liberalism than John Dewey. He has been for many years not only the leading philosophical exponent of liberal doctrine but the fountain and source of liberal pedagogical theory – and method (p. 303).

Dewey believed that mere perception of difference and prejudice resulted from a lack of scientific and rational education. Dewey described the outcome of this difference/prejudice to be violence. Dewey saw this “violence only as a consequence of a social ignorance which a more perfect intelligence [would] be able to eliminate”

(Niebuhr, 1935, p. 304). Dewey said that a liberal education must “bring these conflicting interests out into the open, where their special claims can be seen and appraised and where they can be discussed and judged in the light of more inclusive interests” (Dewey, 1935, p. 80). Dewey said that the rationally trained mind will mitigate this violence by adhering to an overall goal that should be held by all – National Consciousness.

Dewey’s focus on violence, as a result of difference, prejudice and ignorance, was brought to the forefront with the beginning of World War II. In the liberals point of view “mis-education” was the cause of this “evil,” and the only cure was a liberal education. Liberal educators emphatically preached the need for a liberal education to grow the roots of peace. Liberal educators were saying that the world conflicts (evils) resulting in World War II showed the ineptitude of the current college education:

how pitiful has been the failure of our colleges in the midst of the forces which have led up to the present world crisis. Many causes have produced the World War. But high among them all is the failure of our Anglo-American institutions of liberal learning. It is not the forces of the modern world which have wrecked us. It is our lack of understanding of those forces... Military training helps us to win a victory. Liberal teaching, if we had it, would help us to use that victory in the service of human peace and freedom (Meiklejohn, 1943, p. 113 - 114).

World War II was exploited as a means to justify further liberal reform in the educational system by liberals, because it was seen by the liberals that the “technical/traditional” teaching of universities helped cause the war. If traditional educators were liberal educators they would have taught about peace and war and interconnectedness, “charting a course for the United States or for the world” (Meiklejohn, 1943, p. 114). The “fact must not be forgotten when, with the return of peace, we remake our plans for liberal teaching” (Meiklejohn, 1943, p. 114). This liberal teaching with the final end of national/world consciousness is described here as “cultural attitude”:

No one who views the world crisis soberly, attempting to rise above national prejudice, can doubt that our only hope of escape from future wars lies in a fundamental change of cultural attitude in all the nations involved... Our war will be justified only in so far as we succeed in abandoning those [brutal and fiendishly extreme] principles, in establishing cultural attitudes which are rooted, not in strife and competition, but in fellowship and cooperation (Meiklejohn, 1943, p. 114)

By the end of World War II liberal educators were looking toward a bright future, with the leverage of world evils and the proposed cure in hand, Meiklejohn (1943) stated:

Now, in the affairs of men, the tide seems to be at the turn. Disintegration and chaos have run their course. We human beings have undertaken to create One World, One Intelligence, One Education. That attempt has not failed. It is just beginning (p. 114).

Meiklejohn makes it very clear, through his claim for the establishment of “One World, One Intelligence, One Education”, that the liberal agenda was to create a universal consciousness. As stated by Meiklejohn, it was just the beginning of the dominance of a liberal education toward universalism. In order to establish this universalism, differences needed to be eliminated. Differences and violence were the manifestations of prejudice and ignorance. Dewey said that ignorance can be eliminated by way of a proper and rational education, a liberal education. Men, once taught to think rationally will look to “more inclusive interests” to justify tolerance (Dewey, 1935, p. 80). A national consciousness to breed tolerance, tolerance being seen by liberals as the great panacea, the cure for this illness, the prescription to create liberal subjects.

Section 4: Establishing a National Education

Freedom from religious education, freedom from tradition, and freedom from difference were all predicated upon some form and implementation of national education. As shown in this chapter the call for a national education has been sounded by liberals since the 1820s (Owen, 1832a; Owen, 1829b; Jennings, 1830; Wright, 1830b). Although steps had been taken from the 1830s to the 1850s, the passing of the Morrill Act in 1862 was

the first major step toward federal influence on a national education. This act established the federal government in the realm of education, which had previously been left entirely to individual states. Because of the American Civil War the topic of national education in comparison to state education came to the forefront (“A Bureau of Education,” 1866). In regards to the states and education an article asked the question, “Why should an interest of such paramount necessity to the integrity and stability of the nation be left to the uncertain action of individual states alone?” (“National Education,” 1864, p. 19). In *American Educational Monthly* in 1865 (“A National Bureau,” p. 86) an article stated that education molds the common mind, and that education also molds the national mind, “for what is the *national* mind but the *common* mind.” The article went on to state the problem between fractured state education and national education as thus:

Given a great people, required the means of securing to the greatest possible extent their intellectual, moral, social, and political elevation. These means must be commensurate with the magnitude of the end proposed. Hence the influence and power of the whole must be exercised for the benefit of the whole (“A National Bureau,” 1865, p. 86)

The article claims that the first step toward this end is to “establish a national bureau of public instruction...to develop a more decidedly national sentiment in behalf of general education...to foster a national spirit of patriotism” (“A National Bureau,” 1865, p. 86). The article went on further to say that “the establishment of such a

department by the national government would, in and of itself, constitute a most important step toward nationalizing education” (“A National Bureau,” 1865, p. 86).

In 1867 the non-Cabinet-level Department of Education was created. The constitution, by way of the 10th amendment, allows for no federal control over education, leaving education entirely to individual states. The congressional vote to create the Department of Education passed controversially, with no southern state representatives present and many other representatives being coerced to abstain from voting. The Department of Education was created to keep statistics of the nation’s schools and to compile and share educational and pedagogical strategies, although liberal reformers wanted a department with complete control over national educational.

Although a national education had not been mandated, the idea was being established by the liberals in the form of “popular education” (Youmans et al., 1867). This “popular education” had no set identity, no character; as quoted in a previous section, “the movement which led to it proceeded from the feeling of a *want to be supplied*, rather than from any clear perception of the character of the thing wanted” (Youmans et al., 1867, p. v). This “popular education” brought some conformity to urban schools by way of instruction and school rules, but it did not have the “ideology” for which the liberals had their sights set. In other words, this popular education needed to conform to and breed liberalism, it needed to become even more so, a liberal education.

Through the early 1900s this rhetoric remained the same, attempting to propagate the idea of government controlled education, attempting to give greater control to the

Department of Education by calling for it to be made Cabinet-level department. For example, in *The Nation* in 1903 they claimed that modern life demanded a liberal education which should be furnished by the modern federal state (Thurston, 1903). Another example of lobbying for a Cabinet-level position by the liberal movement is found in a report by Dutton and Snedden in 1909:

It has been a matter of sincere regret to many that the United States has not given to education a place in the councils of the nation, equal to war or commerce. It is also to be regretted that the bureau has not had direct control of the schools for all the backward peoples... The work of raising the Bureau of Education to its proper dignity and equipping it to control and care for all the educational agencies which the Government undertakes, awaits the commanding effort of some great leader, who not only appreciates the crying evil of the present situation, but has the heart and the courage to take up the battle and win the victory (pp. 33-34).

These quotes very much echo those same claims that were made by liberal in the 1820s and 30s.

In 1914 a small bill was passed that was symbolically significance, the Smith-Lever Act. There was “nothing revolutionary” about this act; “the real value of the bill, even though its actual power is negligible, is its indirect effects of creating a bright future for a national system of education” (“A Policy in Vocational Education,” 1917, p.

64). The Smith-Lever Act was a small agrarian bill that helped with agricultural education, in essence, a small addition to the Morrill Act of 1862. The significance was that it mandated that government funds be met by state funds for this project and that local, state and federal governments were to work together.

Coupled with the Smith-Lever Act, liberals used World War I to bring further attention to the need for national education. Liberals used this as a tool to further along a federally run educational system. What was needed was a justification to take power away from state education and shift it to the federal government. This justification came in the way of saying that the United States needed to represent itself internationally, to influence other countries to educate as we do, in an effort to further democracy (MacCracken, 1918). To further democracy we needed to educate our own citizens on the idea of America. Speaking about instilling nationalism into our youth through education, President Woodrow Wilson wrote that the example of Germany is too dangerous, where the government aims to control ideas in the public schools; we must be broad and generous in our instruction of nationalism (Judd, 1917). *The Nation* (Judd, 1917) wrote further on this idea saying that children must be taught that:

Any sacrifice which the people of this country make to-day must be the ready contribution of a democratic people, not the blind offering of a people schooled in obedience to a dictator. We have to work out a new type of instruction in nationalism. This new instruction must go into the schools, but it must express itself at once in practical ways. The habits of

life and thought of the nation must respond at once to an intellectual apprehension of what the nation is and will become. Our nationalism must be intelligent and practical at once... We see that we are as a nation ignorant of the scope and depth of our national life (p. 662).

Liberals suggested that this “ignorance of our national life” be cured through a national education; an education of the American citizen on the idea of what it is to be an American. But again, what was this national education to look like? What was/is it to be an American?

Up to this point this chapter has sought to define a liberal education by describing what a liberal education has sought to liberate us from: religion, tradition, and difference; that this liberation will come to full fruition by way of a national education, a liberal education as the means to which educators should look “to liberate the soul of youth” (Alexander, 1918, p. 262). But for what purpose are we to be liberated from these things? What purpose does a liberal education serve?

Section 5: Creating Liberal Subjects

The rhetoric of creating democratic citizens had been present from the beginning in American liberal ideology. When liberals speak of creating democratic citizens they speak of the need for the democratic citizen to *internalize* values and attitudes, and so “voluntarily” act the part of a good citizen. What liberals describe as “voluntary” is

understood as acting subject to liberal principles that the citizen is to adopt. Creating democratic citizens in this sense is the creation of liberal subjects.

With the culmination of World War I, the liberals made this point more emphatically, using Europe as an example, stating, may we:

escape falling into the fallacy of the past three centuries of European civilization, which have cultivated the technical intelligence of man at the cost of the liberal... and have brought us to the dread pass of to-day... we should be ever portraying... the form and features of the ideal citizen, the hero and king of a democratic society (Alexander, 1918, p. 262).

For the liberals a liberal education became synonymous with a democratic education. The ultimate purpose of a liberal education was to train up liberal subjects; “if democracy is a part of our vital faith, then by every means at our disposal our children will be trained for its preservation, which can only be through their comprehension of it” (Alexander, 1918, p. 261). The articles goes on to say that “the key to democratic education...is liberalism” and that our schools “must stand for” this “liberal education,...it should be the aim of a democracy, in the interests of its own perfection, to keep its youth in the tutelage of liberal studies up to their majorities” (Alexander, 1918, p. 261).

The ideal “democratic citizen” was described by Dewey in his book *Democracy and Education* (Dewey, 1916). First, the ideal democratic citizen will have a “voluntary

disposition and interest” in following democratic authority, because forced allegiance to an external authority would be detrimental to a democratic society (Dewey, 1916, p. 101). Second, willing to participate in associated living; having the ability to see one’s own desires and needs as being those of the greater society (Dewey, 1916, p. 101). Dewey explains that being educated to participate in associated living is done to break down barriers of difference, which keep “men from perceiving the full import of their activity” (Dewey, 1916, p. 101). Third, the ideal democratic citizen is both open-minded and adaptable, “otherwise, they will be overwhelmed by the changes in which they are caught” (Dewey, 1916, p. 102). Dewey explains these three attributes with a precursor, that none of these attributes are passively received, they all must be instilled through a deliberate liberal education.

Social Reconstruction

The creation of liberal subjects needed to be a process of social reconstruction. President Woodrow Wilson (Wilson, 1918, p. 1) in a speech entitled “Make Ready for the Birth of a New Day,” marked the beginning of this social reconstruction movement when he said, “make ready for the birth of a new day, a day of greater opportunity and greater prosperity for the average mass of struggling men and women.” Liberals looked to this post-war speech as a beginning to this social reconstruction, to make ready the new day (Blanshard, 1924; Yarros, 1918). An article in *The Nation* asked the question, “what do enlightened and advanced liberals mean by ‘social reconstruction’ after the war? ...What does ‘social reconstruction’ mean to Americans?” (Yarros, 1918, p. 443).

The liberal response to this question reflects many of the ideology's typical responses: "to fashion a programme which will fit the needs of to-morrow" (Yarros, 1918, p. 443). One of the suggested ways to do this of course was the use of a liberal education (Yarros, 1918), to use this "latent idealism" on "youth in behalf of social reconstruction" (Blanshard, 1924, p. 285). The social reconstruction proposed at this time was merely liberalism itself. It was to reconstruct all citizens so that they became liberal subjects. In actuality it wanted all to be free – free to think and act the *same*.

World War II was seen as the result of "evils" in society, the evils of prejudice and ignorance. Liberals believed that violence arose because men had different beliefs and were intolerant. The liberals used World War II as a tool to advance their ideology in education much as they used World War I. They believed that peace would result if all men thought the same and were tolerant of the minor differences that remained. Meiklejohn (1943, p. 114) stated that the "fact must not be forgotten when, with the return of peace, we remake our plans for liberal teaching." Again, the educational system was blamed, and the suggested remedy for the war conflict was a more liberal education to make a "fundamental change of cultural attitude"(Meiklejohn, 1943, p. 114). The "task of...reconstruction [was] one of reeducation"; a task for which the federal government should take responsibility (Meiklejohn, 1943, p. 114). The post-World War II era was seen as an opportunity to rework the system, liberals were calling for the federal government to step in and take control of education in this window of opportunity, to reeducate the American citizen even further and create a better democracy (Counts, 1943; Simmons, 1944).

In conferences held from 1944 to 1946 called *The Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith*, scientists discussed “making the scientific habit of mind an integral part of the democratic process” (Nathanson, 1946, p. vii). In these proceedings they discussed creating liberal subjects through the process of “engineering consent.” Engineering of consent was defined as “the attempt to induce various groups and various types and kinds of publics to use certain knowledge on which everybody agreed” (Hook & Raup, 1946, p. 109).

Liberals had long agreed that the scientific method and rational thinking were the answers to the Nation’s and world’s problems. If men could be brought to think rationally then they can all agree on what is rational. Dr. Bruce Raup, at the time a professor of education at Columbia University, said in this conference that “Passion, prejudice, partisanship, unreason still sway men, whether as individuals or in the mass, precisely as if scientific method had never been heard of. How is this possible...?...for something must be lacking” (Hook & Raup, 1946, p. 110). What was lacking was of course enforced liberal education. If passion and prejudice still held sway in human decision making, then people were not being properly educated. The conference determined two shortcomings, two things that were “lacking.” First, science was poorly taught in schools; second, not only was science poorly taught, it wasn’t taught in the area of human relations (Hook & Raup, 1946, p. 110). They deemed human relations to be the “promised land;” that scientific method must penetrate into every aspect of education to be able to *change human values* (Hook & Raup, 1946, p. 111).

The Nation (Kennedy, 1945) published an influential article on engineering of consent/social planning that wrote:

Is social planning compatible with democracy? This is probably the greatest single question of our day. The liberal would answer, 'Yes, if the means can be devised by which people may learn how to solve their problems cooperatively on every level, from that of the local community to that of an international order.' The basis for this positive freedom, the essence of which is rational agreement for the attainment of common ends, could be provided by a system of education which would produce a socialized intelligence capable of applying the methods of science to the problems of society. As John Dewey has said, 'Democracy must be born anew every generation, and education is the midwife' (p. 341).

Socialized intelligence, engineering of consent and social planning are all synonymous and share the same purpose, the purpose of teaching people to think and act toward common ends by eliminating the obstacles that stand in the way (religion, tradition, prejudice), with those "common ends" being provided to them by the state. On this notion, *The Nation* (Beene, 1951, p. 496) wrote, "Schooling is always a deliberate attempt to influence the beliefs and conduct of more or less plastic members of a society. To attempt to clarify directions for educational progress, if it is done responsibly and clear-headedly, is to attempt to clarify directions for social progress."

Liberal Education Conclusion

It has been shown that liberal education, since 1830, has been used as a tool to: (1) undermine the authority of religious institutions and tradition, (2) encourage enthusiasm for progress (neoterism), and (3) promote universalism, to create a single national, and after that international, consciousness. It is within this understanding of a liberal education that the doctrine of study abroad (DSA) began to be formed.

CHAPTER V
THE DOCTRINE OF STUDY ABROAD: AS AN EXPRESSION OF LIBERAL
IDEALS

This chapter describes the origin and development of the DSA. The DSA advanced through four distinct phases: Experimentation, Policy Development, Implementation, and the Evolution of Study Abroad within Higher Education. I argue that the federal government established the DSA in institutions of higher education in an effort to liberalize the rising generation and eventually to liberalize those countries with which educational exchanges were being made.

The Doctrine

I use the phrase Doctrine of Study Abroad to indicate the argument that is used to promote study abroad programs as an important educational policy. The word doctrine is commonly used to denote an important teaching, as in the case of a religious doctrine, and to denote a government policy, as in the case of the Monroe Doctrine. The DSA combines both of these meanings because it *teaches* that exposure to foreign cultures will increase tolerance, understanding and respect, and because it advocates a *policy* of making this experience accessible to as many students as possible.

The word doctrine can also be used to indicate the conventional wisdom that a public has absorbed through a long campaign of cultural conditioning and education. This is the way the word is used by the political historian Maurice Cowling. Cowling

writes that “a public doctrine adumbrates the assumptions that constitute the framework within which teaching, writing and public action are conducted” (Cowling, 1980, p. xi). A public doctrine is, in other words, very similar to what we mean by the word culture. The difference is that the word culture may be taken as indicating beliefs that arise spontaneously from the everyday life and inherited traditions of a people, whereas Cowling’s phrase public doctrine draws attention to the fact that people believe what they have been taught to believe.

Cowling’s understanding of public doctrine is well suited to my argument that study abroad programs exist as a result of a long campaign, beginning in the nineteenth century, to make education into an instrument that would mold citizens into what I call liberal subjects. The origins of this campaign are found in the explicit teachings of early nineteenth-century liberals such as Robert Dale Owen and Francis Wright. In the 1830s these were seen as radical, but they eventually became “the framework within which teaching, writing and public action are conducted” (Cowling, 1980, p. xi).

This is not to say that the DSA can be found in the educational manifestos of Owen and Wright, or that their ideas are perfectly preserved in today’s DSA. The unifying theme is the generic liberal doctrine that education should remove prejudice and instill tolerance, but this theme has of course been greatly modified by radical changes in the historical context. An important aspect of this context that is particularly noteworthy from the perspective of a geographer is the “annihilation of distance” by improvements in transportation technology. Working in an age of canal boats and sailing ships, Owen and Wright sought to overcome the local prejudices of family and

sect through the establishment of public schools in which students of all backgrounds would mix and mingle. Needless to say, the DSA operates very differently in our age of the jet airliner.

There is one last reason that I use the word doctrine to denote the argument that is used to promote study abroad programs, and this also comes from Cowling. In the many books he has written on the topic, Cowling always stresses the arbitrariness of public doctrine. This does not mean that public doctrine cannot be explained, but that it must be explained historically. There is nothing natural or necessary about the beliefs the public has absorbed, and if other doctrines had been more successfully taught, the public would have absorbed other beliefs. This was important for my understanding as I was a believer in the ideals of liberal education and the DSA. In fact, I still am. But for the purpose of the first half of this study I needed to denaturalize these beliefs and see them as cultural mentifacts that demanded an explanation. The concept of a doctrine helped me to do that.

Phase 1: Experimentation

In 1916 *The Nation* published an article on liberalism and education, stating the need to remove prejudice from the rising generation. The article said this could be done most efficiently: “in the place where it can most easily be obtained – our colleges” (Pollak, 1916, p. 403). As I argue in chapters three and four, the aspiration to uproot prejudice is an integral element of liberal education and the liberal doctrine. This section will focus

on the early work of Alexander Meiklejohn and Donald Watt as examples of the experimental phase that eventually lead to the establishment of the DSA.

Alexander Meiklejohn (1872 – 1964) received his PhD from Cornell University in 1897 and thereupon taught philosophy at Brown University, where he eventually became Dean (Brown, 2013). He left Brown to serve as President of Amherst College from 1913 to 1923, where, as the editor of *The Amherst Student* wrote, “He gave his students a knowledge of life that few other students obtain. ... He taught them to examine for the truth, not to accept tradition in its place” (Brown, 2013, p. 1). Meiklejohn was a proponent and practitioner of liberal education, and he became one of the most influential philosophers of education in his time. In an article entitled “How Shall We Educate the Young Barbarians?,” the philosopher and educator Max McConn (1929, p. 324) wrote, “I regard Dr. Meiklejohn as one of the great leaders of this generation in that cause of humanism and liberal understanding which to me, as to him, is little short of a religion.” Meiklejohn pursued his idea of liberal education so fervently that it was one of the reasons why he was eventually released from Amherst College.

In 1928 Meiklejohn was invited to the University of Wisconsin – Madison to put his more rigorous liberal educational theories into practice, and there he founded the University’s Experimental College. At the commencement of his experiment, Meiklejohn (1932, p. x) believed that colleges were failing in their mission. He wrote, “never before in the history of the world was higher education so eagerly desired, so widely offered and taken, so lavishly endowed. And yet – or rather we should say, ‘And Hence’ – it is at present largely futile, frustrated, dissatisfied.” It was with the intent to

make higher education more influential and successful in propagating liberal attitudes, that Meiklejohn (1932, p. xiii) started his experiment of “radical character... determining conditions of undergraduate liberal instruction.”

The experiment inducted incoming freshmen and lasted for the student’s first two years in college, what Meiklejohn called the “lower college.” Meiklejohn saw the purpose of the lower college as the development of “intelligence.” Students in the “upper college” (junior and senior years) would specialize and prepare for a career, such as in banking, art, or industry. It was the lower college’s job to instill “intelligence... the general liberal teaching of men...in the conduct of their own lives as human individuals” (Meiklejohn, 1932, p. 6). And, as Meiklejohn would later add, not just in the conduct of their private lives, but also in their lives as members of society.

In the “experiment” students were seen as primed and ready for liberal indoctrination because they had recently left home for the first time. Meiklejohn (1932) describes the mindset of his ideal student this way:

I hope that I may be judged ready to take my place as a free and responsible member of the American community. I do not see at all clearly what I ought to be and do. Nor do I find it easy to form opinions on matters of public policy. In the modern world of value and of belief problems of the greatest difficulty and of the greatest urgency wait for decisions which I cannot foresee. If, however, I am promoted by my elders to the level of intelligent self-direction and social participation, I

will do my best to understand, to use my mind in the cause of understanding. And I pledge myself that in action, in attitude, and in enjoyment I will follow unflinchingly such insight as I may be able to achieve. I ask, therefore, to be taught and then examined, so that it may be decided whether or not I am ready for my responsibilities (p. 30).

