

**Journeys to the Self and Germany: Study Abroad
Narratives in the Context of American Culture**

Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde des Doktors der
Philosophie der Fakultät Kulturwissenschaften der
Universität Dortmund

vorgelegt von

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Dortmund, Juni 2007

Gewidmet meinen Eltern und all denen, die mich immer wieder unterstützt und motiviert haben und besonders dem Menschen, dessen Ermutigung und "Nörgeleien" mich dazu gebracht haben, diese Arbeit zu vollenden und der nun unbeschreiblich stolz auf mich ist.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Mankind's capacity for decent behavior seems to vary directly with our perception of others as individual human beings with human motives and feelings, whereas our capacity for barbarism seems related to our perception of an adversary in abstract terms. International educational exchange is the most significant current project designed to continue the process of humanizing mankind to the point that we can learn to live in peace. (Fulbright, 1986)

William J. Fulbright's quotation taken from his remarks at a Fulbright event in the Netherlands in 1986 underlines the importance of international education in the dialogue between cultures. Today, almost two decades later, the impact of international education does not seem to have lost any of its relevance. With his remarks Fulbright emphasizes the necessity to get to know the unknown and to make the unfamiliar familiar as he explains that decent behavior is a result of encounter and knowledge about others while barbarism is rooted in an abstract view of others. In his view, international educational exchange can serve as a means to foster the understanding between nations as it helps students to understand other cultures. Following Fulbright's line of argumentation and the belief of international educators, the benefits and advantages of study abroad programs are apparent and worth promoting. Study abroad programs and their impact on students as well as on international cooperation have been the focus of a variety of research over the last decades. Among others, questions have been raised about how students can be motivated to go abroad and how they can make the most out of the experience.

Given the significance of study abroad, the cooperation between universities and the creation of adequate programs for students,

especially American students, have been on the agenda of international educators. In order to make students aware of the possibilities of international exchange and to convince them of the benefits of participating in study abroad programs, the international offices of universities have developed marketing material and extensive counselling to inform students about their services and present their options to them. The marketing material used to promote study abroad programs brings a number of interesting messages across to students. Students are convinced that taking part in a study abroad program will both be a wonderful experience and a fabulous benefit for their education. Given the variety and quantity of this material and its significance in the study abroad process overall, an analysis of the discourses used in order to convince students to go abroad is called for and can promote an important addition to the manifold analyses of the other phases of the exchange process.

For the analysis, printed and online material from over 30 American universities and websites of over 50 US-institutions will be used as a resource to understand how marketing for study abroad programs works. It will be shown that along with a number of incentives that range from academic, personal and career-oriented reasons, the theme of the authenticity of the experiences and the access to the culture of the host country are central topics in this material.

From the very start of this investigation, parallels between study abroad and tourism, especially with regard to public relations have been obvious. As tourism and study abroad programs seem to sell similar dreams to the potential customer, research on tourism is relevant for the analysis of the material used to promote study abroad programs. In fact, it became an essential question in my research how tourism and study abroad programs are

interconnected and which similarities and differences operate in that material. How does the selling of dreams operate in study abroad?

To my knowledge there has been no extensive research on the material promoting study abroad. This is surprising, because it not only offers us insight into the initial sequence of study abroad, but also reveals the narratives operating in the field, complete with images, stereotypes and clichés which are part of the nature of American culture. Alongside a detailed analysis of these narratives at large, I will also look at the stories about Germany as a study abroad location.

Chapter 2 will provide an overview of current theories and methods that are significant for the analysis of study abroad discourse in general, only some of which are relevant for the analytical part of this dissertation. I have found that these theories provide in themselves interesting discourses which can be profitably considered in the context of international education and have therefore looked at them at greater length than their immediate usefulness for the analytical parts would have warranted.

The texts of the printed material and the contents of American universities' websites are viewed as discourses and analyzed with regard to their thematic substance. As this study combines elements of both discourse analysis and cultural studies, central parameters from both fields will be defined and explained. In this chapter principles and elements of marketing theory that are valuable for the detailed analysis of the material are described. These insights into marketing theory provide a basis for the understanding of format and design of the study abroad material and will be helpful trying to 'see through' marketing strategies and approaches.

In order to understand the mechanisms of the wider complex, chapter 3 of this dissertation will outline various conceptual models that can be applied to analyze study abroad discourses. I will explore the concept of authenticity in further detail as it is a central element in the argumentation for international exchange programs and has evolved over the years as a driving force for travel as well as tourism. This chapter provides an overview of different notions of authenticity and the meaning of the concepts in different schools of thoughts and scientific fields. German philosopher Martin Heidegger's concept of authenticity is explained and transferred and compared to the concept of authenticity in anthropology. Furthermore, different theories on the notion of authenticity in tourism and the lack of authenticity in modern forms of tourism are presented and compared to the possible existence of authentic experiences in study abroad programs. In a further step the interconnections between educational travel, tourism and study abroad programs are shown. The history of educational travel and the evolution of mass tourism will be explored to show the similarities and, more importantly, the differences between educational travel and tourism which becomes apparent in a "traveler versus tourist"-dichotomy. As will be shown, this distinction implies a value judgment on traveler and tourist, assigning the traveler a superior status as the purpose for touristic journeys is recreational while travelers undertake journeys with a supposedly meaningful purpose. This feeling of superiority is also expressed in the belief that only travelers will be able to gain access to the host culture and have a chance to make authentic experiences. By showing the history and impacts of study abroad programs, chapter 3 also explains how study abroad students have come to represent the educational 'traveler' of today, resulting in a reformulation of the "traveler versus tourist"-dichotomy into the "study abroad student versus tourist"-dichotomy. Again, the

discourse used to promote international exchange programs reserves the privilege to achieve authenticity and obtain access to the genuine and unspoiled culture for study abroad students who seem to have the advantage of spending a longer period of time in the host culture and to connect with everyday life and learn to solve everyday problems they encounter.

Chapter 4, the central part of my study, provides an analysis of the material used to advertise study abroad programs in general and specific texts used to promote various study locations in Germany. The analysis will show that certain strategies make use of American cultural narratives to convey the benefits of study abroad as well as to construct realities of different German study locations.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the analysis by recapitulating the interaction between travel, tourism and study abroad while paying special attention to the question of authenticity. The narratives about study abroad in general and about German study abroad locations are reviewed and assessed. This chapter also attempts to give some advice on how to create effective marketing for international exchange. Based on the mechanisms and narratives found and their effectiveness within the field of marketing, I would like to make some small suggestions about which marketing strategies and principles might be worthwhile to convince students to study abroad, going away from the concepts presented in the analysis and draw a more vivid picture of the host culture and the process students engage in when they enter the adventure of study abroad.

2 METHODS

In this chapter, I will provide an overview and description of the theories and methods I will use in this study. Furthermore I will give definitions of the key terms used in the analysis of this thesis.

Cultural Studies

Approaches and key terms from the field of Cultural Studies will be helpful in the definition of terms such as 'authentic culture' and of cultural narratives. As will be shown, this study connects cultural studies and discourse analysis since notions of discourse and cultural narratives depend on each other.

With the advent of cultural studies, an inflationary number of definitions of culture has emerged:

Culture has been variously described as 'cultivation', as 'a whole way of life', as 'like a language', as 'power' and as a 'tool' etc. That is that the abstraction 'culture' covers a variety of ways of looking at human conduct and can be used for a range of purposes. (Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 3)

Cultural studies pioneer Stuart Hall (1997) views culture as a way of perception and interpretation:

To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other. Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and 'making sense' of the world, in broadly similar ways. (Hall, 1997: 2)

Hall's definition approaches the use of the term 'culture' in the present study. 'Culture' is viewed as a construct that is formed and shaped by stories and discourse that are predominant within a nation. In the field of cultural studies which are trying to make sense out of the discursive meanings that form the way of life which is distinctive for a particular group, the so-called cultural narrative is a major device in shaping the forming of culture and identity. Cultural Narratives are those distinctive stories that are accepted by society as containing ideas and values that are agreed upon and that form the nation.

Another concept that is closely connected to the notion of culture is 'ethnicity' as it works on a very similar level using shared norms, beliefs and values. Originally used to refer to 'racial' characteristic, 'ethnic' is used today to differentiate between groups that define themselves on the basis of cultural differences. This implies that the mutual values and beliefs manifest in the 'culture' shared by a particular group provide the basis for the distinction and identification with a specific 'ethnic' group. For this study 'ethnicity' works on different levels, as the American students who go abroad will either view themselves as members of a specific, i.e. American culture, and/or as members of a specific ethnic group. This feeling is enhanced by the fact that they are entering a foreign culture and hence have a clearer perspective on their own origins and cultural background.

With regard to the material used to promote study abroad programs it will be shown that a wide range of 'ethnic' as well as 'regional' markers are prominently used to define and distinguish between different German study locations. In an attempt to define the term one of the basic assumptions is that the identity of a particular ethnic group is distinctly different from that of an alternative group. In his book *Cultural Studies. Theory and Practice*

(2000) Chris Barker defines the term as follows:

Ethnicity: A cultural term for boundary formation between groups of people who have been discursively constructed as sharing values, norms, practices, symbols and artifacts and are seen as such by themselves and others. (Barker, 2000: 384)

This definition also covers a sense of belonging to a particular group. The membership in one group is mainly defined by knowing that one is different from others, for instance US-students "knowing" that they are not English or Russian or German but American. Whenever the concept of ethnicity is discussed there are two main views: the essentialist concept of ethnicity is built on the idea that that ethnicity is a pre-existing, in-built identity, whereas the anti-essentialist view believes that ethnicity is constructed via discourse (cf. Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 123). In this thesis I will hold on to the anti-essentialist view of ethnicity, regarding it as a construct created by discourse although I do realize that the essentialist model does operate also in study abroad. . The concept of ethnicity is closely related to nationalism and the idea of a 'national identity'.

Similar to the concept of ethnicity the idea of a 'national identity' is created by discourse. Instead of a cultural concept, the underlying feature is a political concept as the 'nation-state' is in the focus. Barker offers the following definition:

National identity: A form of imaginative identification with the nation-state as expressed through symbols and discourses. Thus, nationals are not only political formations but systems of cultural representation, so that national identity is continually reproduced through discursive action. (Barker, 2000: 387)

The constant process of reproducing the discourse producing a particular national identity generates feelings of "origin, continuity and tradition" (Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 124). The creation of a distinctive 'regional' identity operates with the same parameters. The texts used to promote different study locations within Germany will provide examples for the creation and construction of these 'regional' identities. The discursive features that are used are often narratives that underline this tradition and continuity. A special form of narrative that helps in the construction of culture as well as identity is the concept of cultural narratives.

One aspect that is worth looking at is the construction of identity via tourism. As Catherine Palmer explains in an article on the "Ethnography of Englishness" the identity of a place is perceived through the encounter with sites of national significance. Tourism, i.e. the act of traveling to other places, has a direct effect on how someone understands their own cultural heritage as it is perceived in a different way when we encounter foreign cultures. According to Palmer it is important to keep in mind that "identity is not a neutral concept and it is always necessary to ask who is doing the defining, on what basis, and for what purpose" (Palmer, 2005: 8), as she is convinced that different definitions of identity are constructed to serve certain purposes (cf. Palmer, 2005: 8). In its presentation in the Internet, the German Tourist Board, as will be shown in chapter five, for instance uses themes such as German fighting spirit, and superior quality in industrial design to create an identity that is sought and promoted by the German tourism industry for the world market. In this case it does not matter at all whether a German citizen can identify with these features as they seem to be fixed statements and thus construct a reality of Germany that sells. The photographs that are used on the website are supposed to be icons of 'Germanness' carefully selected to

convey what the national identity is all about. What is interesting here is that there seems to be a move away from the traditional symbols of castles and mountains as we have a beach scenery that would probably not instantly be connected with Germany. According to Palmer it is more common in the construction of national identities to use certain icons of heritage tourism, such as historical buildings and sights of national significance. For the British this could be for instance Battle Abbey that is a symbol for the roots of England as a nation since the Battle of Hastings in 1066 was fought close to where the Abbey was built. In Germany, however, historical icons such as the Reichstag for instance are often connected with a problematical part of German history, the times of the Nazi regime, so that it is understandable that the German Tourist Board would make an attempt to reinvent Germany as a modern and progressive nation, a "country rich in experiences". Presenting a wide variety of experiences and events Germany has to offer the German Tourist Board actually departs from a concept that Palmer describes as pursuit of "cultural homogeneity" (Palmer, 2005: 10), the result of the communication of a constant set of markers of identity agreed on by the general public. This concept of cultural homogeneity that creates a strong differentiation between 'us' as the nationals and 'them' as the outsiders from other nations and thus establishes a sense of belonging is used, however, not to promote a touristic image but to keep the nation as a whole together, to support the idea of a national identity. As the website for German tourism is designed for the 'outsiders', namely for tourists interested in traveling to Germany, we can easily explain that difference. It is, nevertheless, interesting what concepts are used to promote a nation as a touristic destination.

As we have seen a destination can either be described from the outside, i.e. by travel writers producing information about that destination for prospective visitors or from the inside, i.e. for instance by the tourist board of that destination. In both cases there is an underlying purpose, namely to increase the number of tourists to that particular country. Often this concentration on certain myths and narratives does not only have positive effects. Tourism researchers are concerned about potential negative effects on tourists as well as members of the host culture. Thus, researchers in tourism try to come up with forms of tourism that have the capability to do without the prefabricated interpretations provided and that provide alternative viewpoints. What is supposed to be achieved through alternative forms of tourism is the establishment of a respectful relationship between tourists and members of the host culture.

The tourism industry makes a diverse range of geographical locations available to visitors and thereby translates them into tourist destinations. This 'translation' is primarily achieved by discursive activities. Potential tourists are often trying to escape the dissatisfaction of modern urban existence and seeking more pleasant environments, which in most cases are "sites unseen" for them and can be reached through the formulation of dreams and myths. Potential tourists, similar to students interested in study abroad, have to rely on a variety of visual images and the written word of companies, information sources and individuals to attempt to make a more or less informed choice. It is important to be aware of the different information sources and of the influence they have on the decisions made.

Main elements of the discursive activities to construct a tourist destination are narratives. A narrative is an "ordered sequential account or record of events. The form, pattern or structure by

which stories are constructed and told" (Barker, 2000: 387). 'Cultural narrative' in turn describes those stories that have been generally accepted over time to define the culture of a nation. These cultural narratives help individuals to make sense of the events around them and to put them into a context that is familiar to them or as Roger Betsworth puts it:

Cultural narratives differ from ordinary stories told in a culture. In order to be told a story must be set within a world. The cultural narrative establishes the world in which an ordinary story makes sense. It informs people's sense of the story in which they set the story of their own lives. The history, scriptures, and literary narratives of a culture, the stories told of and in family and clan, and the stories of popular culture all articulate and clarify the world of the cultural narrative in which they are set. Thus a cultural narrative is not directly told. Indeed, the culture itself seems to be telling the cultural narrative. (Betsworth, 2002: 15)

Therefore, for this research I will view 'cultural narratives' as shaping the identity and discursive functions of a particular culture. In the analysis of the study abroad material I show the operation of American cultural narratives designed to convince the students about the benefits of a study abroad experience. Also, the cultural narratives found in the description of the German culture that the students will supposedly encounter abroad will be examined.

Cultural studies have developed critical concepts of culture, often from a Marxist perspective. In the examination of the material used to promote study abroad programs it will become clear that 'culture' is also a commodity or a good that can be experienced and discovered but also produced and bought. This process, which seems to be governed by open market rules and regulations, can be

viewed as a 'commodification of culture'. Commodification can be described as follows:

The process associated with capitalism by which objects, qualities and signs are turned into commodities, where a commodity is something whose prime purpose is sale in the marketplace. (Barker, 2000: 382)

What is implied in a 'commodification of culture' is that we not only have a process where something abstract such as culture is turned into a commodity but also that it is standardized and homogenized by using all-embracing principles. The result of this process is a mass-compatible version of 'culture' that stands in sharp contrast to the so-called 'authentic culture' that is for instance promised to study abroad students when they take part in exchange programs.

Discourse Analysis

According to Barker and Galasiński and their book *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis. A dialogue on Language and Identity* (2001) it is critical discourse analysis that can provide us with tools to understand the constructed realities and cultural narratives used in the material to promote study abroad programs:

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is able to provide the understanding, skills and tools by which we can demonstrate the place of language in the construction, constitution and regulation of the social world (Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 1).

With regard to the analysis of the material used to promote study abroad it will be central to keep in mind that these texts have been edited and designed with a special purpose in mind, namely to convince students to study abroad. The discourse found in the

study abroad material is deliberately used to create a certain 'reality'. This 'construction' of reality—in our case the creation of stories about study abroad—puts the authors of these text in a very powerful position as they make the choice what kind of reality is supposed to be constructed. The influence and impact of the texts depends on the degree of circulation as well as the target group.

Aspects that are important in critical discourse analysis are the global and local context of a particular text as well as the settings, values and aims a text contains. In order to adjust the aims of a particular text to the recipients the authors have to obtain information about their target group and how to reach it most effectively. As will be shown in the section about 'Marketing Theory' a thorough marketing analysis can provide the producers of promotional material with detailed information about their target group so that the material can be tailor-made for their purposes.

Thus, it can be said that

through discourse and other semiotic practices [that] ideologies are formulated, reproduced and reinforced", viewing the term 'ideology' as the "social (general and abstract) representations shared by members of a group and used by them to accomplish everyday social practices [...] (Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 65).

The concept of 'ideology' introduced here has often been used in opposition to truth; an antagonism directly connected to the concept of authenticity and constructed realities. With regard to the question about the 'ideology' of a certain text the author's intention and the particular purpose of a text have to be considered when looking at the statements students are confronted with when they read the material to promote study abroad programs. The promises that are made to students with regard to

the benefits of international educational exchange could be viewed as ideological statements mainly used to convince and persuade students and to create a common line of thinking.

Barker and Galasiński discuss the idea of "lived" and "intellectual" ideologies, the latter being a "coherent system of thought" (Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 67) used in texts about politics, philosophy or religion. In my opinion this definition can be expanded to discourse used for marketing purposes as we will see that certain ideologies are 'designed' with the special marketing purposes in mind in order to convince students that they will benefit from participating in a study abroad program and that they will have wonderful experiences.

The authors list a number of different linguistic parameters for discourse analysis which will be helpful to understand the material, such as vocabulary, mood and forms of address etc (cf. Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 73ff). I will have a closer look at some of these features, such as vocabulary, mood, information structure, markers of ethnicity and cohesion, as they play a substantial role in the analysis of the marketing material used by the study abroad offices.

Linguistic Parameters

The use of vocabulary is very important and in no way arbitrary in a text used for marketing a special purpose. The authors of the text are aware that certain words possess certain connotations and should therefore be used or—if the connotation is negative—be avoided. While there may be negative connotations words can also trigger positive feelings. Referring to American values such as "freedom" or "success" will evoke other feelings in an American audience than with other recipients (cf. Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 73).

With regard to the 'mood' of a text, different categories such as 'declarative', 'interrogative' and 'imperative' apply. These categories are viewed as the three major types (cf. Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 76). For the purpose of my research, the 'imperative' mood will be most important as the aim to convince the students to go abroad will only be achieved by using a persuasive and sometimes 'imperative' mood. For text to have an imperative mood it is also important that the authors are seen as having some power or authority over their audience. This authority can for instance be explained by expert knowledge, which in the case of the texts used to promote educational exchange can be seen as the professional knowledge of the study abroad advisors in the international offices which publish the material.