The liberal doctrine described in the previous chapters is implicit in this quote. The pupil is receptive to whatever the teacher deems necessary – the teacher being a promulgator of liberalism – and remains receptive until the teacher deems the student “worthy” to make his own decisions.

Execution of Meiklejohn’s experiment with the freshmen and sophomore students was based on one guiding question: “What do men do as individuals and groups in the attempt to create and to conserve human values?” (Meiklejohn, 1932, p. 61). To do this the curriculum was broken into four main parts: (1) “Appreciation of human activities in so far as they are immediately of value;” (2) “Understanding of human institutions as instrumentalities made and remade for the furthering of values;” (3) “The activities of thinking by which we describe the world of men and things as constituting the values and forces of which men must take account in their planning for the enhancement of value;” and (4) “Contrasting two civilizations” (Meiklejohn, 1932, pp. 61 – 67).

Although Meiklejohn provided no definite curriculum, the basic format of his experiment was broken into two concentrations. The first concentration took in the first three parts of the curriculum having to do with values, the second was limited to the

fourth part – contrasting two civilizations. It is in this second concentration that we see the beginnings of the DSA. Comparing and contrasting civilizations was done to give students a “scheme of reference” (Meiklejohn, 1932, p. 71). The students were to compare and contrast the civilizations of ancient Greece and nineteenth-century America and/or contemporary America. Learning the two different cultures, ways of living, and processes of inquiry in regards to establishing human values, would allow the student to relativize their view of contemporary America and other contemporary cultures and belief systems.

In explaining about and justifying the study of the foreign culture of ancient Greece, Meiklejohn (1932) wrote:

We should not send our students into a human situation, as tourists go to a foreign country with a list of important items to see and check. They should go rather as residents for a time, sharing, so far as they can, in the life and experience of the people, getting the feel and the sense of their scheme of living. In the latter case they may have little to tell when they return, but they may perhaps be more reasonable and intelligent in their attitudes toward ‘foreign’ people (p. 71).

The purpose of this study of ancient Greece was to help a young man, as stated earlier, to “form his ‘scheme of reference’” (Meiklejohn, 1932, p. 71). An example of

one of their assignments sheds light onto what scheme the students were to develop (Meiklejohn & Powell, 1981):

March 30 – May 4, 1931 Philosophy Period. During the troublous times of external wars and internal party strife which followed the death of Pericles, the cultivated youth of Greece began to ask questions of one another – to ask about themselves and about the activities they were supposed to carry on...So the thoughtful ones found it important to discover what good Thinking was, where Reality lay, what kind of Happiness to aim for, and whether Man was really the measure of all things. What kind of democracy do you find yourself living in? If it seems somewhat like theirs, wouldn't you expect to find their questions somewhat vital for yourself? I don't insist; I only want to suggest that in reading Plato we are entering, not a perfumed study, but the society of a man who fought to understand and fought to criticize his own age, and whose voice has the unique merit of sounding contemporary in every age. For the next five weeks our discussion will center about the problems suggested: the use of reason, the nature of the concepts it works with, the sort of reality it discloses; the value of pleasure; and the general sophistic position as to the relativity of all judgments of fact and of value (pp. 148 - 149).

This assignment confronted students with the “relativity of all judgments” because, as Gottfried (1999) would say, liberalism and relativism go hand in hand. The purpose of comparing and contrasting different cultures and value systems was to relativize the student’s way of thinking, to liberalize the student. As Meiklejohn stated it in 1925 as he was formulating the underlying ideas for The Experimental College:

our principle is fairly clear. The college is trying to get the student to make *for himself* an understanding of himself and of the society in which he is living. We wish him to know this not simply in some of its aspects, but as a total human undertaking. We should like to take him, therefore, first to a civilization far removed from his own in time and quality and then to one which is very near his own. And if we could get him engaged in the attempt to know each of these in itself as a unity and also by similarity and contrast with the other and with the present, we think we should have him on the road to liberal education. We think that we could get him to appreciate what he is studying for and about. If he knew what he was trying to do, we believe he could and would do it (pp. 315 – 316, emphasis added)

Here we see the essence of the DSA, comparison of contrasting cultures as a means to set the student “on the road to liberal education” (Meiklejohn, 1925, p. 316).

Meiklejohn's Experimental College survived for four years until the University of Wisconsin decided to terminate the project. The project was terminated for many reasons, including administrative problems with the program and difficulty integrating the students who participated in the program into the university in their junior year. John Dewey (1932) wrote of Meiklejohn's experiment and its termination saying that this experiment:

is a contribution to the philosophy of American education. The discussion of the theory is, of course, the more pointed and the more significant because, unlike most such discussions, it comes to us as the philosophy of an actual undertaking, not as a full bolt from the blue of abstraction. Moreover, the educational ideas presented are tied up with a clearly thought-out conception of the nature, the defects and promise, of American culture and life (p. 23).

Dewey (1932, p. 24) defended the experiment, and explained its failure, by asking, "is there an American college which is willing and able to carry its self-criticism to the point demanded by the Meiklejohn experiment?" Dewey's answer: "I doubt it."

The outcome of the Experimental College is the most interesting aspect of the experiment. This experiment in liberalizing young adults who just entered college had some detrimental effects on student's emotions and behavior. The emotional problems were categorized into two sections by Meiklejohn. The first were the strains and stresses

of sexual development. The second and most relevant to this inquiry was “the confusions, uncertainties, and readjustments incidental to an intellectual criticism of a social order to which one belongs” (Meiklejohn, 1932, p. 237). Expounding on this point Meiklejohn (1932) wrote:

For a young man just reaching maturity, the experiences of a liberal education are *profoundly disturbing*. If one adds to the burden of approaching responsibility the *sense of insecurity* which comes as a pupil examines the human enterprise, as he *questions the customary formulations* of its values and beliefs, as he challenges its institutions, as he becomes aware of the physical, physiological, economic, social forces which drive men about in apparent helplessness, as he *finds the modes of life, the convictions of his parents and friends, open to question and doubt*, the emotional strain upon a sensitive and loyal person may become almost unbearable. And in so tense a situation as this, emotional difficulties of every sort may and do arise (pp. 237 – 238).

Despite the emotional problems that arose because of the “profoundly disturbing” quality of the liberal experiment, Meiklejohn (1932) justified the experiment by saying:

Our youth will be quite unfitted for the tasks which they must undertake unless they can fight their way through these strains, can win the power which is evidenced by conquering them. Knowingly or not *we have made for our youth a world of which these strains are an inevitable part*. Our social scheme simply cannot be made to run unless there is constantly flooding into it a stream of clear-headed, critical, responsibility-taking young people who can see its principles and its problems and so can deal with it intelligently. We have not given them an easy task; perhaps it will be too heavy for them. But they must face the music. And we must find ways of getting them ready, of giving them courage for the work which it is theirs to do (p. 238, emphasis added).

To help the students cope with the “sense of insecurity” caused by this program that questioned “customary formulations,” it was necessary to enlist a psychiatrist to counsel the students. Nevertheless, Meiklejohn (1932, p. 352) concluded that “if the situation is considered a beginning rather than an end, and is used constructively, incalculable benefit can result.” No solution was found for the students’ emotional problems, but Meiklejohn nevertheless retained the liberal faith that these costs were justified by the “incalculable benefits” that would someday be realized. An interesting note to make is that in the subsequent reproductions/editions of “The Experimental College” (Meiklejohn, 1971; Meiklejohn & Powell, 1981), the sections on emotional distress were omitted and never mentioned as an outcome of the project.

Although The Experimental College was terminated in large part because of the emotional distress it caused in its students, Meiklejohn (1932) and Dewey (1932) agreed that the liberal experiment was not to blame. Rather, it was the fact that institutions (and students) were not ready to accept the truth. Thus the liberal education dialogue continued, being perpetuated by the clerisy (liberal educators such as Dewey and Meiklejohn), despite the fact that their experiment appeared to have failed. We will see in subsequent sections that reluctant universities eventually opened to the more progressive liberal education and the DSA.

The Experiment

The Experiment is different than The Experimental College of Meiklejohn. Meiklejohn's experiment was directly involved with Liberalism; it was Meiklejohn's attempt to liberalize the rising generation. The Experiment was an early example of what study abroad has come to be, a product *of* Liberalism. The Experiment didn't focus on Liberalism itself, but was itself influenced and based upon the liberal principles and teachings of John Dewey. The purpose of The Experiment was "to create a controlled human situation which would produce understanding and friendliness between people of different cultures in a limited period of time" (Watt, 1967, p. 85).

The Experiment was founded by Donald Watt, with the first "experiment" taking place in Switzerland in 1932. Educated at Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale, Watt held the position of Director of Student Personnel at Syracuse University when the depression hit. He was asked to take a voluntary year's leave of absence due

to the hard financial times. Watt was fortunate enough to have inherited a large sum of money from his father, a very successful business man, so Watt left the position and began his endeavors to establish what would be called The Experiment in International Living. Watt (1967) describes The Experiment as:

a trip to a foreign country of ten selected young people with a trained leader whose job was to prepare them for their experience and to lead them with a very loose rein during a four weeks' period when each member lived in a different home in the same town. Then the visitors repaid their families for their hospitality by inviting a family member of the same age and sex to take a three weeks' trip in their own country. The group, generally without their hosts, then spent the few remaining days in the capital of the country (pp. 85 - 86).

The Experiment was an innovation that broke with the tradition of earlier American students studying abroad. The Grand Tour had been the predominant manner in which American students traveled abroad. The Grand Tour was typically a rapid trip through Europe, visiting many countries in a short period of time. The Grand Tour was basically a quick sightseeing vacation. It was because of this break in tradition that Watt was not able to run the program through any university. The public was not ready to break from this tradition and did not easily accept his program at first (Watt, 1967).

The Experiment consisted of what Watt called controls. There were several controls put into place that ensured certain outcomes that promoted the friendliest interaction with the foreign culture. These controls and the way students were taught to think were heavily based on Dewey's philosophy of education and learning by experience. Watt's purpose was to "produce an instrument designed to bring about understanding and possibly peace in the next generation" by "developing attitudes of open-mindedness and willingness to postpone judgments" (Watt, 1967, p. 91, 195).

Watt's "experiment" was much more of a success than Meiklejohn's because the program was independent from any institution and was privately funded. The Experiment eventually led to the establishment of the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont.

Watt's and Meiklejohn's experiments are examples of the movement in liberal education that led up to the establishment of the DSA. The experimental phase of liberalizing a student through cultural comparison gained further interest in the post-war period as the U.S. government sought ways to extend its diplomacy and create liberal citizens. This interest led to the second phase and the development of the Doctrine of Study Abroad (DSA).

Phase 2: Development of the Doctrine of Study Abroad

Up until 1946 cultural relations and educational exchange activities were primarily initiated, supported, and administered by private agencies (Bailen, 1980). Espinoza (as quoted in Bailen, 1980, p. 10) states that "the singular reason for the lack of U.S.

Government support for such activities was the traditional American's suspicion of governmental interference with freedom of thought and expression." This view, however, began to change with the end of World War II. The World Wars were seen as a result of "mis-education," "the failure of our Anglo-American institutions of liberal learning," that "liberal teaching, if we had it, would help us to use that victory (of World War II) in the service of human peace and freedom" (Meiklejohn, 1943, pp. 113-114).

The result of the World Wars on the educational system and political policy was a movement away from tradition toward a government more involved in the establishment of liberal policies and educational reform. The path that had been set by liberal educators in the "Experimental Phase" began to be trodden by politicians in an effort to bring about what Meiklejohn sought – to make citizens of the rising generation.

In 1942 the "formal legislative history of official cultural exchange programs of the U.S." began with an Executive Order from President Franklin D. Roosevelt (Bailen, 1980, p. 18). The order gave prescriptions on administering educational exchanges. The reason for such an order, and such a departure from tradition, was given by a government advisory committee on the foreign exchange of persons. The committee (United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, 1964) stated:

Tensions between nations are inevitable, and a lasting peace depends upon widely accepted arrangements for resolving those tensions in a just, orderly and nonviolent way. Such a state of affairs does not require that

nations love each other nor even that they trust each other completely, but it does require some base (however modest) of understanding and tolerance. Without that base, extremes of anger, hatred or fear will all too easily push conflict beyond the possibility of orderly resolution.

Exchange of persons is probably the most effective means that has even been found for creating such a base of understanding. ...It is not...just a means for providing Americans a personally enriching tour or period of residence abroad. It is a hardheaded investment in our future and the world's future. If the American people ever really come to understand that fact they will surely invest in these programs far more heavily than they do now (p. 1, emphasis added)

Study abroad by way of cultural exchange programs thereafter became a focus of U.S. domestic and foreign policy, it was deemed “the most effect means...for creating...a base of understanding” (United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, 1964, p. 1).

After the executive order, funds were sought to launch the new governmental policies into action. At the end of World War II several foreign countries bought U.S. surplus that was left in their territory after the war. In November 1945, U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas proposed a bill that would provide a way for those foreign countries to pay the U.S. back for the surplus purchased. He proposed that the money be used for “educational interchange” (Bailen, 1980). In August 1946 the Bill

became the Fulbright Amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944, and the Fulbright Program was created to facilitate and fund international educational exchanges. In 1947, looking to expand the nature and extent of U.S. study abroad even further, Congressman Mundt of South Dakota and Senator Smith of New Jersey introduced a bill on educational exchanges “to enable the Government of the U.S. to promote a better understanding of the U.S. in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the U.S. and the people of other countries” (Bailen, 1980, p. 19).

In 1948 the bill was signed into law as the Smith-Mundt Act. For the next several years the Smith-Mundt Act was a direct political tool, as demonstrated by the fact that “any educational exchanges that occurred were awarded specifically for their immediate political effect” (Bailen, 1980, p. 19). In the 1950s several more acts in regards to educational exchanges were created (e.g. Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956), however, these acts failed to constitute a coherent policy with respect to international educational exchanges, but were just a “patchwork of pieces” that, in essence, helped the study abroad agenda fly under the radar in this early stage until it was further enjoined through government sponsored research.

With the failure to incorporate a fluid body of legislation in regards to educational exchange programs, Senator Fulbright eventually moved to create an Act to fortify and encompass the “patchwork” of previous legislation. Senator Fulbright argued that exchanges were important for breaking down prejudices and encouraging diplomacy and peace, and that encompassing legislation must be passed to further extend the

influence of these programs (Bailen, 1980). As will be discussed in the next section, government-funded research legitimized the practice of cultural exchanges, giving the government enough clout to enact overarching policy in regards to this topic. In 1961 the Fulbright-Hays Act brought together all previous legislation concerning these programs into one Act. The Fulbright-Hays Act, officially known as the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, Public Law 87-256 Congress H.R. 8666, is described by Congress as (as quoted in Bailen, 1980):

An act to provide for the improvement and strengthening of the international relations of the United States by promoting better mutual understanding among the peoples of the world through educational and cultural exchanges

Sec 101. Statement of Purpose – The purpose of this Act is to enable the Government of the United States to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries by means of educational and cultural exchange; to strengthen the ties which unite us with other nations, and the contributions being made toward a peaceful and more fruitful life for people throughout the world; to promote international cooperation for educational and cultural advancement; and this to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic, and peaceful relations between the United States and the other countries of the world (p. 87).

Over the course of 23 years, in 6 Acts of legislation, the U.S. government created an official and overarching educational exchange program. Otto Klineberg (1965), an influential researcher on international exchanges for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), referenced the importance of the United States' involvement in this issue. Klineberg (1965, p. 127) said that, for the United States, study abroad was very important because it contributed to “the promotion of a sense of world community.” Thus U.S. policy promoted study abroad as a means to promote “mutual understanding” and “sympathetic” relations, the fundamental mechanism being an experience that relativized, or liberalized, the students' cultural attitudes.

By 1965 the government, by means of the Fulbright Program, had sent more than 13,000 students to study abroad in foreign countries (Johnson & Colligan, 1965). This period of time, from the Presidential Executive Order in 1942 to the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1961, marked the second phase of study abroad, and the eventual establishment of the DSA as liberal government policy implemented to liberalize citizens. What began as a government endeavor was subsequently expanded into the university education system by way of government funding, research and policy.

Phase 3: Establishment of the Doctrine of Study Abroad in Higher Education

During Phase 2, government-run study abroad programs were not the only form or way to study abroad. Universities were also sending students abroad. However, universities' study abroad program structure and morphology were eventually determined by the

policies of the government (Klineberg, 1965). In the beginning of the study abroad movement in the university system, the government was not *directly* involved, rather, these programs were developed under the auspices of obtaining a liberal education as discussed in the previous chapter.

The first well-thought-out and deliberate study abroad program within higher education was at the University of Delaware. In 1923 the university sent eight young men in their junior year to study abroad in France (UDEL, 2012). This marked the beginning of an eventually successful program called the junior-year-abroad. After the second year of the junior-year-abroad in France, “President William Neilson, of Smith College, wrote that they were paying Delaware ‘the compliment of imitation’ by sending thirty juniors to Paris in the fall for a program along the same lines as the Delaware plan” (UDEL, 2012, p. 1). In 1931, President Neilson’s justification for sending students abroad was his belief that “among modern advances in collegiate education there are few if any doing as much for the fitting of our students for the life of a citizen in the post-war world” (as quoted in Hoffa, 2007, p. 77). Several other universities that lacked a study abroad program started sending their students to the University of Delaware’s program to study. However, no real program existed other than Smith’s and Delaware’s, and even these programs remained small and were often times suspended for months, or even years, as the world’s political tensions ebbed and flowed. It was not until the post-war government policies and programs came into force that other universities began to develop formal study abroad programs. In the immediate post-war period, universities began to receive federal funds and “scientific encouragement” to

send students abroad. This “scientific encouragement” came by way of government-sponsored research.

“Scientific Encouragement”

From 1950 to 1970 it is estimated that almost 300 empirical studies were conducted on the effects of study abroad (Breitenbach, 1970). Of these studies (not including theses and dissertations), 95% were conducted by the U.S. government and official or semi-official bodies (e.g. IIE, NAFSA) (Breitenbach, 1970). It was at this time, and through the interpreted results of these studies, that study abroad was legitimized as a powerful tool to liberalize its participants, make the world more like “us,” and facilitate world peace.

These studies purported to show that study abroad would “almost automatically produce desirable results” (Klineberg, 1965, p. 98). The U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs released a report in 1963 that stated: “Testimony is overwhelming from all sources that the program as a whole is effective” (as quoted in Breitenbach, 1970, p. 87). Studies done without U.S. government funding were slightly less encouraging. In 1962 the *Journal of Social Issues* dedicated an entire issue to study abroad. In this issue Selltiz and Cook (1962) stated that previous findings on the effects of study abroad may have been an “oversimplification,” and results may not be as clear as government studies had found them to be. In the same issue, however, Coelho (1962, p. 58) states that “short-run” six week long programs can “produce a positive emotional *trauma* and immunize the student against easy infection of popular

stereotypes of the foreign person.” Despite the contradictory findings, and the cautions of some researchers, the conditions for an expansion of study abroad had been set by the overwhelming number of government studies and their positive findings. Because of increased government funding and encouraging scientific findings by government-sponsored studies, study abroad programs were established in universities across the country.

Expansion into the University

Records indicate that fewer than 2,000 undergraduate university students studied abroad between 1919 and 1955 (Abrams, 1960). In just seven years, between 1948 and 1955, the government-run Fulbright Program had sent nearly triple that number (5,598 students) abroad. With increasing incentives from government sources and the emphatic claim that “any international educational exchange would almost automatically produce desirable results” (Klineberg, 1965, p. 98), universities began to send more and more students abroad. By the school year 1956-57, more than 1,000 students were studying abroad (Abrams, 1960). By 1957, 365 institutions had policies in place to send students abroad. In 1958 the Institute of International Education (IIE) reported that a “substantial” number of colleges regarded study abroad as a valuable aspect of undergraduate education (Abrams, 1960). By 1964 universities were sending so many students abroad that it was necessary to establish new administrative positions to handle the new mass movement. These positions included Deans of International Programs and Directors of International Affairs. This growth was due, in part, to universities being

“regularly besieged by requests from government...to take on new responsibilities in international education” (Shank, 1964, p. 1). It was also due, in part, to a growing emphasis on liberal education. As reported by the IIE (Nason, 1964):

The essence of liberal learning is to enable man to see himself in perspective. It liberates him from the limitations and *accidents of his particular position*, from the *narrowness of custom and habit*, from preconception, from meanness of spirit and littleness of mind. It frees him to see himself in relation to other men in other times and circumstances, to *test his values* against those cherished by others, to *judge his conduct* by the attitude and behavior of a different culture. This can be achieved by seeing ourselves against the backdrop of our Western history – the traditional method of liberal education in this country. It can also be realized through insight into other cultures, and the modern world is providing a wealth of illuminating examples. In brief, the internal logic of liberal education and external demands of a world which is rapidly acquiring new dimensions require a major shift in focus of the standard curriculum of Western education. Education must be relevant to the conditions of its age, and the requirements of our age point directly to an understanding of interrelated cultures in a complex world community. This kind of international understanding is not the only requirement of the

college but it has become an increasingly important one (p. 5, emphasis added).

This is a particularly succinct statement of the central aim of a liberal education, and the report goes on to say that this liberal education requirement can be met by sending our students abroad.

A consequence of the rapid growth in study abroad programs was a lack of understanding about what constituted “best practice.” What did an effective study abroad program consist of? How was it most effectively administered? What experiences achieved what goals? These questions went unanswered because there was an optimistic assumption that any time spent abroad would be beneficial. Thus, no regard was given to what a “good” program would be (Cleveland et al., 1960). This sentiment was noted and questioned by Gardner in an article in 1952. Gardner (1952) wrote:

Government and private foundations have expressed their enthusiasm for international exchange of students by contributing substantial sums of money to carry it on. We are *entirely sure* that all concerned will benefit if foreign peoples get to know us. We have the *warmest faith* that, knowing us, they will like and respect us. We *believe* (without ever having examined the belief very critically) that, if people can be placed face-to-face, they will find a common human basis for understanding. It is

a Christian, humane belief and it does us credit. So great is our belief, however, that we have *tended to assume that the process will inevitably be successful*, no matter how haphazardly planned and carried out. This is almost certainly untrue. There are better and worse ways of doing it; and, as in all human endeavor, there are hazards inherent in the enterprise. It is perhaps characteristic of us as a nation that we have thrown ourselves wholeheartedly into such an enormous venture without ever having subjected it to critical scrutiny. There is no reason for assuming that student exchange is unworthy of the energies lavished upon it, but these are times which call for reexamination of all phases of our intercourse with other nations and peoples... The likelihood of success, however, will be considerably enhanced if we are aware not only of the possibilities of the program but of its limitations (pp. 637-638, 650, emphasis added).

By the early 1960s study abroad had evolved into two species, the serious cultural and lingual immersion programs that emulated the Junior-Year-Aboard (JYA), and what might be called student tourist programs based on optimistic assumptions and lacking rigorous program structure. This confusion about what constituted a legitimate study abroad program led to the 1960's research movement in higher education on study abroad.

In 1960 a conference of members of the Association of American Colleges was convened at Mount Holyoke College to discuss problems that had arisen in the mass

study abroad movement. The conference was very frank about the possible issues with study abroad. One participant identified four main problems with study abroad: (1) “Unless the program is genuinely educational it may be worse than no program at all”...; (2) “there is no such thing as exact measurement of the academic value of overseas study”...; (3) “Even well-selected students undergo a ‘sea change’ and may develop socially overseas in a most undesirable way, the result being bad for the student and for the name of American colleges”...; (4) “students returning from a junior year abroad are often so unable to readjust to U.S. college life that their final and supposedly most important college year is wasted” (IIE, 1960, pp. 9-10). This same speaker then concluded that these problems and others “could make the mushrooming foreign study program literally turn into an *educational scandal*” (IIE, 1960, p. 10, emphasis added).

To add to the “scandal,” a report conducted by UNESCO during this study abroad research movement, came to some alarming conclusions. The government research findings that had helped to establish the DSA in higher education came under fire. The UNESCO report said of the government-funded research that, “despite the extraordinary amount of money invested, the scientific value of the results achieved has been very low indeed” (Breitenbach, 1970, p. 84). The government-funded research was found to be superficial and of little value, so much so that it was thought to be harmful because it gave the illusion of findings based on empirical evidence (Breitenbach, 1970). The UNESCO report concluded by stating that, “we are therefore rather skeptical whether such investigations justify the U.S. Advisory Commission on International

Educational and Cultural Affairs' enthusiastic statement, 'Testimony is overwhelming from all sources that the program as a whole is effective'" (Breitenbach, 1970, p. 87).

The potential "educational scandal" was that liberalism, as propagated by the government and the clerisy, had taken hold in higher education without proper justification or legitimately proven results.

The overall findings from the collective reports that came out in the 1960s were that study abroad was unproven, was uncontrolled, and had no set goals, but that it nevertheless had limitless potential to be something very influential, indeed to be "*one of the most significant factors in the future development of mankind*" (Breitenbach, 1970, p. 71, emphasis added). Another contributor to a large conference report on study abroad said:

the game is worth not just the candle; it is worth a whole power plant of life-giving energy. Those of you who have seen what can happen even with the limited resources already put to use understand this well. You know what can happen in the lives of young men and women and thus in the life of the world when we make possible for them this new highway toward cultural and humane enlightenment (IIE, 1961, pp. 4-5)

So, despite their skeptical comments, the reports issued in the 1960s remained optimistic, and they mirrored the previous decade's research in their failure to define what "very influential," or "significant factors," or "highway toward cultural and

humane enlightenment” meant, and in their failure to propose a real plan to achieve these goals. The reports, in other words, reflected the liberal *prejudice* that study abroad, despite having no scientific justification, was *obviously* good and should continue.

One apparently positive thing that came from these conferences and reports was the reestablishment and reinforcement of what was deemed as “traditional” study abroad. By traditional study abroad I mean the more rigorous programs that evolved from the JYA programs. Traditional study abroad had been lost in the boom of study abroad during the 1960s. These conferences stressed the importance of returning to traditional study abroad by encouraging universities to follow these steps:

- (1) Students must be carefully selected and prepared.
- (2) Part of the preparation must be the acquisition of an adequate knowledge of the language.
- (3) Immersion in the culture of the host country to the extent possible is an essential part of any program.
- (4) The experience is more valuable if postponed toward the junior year.
- (5) The results of the program on the student, the institution and the nation must be evaluated (Hoffa, 2007, pp. 254-255).

The reports and conferences sponsored by the IIE and the Association of American Colleges sought to establish an overall governing body for study abroad. The proposal was put forward through the IIE, and a three year grant was given to fund the

effort, but the governing body never gained legitimacy; universities wanted autonomy in deciding how to conduct their own study abroad programs (Hoffa, 2007). It was at this juncture in time that study abroad saw a large, uncontrolled increase in student participation throughout higher education in U.S. universities.

Phase 4: Evolution of Study Abroad within Higher Education

During the 1970s and 1980s participation in study abroad grew by hundreds, and sometimes thousands, every year. The 1990s saw a huge increase in study abroad participation, as seen in Table 5 (Open Doors, 2001), when it grew on average by more than 5,000 students a year. By the year 2000, 65% of universities had study abroad programs, and by 2006, 91% had study abroad programs (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010). What changes, ideological, geo-political, technological, or economic, accompanied and/or facilitated this growth over the last few decades? I have argued that study abroad has its roots within the ideology of liberalism, but how has this changed over time?

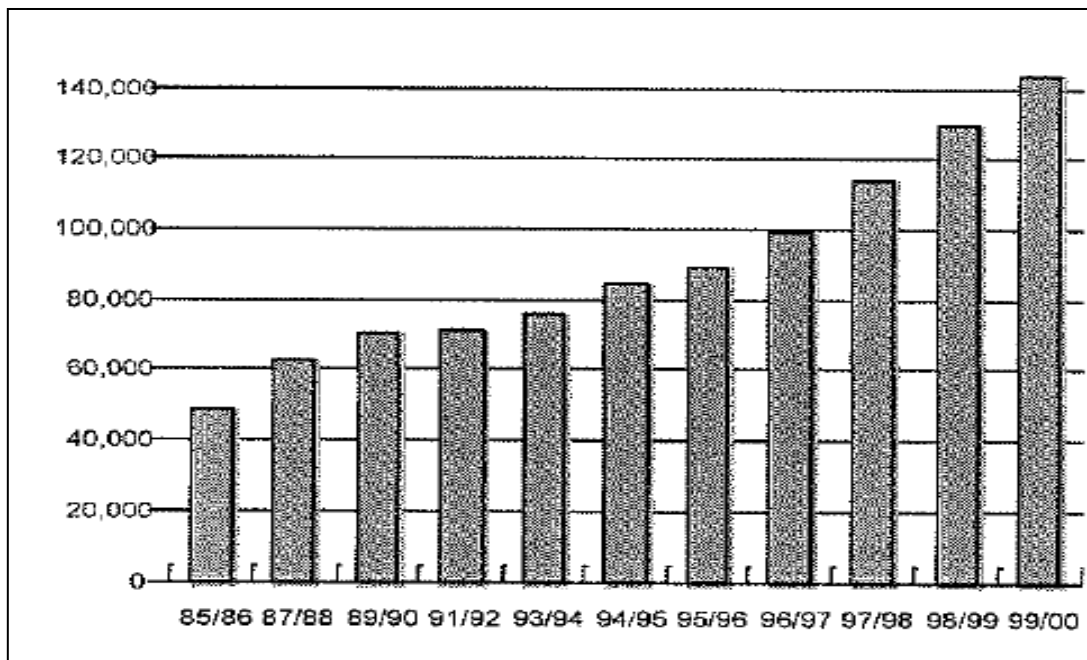


Table 5 Study abroad participation 1985 to 2000 (Open Doors, 2001)

With the end of the Cold War in 1989, geo-politics changed dramatically and the United States was criticized for being ill-prepared to deal with the issues of the “new global era” (Keller & Frain, 2010). To deal with this task NAFSA, together with IIE and CIEE issued a report entitled *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task*, that institutes of higher education “incorporate international content into curricula” (Keller & Frain, 2010). Much like the post- World War II era, study abroad was promoted as a diplomatic tool, to bridge the gap between the East and West (Keller & Frain, 2010).

Shortly after the immediate post-Cold War focus on the use of study abroad to further U.S. diplomatic needs, study abroad began to make a major transition into what

Keller and Frain (2010) refer to as “transnational issues.” By this they meant issues that weren’t focused on diplomacy alone, but also on economic competitiveness, environment, sustainability, and health. During this period, study abroad began to encourage non-traditional disciplines (STEM disciplines) to incorporate study abroad into their curricula. During this period study abroad was also seen by the government as a key to national security, with the government issuing grants and scholarships for students to study in the middle-east and other “volatile” areas, in an effort to increase cultural knowledge and language competency (Keller & Frain, 2010).

From 2001 to present, study abroad has seen its “most profound... transition since the beginning of the Cold War,” the transition to globalization (Keller & Frain, 2010, p. 41). Although there was some focus on transnational issues in the 1990s, with the convergence of world nations through globalization, transnational issues really came to the forefront as a primary focus of study abroad. With increased competition in the globalizing economy, universities and professions began to realize that students needed to be prepared to navigate a “flat world.” Thus, international perspectives became important for all disciplines, with study abroad seen as the facilitator.

To encourage this global perspective within universities, the American Council on Education (ACE), funded by governmental and private sources, mandated that universities make “comprehensive internationalization” a priority (Keller & Frain, 2010). This was seen as a significant step since the ACE is considered to be the unifying voice within higher education. Comprehensive internationalization was defined as “the process of infusing an international or intercultural dimension into the teaching, learning,

research, and service functions of higher education” (as quoted in Keller & Frain, 2010, p. 42). Thus, study abroad was used as the predominant method to accomplish comprehensive internationalization within the universities, with its focus remaining that of *“infusing an international or intercultural dimension.”*

Traditional Learning Paradigm

Despite, or perhaps due, to the large growth, the divide between “traditional” study abroad and “contemporary” study abroad (i.e. student tourism and the traditional learning paradigm) grew. One of the more prominent scholars in study abroad research, William Hoffa (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010), labeled this divide as “democratizing study abroad vs. legitimizing study abroad.” The traditionalists of study abroad were concerned, as they were in the 1960s, with the legitimacy of study abroad as a rigorous academic and liberalizing tool. Democratization of study abroad was the haphazard growth of study abroad under the auspice of liberal education, having no real direction or rigorous structure. The haphazard “contemporary” programs had become predominant within universities because the DSA had become established dogma in universities. Meanwhile “traditional” study abroad programs had become the exception.

“Contemporary” study abroad programs were concerned with getting as many students (and a more diverse population of students) abroad as possible, which eventually led to the popularity of short-term study abroad programs from the 1990s to present. This “contemporary” movement in study abroad, as it was influenced by the DSA, has been deemed by some scholars as the “traditional learning paradigm” of study

abroad (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009, p. 421). The traditional learning paradigm, not to be confused with the traditionalists of the 1960s, ran under the assumption that “students learn effectively when left to their own devices” (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009, p. 423). The definition of this paradigm is of course in direct correlation with the DSA, for, if any time spent abroad is beneficial, then why regulate or intervene with the student’s experiences. For decades the democratization of study abroad and the traditional learning paradigm reigned supreme under the influence of the DSA. In 2003 NAFSA (p. 7) released a report stating the following, “Higher education will never be truly democratized until all students can access the opportunity to build necessary skills through study abroad.” However, the “traditional learning paradigm,” although still the predominant form of study abroad, is said to be waning (Vande Berge & Paige, 2009), and another paradigm gaining momentum and credibility – the learning centered study abroad/intercultural competence movement.

Eventually, by the 1990s, “practitioners finally began to notice that students’ desires for studying abroad – to learn the culture and to learn the language – were not coming to fruition” (Vande Berge & Paige, 2009, p. 425). By 2005 “research was confirming that many if not most U.S. students were not in fact learning effectively abroad when left to their own devices” (Vande Berge & Paige, 2009, p. 432). Programs concerned with this lack of learning began to implement and experiment with experiential learning techniques and to conduct post-assessments to measure the effectiveness of their programs. The experiential learning techniques encouraged reflection of personal experience with the cultural other through personal journals and

focus group discussions. These techniques were called interventions in learning (Vande Berge & Paige, 2009). This rising movement is attempting to once again establish rigorous teaching and learning methods, as the “traditionalists” did in the 1960s, to make study abroad more than a mere exercise in relativism. This learning centered and intercultural competence movement has been spearheaded by prolific researchers in the field of study abroad: Deardorff (2009), Bennett (1993), Paige et al. (2003), Vande Berge et al. (2009), and Hammer (2008). The Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) has identified intercultural competence as one of the “essential learning outcomes for all fields of concentration and for all majors” (as quoted in Bennett, 2009, p. 123).

This movement is not in opposition to the philosophical liberal underpinnings of the DSA, it is itself an object of the DSA. However, it seeks to build upon the DSA’s assumption of contact with an alien culture by establishing a holistic approach to alien culture contact through “intercultural competence’s behavioral, affective, cognitive, and developmental dimensions” (Vande Berge & Paige, 2009, p. 430). This holistic approach has led to the establishment of the first theory driven and empirically tested programs in the U.S. (Vande Berge & Paige, 2009).

Learning centered programs have been continually refining themselves through assessment and experimentation. Now programs are not only incorporating experiential learning techniques, but also pre-trip preparation, post-trip debriefings, and cultural mentoring in-country. Learning centered study abroad programs are being defined as interventionist programs that focus on experiential learning, and pre- and post-trip

preparation and debriefing, and cultural mentoring, all for advancement in student learning while abroad.

DSA Conclusion

It is obvious that government policies, funding and research helped establish study abroad as a liberal tool in universities across the U.S. Traditional study abroad programs that existed before the government push became overwhelmed with the number of non-traditional study abroad programs that were run under the assumption that any foreign travel would render positive results. This traditional learning paradigm continues to be the predominant form of study abroad within higher education; however, researchers argue that this paradigm is waning and that a more learning centered paradigm is evolving to take its place.

It is within understanding of the philosophy of liberalism, liberal education, and the DSA that three study abroad programs were evaluated.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS: ACQUISITION OF INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE ON THREE SHORT-TERM STUDY ABROAD COURSES

This chapter presents the data and results gained from the described research methods in the Methods Chapter. The chapter is divided into three main sections: (1) Quantitative Results; (2) Qualitative Results; and (3) Mixed Method Results. First I show that no statistical significance exists in the pre- to post- trip IDI test results either among the groups or in the aggregate. Second, I summarize the qualitative data analysis to provide insights into the short-term study abroad experience and process. Third, I compare the IDI pre- to post- test change analysis to the findings of the qualitative data. No statistical significance is found in the several comparisons made between the qualitative and quantitative data, except for one – motivation. Duration, as it is measured in this study, has no affect on student’s intercultural competency and sensitivity. Immersion, as measured in this study, also has no affect on student’s intercultural competency and sensitivity. Students’ primary motivation to study abroad has a statistically significant impact on a student’s change in intercultural competency and sensitivity. Students’ comprehension of cultural experience has no significant impact on the IDI score pre- to post-.

Two types of study abroad programs were studied: a traditional short-term program (Brazil and Costa Rica) and a research focused program (REU Costa Rica). The Brazil and Costa Rica 1 groups represent traditional short-term study abroad

programs because they were the type of study abroad program in which an undergraduate student would typically participate. The REU group was a research focused program funded through the National Science Foundation as a way to provide undergraduate students with research experience. These two types of study abroad programs are analyzed differently in this research because the students who participated in the REU program were not participating for the same reasons as the traditional study abroad participants. For example, they were not going for college credit, or to see the world; rather, they were going primarily for research experience.

Quantitative Data Results

IDI Results

The IDI was used as an instrument to measure whether or not students returned from their trip more “relativised,” as stated in the DSA. The IDI was developed as a tool to evaluate individual and group intercultural competence and sensitivity on a scale ranging from ethnocentrism (55) to ethnorelativism (145). A score of 55 represents the lowest most ethnocentric orientation and 145 represents the highest most ethnorelative orientation. The purported goal/use of the IDI is to “increase” intercultural competence. This goal is achieved by first evaluating participants and quantifying their intercultural competence along the IDI continuum (55 – 145). Once quantified, participants may then be coached to further develop their competence toward the end goal of ethnorelativity. In theory, ethnorelativity is the ideal orientation, which, if obtained, conflict is

eliminated and understanding is reached, as opposed to ethnocentrism where differences are typically ignored and conflict abounds in intercultural environments.

Participants are given two test scores, their Perceived Score (PS) and their Development Score (DS). Perceived score is the perceived orientation of the participant, what they “think” they are in terms of intercultural competency. DS is their actual score in terms of intercultural competency. The difference between these two scores is known as a development gap. For the purpose of coaching, the PS score and the development gap are very useful; for the purpose of pre- and post- evaluation, the DS is the most accurate number and most commonly used in research that incorporates pre- and post- testing using the IDI (Jackson, 2008; Medina-Lopez-Portillo, 2004; Ah Nam, 2011).

The DS score is represented as a standardized (z-score) score where a score of “100” is representative of the 50th percentile with a standard deviation of 15. Thus, an IDI score is in the same format as an IQ score where a score of “100” represents the average IQ of individuals.

The orientation of minimization is the central/average score for the IDI. Minimization comprises one standard deviation above average (score of 100 – 115) and one standard deviation below average (score of 85 – 100). Two standard deviations below average places an individual in the category of polarization (70 – 85). Three standard deviations below average is the category of denial (55 – 70). The second standard deviation above average is acceptance (115 – 130), and the third standard deviation above average is adaptation (130 – 145). Continuing the comparison with an

IQ test, a score between 55 and 70 on the IDI would be intercultural incompetency, and a score between 130 and 145 would be interculturally gifted/genius. One's IDI score may go up "as one's experience of cultural difference becomes more complex and sophisticated" (Jackson, 2008, p.356). In other words, the more meaningful intercultural interaction a participant has, over time, presumably the higher the IDI score.

Standard Error and Confidence Interval

The standard error of measurement for the IDI is +/- 6.84 with a confidence interval of 95%. For example, if a participant scores 93 on the IDI, we are 95% confident that their score is 93 +/- 6.84, or between 86.16 and 99.84. This standard error also interjects an error in pre- to post- measurement, where a student may score 6 points higher on their IDI post- test but this score is still within the range of error and therefore is looked at as not being significantly different.

Entire Group Results

Forty one students participated in this study, 41 of 41 took the pre-trip IDI and 39 of 41 took the post-trip IDI (12 participants in the Brazil group, 18 participants in the Costa Rica 1 group, and 9 participants in the REU group). Of the 39 participants that took both pre- and post-, 62% had not previously spent any extended period of time outside of their home country. Of the 39 participants, only 17% had lived outside of their home country for more than three months. This lack of international experience was reflected in their IDI scores. The average pre-trip IDI score for all 39 participants was 85.94,

putting the group, as a whole, on the cusp between polarization and minimization. The post-trip IDI score for all 39 participants was 87.86, showing the group moved along the continuum, but still slightly on the cusp of polarization and minimization.

Brazil Summer 2010

Twelve of 12 in the Brazil group took the pre- and post-trip IDI. The group pre-trip score was 83.82 (see Figure 3), within the polarization orientation but on the cusp of minimization. The post-trip group score was 88.35 (see Figure 4), a difference of 4.53 from pre- to post-, showing the group moving into minimization but still on the cusp of polarization. Statistically evaluating each participant’s pre-trip to post-trip IDI score within the group with the Wilcoxon Signed Ranked test, the alpha (α) was 0.239, being greater than .05 meaning that there was no significant difference between pre- and post-trip test scores.

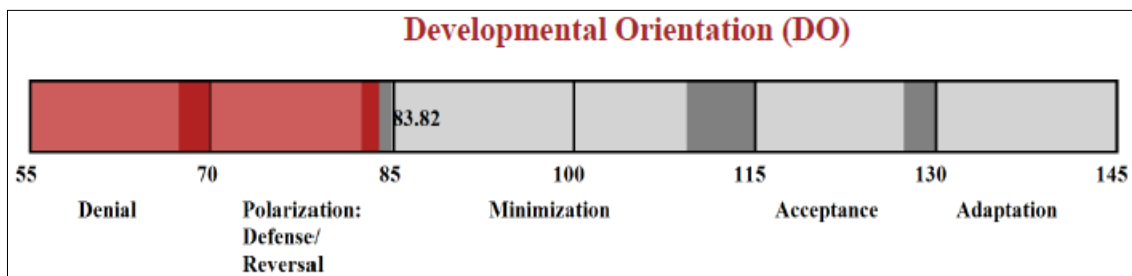


Figure 3 Brazil pre-trip IDI score

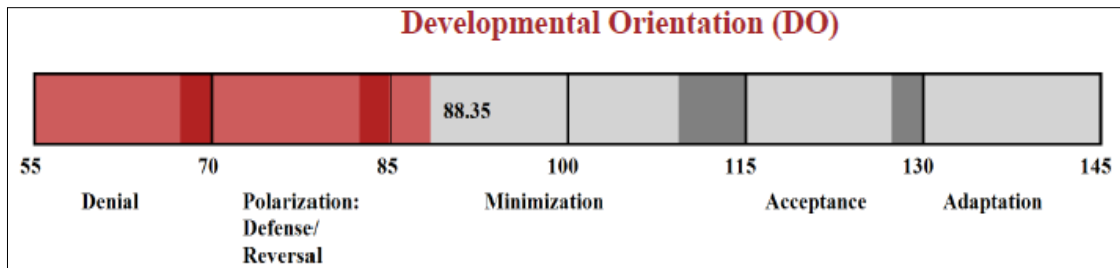


Figure 4 Brazil post-trip IDI score

Costa Rica Group 1 Summer 2011

There were 18 participants in Costa Rica group 1, 18 of 18 took the pre- and post-trip IDI. The group pre-trip score was 85.62 (see Figure 5), on the cusp of minimization and polarization. The post-trip group score was 84.75 (see Figure 6), with a difference of -0.87 from pre- to post-, putting the group in polarization but on the cusp of minimization. The α for Costa Rica 1 was 0.647, also meaning no statistical significance.