Information structure is another important parameter in the analysis of a text, as the way information is structured and presented to the audience is an important issue the authors of texts have to keep in mind. The relationship between old and new information, i.e. between information that is already familiar to the reader and topics that contain new information, has to be well-balanced. In the material used to promote study abroad programs there has to be some sort of stability of information as the students expect general information about the variety of exchange programs that their university offers, detailed information about the format and design of these programs and some reasons on why they should go abroad in the first place. In addition to that students are also confronted with information that builds on their prefabricated conception of study abroad and hence reinforces these assumptions. Often cultural narratives are used to appeal to the students' beliefs and value systems.

A direct connection between cultural studies and discourse analysis can be made with regard to the concept of 'ethnicity' which in the field of discourse analysis can be related to in the form of 'ethnic markers'. In order to maintain the claim that ethnicity is a concept constructed by discourse it is necessary to identify certain linguistic features that are visible in the process of this construction. The linguistic features in that respect have to create feelings of "unity, sameness, difference and origin". The main linguistic markers are personal or spatial references (Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 126). In the texts used to promote study abroad programs we will encounter numerous personal references such as the use of personal pronouns ('we' or 'you') or spatial references to geographical entities (places, rivers, mountains etc.) that as we will see contribute immensely to the construction of the 'German culture' that students are promised to encounter when they study in one of the German study locations.

Similar to the other parameters mentioned so far the 'cohesion' of a text plays an important role in the relationship between the authors and the recipients. A text can be given cohesion through different means, such as reference or lexical cohesion but it is the concept of 'coherence' that is more interesting in the analysis of the promotional material:

Coherence describes the text as 'sticking together' not because of formal linguistic units, but as a consequence of social rules of communication and cultural knowledge. A 'coherent' text is a text in which there is no violation of conversation rules according to our cultural knowledge of scripts, interaction, dialogue etc. Further, coherence is 'felt' rather than measured. (Barker & Galasiński, 2001: 80)

This quote underlines that the expectation of the reader is vital for the interpretation of the text. It can be assumed that the reader has certain expectations about the content and information the text is supposed to provide. With regard to marketing and the analysis that is conducted about the potential target groups it can be imagined that the authors of texts used for marketing purposes will try to exclude any false interpretations of the information they provide as they have a certain purpose in mind.

The quote also mentions the term of "cultural scripts" which provide interesting aspects for discussion when they are viewed in the context of a possible discrepancy between the situation and experiences that students are promised and consequently expect and the possible 'unauthentic' reality they encounter when they finally have established contact with their host culture.

Cultural Scripts

The concept of scripts has been introduced by Roger C. Schank (1977) to explain the way individuals organize knowledge and interpret the world and certain situations. In order to understand the world around them people refer to two classes of knowledge, namely general and specific knowledge. Situations that are interpreted by reference to general knowledge often deal with human needs that need to be fulfilled, for instance somebody asking for a glass of water in order to drink it and quench his or her thirst. Specific knowledge is drawn upon when individuals encounter situations they have managed numerous times before. This will for instance be the case when we enter a theater and are asked to present our tickets at the entrance. Schank explains the interpretative process that goes on in the mind of the theatergoer as a reference to a certain script, in this case the "theater script" that provides connectivity to the events (cf. Schank, 1977: 40).

He offers the following definition for scripts:

A script is a structure that describes appropriate sequences of events in a particular context. A script is made up of slots and requirements about what can fill those slots. The structure is an interconnected whole, and what is in one slot affects what can be in another. Scripts handle stylized everyday situations. They are not subject to much change, nor do they provide the apparatus for handling totally novel situations. Thus, a script is a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation. (Schank, 1977: 41)

The question that comes to mind with regard to the material used to promote study abroad is whether these texts provide students with certain scripts. Even though Schank mentions that scripts do not provide help to handle new situations, circumstances that will be experienced as unfamiliar and unknown, it is certainly possible that students will enter their host culture with certain scripts in mind. If we imagine American students entering a German university it would be quite normal for them to refer to the 'university script' they have in mind from the knowledge they have gained through studying at their home institution. Furthermore they could have been filled with concepts and ideas that function similar to a script introduced by the texts they were presented with by the study abroad offices. The question that is important with regard to this issue is whether the material used to promote study abroad builds on the assumptions students are believed to already have or whether new concepts and ideas are generated and conveyed to the students. It will be important for their comfort in the host culture whether they can apply the scripts they have acquired over time or whether their acquired scripts fail because of the different cultural space they have entered. On the other hand, some students might find pleasure in the challenge to readjust their 'scripts' to successfully handle their new situation.

Functions and Forms of Language

Apart from the linguistic markers and concepts that have been discussed other aspects of discourse analysis focus on the functions of language. For this research the texts used to promote study abroad are viewed as language in use and it is important to examine what this language is used for. Language fulfills different functions which can be divided into two major functions, the transactional and the interactional function (cf. Brown, Yule, 1983: 1). Both functions may interact with each other but they serve different purposes.

This view of language is based on the approach that besides its communicative functions the primary purpose of language is the "communication of information" (Brown, Yule, 1983: 2). The basic assumption here is that the information conveyed is "factual and propositional" information while the user of the transactional function is believed to have the intention to transmit the information in the most efficient way. Nevertheless the principle of a 'primary' purpose can be questioned as a possible selection of the information done by the author might reflect his or her intention, acknowledging the fact that there might be another purpose of language. What can be connected to this is the concept of Relevance Theory proposed by linguists Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson who assert that a relationship between the information provided by a communicator and the audience is obvious as "a communicator provides evidence of her intention to convey a certain meaning, which is inferred by the audience on the basis of the evidence provided" (Sperber, Wilson, 2004: 1). This approach implies that the intention of the author and the interpretation of the audience are equally important. Yet, situations that are shaped by the use of transactional language have an informative "message oriented" character, for instance when a teacher explains an

exercise or a policeman gives directions, as these are circumstances that call for a swift and uncomplicated transmission of information, without requiring further explanation.

Especially sociologists and sociolinguists pay special attention to a further aspect of language, namely its function to "establish and maintain social relationships" (Brown, Yule, 1983: 3). Most of the language used in everyday conversation is interactional or interpersonal since its primary purpose is not the communication of information but the establishment of contact between people. Conversations between two partners are dominated by elements of "small talk" which are used to signal friendliness and interest in the communication partner. What is more important here is the feeling that both share a common point of view.

With regard to different forms of language, a common differentiation is made between spoken and written language. It is important to note that spoken language mostly serves an interactional purpose whereas written language is used mostly to convey information to the reader, as a written piece of information might have a stronger degree of credibility. It will be interesting to see how these concepts can be transferred to the promotional material as there might be a strong difference between genuine information and information used in a marketing context which the reader is supposed to view as factual.

Both spoken and written language play an important role in the marketing of study abroad. While texts used in the internet, flyers and brochures are the primary focus it is important to keep in mind that "word of mouth", the information that is conveyed to a possible study abroad student by advisers and more importantly other students are equally important. While speech and direct conversation include personal interaction, the written language

cannot be altered immediately with regard to the reaction it produces. The planning process involved in the production of written material is considerably longer and consequently allows for a stronger degree of influence on the potential reader. Thus, promotional material may include other elements such as pictures, quotations or catchy phrases and slogans that address the reader on an emotional level. On the other hand it is essential for this material to include a great deal of information as students are supposed to base their decision to study abroad on the content they gather from the material.

In the discussion of written texts, Brown for instance views the term "text" as a "technical term, to refer to the verbal record of a communicative act" (Brown, Yule, 1983: 6). While there are many different definitions of 'text' which go far beyond this notion this rather technical characterization assumes that a text is a recorded manifestation of a speech act. It is, however, crucial to notice that the way in which a text is presented influences the interpretation of the reader. While different type-faces and different styles are used to emphasize certain aspects, such as the use of italics to underline the importance of certain words, the design of a text serves a very important function with regard to the effect it has on the reader. This will become clear when looking at the promotional material: The personal testimony "Spending time in a foreign country gave me a whole new view on my own culture" used as part of a longer text may have a totally different effect than the same quotation in a different type-face that is placed next to a picture of a young and happy student. Here, the relationship between written and spoken language becomes obvious: even if the conveyance of information can be viewed as the most important function of texts it can be said that material used for marketing purposes obviously has to go beyond this informative characteristic as it cannot do without the interpersonal approach to establish a

connection to the reader. Thus, fragments of spoken language with an emotional appeal, such as quoting students' utterances with regard to their study abroad experiences are commonly found in the leaflets and flyers used to promote study abroad.

The use of these testimonials is very common in the material used to promote study abroad experiences in order to give their texts a livelier appearance and to get better access to the readers. This motivation that is behind a certain text is linked to the "discourse-as-process view" (Brown, Yule, 1983: 24). This approach is based on the assumption that the producer of a text has a certain intention in mind and that it is the aim to convey this intended meaning to the reader. Other than using a static view of language that treats sentences as mere strings using the correct grammatical structure, the approach used in discourse analysis "is interested in the function or purpose of a piece of linguistic data and also in how that data is processed, both by the producer and the receiver" (Brown, Yule, 1983: 25).

Another aspect that has to be included into the examination of language is the environment, namely the context in which language is used. When looking at the promotional material used for study abroad I will treat the texts as dynamic processes that are initiated to both present information in a particular context and to achieve certain goals, for instance to alter behavior.

Myth and Mythmaking

According to American psychologist Henry A. Murray, who looked at the development of mythmaking in detail, mythology can be found in four different "channels of representation". First of all there is the imagined (visualized) representation of a mythic event, the "mythic imagent", then there is the verbal (visualizable) representation of a mythic event in speech or writing, a mythic

narrative. The third form of representation is the visible or audible representation of a mythic event, a "mythic drama" and the last is the so-called "mythic icon", the material (visible) representation of one or more mythic characters or moments of a mythic event. (cf. Murray, 1968: 320)

As we will see, for study abroad one of the controlling ideas is that of a education that is completed by the first-hand experiences made by the traveler that cannot be achieved by studying books, an argument that is already used to promote the Grand Tour of the nineteenth century as this account made by a traveler named Bennet in 1782 shows:

It is astonishing how interested one becomes in the fate of a country, when one has travelled through it. All the books in the world will never inspire the warmth, or give the information and I have learned more in a three month tour, than I could by silent meditation for half a century (Black, 1992: 296)

It has to be kept in mind that the mythology connected with study abroad in general and Germany in particular is the result of the work of professional communicators and experts in the field of study abroad who created this mythology according to standards that they thought useful for their purposes. This mythology finds its expression in both the mythic drama as an enacted myth and in the mythic icon as a depicted myth. Films like *The Sound of Music* or animated movies such as *Heidi* that is actually set in the Swiss alps but uses the same visual clichés are a result of that southern Germany/Bavaria mythology whereas new movies such as *Lola Rennt*, which is set in Berlin underline the fast pace and change of the German capital. Mythic icons that represent study abroad and are found in the material quite frequently are pictures of groups of students of different ethnic backgrounds and touristic images of famous sights of foreign countries. For Germany these icons that can be found time and again are for instance *Neuschwanstein* or

the *Reichstag* in Berlin. These features of mythology are reflected in the cultural narratives which can be identified in the material used to promote study abroad.

When we think that a certain mythology is created to convince students to study abroad or specifically to study in Germany we can relate to Henry Tudor who in his book "Political Myth" establishes two criteria that are essential for the notion of myth. First of all "a myth is, by definition, a story, that is, a narrative of events in dramatic form" and secondly

a myth is told, not for the sake of amusement, but in order to promote some practical purpose, to serve as a practical argument." (Tudor, 1972: 16).

He goes on by saying that even if the myth *is* a practical argument, it is supposed to be believed to be true:

[...] myths are [...] believed to be true, not because the historical evidence is compelling, but because they make sense of man's present experience. They tell the story of how it came about. And events are selected for inclusion in a myth, partly because they coincide with what men think *ought* to have happened, and partly because they are consistent with the drama as a whole. (Tudor, 1972: 124).

Looking at the ideas that are promoted about study abroad and study in Germany we can see that these images are believed to be true: if an example of a successful study abroad experience is given through the personal account of a student, no one really challenges the truth of the statements that are given. It is the author's aim to convince both students and parents that study abroad is a worthwhile, even life-changing experience and the accounts and examples given are meant to reinforce this positive attitude. Political myths are used by people in power for specific

purposes. Within the field of study abroad there are the universities and a study abroad industry that take on the role of curators of myths and that use them in a professional way to achieve their aim. As we will see in the chapter about marketing theory there are certain underlying principles that are applied when stimuli are supposed to be created or ideas to be changed. What is interesting in this context is the fact that the promotional material for study abroad naturally only contains positive, that is supporting arguments for study abroad. The mythology used is not contrasted with a competing story. As you would expect there must be negative accounts on study abroad experiences or, as we will later see when we talk about the criticism of tourism and study abroad, there are also opposing views. But these opposing views obviously do not show up in the material as they would be contrary to the aims that are supposed to be achieved.

Metaphor Theory

The narrative structures and concepts that can be found in the material to promote study abroad programs make use of metaphors and metaphorical expressions. Research on metaphors has produced different treatments of metaphorical expressions with regard to understanding as well as expression. In the following I will present two theories that have shaped the way metaphors are viewed and will be valuable in the analysis of the material in chapter 4.

Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphors

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson developed a metaphor theory of special significance for my analysis of study abroad materials as their notion of conceptual metaphor turns down the idea that metaphors are solely constructed to convey meaning in a figurative way but that

metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3)

They provide many examples that illustrate how everyday experiences are viewed in terms of metaphors. According to them it is important to realize, however, that the metaphorical concepts that are applied are based on ideas and notions that are rooted in a nation's specific culture.

Within their theory Lakoff and Johnson introduce the concept of orientational metaphors to show that basic concepts are viewed in terms of metaphors. One of the most evident spatialization is the up-down concept, where due to cultural experience 'up' is connected with health or physical control while 'down' is related to sickness or being subject to control (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 14f). It will be shown in the analysis of the material to promote study abroad programs use for instance the in-out concept, maintaining that 'in' is good while 'out' is negative with regard to being part of the exchange program or the host culture.

Lakoff and Johnson argue that there is a strong relation between the values that are persistent in a culture and the metaphorical structure:

So it seems that our values are not independent but must form a coherent system with the metaphorical concepts we live by. We are not claiming that all cultural values coherent with a metaphorical system actually exist, only that those that do exist and are deeply entrenched are consistent with the metaphorical system. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; 23)

In Western cultures it is most likely that the main cultural values are the same and it will be shown later how these cultural values are reflected in the underlying metaphorical structure of the study abroad promotional texts. Assuming that the authors of the text share the cultural values of their target group or at least have detailed information about these values it is easy for them to use metaphorical structures that will appeal to American students.

Whenever there is a concept that is difficult to grasp, people try to make sense of it by referring to both the inherent properties as well as the metaphorical meaning. The meaning of LOVE for instance can be understood by its inherent properties, such as fondness or affection but Lakoff and Johnson argue that we understand 'Love' mostly in terms of metaphors, as we make reference to other physical kind of events, in the case of 'love' for instance to 'journeys', 'madness' or 'war'. This reference to well-known natural experiences constitutes understanding in terms of interactive properties (cf. Lakoff & Johnson: 1980: 119). Making use of the JOURNEY metaphor as for example in LOVE IS A JOURNEY or LIFE IS A JOURNEY offers a familiar structure to grasp an abstract concept In the analysis chapter it will be shown what interactional properties are attributed to different concepts used to convince students of the benefits of participating in a study abroad program as well as help them to make sense of their experiences.

In order to reveal different views about how truth is conveyed through language, Lakoff and Johnson go further than opposing the concepts of Objectivism and Subjectivism which they refer to as 'myths' by offering a third choice, the experientialist approach as they feel that both categories are inadequate to describe the process of understanding. The objectivism myth believes that:

There is an objective reality, and we can say things that are objectively, absolutely, and unconditionally true and false about it. [...] Science provides us with a methodology that allows us to rise above our subjective limitations and to achieve understanding from a universally valid and unbiased point of view. Science can ultimately give a correct, definitive, and general account of reality, and through its methodology, it is constantly progressing toward that goal. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 187)

In contrast to that the myth of subjectivism emphasizes the importance of emotions and intuitions in the process of understanding the world around us:

In most of our everyday practical activities we rely on our senses and develop intuitions we can trust. When important issues arise, regardless of what others may say, our own senses and intuitions are our best guide for action. [...] The most important things in our lives are our feelings, aesthetic sensibilities, moral practices, and spiritual awareness. These are purely subjective. None of these is purely rational or objective. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 188)

Even though both concepts have to exist to define each other by opposition, the involvement of feelings and emotions and the apparent fear that is connected with these concepts in the definition of subjectivism are responsible for the fact that in Western culture objectivism is viewed as somehow superior to subjectivism as it is the predominant approach within science, law or government discourses. Rhetorical devices such as metaphors have been viewed as art as opposed to truth since the times of ancient Greece:

With the rise of empirical science as a model for truth, the suspicion of poetry and rhetoric became dominant in Western thought, with metaphor and other figurative devices becoming objects of scorn once again. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 190)

In an attempt to get away from this polarizing dichotomy Lakoff and Johnson introduce the experientialist model of understanding to present a link between objectivism on the one hand and subjectivism on the other hand, as they both have their inadequacies. They argue that

What the myths of objectivism and subjectivism both miss is the way we *understand* the world through our *interactions* with it. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 194)

In their view people make sense of the world in terms of a conceptual system that also includes metaphorical devices that are, however, in turn rooted in our experiences with the natural and cultural world around us. Their experientialist alternative contains aspects of both objectivism and subjectivism but denies the existence of an absolute truth that is part of objectivism as well as the insistence that human imagination does not have any restrictions (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 226ff).

With regard to my analysis of the texts used to promote study abroad programs, it will be interesting to explore what approaches are represented in the texts. The frequent use of metaphorical devices could contribute to the view that these texts are merely subjective accounts or examples of suggestive argumentation. Following the line of argumentation by Lakoff and Johnson offers another option to support the view that metaphors are used to help students to understand the complicated processes of going abroad and entering another culture. Keeping in mind that one of the main purposes of the material is to 'sell a product', namely the particular exchange program it is useful to look at elements of marketing theory to get more information about that particular field.

Fauconnier and Turner's Theory of Conceptual Blending

Fauconnier and Turner have taken the idea of conceptual metaphor even further as they argue for a rethinking of metaphor as they view the customary view of metaphor is too limited:

This "two-domain" model is highly parsimonious, and it is useful and effective for a number of purposes in cognitive studies--such as the ongoing hunt for conventional conceptual metaphors. But in Fauconnier and Turner (1994) we argue that the two-domain model is actually part of a larger and more general model of conceptual projection. We call this new and competing model the "many-space" model. The many-space model explains a range of phenomena invisible or untreatable under the two-domain model and reveals previously unrecognized aspects of even the most familiar basic metaphors. (Turner, Fauconnier, 1995: 17)

Instead of understanding metaphors with the help of two domains, i.e. through the *source* and the *target* domain, the blending theory introduces a number of so-called *mental spaces* that are used to conceptualize metaphors. Corresponding to the previously mentioned source and target domains, blending theory makes use of two input spaces and in addition to that introduces a *generic* and a *blending* space. The generic space contains the structural framework that belongs to both input spaces while the blending space combines selective projections from both input spaces, while it might also contain structure not taken from either of the input spaces (cf. Grady, Mason & Coulson, 103f).