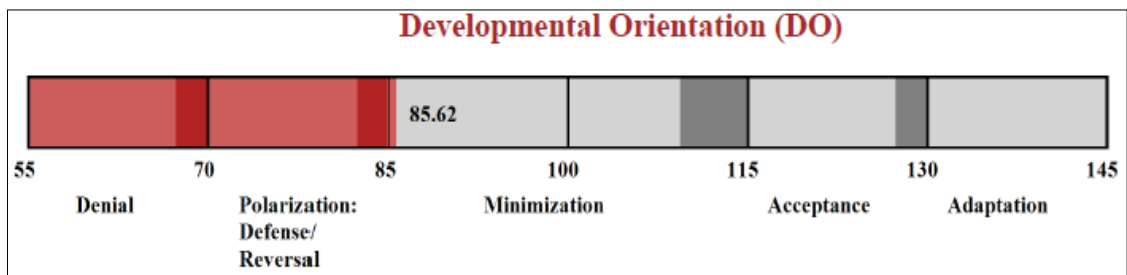


Figure 5 Costa Rica 1 pre-trip IDI score

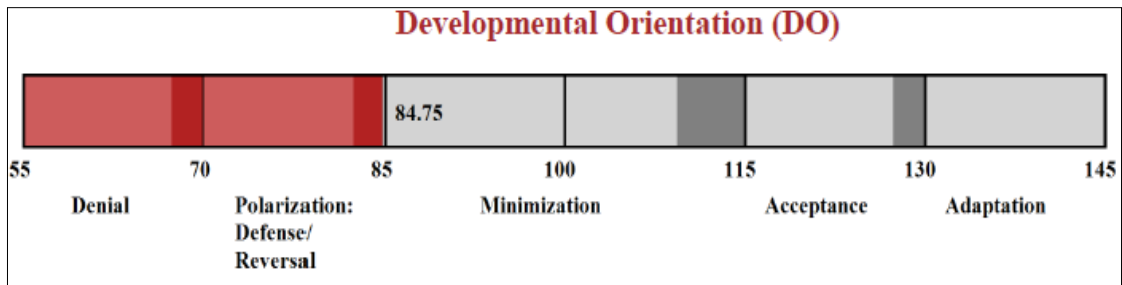


Figure 6 Costa Rica 1 post-trip IDI score

Costa Rica REU Summer 2011

There were 11 participants on the Costa Rica REU Summer 2011 trip. Of the 11, 11 took the pre-trip IDI and 9 took the post-trip IDI. The two who did not take the post-trip IDI were excluded from the results section since no post- data is available for them. The pre-trip IDI score for the 9 respondents was 89.43 (see Figure 7), within the orientation of minimization. The post-trip IDI score for the 9 respondents was 93.42 (see Figure 8), with a difference of 3.99 pre- to post-, putting the group further from polarization into minimization. The α for REU was 0.139, again, meaning no statistical significance in change.

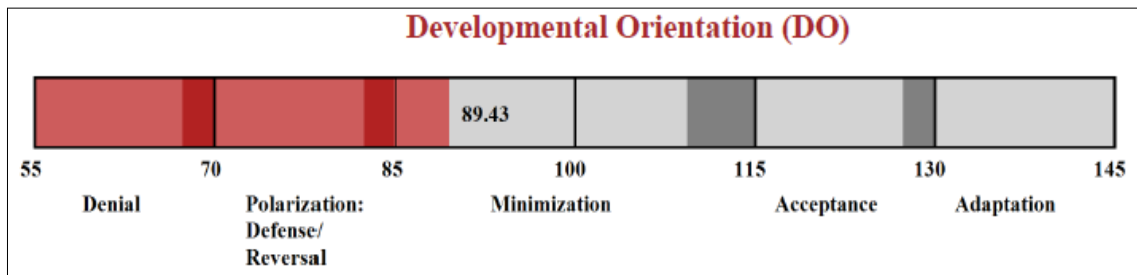


Figure 7 REU pre-trip IDI score

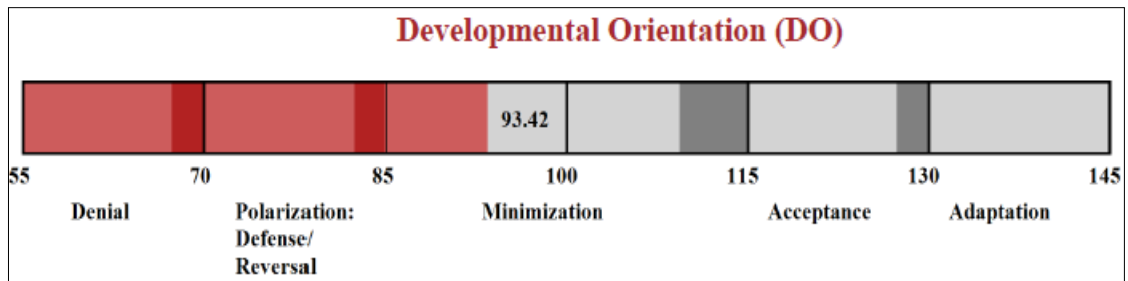


Figure 8 REU post-trip IDI score

Group pre- and post- IDI scores are shown in Table 6. Individual pre- and post- IDI scores are shown in Tables 7, 8 and 9. These scores were analyzed using the Standard Package for the Statistical Sciences (SPSS) (Version 18.0).

Program	Pre-trip IDI Score	Post-trip IDI Score	Alpha	Significance
Brazil (n12)	83.82	88.35	.239	NS
Costa Rica 1 (n18)	85.62	84.75	.647	NS
REU (n9)	89.43	93.42	.139	NS

Table 6 Group pre- and post- group IDI scores. Note: NS = Not significant (alpha < .05)

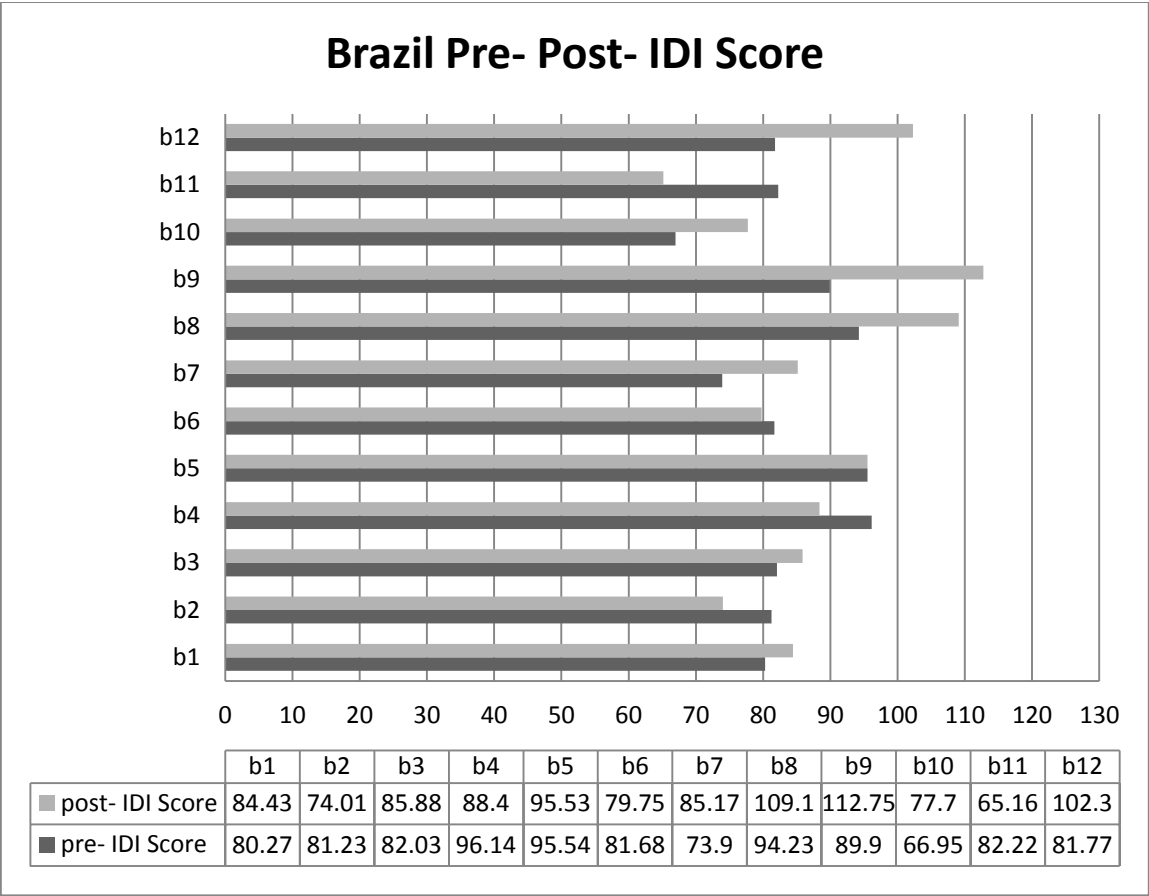
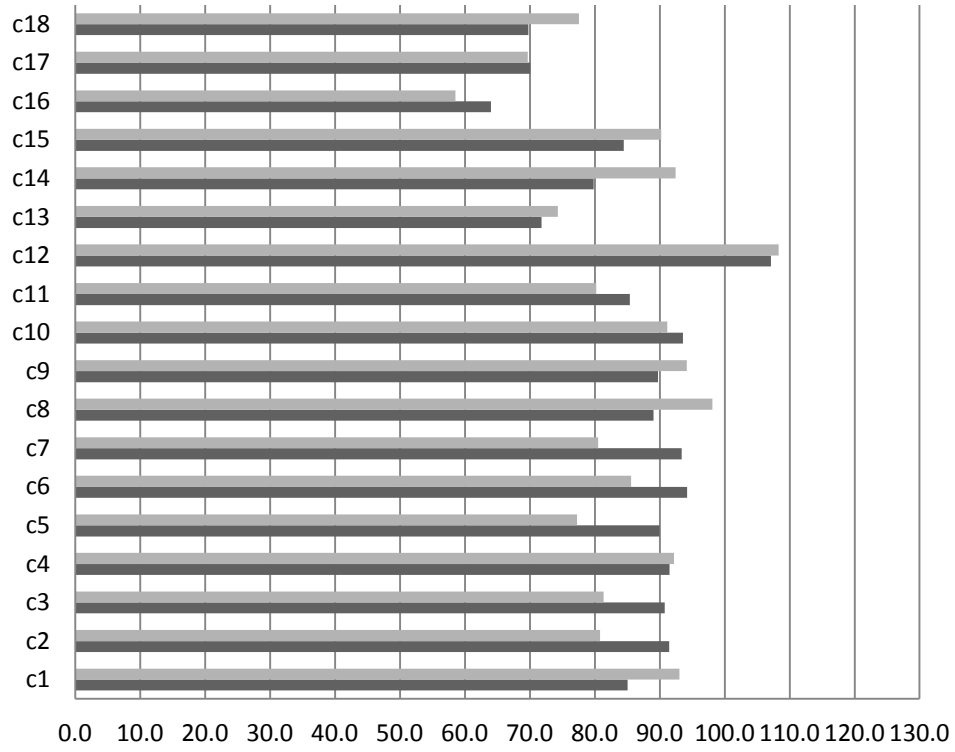


Table 7 Brazil pre- to post- individual IDI score

Costa Rica 1 Pre- Post- IDI Score



	c1	c2	c3	c4	c5	c6	c7	c8	c9	c10	c11	c12	c13	c14	c15	c16	c17	c18
post- IDI Score	93.0	80.8	81.4	92.2	77.3	85.6	80.5	98.1	94.2	91.2	80.2	108.7	74.3	92.4	90.2	58.6	69.7	77.5
pre- IDI Score	85.1	91.4	90.8	91.5	90.0	94.2	89.1	89.1	89.7	79.3	85.4	107.7	71.8	79.8	84.4	64.0	70.1	69.8

Table 8 Costa Rica 1 pre- to post- individual IDI score

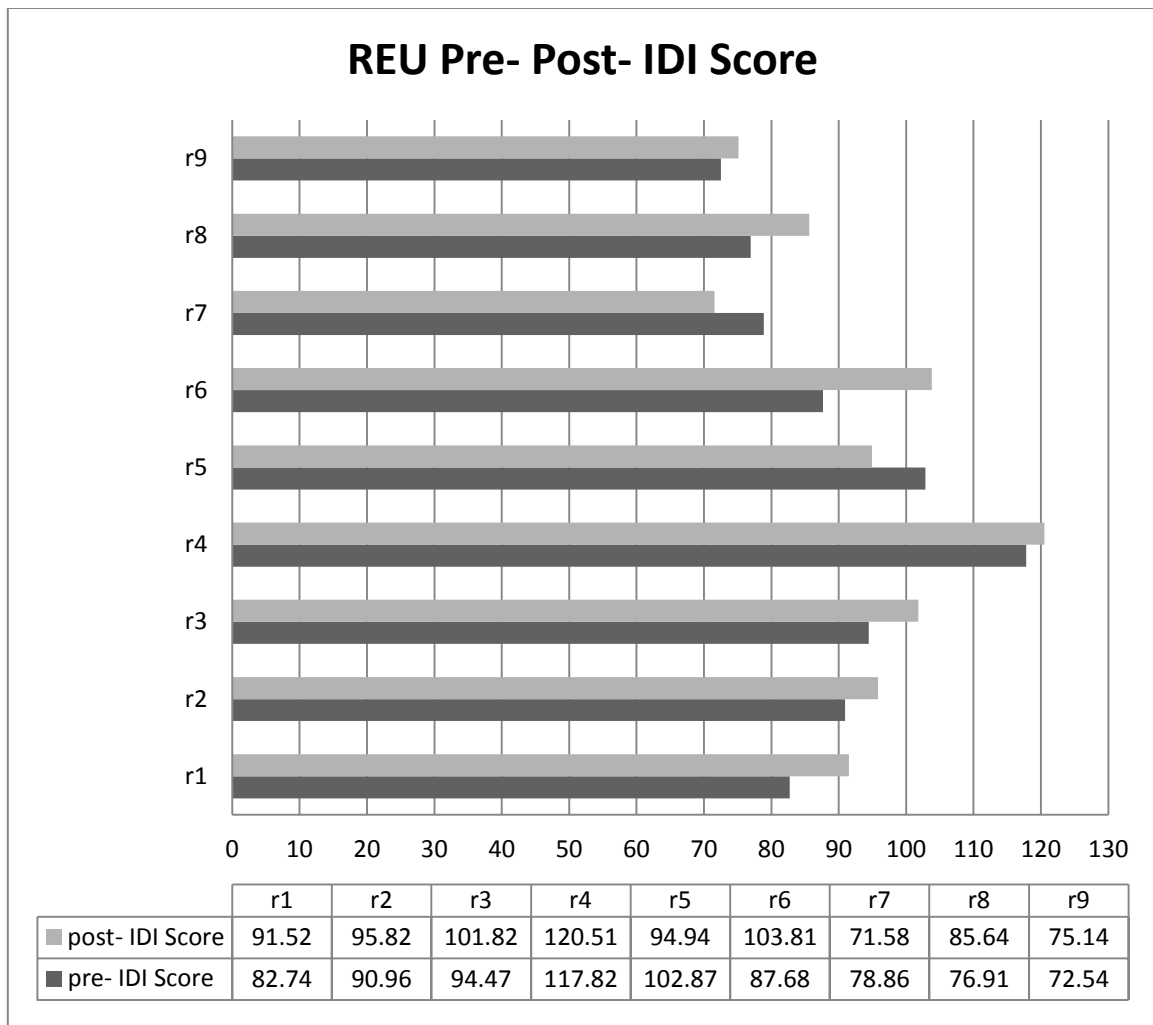


Table 9 REU pre- to post- individual IDI score

Quantitative Data Conclusion

To answer research question four, no statistical significance was found between the pre-trip IDI score and the post-trip IDI score for any group, that is to say, students were not further “relativised” by their experience.

The IDI scores are used in the last section of this chapter, together with qualitative data, to determine significance between certain behavioral traits and motivations demonstrated by the students while studying abroad.

Qualitative Data Results

This section is divided into four sections organized around the method used to gather the data: pre-trip focus groups; post-trip focus groups; post-trip interviews; and participant observation.

Pre-Trip Focus Group Data

Pre-trip focus groups were held to gain a better understanding of individual student's motivation for studying abroad. Three questions were asked to draw out themes of motivation: (1) why study abroad; (2) why did you choose to study abroad in _____ (Brazil, Costa Rica); and (3) what are your expected outcomes from this experience? Six of the twelve Brazil group participants participated in the pre-trip focus group, and eighteen of eighteen Costa Rica 1 group participants participated (n 24). The main themes were established based on the frequency of answers as shown in Table 10. The students were not held to one answer and could share a number of motives and expected outcomes. Themes 1,2, 6 and 7 will be examined and discussed individually here. Themes 3, 4 and 5 will be examined in the following section within the scope of liberalism, as they are themes that reflect the influence of liberalism.

Brazil and Costa Rica 1 (n 24)	Theme/motivation
17 of 24	1. Studying abroad for credit
12 of 24	2. To make friends
12 of 24	3. To experience the culture
11 of 24	4. Just to get out of the country
10 of 24	5. Always wanted to study abroad
9 of 24	6. Faculty
9 of 24	7. For fun

Table 10 Pre-trip themes

Theme 1: Vacation Credit. Studying abroad for credit was the predominant theme, 17 of 24 students saying that credit was one of the main reasons that they chose to study abroad. One student said that “the amount of credits in the amount of time is really good...because it’s six credits in like a month” (CR6). Another student said that “these classes count as core credit, so I got to knock some classes out and I got to take those classes in Costa Rica” (CR10). Echoing that statement, one student said, “I’d rather take credits in Brazil than in a classroom” (BR3). And one student said that, “I was thinking of it as a vacation with credit” (CR2). These sentiments were shared by most. Study abroad was seen as: (a) a fast way to earn a lot of needed credits; and (b) if I have to take these classes I may as well do it while having and being somewhere fun - “vacation credit.”

Theme 2: Make Friends. Tied for the second most common theme was that of making friends. One student said, “you get to know people really well when you are living with them 24/7, facing fears together, bonding” (CR2). In the same focus group, in reaction

to the above quote, one student said, in reference to making friends, “especially for me, I live in the country (out away from the city), and I’m on campus and I go home, I don’t do any activities on campus or anything, I don’t really like, you know, have a lot of social life around A&M or anything” (CR6). This implies that study abroad is a way for him/her to overcome this barrier and make friends. Another student said “I don’t have a lot of friends in my major, and it is kind of nice to be able to be around people who have the same interests that I have, and the same goals for their life, in a way, I guess, and to be able to talk to them about my classes, and where I plan to go, and my major and my degree” (CR9).

Theme 6: Faculty. Interestingly, 9 of the 24 students said that one of their motivations for going was the faculty member leading the trip. The fact that they had taken a course from this faculty member and were familiar with that faculty member helped the student in their decision to study abroad. One student said that a huge contributing factor in deciding to study abroad in Costa Rica was the fact that the “professor...and other professors kept bringing it up in class” (CR17).

Theme 7: For fun. Tied for sixth was the motive of just doing a study abroad for fun. Most of these responses were intertwined with other responses, which didn’t allow for any good direct quotes to help illustrate the point, for example, borrowing from a quote in the culture section, “I’m just going in to have a great time and study and I know...”

(BR2). Most of the time a student would mention that their main reason for doing a study abroad was just for fun and the students that agreed would simply say, “me too.”

Reflection of Liberalism

These themes are drawn out here in this section because they are a direct reflection of the overall premise of the dissertation and its focus on liberalism. Liberalism will not be discussed in the results chapter but it is important to put these liberal themes into their own section so that they can be directly referred to in the concluding chapter.

Theme 3: To Experience Culture. Also tied for second was the idea of experiencing a new culture, or one foreign to the students’ own culture. Participant CR7 said that “I’m interested to learn about the culture and about Costa Rica in general. I’m interested to see what I can spot as differences and similarities, and then see how that can apply throughout the world, because there is at least some similarities between all cultures.”

More quotes related to this theme are in Table 11.

“I can see myself coming away with a greater appreciation...a greater understanding” (CR10)
“good idea to put yourself in these situations, I think” (CR13)
“I’m already an open minded person as it is, but [this experience] will add so much more to it” (BR9)
“The cultural side. You wanna learn what else is out there, learn how people function... The more you know the less you know, coming over here [to Costa Rica] I had no idea it was like this” (CR16)
Want to experience new cultures, new ideas, new ways of life. I think it’s really interesting how different people live in different places (CR9)
“I would like to get a bigger perspective...it is so strange and interesting that different cultures can have a completely different view of the same thing. So I think its very valuable to see other perspectives” (CR13). Responding to what CR13 said, CR2 added, “not just to see [culture], I think we’ll go back being a little bit different, even if it’s in the slightest way – pick up a greater appreciation. I think I’ll be different.”
“Trying new food in a different culture. I was really excited to try something new, I guess you can tell their culture by their food and how important things are” (CR18)
“To be immersed in their culture...to make me so much more open minded and aware of the world around me – different places out there and stuff like that. Just gaining overall sense of the world I guess” (CR9)
“To experience new culture” (BR9)

Table 11 To experience culture examples

In contrast, while discussing these themes in the focus group, several students mildly ridiculed the idea that others were going to learn about culture. In the Brazil dialogue, this conversation followed a discussion of culture being a motivating factor/expected outcome:

I’m not going with the idea to become more cultured and trying to be a more mindful person of other cultures. I’m just going in to have a great time, and study and I know...I’m sure the other things will take care of themselves. I’m not even going to focus on that. It’s just I’m living there

for a month. I'm sure I'll pick up everything that I want to there, becoming more cultured, and so I'm not even going to think about that (BR2).

To which a student responded, "yeah, that probably wouldn't be so much fun the whole time, to be like, 'I need to find culture'" (BR1). BR9 then responded in a sarcastic tone saying, "yeah, like, 'I wanna find culture.'" Then BR10 chimed in, with the laughter of the other students, sarcastically saying, "yeah, like, 'I need to be cultured in two days.'" In response to the Costa Rican group discussion on culture one student responded, "[my] (expected outcome of study abroad) is definitely less than cultural, to me that's not really a factor at all" (CR17).

Theme 4: Get Out of the Country. During the pre-trip focus groups, 11 of the 24 students mentioned ambiguously that they just wanted to get out of the country, to travel. To illustrate this point and to give some examples of the ambiguous responses, one student said, "I just wanted to go out of the country and experience new things...I've never been out the country before so I thought it was a good opportunity" (CR6). Along these same lines, another student said, "I just love to travel and explore new things. Almost, but not to say, vacation, because we do it for school; but just to get out of the country and experience something new" (CR3). Echoing those same sentiments CR5 said "to get the experience of being somewhere besides America, I don't know, to see how different it was." Lastly, one student said "**I'm really excited to try something**

new” (CR18). Students did not elaborate in their responses as to why they wanted to “get out of the country” other than saying that they just wanted to experience something new. None of the students gave an example of something “new” while stating their “get out of the country” response.

Theme 5: Always Wanted to Study Abroad. 10 of 24 students said that they always wanted to study abroad. CR1 said, “Mainly, my reason was, I just wanted to study abroad.” Two students specifically said they wanted to study abroad so that they wouldn’t regret it later, “I had multiple friends who finished their college time and said that the biggest regret was not studying abroad. So I learned from their mistakes...so I decided to [study abroad]” (CR13). CR18 agreed saying, “a lot of people regretted not studying abroad, so I thought I’d take a chance and do it.” Other examples of theme 5 are below in Table 12.

“I always knew I wanted to study abroad” (CR9)
“I just wanted to go somewhere and study abroad; it didn’t matter where” (CR6)
“Pretty much just to study abroad” (CR1).
“I did things backwards. I made up my mind that I was going to study abroad – like I wasn’t necessarily set on the specific place, I was just, like, ‘I wanna study abroad’” “Making memories and life experiences, like, I knew that I would never get a chance to do this again – without my family, just to be on my own. I never would have been able to do this, or will never be able to do this again, by the time I get a job and things like that.” (CR3)
“Coming into college I had always known that I wanted – like I never wanted to graduate without going on a study abroad – and this was the last opportunity, the very, like, last opportunity for me, so I couldn’t not go.” (CR15)
“I always knew I wanted to study abroad” (BR1).
“I always wanted to study abroad” (BR9).
“Study abroad seems like the natural course for me to do in college” (BR2).

Table 12 Examples of theme 5

REU Pre-trip Focus Group

Pre-trip focus groups were held with the REU group as well, using the same set of questions. 11 of the 11 participants participated. See Table 13.

REU (n 11)	Theme/motivation
11 of 11	1. Research experience
4 of 11	2. Learn the language
4 of 11	3. Just to get out of the country
3 of 11	4. For fun
2 of 11	5. To experience the culture

Table 13 REU pre-trip themes

As expected, 11 of 11 said that gaining research experience was one of their main motivations and expected outcomes. Four of 11 said that they were also doing it to get out of the country; three of the 11 said that they were doing it for fun; and two of 11 said that they were also doing it to experience the culture.

Pre-Trip Focus Group Conclusion

In the analysis of this section, three overarching themes appear. First, study abroad is perceived as fun and easy. Students see it as an opportunity for “vacation credit.” Second, students know they are supposed to experience “culture.” Third, although students express the desire to experience culture, they have little understanding of what this means or how to do it.

Post-trip Focus Group

Student Responses

Post-trip focus groups were held to gain a greater understanding of how the students saw their own interaction by way of the fieldwork activities. In the Brazil group, 11 of 12 participated in the focus groups, and 18 of 18 of the Costa Rica 1 participants participated in the focus groups (n 29). The mediator of the focus groups purposefully asked one ambiguous question to draw out themes and to start discussion: (1) Do you feel that the fieldwork helped you understand the host culture? How? Why? The main themes were established based on the frequency of answers as shown in Table 14. The

students were not held to just one answer and could share a number of their personal opinions in respect to the question.

Brazil and Costa Rica 1 (n 29)	Themes
26 of 29	1. Yes, activities helped in understanding the host culture
17 of 29	2. Activities forced observation and interaction
14 of 29	3. Didn't know how to understand observations
3 of 29	4. Culture not the purpose of activities or the study abroad

Table 14 Post-trip themes

Yes, activities helped. Of the Brazil and Costa Rica 1 groups, 26 of 29 participants said that the field activities helped them understand the host culture. However, the ambiguous statement of “understanding the host culture” can be interpreted many ways. This question was left ambiguous to help draw out themes from the students’ responses. Table 15 shows examples of affirmative student responses. It was the elaboration to this ambiguous question that allowed for the formation of the other three themes to be discussed below.

“Yes, I interacted with a lady while doing the activity” (BR8)
“Definitely. If we didn’t have something to do they (the other participants) would have stayed in the hotel the whole time, or drank. Kept students from worrying because it gave them something else to focus on, not so worried about what’s going on around them.” (BR4)
“Yes, self guided educational experience.” (CR4)
“Otherwise wouldn’t have walked around the city, wouldn’t have figured out what is where, who is where, why it’s there (CR11)
“Absolutely, I don’t think I ever would have gone into a soda (A simple Costa Rican restaurant) if I had come to Costa Rica and not had to do the activities. I would have been like, what is that hole in the wall, and not even stepped my foot in there.” (CR15, parenthesis added)

Table 15 Examples of affirmative responses

Activities forced observation and interaction. Seventeen of 29 students said that the activities forced them to interact, forced them to see, forced them to converse, or even forced them to just get out of the hotel. For example, one student said, “instead of being in a tourist area you were forced to see things that [you] wouldn’t otherwise see. Like, why would I go over there unless I had to do these assignments” (CR14). Further emphasizing this point one student said that the activities “made us look... more in depth. Otherwise [we] would have just looked for restaurants and stores. Caused [us] to interact more with people, because you don’t have to know the language to show someone a picture. [I] saw aspects of Brazil that [I] never would have seen before as a tourist... Caused [us] to get out and explore [our] surroundings, made [us] feel more comfortable to then interact” (BR1). Table 16 gives more examples of the students’ responses that substantiate this theme.

“Forced [us] to converse, ask questions to find people that [spoke] English. [We] learn[ed] and memorize[ed] phrases to do this” (BR10).
“Helped you see things, helped realize how it was. It was fun. Made you see how people’s way of life was there” (BR9).
“Forced you to get out and see things... You had to get out for yourself” (BR3).
“Forced you to go out on your own. Saw everything on your own. Like in Imbassai, when they did the land-use activities, forced you to go out” (BR7).
“Caused you to observe, had to actually ask someone and communicate to find it. Caused you to interact” (BR6).
“Responsible to go out on own” (CR4).
“Forced interaction with locals, and people – sometimes good and sometimes bad, but it always gave you an idea of what the city was like, or what the Costa Rican’s are like” (CR12).
“The activities were helpful because they forced us to go places where we wouldn’t normally go or even consider if you were just on vacation” (CR4).

Table 16 Examples causing observation and/or interaction

Didn’t know how to understand observations. Of the 17 students who said that the activities forced them to interact/observe, 14 of them said that although they made observations during that activity that they would not normally make, they did not know how to interpret or make sense of those observations. One student (CR1) in particular illustrated this point very well by saying:

What am I looking for? Because it’s really easy to go out and see things but can you interpret it? Do you know what it means? Am I getting the full picture if I don’t know something and I’m just looking at it, you know? ... I don’t know much about cultural landscapes. Instead of just saying we’re gonna go look around, or we’re gonna go make this map, or

whatever – if I had more insight before hand on what... am I looking for, I think it would have helped me understand it more than just seeing it without instruction.

Continuing with this point one student (CR16) said that s/he wanted something:

that goes a little bit more in-depth, on how to, almost like perceive from the other side, you know – like how these people live. Maybe you could spend like a day with them or something, their lives. But [that] would be difficult as hell.

After this particular focus group discussion, I asked if an activity that helped students to see things through the host culture's lens instead of through their own lens would be beneficial; all four participating in this respective focus group agreed that such an activity would be beneficial. Table 17 gives other examples of student's quotes for this theme.

“Need more guidance as to what we are looking for” (CR17).
“My answers and observations are pretty shallow, I feel they’d be a lot more in depth if I knew the background of the area” (CR1).
“Despite the fact that we are going to places we wouldn’t normally go, we still didn’t know what we were looking for” (CR4).
“I wish we were able to know more about the history of the city instead of, like, just walking around and observing...we know a little bit...you could tell there is a lot of history, I don’t know...Need more understanding, not necessarily history” (CR8). Continuing, CR8 said, “sometimes [my observations] were just, like, the outer appearance instead of in-depth observations. Instead of actually knowing what was going on it was just seeing, from the outside, [shallow observations].”

Table 17 Examples of not knowing how to observe

Culture not the purpose of activities or the study abroad. Three of 29 students said that culture was not the purpose of the study abroad, so therefore they didn’t try to get to know the culture. One student said (BR2):

It’s not a course to teach culture. Six credit hours are for field geography and human environment. If they added three more credits for culture, then it would have changed a lot for me. I thought about going down and getting to know the [other study abroad participants], and getting A’s and work done, and not so much about getting to know other things. A lot in the group were concerned about culture and getting to know the culture, I honestly didn’t even think about it once.

Another student said, “I didn’t get enough interaction with people and that wasn’t what we were there to do, it was a field geography class” (BR11).

REU Post-trip Focus Group

The REU students were asked the same question as Brazil and Costa Rica 1: (1) Do you feel that the activities of the REU helped you understand the host culture? How? Why? The results are simple for this group as they were unanimous, 11 of 11 students said that culture was not the purpose of the REU, activities were focused on gaining research experience.

Post-trip Focus Group Conclusion

Most of the Brazil and Costa Rica 1 students said that the activities helped them understand the host culture, however, upon further discussion, many of those students said that although the activities encouraged observation they didn’t necessarily know how to interpret those observations correctly. Student’s gained some understanding of the host culture, with some being aware that this understanding was very superficial. In other words, students saw the “what,” but could not explain the “so what.”

Post-trip Interviews

Post-trip interviews were held to gain a more in-depth understanding of what the students thought to be cultural experiences. The Brazil group participants (12 of 12

participated) were asked these two questions: (1) What is a cultural experience? (2) What would be one (a cultural experience) for you?

After the Brazil group data was first analyzed in 2010 the theme of “Culture: The Path of Least Resistance” became apparent. This theme is the path in which culture travels. It was observed that culture traveled the path of least resistance, that is to say, students tended to interact with those who were most like themselves culturally. Consequently, two additional questions were asked to the Costa Rica 1 group participants (13 of 18 participated) to gain further understanding of this observed phenomenon: (3) Do you feel that it is important to be part of the group (the study abroad group)? Why? (4) Do you feel that this (the student’s response to the previous question) has increased or decreased cultural interaction? The REU group participants (10 of 11 participated) were asked only questions one and two. It was determined that they did not have enough cultural context in their experience abroad to answer the other questions with any meaning. Again, Brazil and Costa Rica 1 will be analyzed together and REU separately because of the completely different type of study abroad and experience.

Questions 1 and 2 Evaluation

The student responses for questions one and two were analyzed to see if students understood what a cultural experience was, and to see if they could give a proper example according to the definition. Cultural experience is defined as meaningful interaction with the cultural other. If the student was able to give a proper definition or

show a proper understanding of cultural experience the answer was coded: yes. If the student was unable to give a proper definition or understanding of cultural experience the answer was coded: no. The same codes were used based on the students' ability to give a proper example of a cultural experience.

Yes, yes. Nine of 25 students gave a competent definition and example of cultural experience. For example, BR9 said that immersion in another culture was a good definition of a cultural experience. BR9 then went on to explain/give a good example saying, "it ranges from little things – food –to big things – history, and understanding how those things work. Understand shallow differences and deeper differences, there's a lot there." Table18 shows the distribution of student responses to these questions. Table19 gives examples of student's competent responses to these questions.

Brazil and Costa Rica 1 (n 25)	Definition demonstrating an understanding of cultural experience	Example demonstrating an understanding of cultural experience
9 of 25	Yes	Yes
10 of 25	Yes	No
1 of 25	No	Yes
5 of 25	No	No

Table 18 Distribution of responses to cultural questions

Participant	Yes, Definition	Yes, Example
BR6	Fully involved in another person's life	Become part of someone's else's environment
BR8	Learning something that's normal to another group of people, but that's abnormal to you	Taking part in celebrations, parties, weddings, and social activity. Cultural experience because you get to experience something abnormal to you.
CR4	Getting outside of the norm where you live, and experience new things that you are not accustomed to.	Being immersed in another culture

Table 19 Example of responses to culture

Yes, no. Ten of 25 students gave a competent definition of a cultural experience but did not give a competent example of what a cultural experience would be for them. For example one student said for a definition that cultural experience is an “experience that threatens or makes you confront what you think you know, or what you think is correct behavior. Something that helps you see that U.S. point of view isn’t the only point of view” (BR1). This was an excellent definition, but when asked what a cultural experience would be for him/her, the student responded by saying “shopping in Brazil.” Granted, shopping in another country can be a cultural experience, but that experience is based on context. Just going shopping without context is not a cultural experience. This student gave no context and just said shopping, which is not a good example, especially in comparison to their definition. Another example of yes, no is the response given by

BR7. The student gave a proper definition, “learning about everything, language, music, differences.” But their example, as described by BR7, was, “going to another culture, being around someone from another culture.” Again, this response, given the proper context could be considered a cultural experience. Being around another culture, if you interact with that culture, can be a cultural experience, but merely being around another culture does not constitute a cultural experience, it is too passive. One can be around books and never learn anything unless you interact/read the books. See Table 20 for further examples.

Participant	Yes, Definition	No, Example
BR2	Interacting in organic experience	Merely seeing culture, not necessarily interacting
CR1	Immersion, participation	Eating culture’s food
CR2	Immersion	This trip (the trip was not immersion)
CR2	Experiencing the other culture	People watching
CR8	Interacting, hands on	Eating culture’s food

Table 20 Examples of the yes, no response

No, yes. Only one student of the 25 gave an inadequate definition but was able to give a competent example. BR11 said that a cultural experience was something “uniquely tied to a place.” However, they gave a very good example of what a cultural experience would be for them saying, “seeing how other people live...experiencing someone else’s normal life” (BR11).

No, no. Five of 25 did not give a competent definition or example. This theme was difficult to give examples for, since most of the responses were insubstantial. For example one student defined it as, “just something different” and for an example said, “something different” (CR6). Another student for a definition said, “feeling out of place” while giving an example of being uncomfortable while eating food at a restaurant (CR13). One other student defined it as, “it can’t be your own,” and then went on to say for an example that listening to a new language would be a cultural experience (BR5).

REU Questions 1 and 2

Of the 11 REU participants, 10 were interviewed (n 10). Eight of 10 were yes, yes; 1 of 10 was yes,no; and 1 of 10 was no, no. These responses demonstrate the fact that the REU students had much more experience abroad and could easily define and give examples of a cultural experience. Of the 8 that were yes, yes, all of the students mentioned that cultural experience was either immersion or direct involvement with the host culture and that a good example would be a home stay or some other way to be immersed in the culture.

Questions 3 and 4 – Culture and Least Resistance

Questions three and four were only asked to the Costa Rica 1 group, since the theme became apparent only after data analysis of the Brazil 2010 trip: (3) Do you feel that it is important to be part of the group (the study abroad group)? Why? (4) Do you feel that this (the student’s response to the previous question) has increased or decreased your

cultural interaction. Again, 13 of 18 Costa Rica 1 students participated in the interviews (n 13). See Table 21 for examples of student responses to these two questions.

CR12 (1) Not necessarily [important to be part of the group]. I've gone out on my own instead of always doing what the group did. The desire [to be part of the group] is there, but it is secondary. Main purpose for coming was to immerse and understand the way [Costa Ricans] are. (2) Yes, [not having the desire to be a part of the group], going out on own, has increased cultural interaction, it has enhanced my experience here.
CR6 (1) Yes, but I wouldn't generally hang out with this type of people. I don't want to be an outcast, but it is important to feel included. (2) Decreased cultural interaction.
CR4 (1) Yes, a plus. You are all each other has in a new place. It makes the trip easier. (2) Neither, could have increased, all came with the same purpose. Doing it together makes it easier – instead of fending for yourself. (Although this student says that the group helped increase cultural interaction, she is speaking in terms of being comfortable, using the group as a coping mechanism and not having to deal with the difficulty s/he would really face if were alone and forced to actually interact with host culture).
CR13 (1) Need to be (part of the group)? No. I mean, it's more enjoyable the more people you have, so 'the more the merrier,' as they say. I would want to be part of the group in [dangerous areas] for safety. Bigger group is more fun, more conversation. I mean there have been times when I've just wanted to be alone and be able to reflect and just think, but [in the group] there are always people that want to hang out, so... (2) Increased. Everyone here is game for trying new things and not staying in the comfort level. (same as the above two students).
CR1 (1) Yes, very important. If you are not part of the group you're not getting the full experience of study abroad. To learn about yourself and other people takes a group effort. (2) Depends. Depends on group dynamic. Some groups can be interested and interacting. Sometimes causes you to interact more because of leader of group might be way into it which, causes others to be into it.
CR8 (1) Yes, oh yeah, I wouldn't have made it had I not had others to vent to. You need the support, it is necessary to be part of the group. (2) Increases. When I'm with Spanish speakers in the group, interaction is greater because I have a lot of questions. But when I'm not with Spanish speakers, I at least still have a backseat interaction , it's still interaction.

Table 21 Example of student responses to questions 3 and 4

Group Increased Cultural Interaction. Four of 13 said that it is important to be a part of the group and that being a part of the group increased cultural interaction.

Group May Increase Cultural Interaction. Four of 13 said that it was important to be a part of the group but certain aspects of the group or how a person interacted in the group determined your cultural interaction. Two students (CR16 and CR18) said that the group decreased interaction because the cultural other can be intimidated by big groups, but that interaction was potentially increased because members of the group felt more comfortable. One student said that, it “depends on group dynamic. Some groups can be interested and interacting... because the leader of the group might be way into it which causes others to be into it” (CR1). One other student presented a third opinion, saying that the group could be used as a bubble, a home away from home, but that involvement in an enthusiastic group could cause you to get out of your bubble (CR9).

Individuality Increases Cultural Interaction. Two of 13 said that it wasn't important to them to be a part of the group, and that going off on their own increased their cultural interaction. One student said that “the desire (to be part of the group) is there, but it is secondary...going out on my own has increased cultural interaction; it has enhanced my experience here” (CR12).

Group Decreased and Individualism Increased Interaction. Two of 13 said that it was important to be both a part of the group and to go off on your own and that being a part

of the group decreased your interaction and being on your own increased interaction (CR3, CR11).

Group Decreased Cultural Interaction. One of 13 said that being a part of the group is important and that this decreased cultural interaction (CR6).

Focus Group and Interview Conclusions

The overall conclusions from this section are: (1) the overwhelming majority of the students' (19 of 25) gave a competent definition of cultural experience and 10 of 25 gave a competent example of a cultural experience. However, when corresponding this data with participation observation, almost none of the students were able to translate their worded understanding into actual meaningful cultural interaction. The students' cultural experiences were superficial due to their understanding of an actual cultural experience as being a faux pas. This concept of cultural experience and faux pas will be discussed in-depth in the Discussion Chapter. (2) The majority of the students interviewed (8 of 13) said that it was important to be a part of the group. This data will be used to describe the phenomenon of Culture: The Path of Least Resistance, and will also be discussed more in-depth in the Discussion Chapter.

Participant Observation

This section elaborates on the results found using the method of participant observation as described in the methods section. This section shows the results of three measures:

(1) PMCI; (2) PMCI-O; and (3) the amount of times a participant demonstrated a behavior codified in relation to the IDI orientation categories.

Counting PMCI and PMCI-O

PMCI and PMCI-O are the measurements of immersion developed for this dissertation. All of the individual participant's time spent in PMCI and PMCI-O were totaled and added together to constitute that individual's PMCI and PMCI-O. PMCI and PMCI-O were also totaled at the group level to make comparisons across groups. To do this the individual PMCI and PMCI-O were added together and then divided by the number of participants (since each group had a different number of participants), see Table 22.

Observation data was broken up into different sections based on location and time. The Brazil group observation data is broken up into six sections, each based on the six different locations that the group visited between three and five days respectively. The sections are Salvador, Imbassai, Lencois, Barreiras, Luis Edwardo, and Brasilia. The Costa Rica 1 group observation data is broken up into four sections based on their four locations, which were also between three and five days respectively: La Fortuna, Liberia, Playa del Coco/Nicaragua, and Limon. The REU group data was broken up in respect to time since they stayed at the Soltis Center most of the time. Four sections were recorded as week 1, week 4, week 5, and week 6 (weeks two and three I was away with the Costa Rica 1 group).

Brazil PMCI

For the duration of four weeks abroad, the twelve participants in the Brazil group individually spent on average 25.7 hours involved in PMCI. This equals 6.4 hours per week per individual. Of the 25.7 hours involved in PMCI, 2.5 of the 25.7 hours were spent in PMCI-O.

Costa Rica 1 PMCI

For the duration of two weeks abroad and away from the Soltis Center, the eighteen participants in the Costa Rica 1 group individually spent on average 2.6 hours involved in PMCI. This equals 1.3 hours per week per individual. Of the 2.6 hours involved in PMCI, 0.9 hours were spent in PMCI-O.

REU PMCI

For the duration of six weeks abroad the REU group spent almost no time away from the Soltis Center. The time observed away from the center saw no significant PMCI. Therefore, no PMCI was observed in the REU group. During the last weekend in Costa Rica, the group broke into two different groups and each had a several day excursion away from the Soltis Center, however, I was unable to accompany either group and unable to ask follow-up questions to gain further data.

Group	Average PMCI per person	Average PMCI per week per person
Brazil	25.7 hours over four weeks	6.4 hours
Costa Rica 1	2.6 hours over two weeks	1.3 hours
REU	None observed	None observed

Table 22 Average PMCI per person and per week

Counting IDI Behavior

Students' actions and behaviors I observed were coded based on the five orientations of the IDI: denial, polarization defense/reversal, minimization, acceptance, and adaptation. Not all behavior reflects one of these orientations and not all behavior is related to these orientations. When student's actions and/or behavior reflected one of these orientations, notes were made and later coded according to the appropriate orientation. Table 23 shows an example of the rubric I used based on the Intercultural Development Continuum, a continuum designed to help understand and progress through the IDI orientations (Hammer, 2012).

Orientation	Core Characteristics	What person may think/feel/do
Denial: Little recognition of more complex cultural differences	Disinterest in and/or avoidance of cultural difference Insular around cultural differences, e.g., “why learn more about cultural differences”	Cognition: <input type="checkbox"/> Difficulty in seeing communication and behavior as “cultural” Behavior: <input type="checkbox"/> Avoid the culturally different
Polarization defense: Judgmental orientation; “us & them”	An overly critical orientation toward cultural commonalities and differences Feeling “under siege” from other cultures	Cognition: <input type="checkbox"/> Information categorized into evaluative categories—neutral statements of cultural difference rare Behavior: <input type="checkbox"/> For Defense: Intentional avoidance of the culturally different
Polarization Reversal: Judgmental orientation; “us & them”	Us vs. them where “they are good guys and we are the bad guys” May take on the “cause” of the oppressed group; other cultural practices given special privilege	Cognition: <input type="checkbox"/> Information categorized into evaluative categories—neutral statements of cultural difference rare Affect: For Reversal: The culturally unfamiliar is positive & the culturally familiar (own culture) is negative
Minimization: Highlights Cultural commonality that can mask deeper recognition of cultural differences	Views tolerance as sufficient Overemphasizes commonalities and underemphasizes differences	Cognition: <input type="checkbox"/> Cultural differences perceived in neutral terms—but differences are made sense of and responded to within one’s own culturally familiar categories
Acceptance: Recognizes cultural commonality & difference in own & other cultures	Curious and interested in cultural differences Committed to cultural diversity agenda (talk the talk) but not sure how to “walk the walk”	Cognition: <input type="checkbox"/> Non-evaluative curiosity about cultural differences & commonalities
Adaptation: Able to shift cultural perspective & adapt behavior to cultural context	Increased repertoire of cultural frameworks and behaviors available to effectively bridge cultural commonalities and differences	Cognition: <input type="checkbox"/> Conscious reframing of cultural information & observations in various ways

Table 23 The IDI Resource Guide 2012. The Intercultural Development Continuum (IDC): Perceptions & Behaviors (Hammer, 2012). Reproduced with written permission given by author Mitch Hammer.