The notion of conceptual blending is particularly interesting in connection with the conceptual constructions and cross-space mapping that includes cross-cultural or intercultural aspects. The cognitive process of blending is strongly influenced by cultural values and concepts that are part of a person's cultural

understanding. It will be shown in chapter 4 that the metaphors frequently used in the material to promote study abroad experiences appeal to basic American values and thus influence the process of conceptual blending.

Marketing Theory

When we make an attempt to identify and understand the underlying strategies of the material used to promote study abroad programs it is essential to bring in the principles of marketing theory. It is crucial to understand which key motivations are addressed by study abroad promotional material to create the wish to study abroad. In this chapter I will show how marketing for exchange programs is part of the general marketing of colleges and universities, as non-profit organizations, and provide background information about marketing principles we have to bear in mind when we have a closer look at the advertising material. Thus, the following part will provide an overview about certain aspects of marketing theory that will be linked to some of the approaches that are part of the promotion for study abroad programs.

While marketing used to concentrate on products and the for-profit sector, developments in recent years have shown a shift towards including marketing in the strategies of non-profit organizations. Institutions of higher education have been marketed to attract students and increase enrolment numbers for some time now (cf. Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 34). In the scope of globalization, internationalization and thus also educational exchange have been given more emphasis in recent years. Today most US-Universities explicitly assign one section of their mission statement to internationalization or even have an "International Mission Statement". In the case of John Carroll University the aim to "Improve marketing for study abroad and international students"

has been explicitly included into "University Goal 4: To attract and support a more diverse University community. Diversity" (<http://www.jcu.edu/vision/dept-goals.htm>). As the responsible department or division the Center for Global Education is listed. Since more and more members of international and study abroad offices face the challenge of creating or improving on their material for study abroad programs, educational organizations such as the Association of International Educators (NAFSA) try to assist them by for instance offering workshops, such as the one entitled "Marketing Study Abroad Nationally - Advanced Tactics and Strategies." The topics include such items as "Planning an effective marketing campaign" and as workshop objectives the aims to "Provide participants with advanced marketing concepts, tactics and strategies", and to "Learn tools to design and execute a persuasive marketing campaign on a nation-wide basis". Furthermore an "In-depth look at how to develop advertising techniques and effective publications, carry out productive campus visits, attend study abroad fairs for maximum marketing effect" is promised (http://www.nafsa.org/events.sec/workshops.pg/professional_practice/marketing_study_abroad). What is obvious here is that marketing has become an essential element of international educators' tasks at the workplace. Looking at study abroad and its participants involved in marketing terms, the students can be viewed as consumers while the study abroad offices provide a service, namely programs for international exchange.

Marketing in an Institutional Market

The special marketing features that come into play in the field of higher education are those that apply to an "institutional market". The market of higher education is a "nonbusiness market" and thus is shaped by special characteristics and demands. Main members of the institutional market are organizations such as schools, hospitals, nursing homes and "other institutions that provide goods and services to people in their care" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 231), including colleges and universities.

These institutions of higher education face special challenges as study abroad promotion is often not mainly about selling a specific product or service but also "rather to raise issues, influence ideas, affect legislation or somehow alter behavior in ways that are seen as socially desirable" (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 66).

It is essential to look at the special situation of an American university in the field of global education. With the educational market becoming more competitive and enrollment numbers dropping, the universities and colleges have identified international exchange as one asset to attract students to their particular institution, as international programs have become part of the attractiveness of a university. Once the students are part of the institution one could argue that it does not make a difference for the university whether they study abroad or not. One could even assume that sending students abroad includes the risk of them not coming back. We will see, however, when we have a closer look at the promotional material that international offices convey the notion that study abroad is a crucial part of a 'complete' education and that it is therefore important for students to study at a foreign university. As a result a great number of universities have put educational exchange on their agenda and have included study abroad programs as a special service to their students in their

marketing strategies.

With regard to the target group international offices have to deal with, namely the students, it is interesting to look at the communication tasks that have to be fulfilled. Since it cannot be assumed that it is common knowledge amongst students that study abroad is necessary or at least highly desirable for their education there is a great demand for convincing and strong advertising for these exchange programs. The main advertising objects for this task will be to inform and to persuade. Informative advertising is aimed at building a demand, in this case triggering the wish in the students to go abroad, while persuasive advertising will come in to encourage students in their decision making process to go abroad (cf. Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 544). Furthermore we will also find many elements of the so-called "issues/causes'-advertising" used to "plead a cause rather than sell a product" (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 73). Another aspect that makes marketing for study abroad programs special is that the service will usually not be used instantly, meaning that there is a rather long period of time between the first contact with advertising for study abroad and the actual stay abroad. Thus, the marketing material for exchange programs will put great emphasis on building a relationship with the prospective consumer, i.e. the student that is based on trust and reliability. Marketing for study abroad programs contains a great number of elements of the so-called "Service Marketing" which will be looked at in further detail in the following.

Service Marketing

Institutions of higher education are operating as private or public nonprofit entities providing services for students. To get a better understanding of the marketing material that is produced for international exchange programs it is important to look at the

features that are characteristic for services: intangibility, inseparability, variability and perishability (cf. Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 318).

Service providers face the problem that their services cannot be "seen, tasted, felt, heard or smelled before they are bought" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 318), a phenomenon that is called service intangibility. Thus, the service providers, in our case the study abroad offices, will have to find ways to make their service tangible through communication and visual images. In the study abroad material we will see that much effort is put into giving the student an impression of what the stay abroad could be like. Also, the frequent use of quotations and pictures of students who have already taken part in an exchange program is a sign of this attempt. We will find direct testimonies by students such as "I was able to learn to view the world from a "world" viewpoint rather than an "American" viewpoint" that are used to convince their peers to go abroad.

Service inseparability is the second feature that comes into play in the field of service marketing. It implies that in contrast to products that are manufactured, put on display, purchased and then consumed, the order for services is different: the selling comes first and after that the services are provided and absorbed at the same time, meaning that services and supplier are inseparable. In the field of study abroad this means that the relationship between the study abroad advisers and the students will be very close. Also, universities and colleges will make sure to integrate study abroad programs in the regular course of studies, assuring aspects such as credit transfer and learning agreements. By giving students planning reliability the study abroad offices again build a relationship based on mutual trust.

The third feature is service variability, taking into account that the quality of the provided services may differ because they depend on a number of, sometimes non-controllable, factors. For exchange programs, this means that depending on the location of the study abroad experience, the quality may vary. For universities and colleges this means that they will have to pay great attention to their partner universities which will provide most of the services once the students have left the country. Reliable partners and detailed framework conditions for exchange programs are a must for high-quality study abroad schemes. Often institutions will not be willing to hand over the control to foreign partner universities but will rather have their teaching staff accompany a group of students on their trip abroad. In the marketing material the study abroad offices will make sure to emphasize the long-lasting relationships with their partners and the good experiences they and former students have made.

Service perishability is the last feature of service marketing and implies that services have to be used at the prearranged time, as they cannot be used at a later point. For study abroad this feature is not that important, it can only be discovered when institutions try to even out the disparity between supply and demand, producing more advertising for particular study destinations which are not so popular with students.

As we have seen, the mutual trust between consumer and provider is extremely important in the area of service marketing. This also calls for an effective interaction between the customer and the provider. In the field of study abroad, this interaction is achieved through information and consultation sessions offered for students to give them detailed guidance and advice for their possible participation in an exchange program which starts in the marketing material and ends in direct contact between the student

and the study abroad advisor (cf. Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 318).

Ideas and Place Marketing

Consumers do not buy products. They buy the satisfactions they expect and experience from the use of products. As Charles Revlon of Revlon, Inc. observed: 'In the factory we make cosmetics; in the store we sell hope.' [...] It is not cosmetic chemicals consumers want, but the promise of seductive charm. (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 119)

What becomes apparent here is that the product does not exist as a separate entity but "the product is what the consumer perceives it to be" (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 119), it is part of a story. Although there are some differences between the marketing for tangible items such as food or clothes the marketing for services does include the same underlying principle of delivering customer satisfaction.

Study abroad offices have to deal with the difficulties of marketing of an intangible product, in our case a place and the experience that is connected with going to that place. Furthermore before they market a specific study abroad location they have to convince the students that they will generally benefit from taking part in an exchange program. As mentioned before, this process can be viewed as selling an idea, rather than a product. Study abroad marketing has to make students aware that there is the possibility to enhance their domestic education by going abroad for a period of time. The material has to do more than just providing information and descriptions of programs and locations, it has to motivate, persuade and convince the students of the benefit of participating in an exchange program. Similar to 'Social Marketing', which "includes the creation and implementation of programs seeking to increase the acceptability of a social idea, cause, or practice within a target groups" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 299), marketing for

study abroad has to spread the news on campus that study abroad is desirable and increase the number of students who take part in exchange programs. After the students have made the decision to go abroad for part of their studies, the question of the specific location arises. At this point in the decision making process, it is the task of the study abroad offices to give information about the different locations that are available, operating in the field of 'Place Marketing': "Place marketing involves activities undertaken to create, maintain, or change attitudes or behavior toward particular places" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 298). The detailed analysis will show which mechanisms are used to create attitudes towards certain study locations to portray them as favorably as possible or to make them sound interesting and exciting. Keeping in mind that we are, in fact, talking about marketing material, we will have the possibility to look at the question of 'authenticity' from a very particular viewpoint.

Furthermore the specific task in the marketing of study abroad is not only the selling of hopes and dreams, but also creating the wish for a study abroad experience. If students are content with the education at their home university and do not feel the need to expand their horizons by a study abroad experience, it is the task of the study abroad adviser to create this need to change the students' attitude towards study abroad. Here, as mentioned before, the field of "issues/causes"-advertising or "opinion-advertising" comes into play that aims at altering habits and lifestyles rather than selling a specific product. Another difference to general marketing is that study abroad marketing has to consider that international opportunities offered by a university do not compete with that university's domestic curriculum but represent an added value to the domestic education. This is the reason that study abroad advertising has to present a stimulus to students to leave their well-known surroundings to encounter the

unknown, a foreign culture.

Advertising is determined by a number of controllable and non-controllable factors both internal and external. Internal factors result from the "complexity of the individual" (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 12) and might thus differ with the specific consumer, whereas external factors might be general economic conditions or current events. In the advertising of study abroad, one of these external factors is definitely the events of September 11 and the consequences international terrorism has on international education as the fear of terrorism might inhibit students to go abroad.

Knowledge about Consumers

Certain knowledge about the potential consumer of a product or service is essential to be able to plan strategically and design the advertising. In order to promote a certain product or service advertisers will analyze their potential target group to make the advertising most appealing to them.

Cultural factors are the most important aspects that influence a person's behavior from a marketing perspective. In a marketing context 'culture' can be defined as the "set of basic values, perceptions, wants, and behaviors learned by a member of society from family and other important institutions." (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 172). Successful marketing will have to pay tribute to these values to reach the customers. Kotler and Armstrong list 'individualism', 'freedom' and 'achievement' and 'success' as some of the core values in the United States (p. 172). These values have been incorporated in the 'cultural narratives' that we will find in the material produced for study abroad. In order to be successful, the material has to hit the nerve of the students by relating to

concepts which are commonly known and accepted. If we look at the concepts of 'achievement and success' and keep in mind that the United States are a very competitive society we will find aspects in the material that directly address this thriving for success and achievements, as the examples in the analysis part will illustrate.

The financial situation of customers is very important as the amount of money that can be spend is viewed as "the most significant factor influencing what and how much a consumer buys" (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 103). The economic situation of the target group plays a decisive role for the format of the services offered. For students it becomes clear that the study abroad suppliers have to make sure that this experience is not prohibitively expensive as studying in the United States is already connected with significant costs such as tuition and room and board. Usually a participation in an exchange program will increase these costs as airfare and travel expenses have to be added to the budget. Therefore it is important to convince students that participation in a study abroad program will provide an added value and offer benefits that cannot be achieved by a solely domestic education. The analysis will show that the argument used in this context will be that of a 'complete' education requires an international dimension in the domestic education, i.e. the domestic education is missing the international 'factor'.

The educational background is an additional crucial factor for the approach used in advertising as it is interrelated with age, income, and occupation. Usually, well-educated people are found in the higher income groups. It is often assumed that "better educated people are more discerning, more discriminating, and more rational buyers" and at the same time "less suggestible, less susceptible to non-rational appeals and less responsive to persuasion" (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 106). In this context it has to be kept in

mind that the emotional level still plays an important role within marketing so that a "blending of reason and emotion" can be very effective (Sandage, Fryburger, Rotzoll, 1983: 106). It is, however, crucial to speak the consumers' language in order to effectively reach them. In the case of study abroad marketing, the target group contains only people that are working towards their university degree. Furthermore, the parents, who are usually be the students' sponsors, will most likely also hold a college degree. Thus, the marketing material has been designed on a linguistic and graphical level in a way that will appeal to the target group's mind and must be very convincing.

Knowledge about consumers also refers to the concepts of ethnicity and race. As a market with a long history of immigration, the American nation is a heterogeneous group that includes people of different origins. Market research has shown that it can be helpful to pay tribute to the cultural backgrounds of various groups as it influences their consumer behavior. In order to market a specific product within a specific ethnic or racial group, producers will use information channels that allow them to reach that specific group and communicate their message to this group.

Within the field of study abroad, however, you seldom find a marketing approach that is designed for students with a specific ethnic background although one of the most motivational factors is the ethnic background of the family. Coming from a family with German ancestry, a student might have a 'natural' interest to study in Germany. On the other hand the history of a country such as Germany between 1933 and 1945 might repel some students and even evoke fear. With the rise of xenophobic atrocities in Germany and the formation of neo-Nazi-groups, US-students with African-American background might refrain from a study abroad experience in Germany as they might fear for their safety.

Social Factors

Social factors such as group influence, family and status are also important when we look at students as a target group. Groups play a major role in the life on campus. Marketing for study abroad has to try to reach the 'opinion leaders' in the target group who have a great influence on the behavior of others. By using students who have already participated in an exchange program and will be willing to talk about it in a positive manner as opinion leaders, study abroad offices have found spokespersons who will influence others. Furthermore the concept of the so-called 'aspirational group' is important as it represents a group an individual would like to be a member of. It is the task of study abroad marketing to turn study abroad students into an 'aspirational group' that other students would like to belong to. This is the reason why the material contains a lot of personal portraits and accounts of students who have already studied abroad and present their positive experiences and how these experiences had a positive influence on their life and their future studies.

The psychological makeup of a person can be of great importance when advertisers try to address a specific group. Thus, consumers are often classified according to psychological characteristics. A person's personality, i.e. his or her "unique psychological characteristics" such as "self-confidence, dominance, sociability, autonomy, defensiveness, adaptability, and aggressiveness" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 183), plays a decisive role in marketing processes. Often consumers are grouped according to their eagerness for adventure, based on the amount of caution they take when or if they buy a certain product. As will be shown below, the study abroad material for the different regions of Germany operates in precisely this way as the more tranquil cities in Southern Germany directly address and cater to the needs of the less venturesome and more cautious students whereas metropolitan

Berlin is described as the perfect place for the individualistic, courageous and venturesome student.

Perception

The perception of information, i.e. the "process by which people select, organize and interpret information to form a meaningful picture of the world" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001: 186) is an important factor with regard to the design of information material. Keeping in mind that consumers are exposed to a large number of information sources every day, the marketing material has to be designed in a way that it catches the attention and has the power to change beliefs and attitudes. Changing the way somebody feels about an idea is one of the most difficult tasks in marketing and requires great effort, detailed planning and a solid knowledge about the target group.

Creative Strategies and Techniques

Advertising has the aim of bringing a specific message across. In order to achieve that aim, advertisers have to use techniques and strategies that will help them reach their aims. Using different forms of communication and different types of media, advertisers are able to engage in a communication process with the consumer. The problem with this kind of 'mass communication' is that there usually is no direct response from the consumer. Thus, before designing an advertising campaign it is the task to identify certain factors that influence consumer behavior or the way consumers respond and react to advertising.

Perhaps the most fundamental fact that has to be kept in mind is that consumers react to advertising on a conceptual level. This means that they instinctively make a reference to the knowledge they have previously acquired. As James Carey puts it:

"Communication is a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed" (Carey, 1975). Knowing that advertisers will want to persuade their audience, it is important to have a close look at the sort of reality that is produced and what kind of concepts, ideas and even myths are presented about that particular reality. It seems that the written words are only part of the mechanism that is triggered in the response of the consumer. Even though words seem to be very explicit, it is how the audience responds to them that determines the success or failure of a good advertising campaign. It can be said that the capacity of conceptual communication makes advertising possible but also at the same time makes the response to advertising messages uncertain, as many different reactions might be caused with the individual addressee. Different forms of media used in the field of tourism and study abroad promotion are presented in the following.

Information Sources & Promotion Material

Promotional material is perhaps the most diverse and influential source of information to the potential traveler as well as the study abroad students. This can be produced by the authorities and companies located in a particular destination, or tour operations in the specific area. Usually these publications work through regional labeling, giving the destination a distinct spatial identity, for instance by using phrases such as "the sunshine coast", the "city of discovery" or "cultural capital". What is supposed to be created is a public perception of places, by establishing icons, logos or mottoes which are shorthand statements of the destination's character. It is obvious that in order to 'sell' a destination, a construction of a place, the creation of a geographical character with regard to its market potential has to be established. What becomes crucial is to 'create' an identity of a place which puts it onto the tourist map, i.e. which makes it interesting for visitors.

This development can be labeled a commodification of culture, the main aim of the tourist industry being the selling of a commodity to a group of customers. It is interesting, however, that along with a relatively material set of services (travel and accommodation), the more determining aspects of this commodity are immaterial, the above mentioned mixture of myths, dreams and expectations. The underlying purpose behind all this is obviously economic: there is money to be made from transforming places to a stereotypical image which will hopefully be a huge commercial success. It makes sense to look at different types of information sources of tourism and to draw comparisons to the material used to promote study abroad.

Word of mouth is one of the most powerful means of argumentation, as it is usually seen as being authentic when a recommendation is given by someone one knows. There are, however, also problems connected with this information source as it is essential to compare the motivations of the person providing the information, since it is not clear whether the same things are appreciated. Also, travel accounts are frequently characterized by exaggeration and a selective memory, being generally close to holiday experiences which are rarely ever described in negative terms. Obviously, word of mouth has a huge impact in the field of international education. Students with positive experiences return to their home campus and work as 'ambassadors' for study abroad or a particular study abroad program. They are the best information sources for students, as students will value a statement from their fellow students much higher than information given to them by other sources. This is why study abroad material to a great extent relies on quotations from students to create a feeling of authenticity. Statements such as "No books could replace the education I got going abroad" or "Learning about the culture first-hand was the greatest benefit" or also "I was able to learn to

view the world from a "world" viewpoint rather than an "American" viewpoint" (cf. material from Agnes Scott College and Old Dominion University), represent enthusiastic students who have no regrets about studying abroad and reflect the benefit of study abroad experiences.

As a form of printed media the advertisement uses a limited number of visual elements combined with a caption or slogan. Here, the layout becomes most important as it is presumed to have a powerful influence on attention. The use of stereotypes and clichés is extremely common, as the attractiveness of a location relies on the creation of 'regional images' which are unique and are not exchangeable. Holiday destinations such as Hawaii for instance will always be presented as a 'paradise' with beaches and reference will be made to the green, lush, rich and fertile environment.