Brazil IDI Behavior

The data were recorded and coded based on the same sections as the PMCI, six sections for Brazil and four sections for Costa Rica 1 and REU. For each section the coded observations were tallied and quantified into a percentage. For example, in section 1, if 100 observations were recorded and 25 of those observations were coded as denial, then 25% of the section is coded as behavior representative of denial. Table 24 represents the data for the Brazil group and their coded behavior according to sections. Table 25 is a line graph representation of the IDI behavior recorded at each location in Brazil in terms of percentages. At the beginning we can see that the Brazil students were very excited and curious, willing to experiment with different things within the culture. As the students reach the halfway point we see that Acceptance and Denial, opposite ends of the IDI spectrum, become mirror images of one another. Acceptance, curiosity, and willingness to experiment are high in the beginning, but as time wears on, students' curiosity lessens and is apparently replaced by denial.

Orientation/Location	Percentage of observations in respective orientation
Salvador	
Denial:	14%
Defense:	5%
Minimization:	16%
Acceptance:	65%
Adaptation:	0%
Imbassai	
Denial:	12.5%
Defense:	19%
Minimization:	31%
Acceptance:	37.5%
Adaptation:	0%
Lencois	
Denial:	6%
Defense:	25%
Minimization:	0%
Acceptance:	69%
Adaptation:	0%
Barreiras	
Denial:	73%
Defense:	18%
Minimization:	0%
Acceptance:	9%
Adaptation:	0%
Luis Edwardo	
Denial:	38%
Defense:	5%
Minimization:	33%
Acceptance:	5%
Adaptation:	19%
Brasilia	
Denial:	55%
Defense:	20%
Minimization:	15%
Acceptance:	10%
Adaptation:	0%

Table 24 Brazil IDI behavior

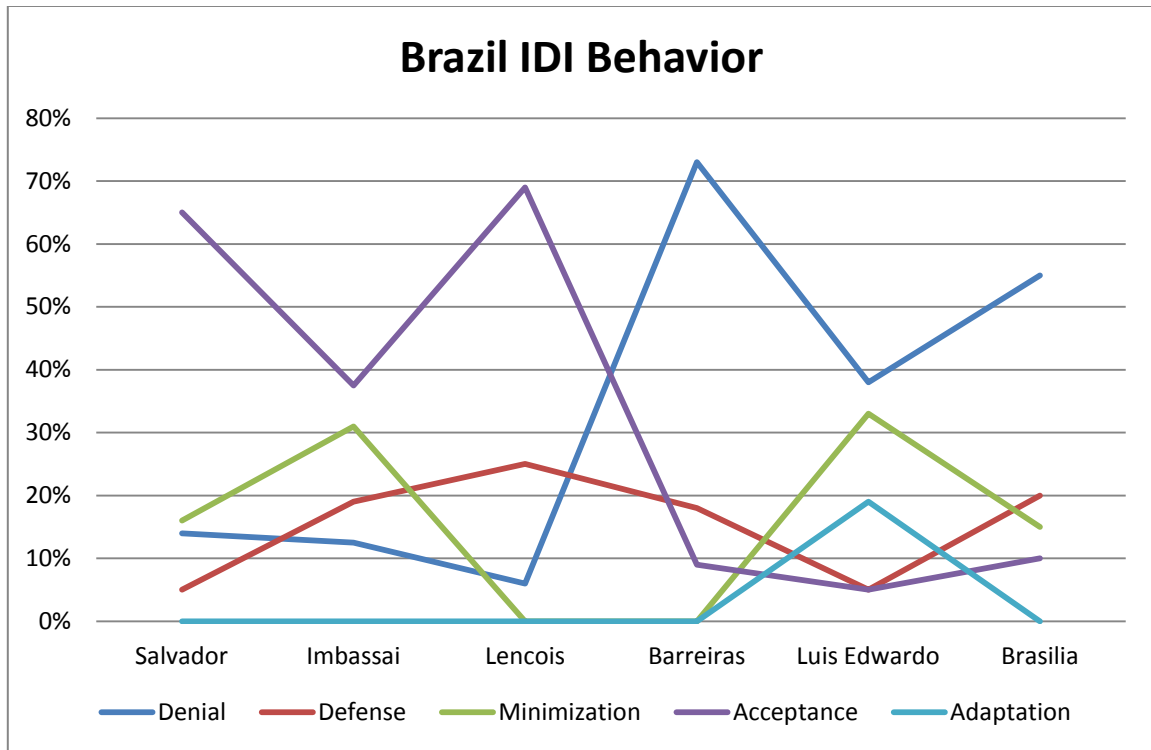


Table 25 Line graph of Brazil IDI behavior

Costa Rica 1 IDI Behavior

Table 26 represents the data for the Costa Rica 1 group and their coded behavior according to sections.

Orientation/Location	Percentage of observations in respective orientation
La Fortuna	
Denial:	92%
Defense:	5%
Minimization:	16%
Acceptance:	8%
Adaptation:	0%
Liberia	
Denial:	58%
Defense:	11%
Minimization:	24%
Acceptance:	7%
Adaptation:	0%
Playa del Coco/Nicaragua	
Denial:	82%
Defense:	25%
Minimization:	0%
Acceptance:	15%
Adaptation:	3%
Limon	
Denial:	38%
Defense:	55%
Minimization:	0%
Acceptance:	7%
Adaptation:	0%

Table 26 Costa Rica IDI behavior

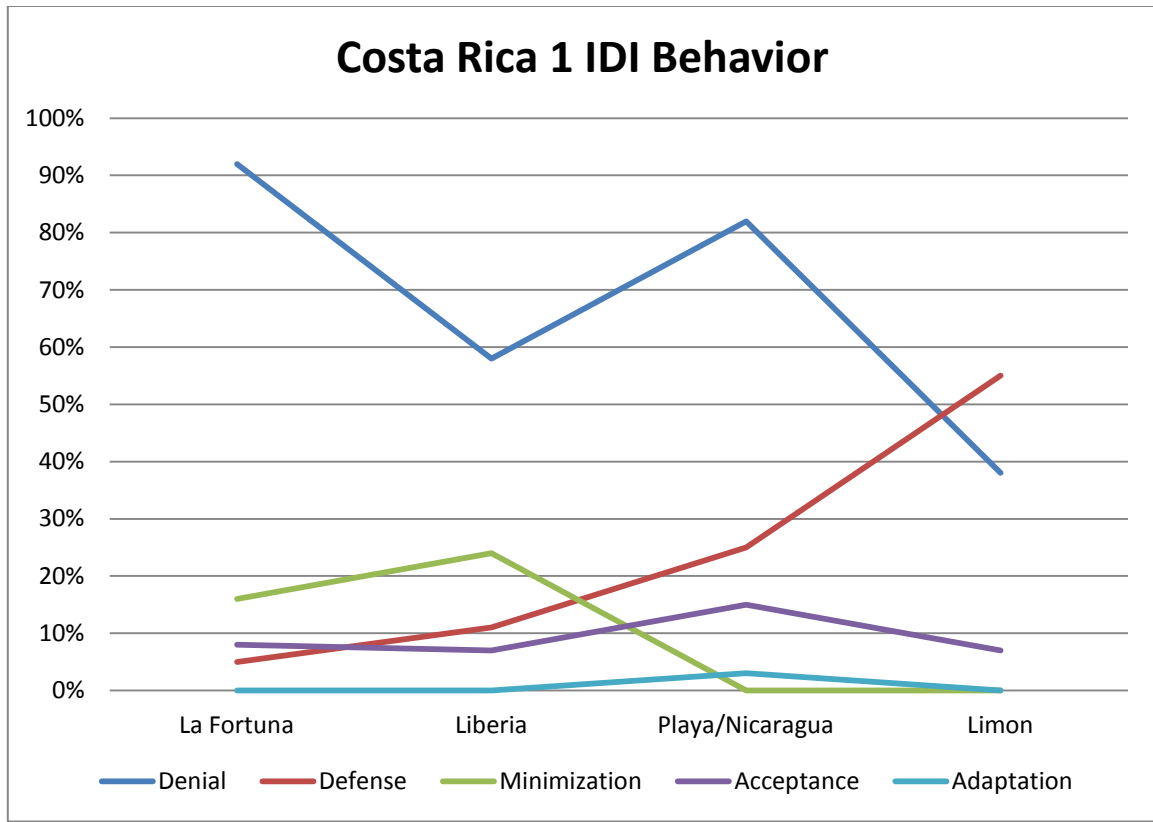


Table 27 Line graph of Costa Rica IDI behavior

Table 27 is a line graph representation of the IDI behavior recorded at each location on the Costa Rica 1 group in terms of percentages. It is obvious to see that the Costa Rica 1 group spent the majority of the observed time in behavior representative of the Denial orientation. All of the other orientations remain low except toward the end where Denial dips a little bit and Defense rises.

REU IDI Behavior

Table 28 represents the data for the REU group and their coded behavior according to sections.

Orientation/Location	Percentage of observations in respective orientation
Week 1	
Denial:	73%
Defense:	0%
Minimization:	9%
Acceptance:	18%
Adaptation:	0%
Week 4	
Denial:	78%
Defense:	22%
Minimization:	0%
Acceptance:	0%
Adaptation:	0%
Week 5	
Denial:	8%
Defense:	8%
Minimization:	8%
Acceptance:	76%
Adaptation:	0%
Week 6	
Denial:	0%
Defense:	0%
Minimization:	0%
Acceptance:	100%
Adaptation:	0%

Table 28 REU IDI behavior

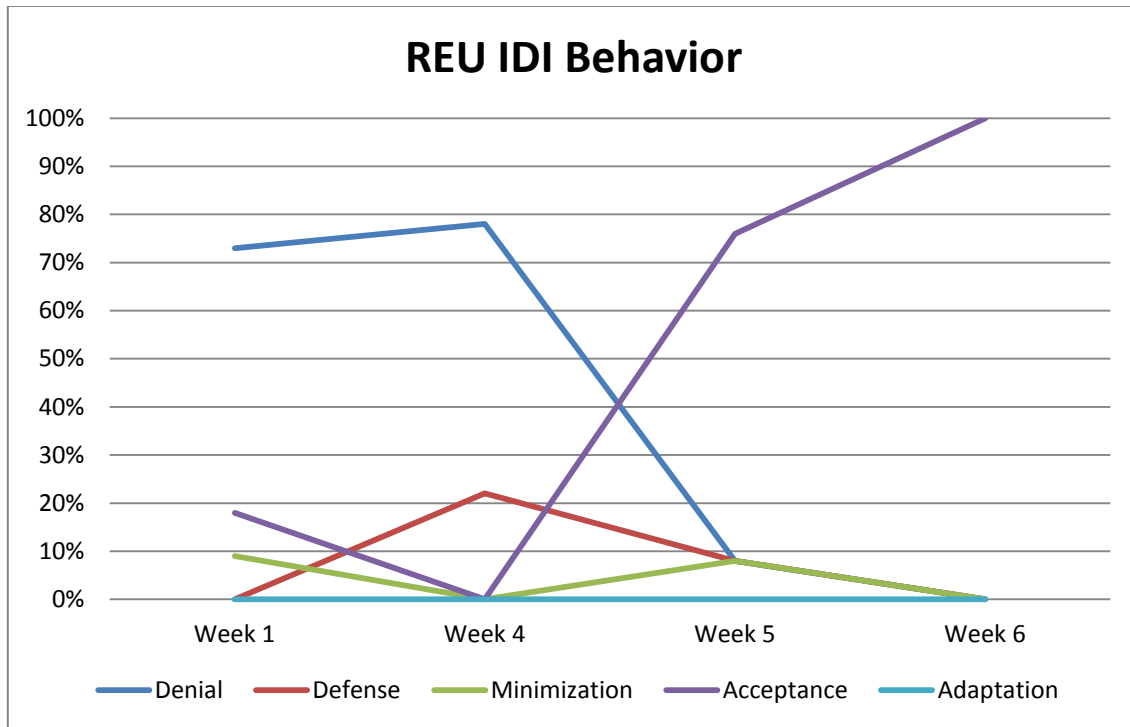


Table 29 Line graph REU IDI behavior

Table 29 is a line graph representation of the IDI behavior recorded during the observed weeks of the REU group in terms of percentages. Students spent almost all of their time at the Soltis Center doing research, therefore it is no wonder that their percentages were so high in the area of denial. As time passed, though, students began to be more aware of their cultural surroundings and made conscious efforts to take advantage of their time in another country, despite their focus on research.

Participant Observation Conclusion

PMCI varied greatly between the Brazil group and the Costa Rica 1 group. It is apparent that most of the PMCI occurred due to assigned activities and that time spent in PMCI-O was very low.

In terms of behavior measured by the IDI, it is obvious that each group varied greatly from the other groups. There is no generalizable pattern between these three groups. It is apparent, however, that the time spent in these orientations affected the group's IDI score. For example, for the first half of the experience the Brazil group exhibited acceptance; overall the group had a 4.53 difference in their pre- to post- IDI score. The REU group saw a dramatic increase in their acceptance orientation toward the end of their trip abroad and their IDI score went up 3.99 points. Costa Rica 1 group spent almost all of their time in denial and defense which is a direct reflection of their IDI score change which went down -0.87.

Mixed Methods Results

This section uses both the recorded qualitative data and the quantitative data of the IDI to explore correlations and influence of qualitative data on the change from pre- to post- in IDI score. The following section labeled "IDI and PMCI" will explore the correlation between the IDI score change and students' PMCI. The section labeled "Motivation to Study Abroad and IDI" will explore the relationship between student's motivation to study abroad and their IDI score change. The section labeled "Yes/No Cultural

Definition and Example” explores the relationship between a student’s ability to give a proper definition and example of a cultural experience and IDI score change.

IDI and PMCI

The IDI theory is based on interaction, namely that, the more and longer interaction you have with the cultural other, the more you will progress along the IDI continuum (Hammer et al., 2003). IDI data was compared to time spent in PMCI. My hypothesis was that time spent by students in potentially meaningful cultural interactions would be directly correlated with an increase in IDI score. As PMCI goes up, IDI score goes up, a positive relationship between the two.

The Spearman Rank Order Correlation test was used because it is the non-parametric test used to find associations between data sets. Non-parametric tests are used in this research because the (n) is small and not representative of the general population. Significance was tested for overall (Brazil and Costa Rica 1 combined, REU was not involved in this test since they recorded no PMCI) and for each group individually. Significance was also tested for using PMCI-O in the same group order. Results are in Tables 30, 31, 32, and 33.

The Spearman Rank Order Correlation test found no statistically significant relationship between IDI change and PMCI or PMCI-O. That is to say, the more time spent in potentially meaningful cultural interactions did not affect the student’s cultural competence.

Correlations				
			IDIchange	PMCI
Spearman's rho	IDIchange	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.140
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.460
		N	30	30
	PMCI	Correlation Coefficient	.140	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.460	.
		N	30	30

Table 30 Overall group IDI change to PMCI

Correlations				
			IDIchange	PMClown
Spearman's rho	IDIchange	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.006
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.975
		N	30	30
	PMClown	Correlation Coefficient	-.006	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.975	.
		N	30	30

Table 31 Overall group IDI change to PMCI-O

Correlations				
			IDIchange	PMCI
Spearman's rho	IDIchange	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.206
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.520
		N	12	12
	PMCI	Correlation Coefficient	.206	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.520	.
		N	12	12

Table 32 Brazil group IDI change to PMCI

Correlations				
			IDIchange	PMClown
Spearman's rho	IDIchange	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.014
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.965
		N	12	12
	PMClown	Correlation Coefficient	.014	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.965	.
		N	12	12

Table 33 Brazil group IDI change to PMCI-O

Motivation to Study Abroad and IDI

To test for a relationship between student's motivation to study abroad and IDI score change, the Kruskal Wallis test was used. All 39 students were analyzed (REU was previously left out in the PMCI section because they recorded no PMCI). Student's motivation to study abroad was coded based on qualitative data into three categories: (1) fun, (2) cultural, (3) other. Category 1, fun, was assigned if the student's primary motivation for studying abroad was to have fun. Category 2, cultural, was assigned if the student's primary motivation was cultural – for example, to learn to speak the language or to have a cultural experience. Category 3, other, was assigned if students identified their motivation was a combination of doing study abroad for credit and/or research experience. Students motivated by a desire for fun had an average IDI change from pre- to post- of -2.4. Those motivated by a desire for a cultural experience had an average IDI change from pre- to post- of 7.9. The motivation of other had an average IDI change from pre- to post- of 0.2.

There is, therefore, a statistically significant correlation ($\alpha=.023$) between a student's motivation and expected outcome to study abroad and an increased IDI score. Results are shown in Table 34. It is assumed that this is because those students who have the intention to have a meaningful experience will make meaningful experiences out of their PMCI, while those students that just go to have fun, although they have “potential” meaningful cultural interactions and experiences, will not interpret or internalize them the same way as the other students.

Test Statistics ^{a,b}	
	IDIchange
Chi-square	7.549
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.023
a. Kruskal Wallis Test	
b. Grouping Variable:	
Motivation	

Table 34 Kruskal Wallis test IDI and motivation

To give further validity to this, the research sought to discover if the behavior of the students with the “cultural” motivation was different from that of the other groups. The Kruskal Wallis test was run to find if a relationship existed between the two variables. In order to run this test, the student’s coded participant observations were tallied up to one score. They were tallied on the bases of weighted number assignments, with each coded observation being weighted according to its sequence in the IDI orientation scheme. Denial was weighted as one point, Defense two points, Minimization three points, acceptance four points, and adaptation five points. The observations were summed for each participant and the sum was divided by the number of observations. Results for the orientation tally for participant observation are shown in Table 35.

Participant	Coded PO
b1	2.1666667
b2	3.0909091
b3	1.75
b4	3.2727273
b5	2.6666667
b6	2.9090909
b7	2
b8	3.3846154
b9	2.3529412
b10	2.1333333
b11	1.3333333
b12	2.7333333
c1	1.4444444
c2	1.4545455
c3	1.3333333
c4	1.4545455
c5	1.3333333
c6	1.3333333
c7	1.9
c8	1.4545455
c9	1.3333333
c10	1.4545455
c11	1.3333333
c12	2.8181818
c13	1.3333333
c14	1.6666667
c15	1.3333333
c16	1.5
c17	2.6
c18	1.4
r1	2.8333333
r2	2.3333333
r3	3
r4	2.5
r5	2.2857143
r6	2.5
r7	2.1666667
r8	2.5
r9	4

Table 35 Participant observation tally

The Kruskal Wallis test results, shown in Table 36, found no significant difference ($\alpha .466$) between motivation to study abroad and the activities undertaken by those respective participants. This further validates the test findings, that a student's motivation for studying abroad is the determining factor for their success, even though their activities are not significantly different from other students. This shows that the students who had the "cultural" motivation to study abroad did not necessarily involve themselves in different activities than the other groups, but that they contextualized their experiences differently, based on their motivation, as noted by Paige et al. (2003, p. 423), in their validation article on the IDI, "experience does not occur simply by being in the vicinity of events where they occur. Rather, experience is a function of how one construes the events."

Test Statistics ^{a,b}	
	AveOrientation
Chi-square	1.529
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.466
a. Kruskal Wallis Test	
b. Grouping Variable: Motivation	

Table 36 Kruskal Wallis test motivation and student activity

Yes/No Cultural Definition and Example

Participant data were organized into three groups based on the definition presented of a cultural experience. Competent definition and a competent experience data were sorted into group one. Competent definition but incompetent example data were sorted into group two. Failed to give both a competent definition and example were sorted into group three. This test was conducted to see if students' understanding of cultural experiences affects the outcome of their pre- to post- IDI score. There was no significance difference ($\alpha .361$) between IDI score pre- to post- and students' understanding of a cultural experience. That is to say that a student's understanding of what a cultural experience is does not affect their cultural competence. It should be noted that for this test the number of participants was 34, since five students were not available for interviews to gather the appropriate data for this test. Results are shown in Table 37.

Test Statistics ^{a,b}	
	IDIchange
Chi-square	2.039
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.361
a. Kruskal Wallis Test	
b. Grouping Variable:	
YesYesYesNoNoNO	

Table 37 Kruskal Wallis test understanding of cultural experience and IDI

Individual Qualitative and Quantitative Results

This section will determine whether or not there were significant differences between those students who scored one standard deviation (15) above their pre-trip IDI and their PMCI, PMCI-O, and motivation to study abroad.

Four students had either one standard deviation of change from pre- to post- or close to one standard deviation. The one student that was close to one standard deviation scored a difference of 14.87. This student will be included in this analysis since s/he was so close the 15 point cut off.

The four students respectively are BR8 (14.87), BR9 (22.85), BR12 (20.53), and R6 (16.13). Since no PMCI or PMCI-O was recorded for the REU group, we must analyze R6 in an anecdotal manner. The anecdote that R6 provided in an effort to explain his/her difference in score was that s/he spent much of his/her free time away from the Soltis Center; however, s/he acknowledged that this time was not spent in PMCI, rather it was spent in the passive observation of the Costa Rican landscape. Other than this there was no observed data of this participant that was different from the other REU participants. Also, R6 had the motivational factor of “other” and not of “culture” as we would assume.

Analyzing BR8, BR9, and BR12, no significant difference was found in their PMCI, or PMCI-O scores from their peers. However, all three students did have the motivation of “culture” to study abroad. Therefore, three out of the four students had the motivation of “culture,” but no significance in their PMCI, or PMCI-) score. Therefore, we can deduce that these individuals reflect the same conclusions that are drawn from

the group analysis, that PMCI and PMCI-O are not a determinant factor in IDI change, however, participant's motivation to study abroad is.

Conclusion of Qualitative and Quantitative

It was hypothesized that the more time spent in PMCI (immersion) the higher the IDI score. The PMCI did not have a direct positive correlation with the IDI score. This may be due to the student's inability to interpret PMCI as actual cultural experience because students understand only the superficial faux pas of culture.

The potential to have a meaningful cultural experience on a short-term study abroad program is there, but it can only be realized by properly contextualizing the experience. It was shown that those students with the motivation to have cultural experiences on a study abroad were able to contextualize the PMCI experiences which translated into a higher IDI score.

Interesting enough, a student's ability to give both a definition and example of a cultural experience did not affect their IDI score. Understanding does not translate, necessarily, into experience or the ability to contextualize PMCI.

Overall Results Conclusion

Research question four asks whether or not short-term study abroad holds up to the DSA. The DSA states that students who go abroad will be relativized by their experience. However, the IDI, which measures cultural relativity, showed no statistical difference from pre- to post- in participants.

Research question five is broken into four parts, duration, immersion, motivation, and comprehension of cultural experience. Duration was measured by comparing the three group's IDI scores pre- to post- to determine which duration had the most effect on the IDI scores. No statistical difference was found between the three groups.

Immersion was measured by the PMCI and PMCI-O metric. The time spent in PMCI or PMCI-O made no significant difference in the participants pre- to post- IDI scores.