Comparing this touristic approach to study abroad advertisements, many similarities become apparent. The photo montage poster used to advertise Wayne State University's famed Junior Year in Munich is a good example:



The poster uses many of features mentioned above: various photographs and the slogan "If you want to know Germany, live and breathe it for a year!" The image of 'breathing' is connected with the very essence of life as it is vital for the human' well-being to breathe. Furthermore the aspect of sucking in air and in this case a new culture and new impressions is referred to. The anthropologist approach of having to be at the scene and getting direct access and contact is taken up here. It is striking that the photos never depict a single person but groups of young people enjoying themselves spending time in the city or going on a hiking trip. It seems to be very important to convey a feeling of community. The depiction of sights to make students aware that Munich has a number of architectural highlights and of green areas for recreational purposes are direct references to the touristic approach.

Another information source is the tourist brochure which is also very important for the formation of images as the material used is the closest thing to an official tourist image of each country. In spite of the images tourists might already have and whatever image some third-party company may wish to promote, this is how the countries themselves wish to be seen. Again we find the creation of 'regional images' by using certain illustrations and images, for instance attributing water and beach to the Caribbean and history, art and architecture to the so-called 'Old World' which emphasizes the process of standardization and generalization that is taking place. A 'construction of places' is achieved by selling messages and so called "place-making motifs" (Huges, 1998: 28) paying tribute to the fact that there is money to be made from conforming to a stereotypical image.

As we have already seen when we had a closer look at the advertisement for study abroad, it is evident that touristic brochures and the promotional material used by universities to advertise their study abroad programs share many features. The 'creation' of a place, for instance, is quite common especially when in an attempt to interest students for a particular study abroad destination. When we look at the material used for promoting study abroad in Germany, we can find that a lot of the 'Old World' place-making motifs are used. Architecture, history and art but also the 'closeness' to other European cities seems to be prime factors of European and also German destinations. If we look at a publication from the University of Iowa describing Frankfurt as a study destination this becomes obvious:

Frankfurt is internationally known as a major business center for all of Europe. Centrally located, an extensive transportation system links Frankfurt to the rest of the continent, and the city offers many cultural opportunities such as fine opera and theater, more than 40 museums and dramatic architecture (including Roman excavations).

Frankfurt is presented as a modern city with a history going back to the Romans even if merely mentioned in brackets. Other features which are supposed to be attractive are the transportation system, which allows students to travel easily and the cultural opportunities. Other stereotypes are used to market Munich as an attractive study destination:

Nowhere else in Germany is nature so close to a major cosmopolitan city, and so easy to enjoy. [...] Founded by the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick Barbarossa, ruled by the Wittelsbach dynasty for 700 years, remembered for the extravagance of Ludwig II, and as the site of Hitler's rise to power, the histories of Munich and Bavaria have intersected the history of Germany for centuries.

Many of Germany's most renowned artists and thinkers have once called Munich home, including Bertolt Brecht, Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Walter Benjamin, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and Max Weber. Munich today is one of the most fascinating and culturally enriching cities in Europe. Sometimes referred to as a Millionendorf (a village with a million inhabitants), Munich has all the vitality of a large, modern metropolis but with the safety, Gemütlichkeit, and local tradition of a smaller town.

(<http://www.worldbridge.wayne.edu/JYM/>)

Again we find the reference to the cosmopolitan character of the city, its long history, the renowned artists who contributed to its character. What is interesting is the actual use of the word 'Gemütlichkeit' to underline the authentic value of the experience. What has to be kept in mind, however, is that there is a basic difference between the tourist brochures and study abroad material, as in most cases the material produced about a study abroad destination is not produced by the host destination itself but by the sending university.

The guidebook has a special function among information sources as it is usually only on location, after the reader has arrived in the host culture. Its main purpose is to reduce the complexity of choices about things to do, things to see and places to eat and sleep. One of the most striking developments of this process of making choices simple is the today's version of guidebooks which even has a star system of rating the importance of touristic sites. Guidebooks are most obviously not supposed to be objective, but to create a character of a place. This is most often achieved by using a mixture of texts and photographs. The reader is stimulated by panoramic photographs and/or cultural curiosities. Then a plot is developed through the use of historical summaries and descriptions of regional areas. Finally events are resolved, usually

by concluding the historical review by arriving in the present.

It is important to state that in the design of the guidebook, as in all promotional material, the layout plays a significant role. Extensive market research is done to cater to the needs of the prospective readers. We will see later how the general concept of the design of a guidebook is made fun of by introducing 'fake' travel guides that have the outward appearance of a guidebook but contain made-up information. This is also the reason for the publication of a huge number of different guidebooks which are designed for different target groups. A "Lonely Planet" guidebook will most probably have a different approach than a "Baedeker". It has to be seen how this relates to study abroad promotional material as most guidebooks target readers who are not necessarily academics but tourists looking for value for money and focused on the quality of the experience. When we look at the potential study abroad student we know that he or she is an academic but also uses a touristic approach because similarly to the tourist he or she is also seeking 'experiences'.

3 CONCEPTUAL MODELS

This chapter will provide the conceptual models of the phenomenon of study abroad. It will show, how international exchange are conceptually interconnected with travel and tourism and how an emerging field of research into study abroad has provided models which, in turn, have entered the general discourse of study abroad. Central to all of these models is the notion of “authenticity” which is also one of the prime motifs in the material analyzed here. Therefore, this chapter is introduced by a brief summary of major uses of this concept as relevant to this discussion.

The Concept of Authenticity

The online version of Webster's Dictionary gives the following definitions:

1. The quality of being authentic or of established authority for truth and correctness.
2. Genuineness; the quality of being genuine or not corrupted from the original.
3. Truthfulness of origins, attributions, commitments, sincerity, and intentions; not a copy or forgery.

Chris Barker, from a Communications and Cultural Studies viewpoint defines 'authenticity' as follows:

Authenticity: A claim that a category is genuine, natural, true and pure. For example, that the culture of a place is authentic because uncontaminated by tourism or that a youth culture is pure and uncorrupted by consumer capitalism. Closely related to the notion of essentialism in that authenticity implies immaculate origins. (Barker, 2000: 381)

These definitions pragmatically provide an explanation of the meanings and uses of the term and carefully avoid any statement suggesting its actual existence. Barker's explanation in fact stresses the *claim* quality of authenticity and places the term squarely next to that of the much targeted, untenable and deconstructed propositions of essentialism.

Nevertheless, there are several fields where the possibilities to actually approximate or even reach the "authentic" have traditionally been upheld. Even though this type of thinking has been comprehensively deconstructed in most areas of research, the concept continues to play a role on the discursive level. For my research it is therefore important to explore different notions of 'authenticity'.

In the field of tourism research, there is a *philosophical* concept of authenticity that frequently referred to. In his famous work *Sein und Zeit (Being and Time)* published in 1927, German philosopher Martin Heidegger dealt with the concepts of "Being"/"Dasein" as fundamental aspects of human existence. Closely related to these terms is the key question of authenticity:

Dasein exists. Furthermore, Dasein is an entity which in each case I myself am. Mineness belongs to any existent Dasein, and belongs to it as the conditions which make authenticity and inauthenticity possible. (Heidegger: 1927/1962: 78)

The 'conditions' Heidegger mentions here can be viewed as the external surroundings the individual has to deal with, the environment and the encounters with others. In his view, the 'self' is somehow 'lost' in the "everydayness of present concerns and preoccupations" (Mills, 1997: 45) and thus cannot make use of the unique potential that could be achieved. Heidegger states:

This "absorption in..." has mostly the character of Being-lost in the public-ness of the "they." Dasein has, in the first instance, fallen away from itself as an authentic potentiality for Being its Self, and has fallen into the 'world'. (Heidegger, 1927/1962: 220)

Being a part of the 'world' that is characterized by everydayness and averageness, the individual engages in inauthentic modes of living. Only when the self accepts and embraces its unique identity, the inauthentic can be left behind. According to Heidegger the individual is capable of choosing an authentic lifestyle, "thereby actualizing its freedom to become and fulfill its possibilities." (Mills, 1997: 57).

With regard to the individual's possibility to gain access to the authentic, it can be said that it lies within the individual's own capacity to break with the modes of inauthenticity and to maximize one's own potential. It is important to note here that this concept also implies an analysis, and as a consequence the acceptance of the individual's situation. Instead of seeking goals that are out of reach, it is essential for the individual to gain an idea of one's own personality and be true to oneself. Rediscovering the true self that has been lost in everyday life is the ultimate aim in the quest for authenticity. Encounters with others and forms of communication such as "idle talk, curiosity, and ambiguity" (Mills, 1997: 45) have a great influence on corrupting the self:

Idle talk is the possibility of understanding everything without previously making the thing one's own... If this were done, idle talk would founder; and it already guards against such a danger. Idle talk is something which anyone can make up; it not only releases one from the task of genuinely understanding but develops an undifferentiated kind of intelligibility for which nothing is closed off any longer.... [Idle talk does not] aim to deceive. Idle talk does not have the kind of Being which belongs to *consciously passing off*

something as something else.... Thus, by its very nature, idle talk is a closing-off, since to go back to the ground of what is talked about is something which it *leaves undone*. (Heidegger, 1927/1962: 169)

In this quote Heidegger implies that "idle talk" offers an easy possibility to conceptualize and understand the world without gaining genuine access to the real information. As a consequence the task of the open-minded individual is to avoid these kinds of encounter with 'corruptedness' and 'falseness' to be able to reach a level of authenticity which connects "one's own" with the world outside. It insists on the sharp focus of the human individual on the world.

In the field of *anthropology*, the notion of 'authenticity' is closely related to the possibility of a *direct* contact with other cultures. It entails the possibility for direct experience, neatly described by cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead:

The anthropologist not only records the consumption of sago in the native diet, but eats at least enough to know how heavily it lies upon the stomach; not only records verbally and by photographs the tight clasp of the baby's hands around the neck, but also carries the baby and experiences the constriction of the windpipe; hurries or lags on the way to a ceremony; kneels half-blinded by incense while the spirits of the ancestors speak, or the gods refuse to appear. The anthropologist enters the setting and he observes. (Mead, 1955: 31)

By using the term "setting", this quotation implies that observers of a foreign culture have the possibility to enter a particular context which promises direct contact and thus an authentic experience. Here one of the criteria for an authentic experience is the direct contact with the host culture, actually doing and experiencing the

same things as members of the host culture. This obviously requires spending a considerable amount of time in the host culture, so that it can be said that the duration of the encounter plays a distinctive role and is another criterion for authenticity that can be found here. This immediate, direct contact seemed to give anthropologist an advantage when they investigated a foreign culture and its customs and rituals.

Charles Lindholm, a Professor of Anthropology at Boston University who discussed authenticity in the context of the search for the sacred in our lives, attributes a special position to the anthropologist:

In fact, in a very real sense, the anthropologist was more personally implicated in the quest for the transcendent than the curator who collected art or even than the priest who acquired holy relics, since the objects and views sought by anthropologists came from living people. This means that during fieldwork, the anthropologist could hope not merely to touch the sacred second hand, but could penetrate directly into it, in other words, while the cleric and the curator had to be content with achieving second-hand grace through proximity to an object with a charismatic pedigree, the anthropologist had the chance to commune with the thing itself. (Lindholm, 2002: 333)

The 'penetration' of the sacred and the personal involvement its pursuit puts anthropologists in a superior position so that they have an advantage over those people who only have the chance of second-hand experiences. It sacralizes—or fetishizes—the direct contact.

However, Lindholm—distancing himself from this idea of the "romantic anthropologist"—also sees limitations in the search for authenticity in our modern lives:

My comparison of anthropologists with priests and curators was meant to suggest that our discipline has particular responsibilities in this situation: we have a public duty not only to document the rationalization and disenchantment of the world, but also to remember and honor our own roots as seekers and purveyors of the relics of lost divinity. We know too that the human desire for the experience for the divine spark does not vanish simply because that experience becomes difficult to achieve. Instead, it is more likely that the quest for a felt authentic grounding becomes increasingly pressing as certainty is eroded and the boundaries of the real lose their taken-for-granted validity. (Lindholm, 2002: 336f)

Anthropologists are both "seekers" and surveyors of the "disenchantment" that has taken place. Thus, according to Lindholm's line of argumentation the search for authenticity, for the unspoiled and genuine as a model for orientation in life, is validated by the task to find a sense of direction in a "contingent universe" that is not authorized by external standards:

The search for a sense of authenticity is the most salient and pervasive consequence of the threats modernity makes to our ordinary reality and sense of significance. We know that, within historical and cultural constraints, lifeworlds today must self-consciously be "made up" to provide some shape and meaning within the limitless potentials of a contingent universe. Like medieval monks, we all now must look for something sacred to hold on to, but without the possibility of gaining any exterior authentication; there is no certification of the really real anymore, and anything can be a forgery. (Lindholm, 2002: 337)

Following this line of argumentation Lindholm concludes his reflections on authenticity and the role anthropology has to play:

The main job of anthropologists today, following our own long tradition as self-conscious practitioners of *furta sacra*, is to record, contextualize and analyze the many manifestations and vicissitudes of this transformative process. (Lindholm, 2002: 337)

Lindholm's train of thought underlines the notion that with regard to the concept of authenticity, the aforementioned role change in anthropology has taken place so that the main focus is no longer on the search for an 'objective' authenticity but for a form of 'subjective' authenticity which also functions as an orientation in our modern lives.

Another area where the notion of authenticity plays a decisive role is the field of the *conservation of historical and cultural sights*. Over the years the UNESCO has published different documents concerning authenticity of cultural heritage. In the "Nara Document on Authenticity" (http://www.international.icomos.org/naradoc_eng.htm), a text that was adopted at the close of the Nara Conference on Authenticity in 1994, experts from 28 different countries tried to define the importance of authenticity with regard to cultural heritage. Authenticity was seen as an indicator and guideline for the value of cultural heritage as it was supposed to be a criterion for assessing the cultural worth of a historical sight:

We also wish to acknowledge the value of the framework for discussion provided by the World Heritage Committee's desire to apply the test of authenticity in ways which accord full respect to the social and cultural values of all societies, in examining the outstanding universal value of cultural properties proposed for the World Heritage List. (The Nara Document of Authenticity, 1994, Preamble, article 2)

The "test of authenticity" mentioned in this paragraph makes authenticity the criterion in the question whether a cultural site will be inspected for a possible placement on the World Heritage List. The document lists specific guiding principles about "Cultural diversity and heritage diversity" underlining the richness of cultural diversity and its importance in the relationship between cultures and concludes on a section on "Values and authenticity". The charter emphasizes the value of the heritage which is defined by

the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity. (The Nara Document of Authenticity, 1994, article 9)

In the subsequent article, authenticity is described as the "essential qualifying factor concerning values" (The Nara Document of Authenticity, 1994, article 10), only to assert in article 11 that

all judgments about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgments of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong. (The Nara Document of Authenticity, 1994, article 11)

The declaration ends with a definition of the terms 'conservation' and 'information sources', clearly avoiding a definition of the term authenticity. What we can gather from the document is the existence of a contradictory line of argument where authenticity is

seen as a decisive factor in establishing the value of a cultural heritage while at the same time admitting that there are no 'fixed criteria' to define authenticity as they have been seen in their specific cultural context. Thus, we could conclude that the concept of 'authenticity' carries different meanings in different cultures.

Travel and Tourism

The history of travel reaches back as far as humankind's desire to see other places and meet other people. Some of the earliest accounts go back to ancient times soon after writing was invented and were found in Egypt as well as Mesopotamia. Reasons for traveling in the past were oftentimes exploratory and educational, such as learning languages, meeting with allies or conducting research. Later, trade became a distinctive incentive for merchants to travel. Religiously motivated travel such as pilgrimages also shaped the concept of travel to a great extent. Muslims traveled to Mecca to see the holy sites of Islam, other pilgrims went to India to learn from Buddhist teachers, Christian pilgrims traveled Rome or Santiago de Compostela. While for some pilgrims the main reason for these pilgrimages was the search for spiritual enlightenment, travels to Jerusalem during the crusades combined spiritualism with military strategy as the recapturing of Jerusalem was the primary goal of the crusaders.

During the early modern era (ca. 1500 to 1800 AC) travelers from Europe left their home countries to go on expeditions, conquests, business, diplomacy and as missionaries (cf. Bentley, 1993: 7ff). A special form of travel for educational reasons was the so-called *Grand Tour*. This became part of the British travel sector and provided an example for Americans when they decided to travel in the American colonies/the United States and, of course, Europe. Essential stops of the Grand Tour of Europe included Paris and the

main cities of Italy, namely Rome, Florence, Venice and Naples. Other, optional destinations might be added to the itinerary such as stops at Vienna, Prague, Geneva and the German cities of Hanover, Berlin, Dresden and Munich (cf. Black, 1992: xi). The Grand Tour had a major influence on travel in the United States and thus also shaped the way Americans viewed and practiced travel as well as tourism.

The way Americans initially viewed Europe in the Nineteenth Century was based on travel accounts. For the purposes of the present study, it will be interesting to look at early reports about Germany as these written documents obviously influenced the way the country has been perceived over the years and to find out how these descriptions created by early travelers have shaped the information given about German study locations today.

British Travelers

In the course of the Eighteenth Century, British travel sites saw a great increase in the number of visitors. One of the reasons for this rise in numbers was the belief that travel was culturally and socially important. Most of the time, the first stop of the Grand Tour was Paris because the city offered a choice of sights and appealing cultural and artistic features. These characteristics, together with its proximity to England, made it the most popular destination for the British to start their tour of Europe. After spending some time in Paris, travelers went across the Alps to continue their journey to Italy. In a culture that was strongly influenced by the classical tradition, Rome was the perfect place to visit, as it offered sights that made direct reference to the canon of classical learning. After the visit to Italy that most of the time also included the cities of northern Italy such as Milan and Turin and southern Italy including Naples and Sicily, some tourists extended

their Grand Tour to visit cities in Germany. Although Germany could not compete with the classical and renaissance inventory of Italy, it still attracted tourist who were interested in the developments in cultural and political aspects. Hanover, for instance, became a destination for British tourists as the Hanoverian dynasty ascended the British throne in 1714. Apart from Hanover, Dresden and Vienna were popular tourist attractions and some interest was given to Berlin since it was close to Dresden and not too far from Hanover. Berlin, however, was not always received favorably as Nathaniel Wraxall stated in 1777:

The diversions of Berlin are mean. A very indifferent French Comedy and a German one with a weekly ball and concert in winter form are all they have, except in the carnival during the King's stay, when His Majesty has operas and ridottos at his won expense... I saw few beautiful women—very few; but they are polite, easy and well bred. I think it a magnificent, but not an agreeable city... [...] There is a kind of gloomy grandeur and somber magnificence which strikes, but does not pleasingly affect the mind – no marks of plenty, population, agriculture, or rural happiness are seen. (Beinecke, Osborn, Wraxall papers Box 4)

This description from 1777 makes a number of characteristic assumptions about Berlin and it will be interesting to compare this description to the accounts advertising Berlin's attractiveness to American students of today in order to find out the changes in perception that have take place and what similarities can be found. What is obvious here is that Berlin is not described as a quiet and beautiful place but rather as a combination of magnificence and gloominess. Already Eighteenth Century travelogues deliver the dichotomies that will be a part of the descriptions of the Berlin of today.

In fact, the German-speaking countries were generally not viewed in a very positive light as the following 1753 account of William Lee, who spent time in Vienna, Dresden, Berlin and a number of other German cities, shows:

I have now finished my tour in Germany which I am very glad to have made but should not choose to begin again. I have seen many things to admire some that have excited my displeasure, others contempt. The Germans in general are a good natured people, hospitable and generous, lovers of pomp and magnificence. I would not look for French vivacity, Italian cunning or English good sense among them. Take them as you find them and a traveler may pass his time very well amongst them. I speak of the German nation in general. (William Lee to his father, 7 Sept. 1753, Beinecke, Osborn, Lee papers Box 3)

It is very interesting how a travelogue either generates or at least reinforces significant stereotypes relating to European nations, producing or reproducing central features of generally accepted “national identities” of different European countries. In the section about different German study destinations, I will come back to the concept of so-called 'ethnic markers' that shape the specific national identity of a place and will broaden this concept to include 'regional markers' applying the same parameters used in this quote to give different regions and cities in Germany their distinct cultural identity.

Not unlike today, when Conservatives in the United States see study abroad as something more dangerous than beneficial, traveling was already attacked in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. Criticism included xenophobic as well as conservative voices and expressed the fear that young men abroad could fall under the wrong influences. Advocates of traveling on the other

and, however, stressed numerous benefits. It is interesting to look at this discussion as we will see much of the argumentation continues to be used in today's study abroad marketing.

The education one could gain abroad played a vital part in the debate about travel already in the early Eighteenth Century. One of the principal arguments in favor of foreign travel was the knowledge the traveler could gather both socially and intellectually. While some claimed that it was difficult for young men to keep a balance between the joys of traveling abroad that sometimes included frivolous activities such as gambling and drinking (one is reminded of the discussion regarding the problem of drinking among undergraduates in Europe) and their intellectual advancement, others emphasized the profit of a stay abroad as the account of young Englishman Alan Brodrick shows who was sent abroad in 1717:

I have done what has been in my power towards perfecting myself in French, and have learnt as much Italian as the small share of conversation which strangers can have with the people of the country would admit of. As for the German language it is so extremely difficult, my stay has been so short in any one place, and the accents and manner of speaking so different all over Germany, that I could not propose to myself to make any progress in it; so that I have entirely let alone, what I could not hope to arrive at. (Black, 1992: 291)

The (admittedly superficial) acquisition of foreign languages as part of a stay abroad is emphasized here; moreover, Mark Twain's hilarious account of the difficulties of the German language in his satirical explanation *The Awful German Language* (1880) is thus anticipated by this early traveler.

Already in 1776 there were strong arguments for the educative value of travel as becomes obvious by looking at the following excerpt from a letter by the English aristocrat Thomas Pelham and that could well be taken from today's study abroad material:

I think it very necessary and right that every young man should know that there are other countries that those he lives in; that there are rational creatures out of his island and though men are very different in themselves they live all under the same heavens and are governed by the same all seeing Providence; – the seeing those countries which are famous as scenes of so many actions in History are highly conducive to the enlarging and opening of the understanding – the total change in the face of those countries is the most convincing proofs of the uncertainty of things in this world; the flourishing state of some and the miseries and wretchedness of others is the best cure for a mind prejudiced with an idea that no country is equal to his own, and shew is the strongest light that happiness is not confined to one quarter of the globe, and that a Spaniard may be as easy in servitude as an Englishman in liberty. In short visiting other countries is the best indeed the only way of learning how to weigh the perfections and imperfections of our own. (Black, 1992: 292)

This cultural (and political) relativism is, of course, an expression of Enlightenment thinking – and its reappearance in study abroad materials today proves how indebted international exchange is to the Enlightenment project.

Even though there was some dispute about the necessary length of the travel and stay in foreign countries, traveling was seen favorably by many members of the upper classes who felt that their sons should get first-hand experiences. The young men themselves often shared that view as the following statement by William Bennet (1746-1820), who would later become Bishop of Cloyne,

from 1782 shows that is again very similar to the line of argumentation we will find in the study abroad promotional material:

It is astonishing how interested one becomes in the fate of a country, when one has travelled through it. All the books in the world will never inspire the warmth, or give the information and I have learned more in a three month tour, than I could by silent meditation for half a century. (Black, 1992: 296)

Books cannot replace “being there” – one of the central *topoi* in study abroad still today. As we can see from these accounts, there were many who advocated traveling as an essential activity in order to get to know the 'foreign' so that the domestic could be more appreciated and better understood. The arguments that were used were often abstract and differed with regard to who was traveling and what knowledge they were aiming at. Among the benefits mentioned were education and improvement of knowledge, for instance language acquisition, social knowledge and political insight.

Travel in the United States

To be able to understand the mechanisms that apply to study abroad promotion it is important to look at the historical development of travel and later tourism that took place in the United States as it has shaped the notions both of traveling and study abroad.

Before an improved infrastructure and financial situation made it possible for the lower and middle classes to travel, touring experiences were reserved to the elite who had the time and money for long journeys. Early Nineteenth Century travelers could not cover more than about 30 miles a day. Thus, sightseeing trips took

a very long time, and only the rich could afford to not earn a living during such an extended time period. As the modern infrastructure was not yet established these elite travelers had to rely on a network of friends and family to find accommodation and assistance on their trips (cf. Aron, 1999: 129 ff).

Travel in the early nineteenth century was an endeavor undertaken by both young men and women, although for different reasons. Young men seemed to undertake trips in the United States as an American version of the European Grand Tour which was also viewed as an essential part of the education of young Americans designed to help them make the change from boyhood to manhood.

Besides visiting historical and natural sights, the young men were also interested in visiting larger cities. Those visits to the cities often seem to have included ventures to not so well-respected neighborhoods. It was quite common for well-educated young men to pay a visit to “bad neighborhoods” in order to have the possibility to make their first sexual experiences and to expand their horizons (initiation into new sexual *mores* still being one of the subtexts of modern travel *and* study abroad, albeit usually not advertised). Respectable young women, on the other hand would, one would have hoped, not follow that path but would derive both pleasure and social competence from their travels preparing them for their life in the domestic sphere.

One of the major tourist attractions in the United States at that time was Niagara. Just like the British, who had great influence on early American tourism, Americans were looking for an aesthetic adventure, formulated in the Romantic and pseudo-Romantic terminology of “the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime” (Aron, 1999: 130). Since the United States could not provide the rich historical and cultural heritage of the European capitals,

American tourists were looking for attractions that showed the distinctiveness of the country and confirmed the beauty of the young nation. The two prime purposes for domestic traveling at that time were a search for an incipient national history and the quest for nature which – as seen in James Fenimore Cooper's adaptation of Scott's historical romances in his "Western" fiction – is often seen as the equivalent of European historical "depth". Nevertheless in addition to spectacular natural sights, historical locations provided a great attraction for travelers and offered a strong connection to the past and the future of the American colonies and the United States (cf. Aron, 1999:132).

Another important movement specific to America was the discovery of the American West as a tourism destination. In a way, the "concept" of the frontier and the development of Western tourism went hand in hand. Novelist Catherine Sedgwick, who went on a western tour in 1854, was inspired by the beauty of her experiences and overwhelmed by the vitality, freshness and youth of the American West saw no comparison to the Old World. Also she was convinced that the West represented the future of the United States, as she wrote in a letter to her niece:

I would give a great deal to transfer to you the pictures in my mind of Western life, Western cities, illimitable prairies, and those beautiful, untodden shores of the Upper Mississippi. No American can have an adequate notion of the future destiny of this land, of its unbounded resources, of the unlimited provisions awaiting the coming millions, without seeing – for seeing is believing – the great Valley of the Mississippi, and measuring by that "the West" beyond. (Sedgwick, 1854: 320ff)

This is a fine expression of the frontier narrative that relates to the country's inward expansion and gives a description and personal account of the supposedly untouched frontier. The frontier narrative is a dominant feature in American culture, one of the key

American cultural narratives, and can be transferred to other spheres as well as it has retained its importance. When looking at the texts about Berlin, we will observe a 'New Frontier'-narrative operating in the advertisement of a study abroad experience that entails many of the new and exciting adventures characteristic for the pioneering era of the American West. The sense of finding the nation's destiny helped to develop an American national identity that was underlined by the establishment of National Parks such as Yosemite and Yellowstone that became major attractions.

Besides these natural attractions, historical spots such as battlefields and famous birthplaces were given stronger attention by travelers who again found themselves in a purposeful activity when they visited places that were connected with American history and its heroic past. Another form of traveling during that time was the visit of workplaces that again provided a meaningful endeavor as well as the perception that leisure is related to work. Groups of travelers were taken to industrial workplaces to provide an insight into the labor and the working conditions of the employees. These encounters reinforced the distinction between the traveling middle class and the working class. When travelers received an insight into the hard working conditions at specific work places, they also felt as if they had access to the seriousness of work and were able to avoid the "potentially dangerous and corrupting influence of idleness" (Aron, 1999: 156). This was underlined by the efforts these trips demanded. Despite improvements in the transportation system this form of travel, unlike the recreation at the beach, was not a relaxing undertaking. These endeavors can also be viewed as an anticipation of the internships of today which help students obtain an insight into the working life.

By the middle of the Nineteenth Century travel underwent a number of changes and early tourism evolved with the improvement of the transportation and the emergence of a more affluent middle class. Travel became more feasible for a larger number of people and along with this development went the establishment of travel agencies that helped the travelers handle the procedures of travel, such as logistics and accommodation that had become more complicated. Thomas Cook, a firm which had already been active in the British tourism industry, saw the potential of the American market both as a tourist destination for British tourists as well as the possibilities of domestic travel in the United States. In 1865 a number of agencies were opened to assist tourists to organize their trips that most of the time included touring numerous places that involved a lot of logistics.

Other forms of travel, for instance the vacation, devoted more to rest and relaxation also grew and the distinction between travelers and tourists emerged as travelers frequently compared their endeavors to those vacations. Unlike the people that went to the seaside or the spa, travelers could convince themselves that they were engaging in a "purposeful activity" and a "productive endeavor" (Aron, 1999: 140). By adding the "sight-seeing-component" to their trip, middle-class Americans could refrain from resort vacation that was often connected with leisurely and trivial experiences and give their trips an educational meaning, as they "could feel that they had turned their vacations into useful and productive endeavors" (Aron, 1999: 128).

Besides the differences in their intentions and in the ways they felt about their endeavors, both vacationers and travelers in the United States had one thing in common, namely the urge to travel and visit other places and the pride they took in their own country.

One important aspect showing the variety of touristic experiences available in the United States was the world fairs. These fairs, held in the United States, provided a great touristic experience concentrated in a nutshell. These fairs made it possible for visitors to 'travel' to different countries and US states within the confines of one exposition and to get a glimpse of different places and cultures, their products, histories and architectures. Without paying large amounts of money, the world's fairs provided a touristic experience to interested visitors. To some extent these fairs can be compared to touristic theme parks of our time or expensive entertainment locations in places like Las Vegas which recreate reproductions of cities such as Venice or Paris to provide glamorous experiences for their visitors. Moreover, the internet today offers a cyberspace which allows access to all kinds of information about foreign countries and cultures without having to travel there and thus provides the platform for virtual or "armchair" tourism, as there is no need to leave one's home in order to travel anywhere virtually.

Tourism and the Emancipation of the Tourist

Tourism can be defined as the act of travel for the purpose of recreation, and the provision of services for this act. A tourist is someone who travels at least eighty kilometers (fifty miles) from home for the purpose of recreation. (World Tourism Organization, 1963)

The terms tourist and tourism were first used as official terms in 1937 by the League of Nations. Tourism was defined as people traveling abroad for periods of over 24 hours, mainly for recreational purposes. The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers the following definition:

The theory and practise of touring; travelling for pleasure. (Orig. used depreciatory). Also, the success of attracting tourists and providing for their accommodation and entertainment, the business of operating tours.

This definition underlines the 'pleasure' aspect of the journey and also acknowledges that the word was originally uses in a depreciatory way emphasizing a qualitative distinction, probably implying the difference between travel and tourism.

Already in the course of the Eighteenth Century new forms of traveling activities other than the cultural traveling of the type of the Grand Tour emerged, especially leisure and health trips. Some English travelers, after visiting the warm Mediterranean regions, decided to stay there either for the cold season or even for the rest of their lives. Others began to visit places for health reasons, for example spas, in order to relieve a whole variety of diseases from gout to liver disorders and bronchitis. Leisure travel was essentially a British invention. England was the first European country to industrialize and thus the first society to offer time (and also opportunities) for leisure to a growing number of people. Initially, this did of course not apply to the working masses, but rather to the owners of the machinery of production, the economic elite, the factory owners, and the traders. Mass tourism could not really begin to develop until improvements in technology allowed the transportation of large numbers of people in a short period of time to places of leisure and interest and until larger numbers of people began to enjoy the benefits of leisure time. One major development was the introduction of the railways, which brought many of Britain's seaside towns within easy distance of new urban centers.

The father of modern mass tourism was Thomas Cook, who in 1841 organized the first package tour in history by chartering a train to take a group of temperance campaigners from Leicester to a rally in Loughborough, some twenty miles away. Cook immediately saw the potential for business development in the sector, and became the world's first tour operator. He was soon followed by others, with the result that the tourist industry developed rapidly in early Victorian Britain. Initially it was supported by the growing middle classes, who could take time off from their work, and who could afford the luxury of travel and possibly even staying for periods of time in boarding houses. For a long time, domestic tourism was the norm with foreign travel being reserved, as before, for the rich or the culturally curious. This changed with the increasing speed of trains that meant that the tourist industry could develop internationally. By 1901, the number of people crossing the English Channel from England to France or Belgium had passed 0.5 million per year. However it was with cheap air travel in combination with the package tour that international mass tourism developed after 1963 (cf. MacCannell, 13ff). Tourism has taken different forms over the years and the tourism industry is trying to fulfill the needs of their customers and anticipate their wishes for the next season. Especially in Europe today, low cost airlines provide the inexpensive basis for millions of people to easily travel from one place to the other giving way to a new form of short break mass tourism.

Conceptually, the 'traveler versus tourist'-dichotomy is most frequently expressed by oppositions: 'meaningful versus idle', 'exploration versus observation', 'active versus passive', 'purposeful versus recreational' or 'vocation versus vacation'. Thus, in a most general sense, the traveler actively engages the host culture whereas the tourist merely encounters it on a superficial level – if at all. In the end, even though this is not always explicitly

mentioned, the difference is expressed in the concept of authenticity. The traveler is seen to seek – and encounter – the cultural authentic whereas tourism is described as an inauthentic activity. This distinction is rooted in the historical developments which identified the reasons for aristocratic traveler to go abroad as a quest for "discourse and contact" rather than going abroad for the visit of sights or recreation. Traveling was considered an art which included access to foreign courts and encounters with other distinguished men.

The development of mass tourism and the mechanisms created by the tourism industry obviously changed the conception of traveling abroad. What can be found is a shift from the observing traveler to the possessive tourist replacing the authenticity of the experience by the consumption of an essentially commodified culture. Whereas tourists do wish to experience cultural differences, for instance different ways of life, different food, and different languages, they do not manage to reach the degree of immersion and communication but instead take safe glimpses of the cultural differences and avoid over-exposure to the host culture by engaging in only short and infrequent contact.

The research on tourism offers different perspectives on the notion of 'authenticity'. The most influential work has been done by Dean MacCannell who incorporates several of Heidegger's ideas, and draws on his idea that individuals thrive for authenticity to get away from the everydayness of their lives. He furthermore introduced the link between authenticity and tourist motivation. According to him modern individuals are concerned about the "shallowness of their lives and the inauthenticity of their experiences" (MacCannell, 1979: 590). He describes the tourists as making an attempt to be part of the native culture, to gain access to share experiences with the locals and also mentions their

possible failure in achieving that goal:

Sightseers are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives, and, at the same time, they are deprecated for always failing to achieve these goals. (MacCannell, 1979: 592)

In order to structure the tourist setting, MacCannell adopts Ervin Goffman's distinction of front and back regions, with front regions being the superficial, 'staged' presentation of a culture whereas the back regions provide an authentic experience. He also gives an example of how advertisements react to the tourist's wish to "get off the beaten path" and to be "in with the natives" by quoting a Swissair ad:

Take 'De tour.' Swissair's free-wheeling fifteen day Take-a-break Holiday that lets you detour to the off-beat, over-looked and unexpected corners of Switzerland for as little as \$315...Including car. Take de tour. But watch out for de sheep, de goats and de chickens. (MacCannell, 1979: 594)

This advertisement adopts at least partially the anthropological yearning for authenticity to get direct access to the culture, to be a pioneer and an explorer by taking a detour, leaving the well-worn paths and discover the unexpected riches of a destination. At the same time, the pun about "de tour" and "detour" expresses a considerable degree of self-irony and thus takes away from the seriousness of the endeavor.

MacCannell elaborates on Goffman's dichotomies of 'front versus back' and 'real versus show' by explaining the existence of different regions that are accessible for tourists. Normally they encounter front regions but they are driven by the desire to get access to the back regions. The problem is that they will sometimes encounter a "would-be back region" that is merely a "front region that has been

totally set up in advance for tourist visitation" (MacCannell, 1979, 597). He sees a great danger in what he calls a "false back", a setting that is artificially arranged to look like an authentic back region and thus represents a "superlie" (MacCannell, 1979: 599).

Nevertheless, Goffman does not totally discount the touristic project. He claims that tourists have the possibility of moving between different stages and that in the course of their quest for authenticity, tourists will actually have a chance of intellectual growth:

The touristic way of getting in with the natives is to enter into a quest for authentic experiences, from front to back. Movement from stage to stage corresponds to growing touristic understanding. (MacCannell, 1979: 602)

This positive attitude towards a successful quest for authentic experiences can be opposed with the concept of *touristic shame* which also deals with the tourist's search for authenticity and the restrictions that apply to this quest.

The increasing numbers of tourists and the commercialization of tourism and touristic sites have created a somewhat negative reputation of tourists. Stereotypes were created, especially about American tourists. Stereotypical images included the "camera-toting, Bermuda-short-clad, noisy tourist." The general perception was that tourists are "vulgar, superficial, provincial, gullible, and entirely lacking in taste or sophistication. (Aron, 1999: 154). Along with these negative images of tourists came the question of the authenticity of their experiences. Great numbers of tourists and the commercial infrastructure they created seemed to destroy the sights they came to visit. Aron argues that even if many of the touristic experiences are superficial it is not fair to condemn the tourists for that. In her view the only other choice they might have

had instead of being part of the tourism industry that had evolved was to stay at home.

Thus, the departure from home and the possibility of getting away from the everyday routine provides at least some opportunity for individual growth and for broadening one's horizon. Some 'enlightened' tourists indeed also want to give a meaning to their trip. Similar to old-time travelers their aim was not to relax and be amused but to gather information and knowledge. Their focus was on the pursuit of a constructive activity and while Aron admits that some of the tourist attractions might be manufactured sights, especially created for tourists, but still claims that the main interest of the travelers in the nineteenth century was to gain knowledge and experience which made their vacation more meaningful than a week at a resort or spa (Aron, 1999: 154 ff).

These 'enlightened' tourists wanted to be different from the idle tourist, also creating a feeling of superiority as they were able to justify their travels with meaningful activities that stood in sharp contrast to the mere recreational behavior of the others who were considered as somewhat 'inferior'. By visiting sights of cultural significance and learning about the culture of their destination these traveler-like tourists hoped to get a deeper insight and hence have a more "authentic" experience.