Motivation was measured by asking the students pre-departure what their motivation for studying abroad. Motivation was the one statistically significant attribute that was found to have an effect on the students' IDI score pre- to post-. Students who shared the "cultural" motivation to study abroad had statistically significant higher IDI scores pre- to post-.

Comprehension of cultural experience was measured by asking students the definition of a cultural experience and what a cultural experience would be for them. No significance was found between IDI score pre- to post- and the way that students responded to these questions.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION: TRADITIONALISTS VS INTERVENTIONISTS

This chapter discusses the predominant reasons why short-term study abroad is relatively ineffective. It then suggests measures that could improve its efficacy, a move away from traditional learning paradigm and toward the interventionist/learning paradigm.

Many studies have used the IDI to assess the impact that study abroad has on students' intercultural competence and sensitivity (Anderson et al., 2006; Clarke et al., 2009; Engle & Engle, 2004; Hammer, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003; Jackson, 2008; Jackson, 2006; Jea-Eun, 2009; Pedersen, 2010). This study differs from the previous studies because it provides an historical explanation of the development of the DSA, a description of the actual experience of short-term study abroad, and an explanation why changes do or do not occur in IDI scores, pre- to post-.

In the introduction to this dissertation, two questions were posed: why the mass movement in study abroad? Why are policy makers, and in turn, institutions of higher education, so concerned with increasing the numbers of study abroad participants? I have argued that the answer lies in the ideals and aspirations of liberalism. Liberal philosophy gave rise to liberal policies that established the DSA within institutions of higher education, as part of an effort to further the liberal agenda and create liberal citizens. It has been shown that the DSA is a dogma, upheld by liberal policies, policy makers and intellectuals (the clerisy) for its putative liberal potentialities, despite the dearth of evidence supporting its claims.

Contemporary short-term study abroad holds true to the DSA. Short-term study abroad is upheld by the clergy as being extremely beneficial; however, these benefits are rarely measured and rarely substantiated. Because the DSA is a dogma, its assumptions are not questioned. The same may be said of contemporary short-term study abroad.

I propose three reasons why short-term study abroad programs, and possibly all programs endorsed by the DSA, do not meet the expectations placed upon them by liberalism. The first is theory driven, the last two are based on my participant observation data. They are: (1) Contact Theory; (2) students' inability to have cultural experiences; and (3) democratization of study abroad = disappointment.

Discussion of Shortcomings

Contact Theory

Contact theory was developed by Gordon Allport in his book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), and explains the connections between intergroup contact, prejudice and racism. Allport's formulations and theories are still used in social science and interracial research today (Pettigrew, 1998). Contact theory maintains that racism and prejudice are predicated upon cultural misunderstanding and stereotypes, and that they may be overcome if groups of people have positive contact with each other. The theory suggests that, if interaction takes place under stipulated conditions, conflict and prejudice will be reduced and attitudes improved. Allport argued that, if four conditions were met, it would result in optimal contact, and so properly managed group interactions would break down prejudice and racism. The four conditions were equal group status within

the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation – no competition, and authority support (Allport, 1954).

The major shortcomings of Contact Theory are that “optimal” and “controlled” group interactions rarely occur naturally. Some of the “optimal” and “controlled” conditions are absent from most intergroup situations, and people that are prejudiced tend, in many cases, to avoid *all* contact with alien groups (Pettigrew, 1998). Other limitations to Contact Theory are that “the original hypothesis says nothing about the *processes* by which contact changes attitudes and behavior. It predicts only *when* contact will lead to positive change, not *how* and *why* the change occurs” (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 70). The theory also fails to specify how the contact effects will generalize beyond the immediate situation.

Pettigrew (1998, p. 70) suggests that there are three different types of generalizations that Contact Theory fails to address or meet. The first generalization is “situational,” do the changes generalize across situations? Second, do changes generalize from interaction with a specific member of an alien group to the overall alien group? Third, do changes toward the alien group generalize to other non-involved alien groups? Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found, after further research, that intergroup contact “typically” meets the above generalizations. The study also found that even without “optimal” and “controlled” environments and interactions, intergroup contact still lowered prejudice, although only by a small amount (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The study suggests that prejudice is lowered much more when “optimal” and “controlled” conditions are met. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) admit that certain

conditions still need to be met in order to reduce prejudice through intergroup contact. They stipulate that anxiety and threat need to be reduced in order to minimize “negative feelings” and “uncertainty.” Paluck and Green (2009, p. 346) summarized Pettigrew and Tropp’s contact hypothesis this way: “under optimal conditions of equal status, shared goals, authority sanction, and the absence of competition, interaction between two groups should lead to reduced prejudice” Also, a very important stipulation as it relates to this dissertation, is the need for intergroup *contact*, and not merely what Pettigrew and Tropp (2006, p. 755) call “intergroup proximity” since “one cannot assume contact from the opportunity for contact.”

The DSA and short-term study abroad assume that Contact Theory is essentially correct – that contact with an alien culture will increase tolerance and decrease prejudice. Although Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) suggest prejudice will be decreased through contact, their conditions of equal status, shared goals, and absence of competition are rarely, if ever, met *in situ* on a study abroad experience. Furthermore, according to my observations, intergroup contact is rarely achieved by students on a study abroad, rather intergroup proximity is the norm.

The DSA and short-term study abroad are, therefore, subject to the same shortcomings as Contact Theory. The DSA fails to explain *how* and *why*, and only predicts the *when*.

Students' Inability to have Cultural Experiences

The second most influential reason why short-term study abroad fails to meet expectations is the difficulty of students having a cultural experience. There are two reasons students in study abroad programs find it difficult to have a cultural experience. The first is that they follow the path of least resistance and whenever possible, interact with fellow students. The second is that they believe a “cultural experience” is essentially a moment of intercultural misunderstanding, awkwardness, or what I will call a faux pas.

Culture: The Path of Least Resistance. Culture travels the path of least resistance, which is to say that, students are much more likely to interact with those who are culturally most like themselves. That is because, as Bennett (1993) describes it, developing intercultural competence and sensitivity is not natural. Humans are ethnocentric in nature. The path of least resistance builds upon results of a UNESCO study (Eide, 1970) conducted during the research period in Phase 3 of study abroad as discussed in the DSA chapter of this dissertation. This study stated that:

Access to fellow nationals enforces the national culture of the student while abroad, providing him with a continuous flow of controls geared to his home country's culture, and the greater the availability of fellow nationals abroad, the less likely are changes in the direction of conforming to the host culture... There is less adjustment to the host

culture in the group that ‘often’ has social contacts with fellow nationals, than among the rest of the students who report lower frequencies of such contact (pp. 131-132).

That students follow the path of least resistance was uncovered in my research through post-trip interviews and participant observation. Specifically, questions three and four in the post-trip interviews focused on understanding “the path of least resistance.” Students were asked: (3) Do you feel that it is important to be part of the group (the study abroad group)? Why? (4) Do you feel that this (the student’s response to the previous question) has increased or decreased cultural interaction?

Student responses to these questions were surprisingly mixed. Surprising because these questions were asked at the end of the program, after I had already witnessed this phenomenon and recorded it in the participant observation data on a more than daily basis. I thought that it would have been as obvious to the students as it was to me, that the more they interacted in a group of those culturally akin to themselves, the less likely they were to interact with the cultural other. The mixed results are further evidence of the students’ superficial understanding of cultural experience.

Some of the students said that being in a group increased their cultural interaction because the group encouraged them to “get out of their bubble.” In my participant observation, however, this “bubble” was *the hotel*. Being part of the group helped some students to get out of the hotel and walk around, but not to have a meaningful cultural experience. The experience had in groups was, rather, best described by what CR8

called “backseat interaction.” Below is a quote from my field notes while witnessing and describing this phenomenon during Costa Rica 1 (Lemmons, 2011):

What I am seeing here is in fact culture playing out just as it always has. We inherently want to be a part of something; we want to be socially accepted. However, we take the path of least resistance when looking for this acceptance. When you are with a big group of people from your native country in a foreign country, then the path of least resistance is to be accepted by the people in your group, especially if it is a group of students who are getting to know one another. Today the students stayed in large groups while doing tasks for the class today. ... (Five students) all walked around together. ... (Ten more students) were in a group with [the professor], but the group of ten eventually split. ... (Three other students) walked around together sketching the city and doing their activities. Most of the students didn't know each other before the trip. ... The cultural attributes that the students are adhering to is the desire for inclusion and social acceptance. Since this takes place over the path of least resistance, the students are forming these social and cultural bonds with one another instead of with the host culture. If a student were completely alone here, then they would have the same desire to feel included, and so they would have to assimilate into the host culture to do so. So in this light, studying abroad, with unfamiliar students, is actually

very inhibiting to the desire to understand host cultures; instead the students spend most of their time getting to know one another and feeling culturally accepted by fellow students [rather] than spending and investing time to get to know local cultures. Students are thus getting the same cultural experience as incoming freshman might in their new dorm rooms (p. 5).

These “bonds” became even more inhibiting when students wanted to break away from the group to have more one-on-one meaningful cultural experiences. I observed that an attempt to “break away” was seen as a rejection of the group. Thus a willingness to strike out on one’s own, when it existed, was nevertheless checked by the student’s desire to make friends and feel accepted in a foreign place. Hence, the path of least resistance keeps them assimilated into the group and prevents them from having meaningful cultural interactions with the host culture. As one student said, if you’re not part of the group, you’re not getting the full experience of study abroad (CR1).

Cultural Experience = Faux Pas. The second reason students find it difficult to have a cultural experience is their understanding of cultural experience as faux pas. During the post-trip interviews, two questions were asked: (1) What is a cultural experience? (2) What would be one (a cultural experience) for you? Although many students gave what were deemed as competent answers, their observed behavior did not reflect their worded definition and understanding of a cultural experience. In fact, when asked for their

definition and/or example, many students responded that immersion was a good definition/example of a cultural experience. Many of the same students who said immersion then went on to say, “like this program.” Yet none of the programs were remotely close to being programs of cultural immersion.

Students’ confusion about cultural experience may be because common parlance has created an idiom out of the phrase “cultural experience.” Cultural experience in the context of this study is a meaningful interaction with the cultural other. I observed, however, that students take the idiomatic phrase “cultural experience” to mean something shocking or bizarre – something that occurs out of the ordinary not as an interaction with the cultural other, but rather the experience or witnessing of a faux pas. Being surrounded by faux pas is, indeed, often mistaken for immersion.

For example, many people describe a late night visit to Wal-Mart as a “cultural experience” because such an experience can be shocking. One witnesses bizarre customers and odd, perhaps even shocking behavior. “Cultural experience” thus comes to mean a violation of one’s own accepted norms, or what I call a faux pas. Another example of something that was recognized by North American students as a “cultural experience” was public breastfeeding in Latin America without the use of a blanket to cover-up.

This understanding is not altogether devoid of legitimate cultural experience. Witnessing or experiencing something that is a violation of your own cultural norms, but accepted in another culture, *is* a type of cultural experience. But this limited understanding of “cultural experience” causes students to seek out shocking and

abnormal experiences, and to miss the more important cultural experience of meaningful interaction. When surrounded by cultural faux pas, a student might describe their shocking experience as being “immersed” in the culture.

Being aware of the colloquial understanding of the phrase “cultural experience” helps break students’ experience of culture into two types: superficial and deep. Superficial cultural experience is what we see the students most often describing – simple experience of difference, the exotic, the bizarre. This often occurs when the student commits a faux pas, or witnesses what would be a faux pas in their own culture. Deep cultural experience is the imaginative entry into the lifeworld of the alien culture. This can be described as seeing a behavior as strange (different) but at the same time not strange (intelligible).

Understanding cultural experience as faux pas is one of the reasons students seldom have legitimate cultural experiences/interactions, despite their ability to give what seems to be an understanding of cultural experience.

Democratization of Study Abroad = Disappointment

The democratization of study abroad is a direct influence of liberalism, which seeks to extend the benefits of the study abroad experience to the largest possible audience (Lewin, 2009). Yet, democratization of study abroad entails the standardization of an experience that is not meant to be standardized. Lewin (2009) states that this standardization has led to the commoditization of the experience. What this means may

be more fully understood in light of these remarks by Minogue (1968) about the liberal program generally. Liberalism, he writes:

provides us with a generalized standard of the kind of life which ought to be lived by every human being upon the planet. It is a kind of life which is in fact lived by a minority of people... The standardization of the notion of a full life cannot but result in a concern with comparative status. The individual is described, as it were in the answers given on a form: What rights does he have? What kind of consumption does he enjoy? Which of his needs are satisfied? What experiences has he had? One can tick off the answers to these questions, and the blank responses supply a programme. But any action taken in response to this kind of analysis is something which will be done for the wrong reasons; it will be done as *a means to the end*, which is the filling out the form of a full life... The result of thinking and acting in this way is very frequently disappointment. Foreign travel, when undertaken as a status exercise, is no adventure and brings none of the promised 'broadening of the mind': it turns merely into a sterile exercise in tourism, endured at the time as an investment to be expended in conversation and boasting at a later date (pp. 194 – 195, emphasis added).

In this quote Minogue is drawing a distinction between two types of consumption. In the first type, consumption of the item or the experience, is the *end* of the act of consumption. The consumer is motivated by desire for that item or experience. In the second type of consumption the consumer is motivated by a desire to be *the type of person who consumes* that item or experience. In other words, the *end* of the act of consumption is *status*, and not the item or experience consumed. This second type of consumption is what I mean by consumerism, and the items and experience it consumes have undergone “commodification.” Therefore, consumerism causes *inattention* to the objects of consumption, since they are merely means to the end of *status*. A student who views a study abroad experience as a commodity will, therefore, seek to “get through” the experience with as little trouble as possible, since what s/he hopes to “take away” is simply the fact of having had a study abroad experience.

There is evidence that the students I observed viewed their study abroad experience as a status-conferring commodity that must be “gotten through.” I observed that the students went through what I call an ambivalence stage about half way through their trip (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1962). This stage can be summed up as a halfway slump in students’ participation and desire to even remain in-country. It was during this time, as I witnessed students having a mediocre or even apathetic experience, that I observed students’ postings on social media sites. I cannot give direct quotes of the messages they were posting, but a paraphrase of them would be:

Having an awesome time in _____ (Brazil/Costa Rica). Best and craziest thing I've tasted so far, _____ (maracuja/mammon chino). This place is awesome, best summer ever!!!!!!!!!!

Although I observed the students being apathetic toward their experience, they were still posting about their “amazing” trip and how much fun they were having, despite the fact that they seemed to be very bored and expressed desires to return home.

To give another example, before I read Minogue I wrote this observation in my field notes at the halfway point in our trip (Lemmons, 2010):

[Some] students... are very winey, complain a lot and don't seem interested anymore. I'm not sure they even want to be here anymore and may just be living on the novelty of telling their friends that they are in Brazil. This can be seen on [social media sites]. The students may be saying one thing down here in the way of complaints, but touting the trip on [social media sites] as a huge success because they want their friends to be impressed/jealous of what they are doing (p. 64).

To give yet another example, several of the students from a study abroad program partook in an excursion that last several hours and in the end turned out to be no fun for them at all. However, the students said that this experience would be the “[social media] status update of the year” (Lemmons, 2011, p. 21).

Action taken as a way to gain status will “be done for the wrong reasons; it will be done as a means to the end” and “The result of thinking and acting in this way is very frequently disappointment (Minogue, 1963, p. 195). Students engaged in study abroad for the purpose of status updates on social media sites are partaking in the activity for the wrong reasons, and this motivation will only end in disappointment, as the student will eventually see that the experience did not yield up its promise.

Suggestions to Remedy these Defects in Study Abroad

Vande Berg and Paige (2009) have described a learning centered or interventionist movement in study abroad. This interventionist strategy is based on the premise that students left to their own devices will not interact with the host culture. Therefore, intervention by the leader/director/moderator of the study abroad program is necessary. Students must be “cross-culturally trained,” as suggested by Storti (2009). I will recite Storti’s (2009) 5 step process as a possible remedy to the dearth of intercultural interaction had by students.

First, students must understand the general character of culture. Students must be taught the two aspects of culture, the perceptual (what can be seen), and the conceptual (underlying reasons for behavior), using the “iceberg” metaphor. Behavior, or what the IDI refers to as the perceptual aspect of culture, is explained to students as the tip of the iceberg. The tip of the iceberg is the aspect of culture that they will see. This is why Storti (2009) says “you’re not going to encounter someone’s culture; you’re going to encounter their behavior, the things they say and do” (Storti, 2009, p. 275).

Then students are taught that behavior is not accidental, but that it is a result of the underlying values and assumptions of that culture, or what might be called the conceptual aspect of culture. Therefore students must have a general understanding of what those values and assumptions are.

Second, students must understand the values and assumptions of their own culture. Students must be shown the underlying values and assumptions of their own culture before they can begin to understand values and assumptions of foreign cultures. This is often difficult because students have been conditioned to see their own culture as “natural” or “normal.” Various exercises may be employed to “denaturalize” or “relativize” the student’s native culture.

Third, students must understand the values and assumptions of the host culture. The “iceberg” metaphor can be used to connect characteristic behaviors of the host culture to the underlying conceptual aspect of culture.

Fourth, students must contrast the differences between their native culture and the host culture. Comparing values and assumptions between one’s own culture and the host culture helps students to begin to understand how these values and assumptions affect behavior. It is important in this step to identify all of the ways in which values, assumptions, and behaviors are different between the two cultures. Once these differences are identified, then strategies must be developed or thought-out by the student to enable them to deal with these differences. As an example, Storti (2009) compares the values and assumptions of Egyptian and American culture. Within the “locus of control” there are two ends of the spectrum, internal and external. American

culture is “internal,” meaning that what happens to Americans in life is understood as being up to them. Americans believe that fate has a minimal role in these outcomes. Egyptian culture is “external,” meaning that fate plays a major role in determining how much a person achieves in life. Storti (2009) suggests that presenting students with polar concepts to compare cultures allows them to identify where their culture lies on the continuum between the two poles and where the host culture lies. Making these comparisons helps students understand how people would then behave differently based on different values and assumptions.

Fifth, students must be made aware of the cycles of culture shock and taught how to deal with culture shock (Storti, 2009). For example, the first stage of culture shock is the honeymoon stage. In this stage students are typically very curious and excited about the differences they see. However, these differences soon lead to the next stage which is distress. Differences begin to take a toll on students’ psyche, they often begin to feel inadequate and confused. When made aware of these stages students gain confidence because they know they are experiencing something normal. This confidence typically aids in the transition between stages, which in turn helps that students to begin to feel more comfortable within the host culture

Suggestions According to Notes. The following steps are derived from my participant observation notes as the necessary and most effective steps to take toward increased meaningful cultural interaction (see Interventionist Rubric, Table 38).

These interventions do not rise to the level of “control” that is called for by Contact Theory, the group leader is not controlling interaction or mitigating negative contact, but rather providing opportunities to students to interact and explaining any negative contact by encouraging understanding of the host culture.

1. Opportunities: In the results chapter it was reported that 26 of 29 students said that the opportunities afforded to them to interact with the host culture through their assignments helped them to understand the host culture. This is the first step toward increasing meaningful cultural interaction. The professor/leader of the program must provide students with opportunities to interact with the host culture. These interactions cannot be too structured, as suggested by Contact Theory, or they will suffer the same limitations. The key is to help the student feel comfortable within their surroundings. This is extraordinarily hard within the context of a foreign country and language, but opportunities must be provided. One student said that if these opportunities weren't provided, “they [the students] would have stayed in the hotel the whole time, or drank” (BR4). These opportunities are broken into three types/steps: (1) guided; (2) facilitated; and (3) organic.

First, guided cultural opportunities must be provided to help the student feel more comfortable in the alien culture. These are opportunities provided by the program director with a specific outcome in mind – cultural interaction. These guided activities are typically something safe that can help the student build confidence in interacting with the host culture.

For example, the professor over the Costa Rica 1 group knew that, more likely than not, students would eat at touristy/American restaurants if left to their own devices. Therefore, the professor designed an assignment to provide guided cultural opportunities to students on their first day. The assignment was to eat at a *soda* (a traditional, simple Costa Rican restaurant that typically serves only one type of meal – Costa Rican casado). The professor guided the students by explaining what a soda was, what they might find there, and how to order. In this particular location there were several “sodas,” but they were tourist-oriented, so the students had to seek out a more traditional soda to fulfill the assignment. One group of students chose a soda that was very traditional and full of local children on lunch break from school. The students commented that they really enjoyed the experience and, were it not for the assignment, they would have never eaten at a restaurant like that one.

Despite this positive guided experience, it is interesting to note that this was the first and last time that the students chose to eat at an authentic Costa Rican restaurant. Although this is an anecdotal story, it suggests that more than just guided experience is necessary. Although guidance is necessary, it takes away from the “organic” experience that is eventually needed by students to have meaningful cultural interaction. Once students begin to build on these guided cultural experiences, they begin to feel more comfortable.

Facilitated experiences are a necessary second step that builds on guided experience and leads, eventually, to organic experiences. Facilitated experiences are experiences that are not necessarily planned, but are facilitated by the director of the

program as opportunities arise. They are typically led and facilitated and even experienced by the director of the program, along with the students. For example, on one occasion the professor of the Costa Rica 1 group announced to everyone that he was going to walk the south end of Playa del Coco and that anyone that wanted to come was welcome. One student decided to go on this impromptu facilitated experience with the professor. What ensued was a meaningful cultural experience that the professor and the student had with some local fisherman on the beach. The student described it as an intimate cultural experience that s/he wouldn't have had on his/her own up to that point on the trip.

Organic experiences are often times the most effective and meaningful cultural interactions. Organic experiences occur as the student builds upon guided and facilitated experiences. They are experiences that occur organically, at the student's will and discretion, and without direct guidance or intervention by the director of the program.

An example of an organic experience stemmed out of a facilitated experience in Brazil. The experience was facilitated because the professor took the students to a remote village and facilitated some of the students' interactions. One student eventually broke away from the group, and although s/he did not speak the language, s/he began to engage the children in the village that had been following us by showing them his/her camera. The student began communicating with these children by way of his/her camera, showing them how to use it and taking turns taking pictures of different things with the children. The student later said that this was a profound experience, one that will never be forgotten.

While taking these three steps, it will not be possible to protect the students from ever having a negative experience, or even an experience that may ruin or stop all progress the student has made up till that point. Eliminating negative experiences by controlling the situation would not be beneficial because it would subject interventionist theory to the same severe limitations as Contact Theory. It is, however, possible to explain negative experiences, why they happen and what they mean.