The dynamics of belonging to a larger group also has other implications. It can be said that tourists are united in being outsiders and strangers. It seems, however, that strange patterns are applied dividing up tourists as either belonging to the masses or the independent traveler implying that good behavior tends to reside in the latter rather than the former. Tourists are aware of the fact that tourism itself destroys the authenticity of the tourist object. This results in the phenomenon of "touristic shame" (Frow,

1997: 99), the wish to deny or reject membership tourist class. More radically, the phenomenon of so-called "post-tourism" involves the cultivation of an ironic disposition to the tourist site. The post-tourist accepts that the site will be swarming with other tourists and treats this as part of the tourist experience (Rojek, 1998: 42).

What is evident here is a change in the conceptualization of the tourist experience. According to Uriely four major developments have taken place:

[...] the first two developments [...] focus on the tendency of recent works to de-differentiate the experience from everyday life and to stress its pluralized nature, respectively. The third involves the growing attention that is given to the role of subjectivity in the constitution of the tourist experience. The fourth concerns the shift toward a compromising academic discourse, in which the tourist experience is conceptualized in terms of relative rather than absolute truths. (Uriely, 2005: 203)

The developments can be viewed in a kind of chronological order and seem to represent some sort of 'emancipation' of the tourist. The first movement that is viewed as "De-differentiating the Experience" is based on early conceptualizations of the tourist experience that stressed its profound distinctiveness from everyday life. It is assumed that the tourists' primary motivation is to get away from everyday routine to experience an environment without work and chores. This implies that 'change' is the key element that shapes the recreational impact of the tourist experience.

What is important here is the search for authentic experiences. It is argued that "modern individuals perceive their everyday life as inauthentic" (Uriely, 2005: 203) so that they have to break away from their routines in order to start to live and to get a different

perspective on their own lives and society. This differentiation between everyday life and the tourist experience was challenged, however, by the introduction of the perspective of postmodern tourism. Commonly known boundaries between work and leisure, everyday routine and tourism have been blurred by modern technologies and mass media that make experiences that were once exclusively allotted to tourism, such as the engagement in other cultures or the experience of looking at distant sights, accessible in the context of everyday life. Travel, the actual movement from one place to the other, is obsolete if virtual reality takes us to distant places and the possibility to encounter foreign cultures awaits us in the next shopping mall.

Another process that causes the de-differentiation between tourism and everyday life is the growing tendency to combine a number of activities, such as sports like hiking or skiing, with tourism. On the other hand touristic features are incorporated into our work sphere when managers are sent to outdoor trainings to improve their social skills and provide bonding experiences. Furthermore aspects of leisure and recreation such as spas, gyms and skateboarding are entering the workspace, thus challenging the notion of tourism/leisure and work as contradictory experiences. (cf. Uriely, 2005: 204). With regard to the blurring distinctions between work and leisure which is also evident in the combination of business trip and tourist-oriented activities, a new typology of tourists who combine work and touristic pursuit is emerging. This classification could also be attributed to study abroad students who are going abroad mainly for academic reasons but have a strong intention to combine their stay in a foreign country with touristic activities and first-hand cultural experiences.

The second development deals with the aspect of "Pluralizing the Experience", as a variety of meanings and motivations are available for conceptualizing the touristic experience. Early views on tourism generalized the nature of touristic experiences whereas Cohen stated that "different kinds of people may desire different modes of tourist experiences" (Cohen, 1979: 180). In his research he found out that different modes of tourist experiences exist that range from the tourist who is merely interested in pleasure to the tourist who is on a quest for meaning. This tendency to reveal diversity and plural characteristics within the touristic experience is further elaborated by establishing different categories of tourists that are based on the notion of non-institutionalized and institutionalized tourists. The categories span from the mass tourist to the individual experimental explorer who, based on their individual and specific motivations, will seek different experiences when they are tourists in a foreign culture. The diversity of tourist experiences is further underlined by the introduction of subtypes of motivations and tourist types which corresponds to the creation of the "post tourist" who "enjoys the movement across different types of experiences in a single excursion". (Uriely, 2005: 206).

Another development in the conceptualization of touristic experience is expressed in the "Role of Subjectivity" as the focus is shifted from the meaning that is assigned to certain displayed objects by the tourism industry to the way the individual tourist's experience is shaped by his or her personal, subjective encounter with the objects. With regard to the tourists' ability to assign different meanings to their experiences the concept of authenticity is given great attention. The process of applying an individual perspective and thus deriving various notions from the objects and products provided by the tourism industry is emphasized by the tourists' ability to individually shape their personal experiences. This subjectivity in the construction of experiences is contrasted

with the generalized presentation of touristic objects and thus raises the issue of authenticity. Within tourism research, different notions of authenticity were found: the so-called "objective authenticity", associated with early tourism theories, emphasizes the degree of originality of a toured object, equating authentic experiences in tourism with genuinity of a displayed object. His notion of "constructive authenticity" goes away from an approach that simply assigns authenticity to a displayed object but moreover states that their authenticity is constructed by the tourism industry. In this approach the role of the tourism industry is underlined as this industry seems to have the power to construct an authenticity of a particular tourist sight. Going beyond these two notions, Wang introduces a third perspective, namely the concept of "existential authenticity" that shifts the focus away from the displayed object to the individual tourists who themselves generate the authenticity of their experiences as their subjective perspectives and activities are recognized as key elements of the touristic experience.

The last development described by Uriely as a movement "Towards Relative Interpretations" refers to the way tourist experiences are viewed in terms of absolute or relative truths. This distinction parallels the development from the modern to the postmodern tourist. Whereas the modern tourist was often viewed as an example of cultural decadence searching for superficial and trivial and artificial attraction, the concept of the postmodern tourist emerged from the increasing variety of touristic choices apart from conventional mass tourism. But even within this new category of postmodern tourism the degree of authenticity was focused on when the "simulational" and the "other" postmodern tourist were identified (cf. Munt, 1994: 106). While "simulational" tourism aims is satisfied with "hyperreal" experiences that are offered in staged environments such as Disneyland in which animation seems to be

more important than authenticity, the "other" postmodern tourism puts great emphasis on the quest for authenticity (cf. Uriely, 2005: 208). This quest for authenticity is obviously a major force for many tourists and finds its way in a variety of publications, also in study abroad materials.

Study Abroad

With the extinction of the traveler and the enormous growth in mass tourism, it is interesting to see that study abroad has taken up many of the claims that used to be made by and for the cultured travelers. The 'traveler versus tourist'-dichotomy can be said to have changed into the 'study abroad student versus tourist'-dichotomy. In the analysis chapter, the promise of 'authentic experiences' will be shown to be a frequent marketing instrument to convince students of the benefits of a study abroad program. However, it is also used to justify study abroad on a theoretical level. In her article "Reflections on Study Abroad", Elizabeth Shannon describes certain processes that take place during a study abroad experience and contrasts them with merely touristic experiences. Her main basis for this distinction is the time factor as she has the opinion that tourism due to the short time of stay provides a different interaction with the host culture than a longer study abroad period. She states that a certain amount of time is needed to allow a person to grasp the identity of a place and that study abroad provides this time. But she also relates to the aspect of 'metamorphosis' of a change in personality which is mentioned time and again in the study abroad material. For her, the time spent in a study abroad program allows students to write themselves all over again. Being away from their familiar surroundings students will encounter that they have no identity other than being 'American', a label which might be received in a positive way but that could also trigger negative attitudes. Having to deal with hostility due to their nationality proves to be an

especially challenging task for students. The creation of a 'foreign self' that is accepted and even liked by people from the host culture is when according to Shannon students assimilate to the new culture and come to "the point of being very snooty toward any poor, unsuspecting American tourist that might cross one's path (carrying the same baggage one carried only a few month ago)." (Shannon, 1995: 98) This is the same feeling of 'superiority' that was also obvious with regard to the travelers who felt superior to mere tourists. However, Shannon emphasizes that students cannot expect the automatic metamorphosis often promised in study abroad material. The mere prolonged presence in n a new culture does not automatically turn them into "interesting" persons as they have to contribute something to that process (cf. Shannon, 1995: 99).

One of the key questions in this context is about the role the study abroad industry, similar to the tourism industry, plays in shaping the students' experience. Is it possible for American undergraduate college students to have authentic experiences when their study abroad destination is specifically selected to cater to their needs? It is, for example, a legitimate question whether a 'Junior-Year-Abroad' in Germany in a group of 30 other American students will have the same impact as spending a semester at a German university as a full-time student without being part of a huge group of fellow Americans. It is evident, nevertheless, that the process of getting accustomed with a new culture takes time and study abroad programs definitely provide more time than the usual tourist trips.

The concept of 'authenticity' seems to be the key element in what distinguishes a study abroad experience from a touristic experience. This is evident when students are promised 'first-hand' cultural experiences. But in view of the previously described

emancipation of the tourist, can we uphold that a touristic experience differs substantively from a study abroad experience? And why, in a post-tourist, constructivist age, are students so anxious to obtain an authentic experience through study abroad?

Another problem with regard to the authenticity of study abroad experiences seems to be that many places commonly selected for study abroad have been shaped by an American-influenced global culture, language and economic values. Organizers of study abroad programs fear that these places may not provide enough "foreignness" to give students a change of perspective. A development created as a response to the generalizing effects of continuing globalization is to pick more "culturally challenging" environments for students. Along with this development the number of study abroad destinations, similar to popular holiday destinations, have multiplied and are often located in geographic areas unthought-of in earlier decades and hence offer a greater variety of places which might not have been 'spoiled' by globalization.

Along with the rising number of possibilities and destinations and the fast pace of globalization it becomes crucial to decide what is supposed to make the participation in an international exchange program an "authentic" experience for students. In the age of globalization, the basic assumption may well be that a universal culture has emerged which is strongly shaped by American or Western economic values and principles. This view reduces the significance of cultural differences and considers traveling other places for cultural curiosity a nuisance as uniformity has made its way to have one place look like the other. In an opposition to that view, the idea that in spite of globalization, differences between cultures still prevail acknowledges the fact that authentic experiences can be found when traveling to other places and

encountering other cultures.

Following the line of argumentation of the study abroad material taking part in international educational exchange seems to be more worthwhile than a mere tour of Europe's capitals in 10 days. This statement once more underlines the importance of the duration of the encounter with another culture as a major criterion for the likelihood to attain authenticity.

Some scholars and international educators actually claim that study abroad can be a version of “responsible tourism”. In reaction to the potentially negative effects of tourism on tourists as well as members of the host culture, researchers in tourism have been trying to come up with forms of tourism that have the capability to do without the prefabricated interpretations provided and that provide alternative viewpoints. These forms of tourism such as heritage tourism are supposed to appear as an alternative to the well-known touristic experiences and as those common forms of tourism unfortunately usually do not provide tourists with the opportunity for “digging deep into their host country’s economic, social or political roots and becoming acquainted with the everyday realities of its people” (Santos, 2002: 15). As a way to lessen the negative effects of tourism, anthropologist Shoshanna Sumka brings up the idea of “alternative tourism” which she describes as follows:

Alternative tourism can be characterized as a form of tourism consistent with natural, social, and community values which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences. This implies contact between local communities and tourists in an equal exchange, with both sides benefiting. The interactions between visitors and locals should help develop a respect for other cultures, rather than romanticizing them. (Sumka, 2006: 2)

Sumka has also conducted extensive research on educational exchange. In her view, educational travel serves as a model for responsible tourism and she consequently sees the potential of study abroad for alternative tourism. According to her research there is however a distinction between traditional study abroad programs with a focus on language acquisition and experiential study abroad which emphasize “non-classroom-based learning”. The latter seems to offer a chance for a deeper understanding of the host culture:

These and programs like them focus on more than just learning a language; they attempt to foster a deepened understanding of a country and its people that goes far beyond what a tourist or even a student on a traditional program would ever learn. (Sumka, 2006: 3)

Furthermore the location seems to play a major role with regard to the impact a study abroad experience has on the students. Sumka comes to the conclusion that the degree of disparity has a direct influence on the effect the experience has on the student and gives Third World countries as special position:

Third World travel especially leads to a greater understanding of self and a confronting of U.S. values concerning consumerism, individualism, and race-based identity. (Sumka, 2006: 3)

Other scholars involved in study abroad view the location of a study abroad program as a key influence on the individual student’s experience and that it can increase the degree of authenticity. Even if he does not go to the length of choosing an “unspoilt” Third World destination for a study abroad program, Robert P. Winston from Dickinson College, for instance, developed an exchange program with Great Britain that is called Dickinson

College's Program in England (DPE). One aspect that is interesting is that the program is specifically set in what Winston calls a "second city", namely not the capital city of London. The reasons he gives for the deliberate choice of Norwich as the study abroad location is that it "was characteristic of the host culture because it retained many of the distinctly national traits which were being erased—or at least obscured—by the "internationalization" of the capital city" (Winston, 2001: 62). The same approach can be found in study abroad material for smaller cities in southern Germany that claims that they provide a much easier access to the 'real' culture than the big metropolises such as Berlin or Munich. One could argue that this is only an attempt to find an excuse for not having enough contacts to establish an exchange with a university in a capital city.

The DPE Program, however, does not directly go to the "second city" but begins in London to get the students started. Here, American students can start their international experience in an environment that is coined by a persistent 'Americanization' of the British culture, evident by the presence of McDonald's and other fast food chains that are familiar to them. By moving to Norwich afterwards it is easier to convince the American students that in spite of the apparent similarities between both cultures and the dominance of American industry there is "in fact a distinctive 'foreignness' to the place they've chosen to live and study (Winston, 2001: 63).

In his paper Winston goes on to describe processes that take place when students go abroad to study. Quoting from Helen Snow's 1998 paper "Vacation or Vocation", Winston uses the terminology of the "alienated tourist" and the "interested observer of cultural differences" using the same kind of opposing paradigms we already came across when we looked at the historical development of

tourism. The terms might differ but the sets of opposites range from "idle vacation" versus "purposeful journey", "tourist" versus "traveler" and in Winston's case "exploration" rather than "mere 'observation'" (Winston, 2001: 67). Another comparison that he quotes comes from William McIlvanney's mystery novel "Laidlaw" who states that

There are tourists and travelers. Tourists spend their lives doing a Cook's Tour of their own reality. Ignoring their slums. Travellers make the journey more slowly, in greater detail. Mix with the natives. (Winston, 2001: 67)

Here we have come full course. In explaining the DPE program, Winston repeats the old dichotomy between traveler and tourist. What comes in here from Winston's point of view is the possibility to make a distinction between the active engagements in the search for knowledge that is contrasted by a more passive, waiting attitude that expects that knowledge will be delivered by some specialist. This again, can be compared to the purposeful manner used to justify traveling in the beginnings of tourism when idleness and leisure were no concepts to be sought after.

Following the line of argumentation of these international educators it can be concluded that reasonable efforts must be made to gain access to the host culture. This can be achieved by choosing a location with a culture very different from your own, by deliberately choosing a city off the beaten track or by spending a considerable amount of time in the host culture. Even little things such as accommodation may contribute to the overall impact of the experience as Sumka argues:

If students live in an apartment or dorm with other Americans, their contact with the local people is limited. Economic or social class is also an issue: If privileged U.S. students go to a foreign university with privileged foreign students, as Chip Peterson points out in a 1997 column in this magazine, they may never really experience the broad cultural differences of their new environment. (Sumka, 2006: 4)

It seems as if merely spending time in a foreign country does not guarantee access to that culture. Even more so, active endeavors are required by both study abroad advisers who design study abroad programs and the individual students who go abroad to turn them from simple tourists into enlightened travelers.

Study Abroad in Historical Perspective

As we already seen looking at the example of the 'Grand Tour', travel and tourism have strong affinities. According to Ronald Cluett, "experiential overseas learning dates back at least as far as when young Romans traveled to Athens to study at the feet of the great philosophers and rhetors" (Cluett, 2002: 17). In his essay "From Cicero to Mohammed Atta: People, Politics, and Study Abroad", Cluett gives an overview of examples ranging from the times of the Roman Empire to Seventeenth Century Russian and Nineteenth Century China. In his view, travel and the approach to learn from travel is a human impulse as he sees study abroad as a form of experiential learning. There was a great increase in the participation in study abroad programs in the United States after World War II and even more so after the end of the Cold War and were at a height during the Clinton administration.

The events of September 11, however, changed much in the area of international education, as anxiety and uncertainty became prominent elements in this field. This applies both to Americans going abroad, as they fear for their personal safety or are afraid that they will not be welcome in some parts of the world, and international students going to the United States who face strict security screenings. Cluett argues that the "innocence" of student exchange has been lost and given way to the perception that "movement across borders is always political" (Cluett, 2002: 19). The political discourse surrounding study abroad has become extremely vivid when it became apparent that both John Walker Lindh, the American Taliban fighter, and Mohammed Atta, one of the suicide bombers of September 11, were foreign students. Lindh was a foreign student in Pakistan and Atta studied in Hamburg and Florida. The implication of this with regard to study abroad are discussed by Grünzweig and Rinehard in their collection of essays in *Rockin' in Red Square. Critical Approaches to International Education in the Age of Cyberculture*:

Both the idealistic faith and the economic rationale were brutally challenged by the events of September 11. The pilot of the first plane to attack the World Trade Center, Mohammed Atta, was a product of international education with a technical degree from a German university and enough cross-cultural education to navigate undetected in American society while adhering firmly to his own deeply held beliefs. (Grünzweig & Rinehard, 2002: 20)

The authors argue that an exposure to a foreign culture does not *necessarily* lead to a deeper understanding and appreciation of that culture but could also lead to a greater degree of hostility towards that culture.

For Cluett political intention in study abroad is something that can be traced back to the Roman Empire and still is an important element of international exchange today. Study abroad experiences are shaped by certain diplomatic, political and strategic concerns that make them an inherently political activity that goes far beyond the individual's personal experience. Whether it is Cicero who went to Greece to learn rhetoric and philosophy, or Peter the Great who went to Holland and England to learn about naval technologies, or the first Chinese graduate of an American university, Yung Wing, who developed a training program in engineering and military science between China and the United States – all of these personal study abroad projects had political implications that would shape the relationships between home and host country. Today, when more than a few members of the elite are able to gather international experience, it is reasonable to assume that the knowledge they gain and the experiences they make will have an impact on their future careers. Assuming that more than a few of the students who can afford study abroad today will enter leadership positions in their future careers, it is obvious that their experiences in their host country will shape their future behavior. In going abroad, students might get professional training that is unavailable in their home country, they are thus able to acquire foreign technical expertise. The examples of Mohammed Atta and John Walker Lindh show how these benefits of study abroad can readily be used to attack study abroad and the growing internationalization. As we will see in the final chapter, the 'dangers' that the acceptance of foreign students poses are identified as intelligence and terrorist activities and give way to a condemnation of internationalization by neo-Conservative forces in the United States.

Educational exchange is thus fundamentally political in its consequences. The exchange between the United States and Germany is an example for this. It began with the exchange of professors in 1905. This was the first cultural exchange between industrialized nations and was established between Harvard and Columbia University and the University of Leipzig. After its establishment in 1905, the program ran for a number of years but was soon interrupted by World War I. In 1927 this exchange could be taken up again and cultural agreements became a major point in the cooperation between different states. The founding of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in 1925 laid the grounds for organized student exchange between Germany and foreign nations. These developments were interrupted by the rule of the Nazi Regime and World War II.

The world's reaction to the World War I, which among other things resulted in a boycott of German science and German cultural policy under the propagandistic influence of the Nazi regime are just two examples that showed how organized educational exchange is dependent on historical and political circumstances and never an independent entity. This implies that advocates of international education must consider the current political situation in their home as well as the host country, a fact that diminishes their degree of autonomy (cf. Düwell, 1976: 106 ff). This question is extremely important when we consider that today's study abroad material might also be the result of political circumstances and ideological endeavors as specific additions to the material such as security questions that have been integrated into the material to respond to students' and especially their parents' concerns. This is a clear sign that political circumstances, in this case international terrorism have a direct influence on the way information is presented and marketing is designed.

Conceptual Models of International Exchange and Study Abroad

Exchange research deals with the experiences and behavior of persons who spend time abroad in a culture that is strange to them, working, traveling, studying or merely living. It is important to gain an insight into the processes and relationships that shape a study abroad experience in order to be able to understand what students go through when they go abroad and to use this insight to design study abroad programs which best serve the purposes of American students.

Exchange research often looks at in is the kind of psychological processes that are triggered by the confrontation with a foreign culture on the part of the individual and the either short-term or constant changes in personality this causes. Other aspects include the personal and simulative factors that influence the development of social relationships between the foreigner and the members of the host-culture. These factors include attitudes, language performance, contact possibilities and types of encounters. Another aspect includes the question in how far one's own system of relationships influence the personal perception and interpretation of the foreign surrounding and which consequences they have on intercultural interaction. When students decide to study abroad they are willing to leave their familiar surroundings and their well-known social networks to engage themselves in other social contexts.

Cross-cultural psychologist Stephen Bochner describes three social networks that students may belong to when they study abroad. The first network is a network consisting of relationships to fellow countrymen, a so called "monocultural network" that helps to maintain a strong connection to the home culture. The members of this network are able to retain their own cultural values. The

second network is a network with relationships to people from the host culture. This "bicultural network" is essential to help students to gain information and orientation. Especially in the beginning of the study abroad period, this bicultural network consists of staff of the host university, employees of the International Office, professors and other persons providing informational resources. All these people are important for students in order to adapt to their new life abroad. The third network is a network with relationships to other foreigners. These kinds of relationships are quite common as study abroad students from all parts of the world find themselves in the same position in the host university. They are all foreigners in a new culture and thus share the same experiences.

In evaluating a study abroad experience, it is important to look at the quality of the relationships in the different networks and at the function they serve for students. Relationships to fellow countrymen often serve an emotional purpose, as they help students to preserve their own cultural identity, whereas the relationships to people from the host culture have an instrumental function. When students turn to members of the host culture, they are doing that mostly for academic and organizational reasons as they need to achieve a certain aim in their study abroad experience. The relationship with persons from their source contexts is often shaped by a certain, oft unacknowledged, desire not to get too close to the host culture. In most of the cases, the relationships that are established by students lead to the creation of a multicultural circle of friends that consists of members from different nationalities.

Apart from the three groups Bochner mentions, however, people from the host culture, fellow countrymen and other foreigners, there are relationships to people who remain at home, mostly friends and family. This contact is continued by phone calls, emails and the Internet. Due to developments in the area of new media,

the possibilities to maintain an intensive contact with the source context have changed considerably over the past two decades. Twenty years ago, contact with friends and family could only be kept up by letters or an occasional phone call. Nowadays the internet allows students to chat with the people they left or to even include the visual level through videoconferencing. Thus, the impact of the host culture as a place where students are left alone and without a lot of contact with has lessened in the course of the past decade.

Nevertheless the students' intercultural experience is mostly shaped by the individual's active embrace of the conditions of student life in a foreign country. This embrace occurs through the interaction with people of the host culture who are contacted by the student during the study abroad experience. Bochner provides us with a model that emphasizes the importance of contacts and relationships with and in the host culture. Thus, well-designed study abroad programs nowadays ideally pay close attention to this concept. By including social factors such as relationship and contact networks with the host culture and not only looking at academic aspects, these programs not only gain access to the students' lives in the host culture, but also create an environment which will help students to make the most of their experiences.

When study abroad is viewed as intercultural interaction, there are certain tasks that students have to handle. Looking at the task in chronological order they can be divided into different phases. The first phase can be called the "preparation phase" when students prepare for their study abroad experience. Whereas the motivation for study abroad might be rooted in the past, the actual preparation begins once the students have made the decision to go abroad to study at a foreign university. The students' decision to leave their familiar surroundings is viewed as a means to achieve

certain goals, which go along with positive consequences such as better employment opportunities or better language skills. The students use their imagination to anticipate the new study and living situation, the information drawn upon is second hand information such as material, the media or personal accounts which puts them in a situation that can be compared to the situation tourists find themselves in. The students try to assess whether their abilities will help them to manage the new situation and achieve their goals. Feelings of insecurity and doubt are mixed with feelings of positive anxiety. Personal ideas of aims of the study abroad experience are formed.

Bochner describes the next phase as the "orientation phase" a phase that takes place directly after the arrival. In this phase, students are confronted with a number of different requirements they have to take care of when they settle in their new surroundings, such as finding a place to live and dealing with the formalities of enrollment and the choice of classes. Exchange students have to get to know their surroundings and have to orient and accommodate themselves to the new culture. In this phase it is quite common for students to draw comparisons between their home and host culture which allow them to see cultural differences and similarities. Even though this process of comparing host and home culture takes place during the entire study abroad period of the students, it can be said that this process is most prominent in the time shortly after the arrival when students get used to their new environment.

This phase is followed by the so-called "implementation phase" in which students start to focus on the fulfillment of the aims and goals they anticipated when they planned their study abroad period. With increasing knowledge of the host culture, it is more likely that students will achieve their goals, or use their growing

knowledge of the host culture to adapt their plans. The consequent pursuit of the anticipated accomplishments characterizes this phase, when students have completed their process of settling in and are familiar with their host culture.

The next phase, the so-called "leaving phase", is shaped by activities that help students to let go of the host culture. In this phase students focus on their home culture and anticipate their lives following the return to the home country.

The actual return to the home country, the so-called "reintegration phase" is dominated by an evaluation of the accomplishments and the consequences of the study abroad experience. Furthermore students have to face the fact that some of the changes in their behavior which were triggered by the confrontation with the host culture cannot be maintained in the home culture or might cause strange reactions within the social environment.

The use of Bochner's phase model is an attempt to present the complicated processes that have a great influence on a study abroad experience. It is important to keep in mind that the particular phases cannot be strictly separated from each other but rather have to be viewed as behavior, actions and activities in flow. Bochner's phase model helps to understand the complex processes shaping students' study abroad experiences and provides an insight into the structure of study abroad programs and their presentation in public relations. It reflects the conceptual background of both research into and practice of international educational exchange.

Reasons and Motivations

Another type of research that is important for the present investigation study students' reasons and motivations to study abroad and what obstacles may prevent it. It will be shown later how American universities have incorporated these reasons into the narratives used to promote study abroad.

According to a study commissioned by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and conducted in 2003, the foremost reasons and motivational factors behind a student's choice to study abroad include the wish to gain international experience, the urge to get to know another culture and to enhance career aspects. Other factors compiled in a rather chaotic list are travel opportunities, contact with overseas students and the improvement of language skills. Also, expectations include the chance to join peer students, fun and the opportunity to learn from international academics. People influencing a student's decisions are study abroad advisors and members of academic staff who give recommendations to students.

There are also factors inhibiting students in their decision to go abroad. Generally speaking those deterrents include costs, academic concerns or a lack of knowledge or interest in studying abroad. Further aspects are the fear of living away from home, a lack of credit transfer possibilities, the fear of slowing down the academic progress and a lack of enthusiasm from home university academics. This lack of enthusiasm has to be compensated by study abroad advisors who work very closely with students and thus have a good insight into the decision-making processes of students along with their perceptions, influences and choice factors.

In a study abroad report published by EduWorld, an educational marketing and research company based in Australia, study abroad advisors point out that students are most likely to look for easy credit transfer possibilities, an inexpensive destination and a country with an interesting culture that is different from their own. These aspects correspond with the factors influencing a student's choice for an institution, as more than forty percent of the students again seek institutions which offer good credit transfer possibilities. Furthermore interesting course offerings, the location of the potential host institution, its academic reputation, its facilities and accommodation services and inexpensive tuition fees seem most attractive for students in their choice for an institution. When asked who has the most influence on a student's choice with regard to his or her study abroad destination, a high proportion of study abroad advisers felt that peers and faculty members were most likely to influence a student in their decision-making process. Parents and classmates who have studied abroad were also seen to be sources of influence along with the study abroad advisers themselves.

4 ANALYTICAL JOURNEYS: FROM THE SELF TO THE WORLD TO GERMANY

In this chapter I will analyze the texts used to promote study abroad programs. The analysis will be done by applying aspects of the theories and methods described in chapter 2.

The results of the studies on the study abroad market presented in chapter 3 already showed major incentives and obstacles students come across when they think about taking part in an international exchange program. Thus, is no surprise that the material used to convince students to study abroad mainly refers to academic and career-oriented arguments. In addition to this argumentative level there has to be a visual level to bring the arguments across. Obviously the visualization of the information and the marketing material is adjusted to cater to the needs and expectations of various target groups.

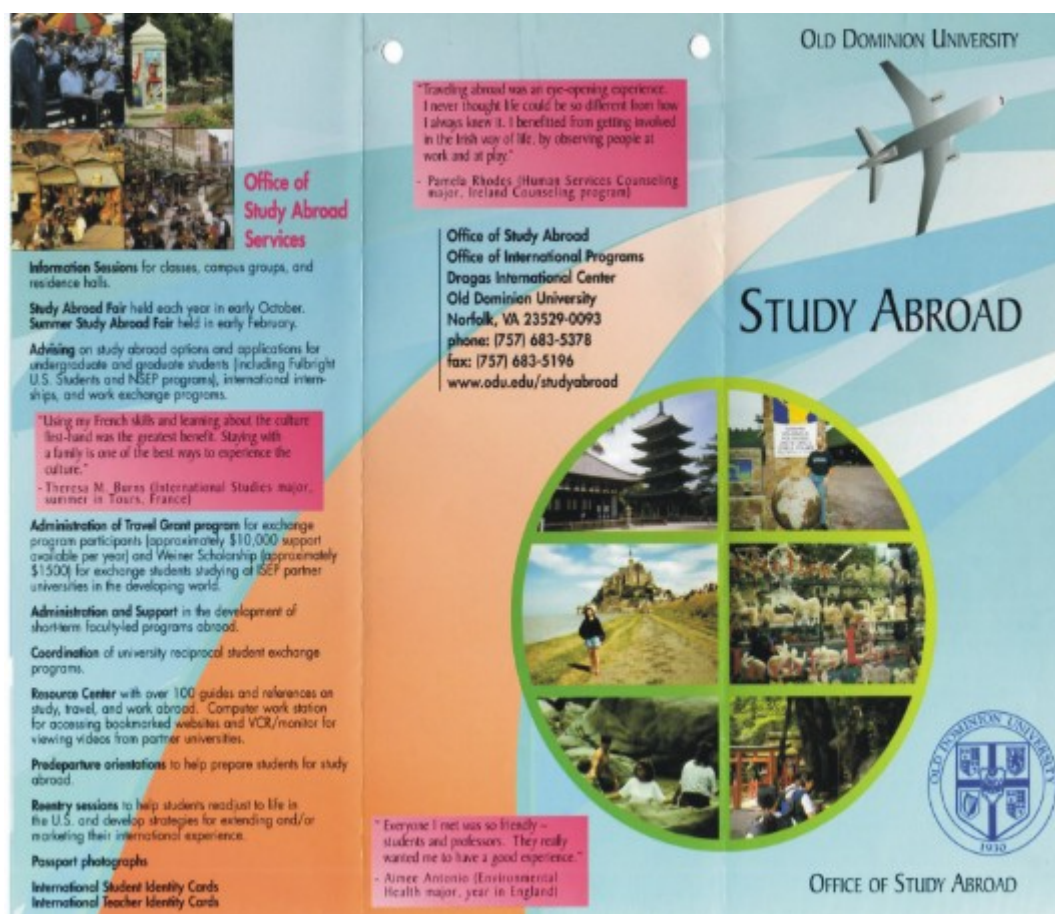
Visualization of Information

The brochures and leaflets use layout features that place an emphasis on the visual level in order to get the students' attention, such as carefully chosen pictures and keywords which students are already familiar with such as "global community" and "international dimension". A balance is kept between an eye-catching colorful layout and reliable textual information. The marketing material used to promote study abroad programs is created in the two—to some extent contradictory—contexts—the contexts of advertising and graphic design. While in advertising the main goal is to sell goods and services, graphic design is viewed as a form of art that tries to structure information and form ideas in an aesthetic way. In a field like study abroad, where the informational content is extremely important to the recipient, it can be assumed that it might be difficult to keep a balance between the

goal of conveying as much information as possible while adhering to the basic principles of graphic design that include a certain aesthetic harmony and balance in the marketing material.

A detailed look at a flyer from Old Dominion University shows how information is visualized and how some of the graphical elements function within the overall design of this particular marketing tool.

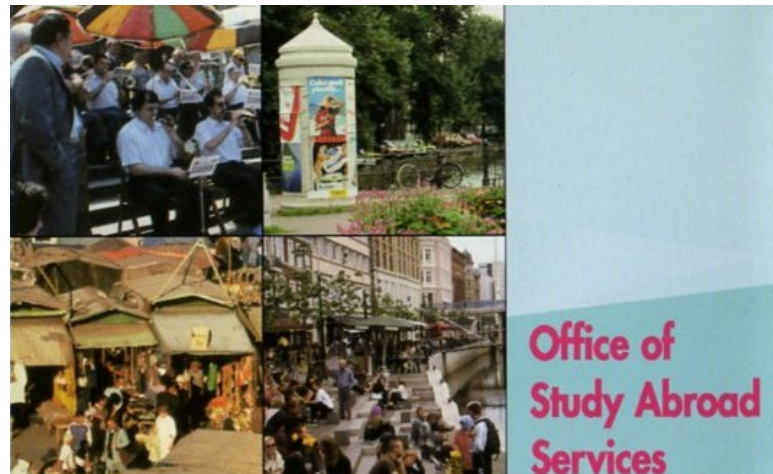
Here is what students first see when they get the flyer:



The key graphic features that get the observer's immediate attention are the photographic elements, the image of the airplane, the seal of the university and the pink quotation boxes.

The flyer has two photographic elements which are located on the top left corner and in the right/middle section of the flyer. Both are collages of photographs that might have been taken by students

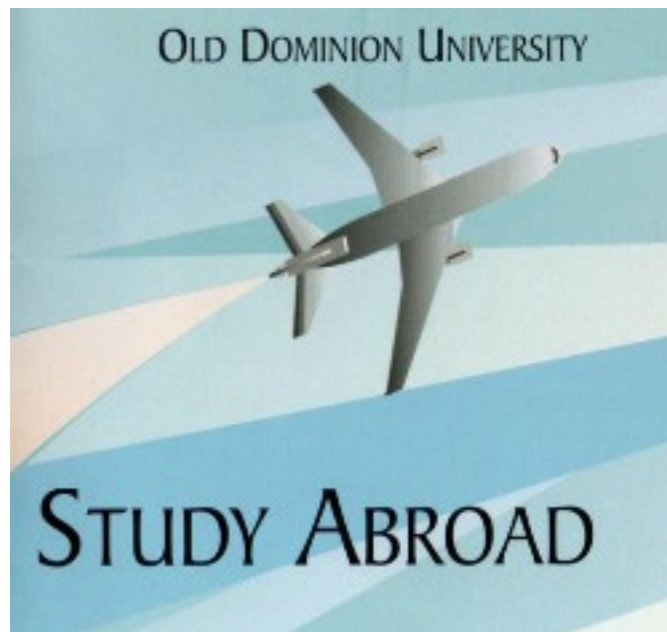
who took part in an exchange program. It is a mixture of historic sights, travel impressions and photographs that show groups of people or a single person in front of a monument or sight.



The pictures represent exotic sights (a pagoda) as well landscapes (a girl in front of the castle) and busy city scenes. The observer feels easily attracted to the locations and it is obvious that they are supposed to trigger excitement and the yearning to go on a trip. The use of exotic scenery also integrates the element of 'adventure'

into the study abroad context. Students are supposed to be encouraged to feel a need to go out and explore the world which apparently has so much to offer.

The dominating graphic element, however, is the illustration of the airplane in the right-hand corner with its trail reaching all the way to the lower left of the page.



The way the airplane is presented, it seems as if it is in full flight, picking up speed and flying into a bright sky. The whole image suggests movement and departure and the trail of the airplane seems to be the path into a bright future.

Other graphic elements include the enhanced quotations which fulfill different purposes. On a graphical level the boxed off sections are used to break up larger areas of texts and due to the different color draw the reader's special attention.

"Using my French skills and learning about the culture first-hand was the greatest benefit. Staying with a family is one of the best ways to experience the culture."
- Theresa M. Burns (International Studies major, summer in Tours, France)

"Traveling abroad was an eye-opening experience. I never thought life could be so different from how I always knew it. I benefitted from getting involved in the Irish way of life, by observing people at work and at play."
- Pamela Rhodes (Human Services Counseling major, Ireland Counseling program)

"Everyone I met was so friendly – students and professors. They really wanted me to have a good experience."
- Aimee Antonio (Environmental Health major, year in England)

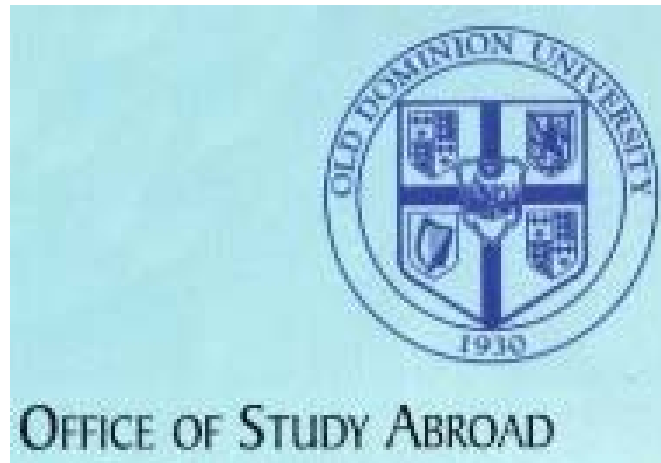
"I got to experience a new culture, meet many new friends, see new places. No books could replace the education I got going abroad. Students should be aware that study abroad is possible and realistic, not some distant thing that you always hear about."
- Brad Fitzgerald (Marketing major, semester in Australia)

These short highlighted excerpts identify numerous of the core elements about study abroad which will be explored further in the content-based analysis of the material.

On a message-oriented level these boxed-off sections employ a persuasive approach, going beyond information trying to make a special emotional appeal to students. This also incorporates the social factors that marketing analysis relies on, hoping to use past program participants whose quotations are provided by opinion leaders and members of the mentioned aspirational groups that future student participants should want to belong to.

Furthermore this use of quotations represents a 'word-of-mouth'-strategy that relies on the assumption that people seem to place stronger value on information they are given by their peers who have already gone through the experience they are planning to engage in.