For example, one of the students had money taken from him/her in a sort of street-side scam. In that instant the student immediately drew the conclusion that all natives were thieves and could not be trusted, and were therefore not worth the his/her time. These unfortunate situations occur, we cannot control what happens in these interactions, we can only help the student understand them within the context of deep cultural experience/interaction – the imaginary entry into the lifeworld of the alien culture. The student must be helped to understand that, if put in the same situation as the native, s/he might be tempted to do the same, not because of malicious intent, but because of the thief's rationalization that \$20 means very little to a tourist in comparison to what service that \$20 might provide the native, such as feed his/her family. Providing an explanation of such cultural views can help mitigate negative experiences and feelings and may facilitate the future interactions of student within the host culture.

A precautionary note must be made here. It became very evident that the majority of the female students participating in the study abroad programs were very cautious in interacting with the host culture at first and in every new location. This is justifiably so, not just for female students but for every student. Certain precautions

must be taken in order to ensure safety. Those precautions include getting to know the area first, staying in public places, and avoiding known dangerous places that are pointed out by the program director.

2. Observation, Reflection and Interpretation. Observation, reflection and interpretation go hand in hand. They occur reflexively and therefore cannot be separated into three different steps. They constitute a cyclical learning process. Kalamazoo College (Michigan) has developed an Integrative Cultural Research Project (ICRP) over the past decade that focuses on delivering a more “cultural” experience to their students who go abroad. This project breaks down the observation, reflection and interpretation process into the acronym DIVE, which students do in reflective journals. “**D**escribe in value neutral terms; **I**nterpret what is happening within the local context; **V**erify your interpretation with a local person; and **E**valuate how well it seems to be working within the local context” (Brockington & Wiedenhoef, 2009, p. 126). The DIVE process helps students to avoid superficial observations and stereotyping, allowing them to have a “deeper” experience (Brockington & Wiedenhoef, 2009). Although Brockington & Wiedenhoef (2009) describe an easy to remember method for observation, reflection, and interpretation, their methodology is limited by the respective student’s worldview and biases. How can you ask a student who is monocultural and ethnocentric, having no previous experience with foreign cultures, to “**E**valuate how well [something] seems to be working within the local context” (Brockington & Wiedenhoef, 2009, p. 126) of a foreign culture? The IDI provides the needed information, what are called

“development tasks,” to focus students’ observations, reflections, and interpretations, based on their orientation. For example, if a student has a pre-trip IDI orientation of defense, their observations, reflections, and interpretations should be focused around their development task: “recognition of non-threatening, cultural differences” (Hammer, 2012, p. 30). I suggest using the DIV aspects of DIVE along with the development tasks of the IDI.

To further emphasize the importance of observation, reflection, and interpretation, according to my notes, students with high PMCI had no statistically significant difference in their pre- to post- intercultural competence compared to those with low PMCI. This is to say that, although some students had many opportunities to experience PMCI, they did not know how to observe, reflect on or interpret those experiences, consequently showing no increase in their intercultural competence and sensitivity. Of the 26 students who said that their assignments/opportunities were beneficial in helping them understand the host culture, the majority of them admitted that they didn’t know how to interpret these experiences. The following is an excerpt from my field notes (Lemmons, 2011) that provides an example of the importance of observation, reflection and interpretation:

The students have several activities to do here in Liberia, Costa Rica. One of them is to compare Liberia to the typical Latin American city structure as provided by the professor. This requires that the students survey the entire city, describing what sectors of the city contain what,

whether it be middle class, lower class, industrial, etc. Normally I would think that this is a great activity that causes the students to get out and look, to get out and observe and understand. I walked with one group of six to check out a large designated area on the map on the outskirts of the city. We used google earth images, provided by the professor, to get us around. We eventually split up into two groups of three half way through, to cover more ground. Again, I would like to say that this was a worthwhile activity that forced the students to do something that they wouldn't normally do; however, they spent the whole time just talking with one another. Occasionally they would get lost and look at the map to try and find out where they were. Occasionally they would look around to try and describe their surroundings. When they did look around the activity was very helpful, I saw several of the students digging deeper and asking some serious questions to try and understand. For example, one student asked, if the Costa Rican culture is so family oriented, why does every home have a huge wall around it? However, these observations were few and far between. The vast majority of the time was spent just walking around and talking to one another without ever looking up. The students seemed to figure that after seeing one part of the city, or even Costa Rica, that they had seen it all, and they lost interest in the task (pp. 4-5).

Although the students were involved in an activity that caused them to do something that they normally wouldn't do, the experience had little effect on them since they were unable to take advantage of this PMCI because of their admitted inability to observe, reflect upon and interpret these experiences. As one student succinctly put it, "despite the fact that we are going to places we wouldn't normally go, we still didn't know what we were looking for" (CR4). Adding further to this point, one student (CR1) said:

What am I looking for? Because it's really easy to go out and see things, but can you interpret it? Do you know what it means? Am I getting the full picture if I don't know something and I'm just looking at it, you know? ... I don't know much about cultural landscapes. Instead of just saying we're gonna go look around, or we're gonna go make this map, or whatever – if I had more insight before hand on what... I'm looking for, I think it would have helped me understand it more than just seeing it without instruction.

It is obvious that students did not benefit from PMCI's because they didn't know how to observe, reflect upon, and interpret those experiences. Using DIV along with the IDI development tasks may create more meaningful, deep, and perceptual experiences for the students, consequently increasing their intercultural competence.

3. *Encouragement*: In 1955, Lysgaard, a scholar on cultural adjustment, proposed the U-Curve hypothesis. This hypothesis was later expanded by Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1962) to the U-Curve Model of Intercultural Adjustment (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Although this model has come under severe criticism and is rarely used in contemporary intercultural research, it still provides us with an important concept that became very apparent in my participant observation. This is the concept of the “Ambivalence stage.” The Ambivalence stage is defined in this research as the stage at which students arrive after the novelty of the host country/culture has worn off and they are relatively comfortable. They are not comfortable because their understanding of the culture has allowed them to feel “at home,” but they are comfortable in their own ambivalence between the two cultures. This stage was evident in both the Brazil and Costa Rica 1 groups. The following is an example from my field notes (Lemmons, 2010):

Half way through, at the end of their stay in Barreiras, I noticed a real dip in meaningful interaction. The novelty seemed to have worn off, the shallow differences, comparisons and investigations had been made and the students almost seemed bored.

At this juncture it would be a good time to explore deeper cultural differences. The novelty of the shallow stuff like trying new foods has worn off. Students almost appear to be getting bored (which they offset with alcohol consumption). Now would be the time to give them more

tools and re-evaluate where they are at in terms of understanding the host culture.

Again, I think this slump is due to the novelty of the trip wearing off. People have experimented with the food, they've noticed the shallow differences and now the excitement of something new is gone. Left to their own devices, I think their subtle progress would stop here for awhile and they would become homesick. Some have commented that they are ready to go home. If they stayed in the country longer, then I believe that progress would eventually resume and they would begin to understand more and have deeper cultural understanding, but with such a short stay, this slump (ambivalence) is very detrimental to their intercultural competence progress (pp. 47, 49-50).

The direction of a study abroad program should take advantage of this stage of ambivalence. It is at this point that students need special encouragement to dig deeper into cultural meanings to develop their cultural competency. At this stage students are, in fact, primed for deeper understanding because they have experimented and understand the superficialities of the host culture, and because they are bored and feel *deprived* of continued discovery. They are primed because they want to recover the excitement that they enjoyed their first few days or weeks in the host culture.

To take advantage of their superficial knowledge and boredom, at this juncture, two things can be done. First, IDI Development Tasks. If using the IDI to evaluate pre-

trip intercultural competence, share with the students, at this time, their IDI score and provide them with individual suggestions, as provided by the IDI Developmental Tasks (Hammer, 2012), to further their intercultural competence. For example, if a student was measured to be in the polarization orientation predeparture, s/he is, according to my data, more than likely still in that orientation. The IDI Developmental Tasks provide the student with tools and suggestions that the student can use to develop beyond polarization. Every student's tasks are different and are based on their particular IDI score. An example of a suggestion provided from the IDI for someone in polarization is for the student to reduce polarization by equalizing criticism and finding common humanity (Hammer, 2012). Second, general encouragement. This process can be very frustrating to the student as they shift from superficial cultural understanding to more meaningful cultural understanding. Students need continual encouragement to move along this continuum, especially as they experience boredom and homesickness in the ambivalence stage.

The Path of Least Resistance Suggestions

Although remedies for study abroad were discussed in the above section, I would like to focus more specifically on the path of least resistance in this section as it requires more specific instruction.

In order to mitigate the “least resistance” problem, students should not be dissuaded from making friends and working as a group. As shown in Houser et al. (2012), networks formed while abroad may increase a student's academic performance.

Rather, the “least resistance” problem should be addressed by pre-trip and while-abroad activities that mitigate the student’s tendency to take the path of least resistance.

Pre-trip, students should be taught how to break away from the group, and should be assured that it is okay for individuals to break away.

While abroad, times should be scheduled for individual break away. This is especially important at the beginning of the trip so that students become more comfortable with breaking away, and with the methods learned to break away. It is also important to make sure that students know that, just because time is scheduled to break away, it doesn’t mean that they can’t break away on their own during unscheduled times. One student (CR3) expressed this point very well, saying:

On this trip it has, like, bothered me how everyone wants to stay in the group the entire time and do every little thing together. ...it’s great that we are all friends and everything, but ...people won’t go off and do their own thing, which – personally, I love being with other people and experiencing things with them – but I also love the times where I’ve just gone off by myself. Like one time I went off by myself and ended up talking to [some people]; it was a great experience. Being by yourself is better for cultural experience, because I feel like what some people have done is compromised what they want to do to just go along with the whole group. People just tag along because they don’t want to be

alone...but they didn't get the cultural experiences they could have gotten if they had went by themselves

Teaching students how to break away, reminding them that it is okay to break away, and scheduling times to break away are suggestions to help mitigate the “least resistance” phenomenon.

It should be noted that I do not provide post-trip suggestions. This is because I did not evaluate students post-trip and therefore have no data upon which to base suggestions. This is not to say that there are no important methods to be implemented post-trip that may further increase intercultural competence, just that this research cannot provide such information based on its methodology.

Discussion Conclusion

Short-term study abroad programs often fail to instill intercultural competence because of the shortcomings of Contact Theory, the difficulty of having deep cultural experiences, and the democratization of study abroad. This is why short-term study abroad programs often fail to live up to the assumptions of the DSA. Interventionist methods can be used to at least partly overcome these limitations (see Interventionist Rubric, Table 38), however short-term study abroad will continue to have little impact on its participants so long as the traditional learning paradigm is employed.

Pre-trip	Cross-cultural training	1. Define and explain the two aspects of culture
		2. Understand values and assumptions of own culture
		3. Understand values and assumptions of host culture
		4. Compare values and assumptions of cultures
		5. Explain culture shock and how to deal with culture shock
	Teach how to “break away”	Teach that it is okay to break away from the group
While abroad	Provide opportunities and schedule “break aways”	1. Guided
		2. Facilitated
		3. Organic
	Guided observation, reflection, and interpretation, based on IDI development tasks	Describe in value neutral terms
		Interpret within local context
		Verify interpretation
Encouragement	To help navigate levels of culture shock	

Table 38 Interventionist Rubric. Tools to increase intercultural interaction on a short-term study abroad

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I briefly summarize my findings with respect to the four research questions of this dissertation, and offer three reflections on my experience in writing this dissertation. The summaries are meant to remind the reader of major findings already reported in the preceding chapters. They contain no additional analysis or interpretation, omit many minor points, and are silent with respect to much of the theoretical, methodological and historical material. Needless to say, they can be adequately comprehended only if they are understood in the context of that wider background.

In the three reflections I will, however, tread some new ground because my concern is not limited to the origin and conduct of study abroad programs, but rather extends to the design and conduct of research in geography education generally. These are not, I hasten to add, methodological “rules” by which I believe every researcher in geography education should be bound, but rather suggestions that I believe many of those researchers will find valuable. Here are my reflections stated as general propositions. I will tie each of them to my research experience at the end of the chapter.

- (1) It is useful to adopt a critical attitude toward the fundamental presuppositions of the educational paradigm one is investigating. This does not mean a *hostile* attitude, but rather a questioning attitude that does not take these presuppositions as natural or obvious, and so asks where they came from. Adopting this attitude

naturally leads to investigation of what some have called the “genealogy” of these ideas, which is to say the cultural and historical context in which they came into being, developed and spread.

(2) Education research is important because education policy is prone to wishful thinking, but education research is valuable only so long as it remains uninfected by that wishful thinking. Most people place great hope in education as an instrument to advance and reform society, and this can be perilous because it is all too easy to mistake what one hopes is true for what one “knows” is true. Obviously, wishful thinking is no foundation for sound education policy, so education research should not hesitate to question propositions that are “obviously true.”

(3) We are most loyal to an educational program, and to the educational project generally, when we expose problems in those programs and that project. Exposing problems can be difficult for a loyal critic because it so closely resembles the activity of hostile critics, but loyal and hostile critics differ fundamentally because of their different intentions. The loyal critic intends to continue the criticized activity with greater success; the hostile critic intends to abolish the criticized activity—and hostile critics often succeed in the absence of loyal critics.

Summary of Research Findings

Research Objectives One and Two: Study Abroad to be Studied in Context

I have shown that liberalism is a positive doctrine that seeks to instill liberal principles in the rising generation and produce liberal subjects. This is done by way of a liberal education that seeks to create liberal subjects by breaking down traditional cultural beliefs, encouraging enthusiasm for progress (neoterism), and promoting universalism through the process of engineering consent. With this understanding of liberalism and liberal education in mind, policy makers established the DSA as a means to increase tolerance and openness, both of which were attributes they believed necessary in democratic citizens.

I have argued that contemporary study abroad must be understood within the historical, political, and cultural contexts of liberalism, liberal education, and the DSA. This context helps us to understand that, although there is presently a burgeoning learning centered study abroad movement, the historical inertia of the DSA may prevent any major change within contemporary study abroad.

In the 1960s, researchers concerned with the DSA and the possible “educational scandal” it was creating, organized conferences to define a new, legitimate and rigorous academic plan for study abroad. However, this movement failed to bring any lasting change to the already established DSA. As the 1960s movement failed to make a lasting impact, we can assume that the learning centered movement will have to overcome stiff resistance if it is to make a lasting impact.

Unless institutions of higher education reject the DSA and consciously incorporate changes called for since the 1960s by the learning centered movement, study abroad will continue to be weakened by the false assumptions of the DSA.

Research Objective Three: Effects of Short-term Study Abroad

My hypothesis was that the majority of short-term study abroad students returned from their experience relatively unaffected, and my results confirm this by showing that there was no statistically significant difference in students' intercultural competency and sensitivity pre-test to post-test. However, at this point, there appears to be a disconnect in terms of purpose and methods. It is stated in the methods section that the aim of the three respective study abroad programs was not acquisition of cultural competency. The stated purposes were to gain competency in geography field methods, human-environment interaction, and research. Nevertheless, the specific aim of the respective study abroad and its fulfillment of those aims is not the question focused on in this research. The presuppositions under which those study abroad programs were run is the focus.

Despite the fact that these study abroad programs had no explicit cultural focus, they were still run under the assumption that they would have *some* cultural impact on the students. This presupposition is held by universities, who state that the purpose of their study abroad programs is to transform the student in some positive manner through cultural experience. Universities also use the number of study abroad participants as a way to measure levels of internationalization, regardless of the specific aims of the

various programs in which those participants are enrolled. This presupposition is also held by the students enrolling in the programs. Nineteen of the 41 students said that they were studying abroad to experience the host culture. In the “Reflection of Liberalism” section of the results chapter I demonstrate how these presuppositions persist in students’ decision to study abroad. To give an explicit example from the REU program that solely focused on research, one student (R7), when asked why s/he decided on this particular REU program, said:

I consider myself... a global citizen. And I just think that is so important that...we’re taking responsibilities for our own futures. I want to study other cultures, I want to be there and see how they interact. That’s why going abroad is so important to me specifically

The DSA assumes that any study abroad experience will relativise student attitudes, but the IDI, which measures students on a continuum from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism, reveals that students returned home un-ethnorelativised by their experience. Therefore, contemporary short-term study abroad does not validate the assumptions of the DSA.

Duration, Immersion, Motivation, and Comprehension. Part of objective three was to find out whether duration, immersion, student motivation, or student comprehension of a cultural experience had any effect on students’ pre- to post- IDI score. In respect to duration, it was hypothesized that as duration increased, IDI score would increase.

However, no statistically significant difference was found between the three groups, which all had different time spans.. Through this analysis it is concluded that short-term study abroad conducted in this manner has no affect on student's cultural competency and sensitivity, whether the duration was one week, two weeks, or four weeks.

In regard to immersion, it was hypothesized that as immersion increased, so would the IDI score. Immersion, as measured by PMCI and PMCI-O, had no statistically significant effect on students' cultural competency and sensitivity. It is concluded that the amount of time spent by an individual in immersion on a short-term study abroad experience has no effect on his/her cultural competence and sensitivity.

In terms of students' motivation for studying abroad, it was hypothesized that significant differences would be had in the IDI score pre- to post- dependent on the student's motivation for studying abroad. This hypothesis is confirmed. There was a significant statistical difference in pre- to post- IDI score depending on student's motivation. Students who shared the motivation of "culture" were more likely to score a higher IDI score pre- to post- than those students who did not share this motivation.

Finally, it was hypothesized that students who comprehended the definition of a cultural experience and could give a competent example would score higher on the IDI pre- to post- than students who did not show comprehension of cultural definition or experience. Comprehension of these variables was, however, not a significant variable in IDI change pre- to post-. Therefore, whether or not students were able to give a competent definition and example of a cultural experience had no effect on their intercultural competence.

Research Objective Four: Suggestions

There are three main reasons why contemporary short-term study abroad does not live up to the promises of the DSA, (1) the limitations of contact theory; (2) students' inability to have cultural experiences; and (3) democratization of study abroad = disappointment. I suggested a rubric for interventionists that will help mitigate the effects of the three aforementioned reasons. Specifically, I argue that interventionist methods must be incorporated into study abroad programs so that they can move from the traditional learning method to the learning center method. It is through interventions in learning where real progress is made in terms of intercultural understanding (Vande Berge & Paige, 2009).

Most researchers would prefer to have a perfectly controlled experiment. In study abroad research, however, this is difficult because no two study abroad programs are alike, even when the program is repeated annually, in the same location, with the same syllabus. There are still too many variables. However, I believe that certain measures can be taken to create a "more" controlled experiment. If I could design my research, knowing what I know now, I would have split each study abroad program into two groups. I would research and observe one group as I did in this research, and I would implement a more learning centered curriculum with the other group. I would then observe and test the differences in intercultural competence between the groups much like I tested the overall groups in this dissertation. I believe that these results would render a much more definitive conclusion in terms of traditional study abroad and intervention.

General Reflections on this Research Experience

Examine “Subterranean Policy”

Every society has an education policy. From earliest times tribal elders and civic leaders have sought to shape the rising generation in programs that imparted certain skills, instilled certain beliefs, and cultivated certain attitudes. The content and complexity of our post-industrial education policy is vastly different than that of our ancestors, but the fundamental purpose remains the same. It is to produce a subject who can function, and we hope flourish, in our post-industrial society.

Much of this education policy is, we might say, “on the surface” and readily apparent. It is consciously designed and directed toward aims that we all acknowledge. We talk about it and in some cases disagree. At the same time there lies beneath this surface policy a subterranean policy that is so long-established and so universally accepted that we seldom if ever talk about it. Its aims appear to us as aims inherent in the very nature of education, not as aims that our society has chosen.

Take, for instance, the notion that the aim of education is to broaden the student’s mind and widen the student’s sympathies. This seems to us obvious, perhaps even the very definition of education. However this is a subterranean education policy, as can be seen when we consider that the education policy of most societies throughout history has been to narrow the student’s mind and intensify the student’s loyalty to the values and interests of his group. Our “liberal” education policy is, in fact, a deviation from the ethnocentric policies typical of our species.

Some may suppose that the only reason to burrow down to subterranean policies is to undermine the programs that are built on them, and that the only reason to investigate the genealogy of an idea is to find that it is descended from an embarrassing ancestor. This is not so. One may inspect the foundation of a house in order to keep it from falling down, and one may undertake genealogy to improve understanding of one's identity. This was my experience when I discovered the subterranean policy and remote ancestry of study abroad. Far from weakening my commitment to the fundamental goals of study abroad programs, it caused me to recommit myself to advancing them in an improved form.

Beware of Wishful Thinking

I began this research as an idealistic advocate of study abroad programs. Along the way I lost some of my idealism, but none of my sense of advocacy. As I have shown, some of the supposed benefits of study abroad programs are, at least in the case of short-term programs, minimal or altogether illusory. This is not to say that such programs have no benefits whatsoever: most have aims in addition to teaching cultural competence, and there is no reason to doubt these other aims are being met. However, I no longer believe that we can assume that improvements in cultural competence automatically result from a short-term study abroad experience.

This was disillusioning, although, as I explain below, it did not cause me to despair. In fact it helped me to learn a valuable lesson. Because it is imagined that students are profoundly improved by a study abroad experience, we very often do

imagine that they are improved. Unfortunately, as I have shown, this improvement is in many cases imaginary. We are, in other words, in the grip of wishful thinking.

I now see the importance of being on guard against wishful thinking in geography education research. Wishful thinking is a hazard for any researchers, but it is especially hazardous when researching a policy in which we have implicit confidence, and in which we place avid hope. If we come across an educational platitude that everyone “knows” is true, we should be quick to ask what grounds there are for believing that it is true. And if no one can tell us, we should try to find out if there are any.

Be a Loyal Critic

I was, at first, very disappointed in what I have observed and discovered about the outcomes of study abroad participation. However, I came to see that disappointing results are necessary for improvement. Finding faults and failures is the first step toward changing and repairing the flawed educational policies of study abroad.

I still believe that there is nothing *essentially* wrong with the idea that students can increase their cultural competence through participation in study abroad programs. I remain hopefully optimistic that study abroad can be used in a manner that is extremely beneficial to the student. Because I retain my fundamental confidence in, and commitment to, study abroad programs, I am a loyal rather than a hostile critic.

A loyal critic seeks flaws in order to correct them. A hostile critic seeks flaws in order to condemn and if possible destroy the activity of which they are a part. The two

types of critic are distinguished by their intentions, and their intentions are revealed in the solutions they recommend to discovered problems. The loyal critic recommends bandaging the wound; the hostile critic recommends amputating the leg.

As a loyal critic of study abroad, I recommend bandaging the wound. This means implementing learning centered programs that are strictly administered through a regiment of best practices for purposeful learning. The full meaning of those words can be found in the relevant chapter. Here my purpose is simply to make the general remark that disappointing results should not discourage the loyal critic. They will, instead, encourage the loyal critic to energetically seek solutions to the problems that he has discovered. And that is precisely what I have tried to do in this dissertation.

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