What is evident in the flyer and a special feature of service marketing is the use of the university's name and seal:



A central feature of service marketing is the inseparability of service and the provider of the service. Studying abroad will be a major step for the students which requires courage as well as the ability to trust the organizers on the quality of the program. Thus, the use of the seal of the university on the front page is more than just a reminder of who is publishing this flyer but also helps to build a trustful relationship between the students and the university. The university's seal builds a direct connection between the exchange programs and the university and also gives the document an official character and appearance with the seal being something like a stamp of approval for the quality of the programs. The seal furthermore symbolizes trustworthiness suggesting that the study abroad programs mentioned in the flyer are serious offers that provide and organized structure and planning reliability.

The inside of the flyer contains much and much detailed information:

Semester and Year-long Exchange Programs

The term "exchange" means that Old Dominion University has a relationship with a university in another country. We send students to study there and they send students here! For all exchanges, you pay tuition to Old Dominion at regular rates for the term that you are abroad. For some exchanges (ISEP and Kansai Gaidai) on-campus room and board fees are paid to Old Dominion as well. By participating in an exchange, you truly can study just about anywhere in the world for about the same cost as staying on campus!



Exchanges in Africa

ISEP Member Institutions (www.isep.org)
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
KINNETA UNIVERSITY (Kenya)

Exchanges in the Americas

ISEP Member Institutions (www.isep.org)
Canada:
 Brock University, University College of Cape Breton, Laurentian University
Argentina:
 Universidad Católica de Córdoba, Universidad del Salvador
Costa Rica:
 Universidad Nacional de Heredia
Mexico:
 Universidad de Guanajuato, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente, Universidad La Salle, Universidad Tecnológica, UPAEP, Universidad de Monterrey
Nicaragua:
 Universidad Americana
Uruguay:
 Universidad Católica del Uruguay

Exchanges in Europe

ISEP Member Institutions (www.isep.org)
China:
 Chinese University of Hong Kong
Japan:
 Chukyo University
Korea:
 Ajou University, Keimyung University, Korea University
Philippines:
 University of Philippines-Diliman
Thailand:
 Thammasat University

Exchanges in Asia

Kansai Gaidai University, Japan (www.kansai-gaidai.ac.jp)
 Through the Asian Studies Program, exchange students take Japanese language courses and English-language lecture courses with a focus on Asian Studies. Located between the modern city of Osaka and the ancient capital of Kyoto, "one year or previous Japanese language study" is recommended.

Yonsei University, Korea (www.yonsei.ac.kr)
 Located 20 minutes from downtown Seoul on a large and wooded campus, Yonsei is the oldest university in Korea and enrolls over 35,000 students. English-language courses in Asian Studies, International Business, and International Studies.

Exchanges in Europe

Aalborg University, Denmark (www.auc.dk)
 Specializes in International Studies and Communications. Coursework in English. Option for a credit-bearing internship for full-year exchange students.

The Aarhus School of Business, Denmark (www.hba.dk)
 Coursework in Economics, European Studies, Finance, Information Science, International Business, Management, and Marketing. All classes are taught in English. The city of Aarhus has a student population of 30,000 (6,000 are from the ASB).

Fachhochschule Fresenius am Main, Germany (www.fhfrankfurt.de)
 Application-oriented teaching and research in the fields of Engineering, Business, Nursing, and Social Work. The primary language of instruction is German, although some courses in the School of Engineering are offered in English.

Exchanges in Europe

ISEP Member Institutions (www.isep.org)
UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL LANCASHIRE
UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH
UNIVERSITY OF SAUNDERS
UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX
UNIVERSITY OF ULLSTER
UNIVERSITY OF WALES INSTITUTE, Cardiff

Exchanges in Europe

ISEP Member Institutions (www.isep.org)
Austria:
 Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, Universität Salzburg
Estonia:
 Tartu University
Finland:
 Aalto/Turku Consortium, University of Helsinki, Helsinki University of Technology, Turku School of Economics and Business Information, University of Joensuu, University of Jyväskylä, University of Kuopio, Laplandia University of Technology, University of Oulu, University of Tampere, Tampere University of Technology
France:
 École Supérieure de Commerce et d'Administration des Entreprises (Amiens), Université de Picardie, Université d'Amiens, Université d'Angers, Université de Caen, Université de Franche-Comté, Université de Grenoble II, Université du Havre, Institut National des Sciences Appliquées de Lyon, Université du Maine, Université de Louvain, Université Paul Verlaine, Université de Nantes, Université de Nancy, Institut d'Études Politiques de Rennes, Université de Rennes I & II, Université de Saint-Etienne, Université de Savoie, Université de la Réunion
Germany:
 Technische Universität Carolin-Weihenstephan zu Braunschweig, Universität Dortmund, Katholische Universität Eichstätt, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, Philipps-Universität Marburg, Universität Trier
Hungary:
 Lajos Kossuth University, Technical University of Budapest
Italy:
 Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, Università del Piemonte Orientale
Latvia:
 University of Latvia
Netherlands:
 University of Amsterdam, University of Groningen, University of Leiden, Universiteit Maastricht, Catholic University of Nijmegen, Tilburg University, Utrecht University
Russia:
 Petrozavodsk State University
Spain:
 Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Universidad de Málaga, Universidad de Murcia, Universidad Pública de Navarra, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Universidad de Vigo
Sweden:
 Luleå University, Karlstad-Centria Consortium, University College of South Stockholm, Växjö University
Switzerland:
 Université de Fribourg

Exchanges in Europe

ISEP Member Institutions (www.isep.org)
UNIVERSITY OF SUNDERLAND
UNIVERSITY OF ULLSTER
UNIVERSITY OF WALES INSTITUTE, Cardiff

Exchanges in Europe

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This part of the flyer repeats the image of the airplane and its trail, again looking like a path leading into the sky or the future. What is interesting at first glance is the huge number of programs that are listed, emphasizing the large variety of study abroad options the university has to offer. The number of programs presented to the students is almost overwhelming; the exchange programs are sorted by destination listing all partner institutions in the respective countries. Students can investigate the large number of partner institutions Old Dominion University has to offer which in turn provides them with a wide choice of study abroad destinations.

Besides colorful boxes and photographic collages the flyer uses the images of foreign stamps:



These—used—stamps trigger a variety of associations. They carry the flair of being exotic, different from the everyday items one is used to. Also, stamps are a symbol for letter-writing, something the students might want to do when they study abroad to keep in touch with friends and family anticipating the transnational modes of communication they are about to enter.

All of these illustrations are used to make the experience of study abroad more tangible for the students, another distinct feature of service marketing. This, in combination with the elements that help to build a relationship and mutual trust such as the

university seal, support the overall aim to sell the idea of studying abroad to the students.

The flyer by Old Dominion University is a good example of how universities incorporate basic marketing principles into both the graphical as well as the conceptual design of their promotion material.

It is important to keep in mind that the Internet is an interactive medium and thus has more options than the normal print media. It provides further insight into the domain of study abroad marketing. As an example of a study abroad website, Rutgers University was chosen as it offers a wide range of study abroad programs and presents this variety very effectively on the Internet.

The website of Rutgers University also offers the possibility to categorize the marketing for study abroad with regard to different target groups. My analysis of the website will show that various approaches are chosen to appeal to different target groups, in the case of study abroad the student as prospective customers and the parents as guardians and most of the time financial sponsors.

The website is filled with information ranging from incentives for participation in study abroad programs to links to a program finder where students can access more detailed information:

RUTGERS Study Abroad Bookmark (Ctrl+D)

STUDENTS PARENTS ALUMNI FACULTY DIRECTORS CONTACT

Programs ▾ Navigating RSA ▾ ISIC Card Support Info Diversions ▾ Calendar Register Login

Studying abroad changes your perspective & gives you new insight to how the world looks to other people and cultures. So, come on, with our more than 40 programs in 20 countries, take that leap and turn your world upside down!

Why is this globe upside down? Why read left to right? Why drive on the left? It's all a matter of perspective.

FLIP IT! and begin your journey!

Students YOU'VE GOT NEEDS! *Staying in one place, never leaving your comfort zone isn't who you are.*

- ◆ You *NEED* excitement!
- ◆ You *NEED* new challenges!
- ◆ You *NEED* to be in an international setting!

So take the leap! Take advantage of all the support out there for you.

Currently abroad? Take advantage of all the support out there for you.

Just got back? See what more lies in store for you.

Pack your bags and APPLY NOW!

Ask the EXPERT

Security Info

Program Finder Do you want to study... in a TOWN, a CITY, or a sprawling METROPOLIS? For a year, a semester or a summer? To earn credits in English, engineering, or Egyptology?

Parents **Parental Guidance Suggested!** No one is a greater influence in your child's life than you are. As your child explores the idea of studying abroad, and throughout the study abroad experience, we want to provide as much information as possible. Visit the parents homepage or link directly to:

- ◆ **Program Finder** Learn about the programs
- ◆ **Financial Aid** It's out there: find out where.
- ◆ **Health and Safety** Learn about the issues.
- ◆ **Program Security**

Alumni **Been there done that** Whether it was 5, 10, 20 or even 35 years ago, your time spent studying abroad probably feels like it was yesterday. What's happened in the years since your experience?

- ◆ **Reconnect** Hook up with an old pal from way back.
- ◆ **Program Finder** See what we've added since you last looked!
- ◆ **Alumni Programs** Check out our programs especially for you.
- ◆ **Reach Out** Take a look at how you can help us reach even more students with this life-changing experience

Faculty Advisors **Need the Info** You've got to advise your students quickly, efficiently, and correctly. How can you find all the information you need in only a few steps? Visit the faculty home page for more information, or follow the links below:

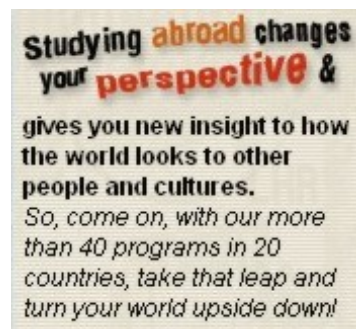
- ◆ **Program Finder** Review programs in search of an academic fit for your students
- ◆ **Opportunities Abroad** Find out more information on international opportunities and support available for faculty.
- ◆ **Submit a letter of recommendation online.**

What is obvious at first sight is that the design of the website is clearly oriented towards a young and trendy target group. There is a mix of graphic elements in the comic book format and extra visual impact is achieved by using special types and fonts that have been distorted to be unusual and striking.

The images that catch the eye immediately are the upside down globe and the young people next to it:



The interactive features a website offers are evident, as students are asked to click on the globe to "flip it!". The globe that is placed in a way nobody would expect goes along with the line of argumentation that it is "all a matter of perspective". The questions that are asked are "Why is this globe upside down?", "Why read left to right?", "Why drive on the left?" These questions are used to challenge the students' beliefs and are supposed to turn the way they view the world upside down. This is supposed to resemble the processes that take place during a study abroad experience, a change of perspective is supposed to happen:



With this graphic element the producers of the website are mirroring the change of perspective through study abroad by using a type that is striking. Both the words "abroad" and "perspective" appear in different colors and "perspective" is also printed in a some sort of wavy manner, to reflect the flexibility.

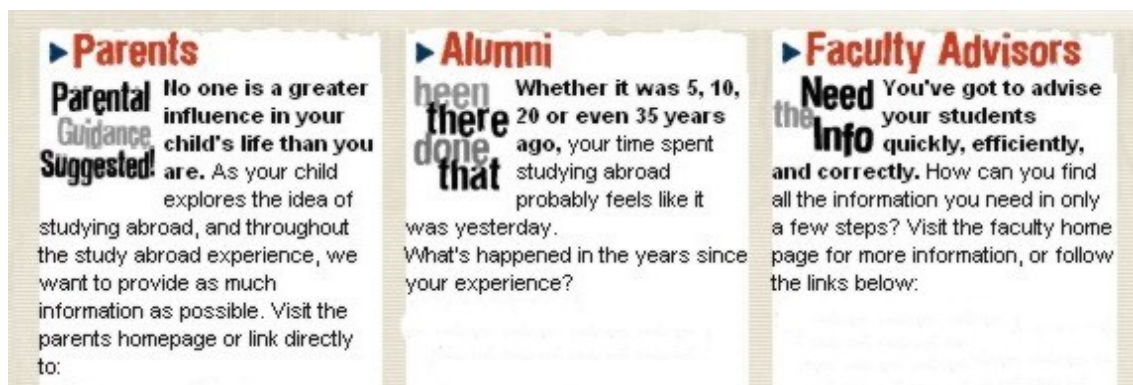
In the text "So, come on, with our more than 40 programs in 20 countries, take that leap and turn your world upside down!" the persuasive and appeal character of marketing becomes apparent.

In chapter 2 it was shown that successful marketing is about the fulfillment of needs. Issues and causes marketing goes beyond that as certain issues have to be raised and needs have to be activated in the target group. Rutgers University does this very directly and bluntly:

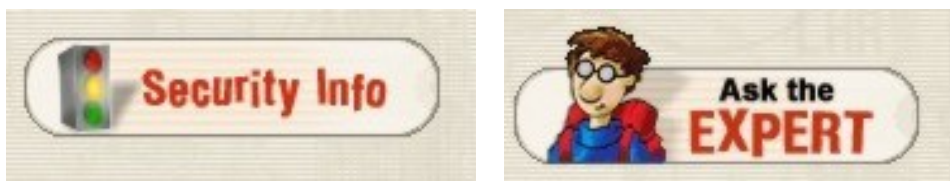


To underline their message, the recurrent word "need" is written in capital letters, exclamation marks. Furthermore the use of different fonts and colors add to the overall lively and trendy character of the website.

Other features of the website that fit the approach of service marketing are the involvement of parents, alumni (as opinion leaders) and faculty advisors:



Here, we again find the attempt to build a trustworthy relationship as the services provided are intangible and the consumer has to develop trust for the provider of the services. The involvement of the parents is of great importance in study abroad programs today as the issue of security in the post-9/11-era has become a major concern for parents. In order to underline the emphasis that is put on security the website offers a special button for security info and the possibility to get in touch with experts:



Parents have the possibility to find out about "health and safety" and "program security". When parents follow the link to the site which is especially designed for them one can easily recognize that the layout is a bit more conservative and the tone of the text and pictures underline sincerity and professionalism:

Card

A photograph of three people standing in front of a world map. On the left is a young man in a green sweater, in the middle is a woman in a brown top, and on the right is a man in a white shirt. They are all smiling slightly.

Parents
WELCOME TO RUTGERS STUDYABROAD

Studying abroad is an opportunity unique to undergraduate education. Increasingly, the skills and sensitivities gained through such an experience are important to have in a world so interconnected in politics, business, and culture.

As your child navigates the process of planning and preparing to study abroad, and adjusting to new surroundings once abroad, we consider your efforts and ours to guide and support the student throughout the program as one combined effort.

In order to help answer some of your questions more thoroughly, we invite you to explore the links below. For any additional questions you may have, please [contact](#) us directly.

The process of preparing for a study abroad experience the student is going through is referred to as "navigating", triggering associations of orientation, field trips and exploration (as well as the journey through the Net). The anthropological aspect of the study abroad process is underlined and both parents and Rutgers Study Abroad are brought in to help the students keep their course on this difficult route. Students are supposed to take on the role of explorers who go out and face the challenges of the world, almost as if this departure was part of a process of 'initiation' they have to undergo. Nevertheless, and this also takes the concerns of the parents into consideration, this process will not take place without guidance: students are encouraged to engage into this novel experience within the framework of an organized study abroad program. The variety of Rutgers study abroad programs allows for a "safe" form of risk-taking, which is reassuring for the students but through its personnel and administrative structure also offers the parents, who have to let go off their children, some sort of lifeline that helps to keep the connection to their children.

In the light of the higher level of concern for the safety of as well the advantages for their children it is only natural that the websites reflects the specific marketing approaches for particular target groups: while parents are informed about the "skills and sensitivities" their children will gain if they take part in a Rutgers study abroad program the website for students has more enticing slogans like "Start your adventure with Rutgers study abroad!"

Study Abroad Narratives I: How to Convince Students to Study Abroad

Beyond the concrete themes we will discuss below, conceptual metaphors show us the arguments made in a more generalized, even abstract way. As well as providing a basis for our understanding of reality these conceptual metaphors also contain value judgments. Two of these conceptual metaphors are especially important here, the notion of "more is better" and of "in and out".

In order to sell study abroad as an extra benefit to the domestic education, claims are made for some kind of "added value" which is produced by international education and study abroad. Although this may refer to very different aspects of the experience, this pattern recurs frequently. The reasons listed by Northern Kentucky University to argue for a study abroad experience are:

- broaden your academic scope
 - gain a better understanding of international issues and events
 - build upon your foreign language skills
 - increase your adaptability to new and uncertain situations
- (<http://www.nku.edu/~oip/whystudy.htm>)

Each line—and argument—reflects the concept of adding to or expanding something, either horizontally as in "broaden", vertically as in "build upon", or in volume as in "gain" or "increase". This assumes that there is a certain basic quantity or status which can be expanded, implying, incidentally, that this basic status is insufficient, limited, and needs to be expanded: adding something will make the original even better.

The other metaphorical concept, that of 'IN and OUT'—mostly 'going out' of one's own and being 'in' another culture, appears in manifold ways, as in 'here - there', 'local - global', 'domestic - foreign'. Students are asked to leave their limited American sphere to enter the global contexts. This metaphorical concept implies the aspect of travel, of moving from one place to the other or in a broader sense of moving *out* of one country and *into* another country. Again, this concept suggests a value judgment. Staying 'in' means to accept limitations, while going 'out' offers a whole new range of possibilities, boundless and unlimited.

This basic concept of IN and OUT can be connected to another basic conceptual metaphor, namely LIFE IS A JOURNEY already mentioned in chapter 2. Extensions of this metaphor, EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY or STUDY ABROAD IS A JOURNEY can be found frequently in the material. Examples include statements such as:

Studying abroad at Goshen
Experience the joy of the journey.
(www.goshen.edu/a_internationaleled.php)

or

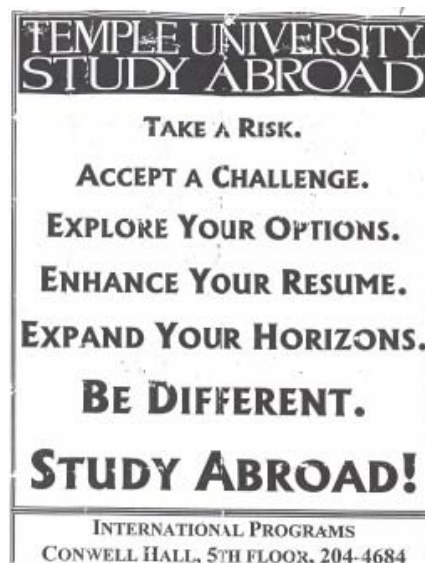
To study abroad is to embark on an amazing
intellectual journey that will lead you to discover
new ways of thinking and learning.
(www.iwu.edu/academics/IWU_Study_Abroad.pdf)

Viewing life itself and education in particular as a journey, the process of gathering knowledge is conceptualized as having a source, i.e. a starting point, a path and a goal, i.e. a destination. As an additional factor the aspect of exploring and discovering unknown territory is added to the discourse about study abroad. If metaphors are perceived as conceptual frames that provide an understanding of the world around us it is important to come back

to Fauconnier and Turner's approach of *conceptual blending* and to look at their concept from an intercultural point of view. Assuming that culture plays a vital factor in the formation of concepts, the process of conceptual blending will be influenced by cultural values: LIFE IS A JOURNEY can be viewed as an ever-present concept in American culture as the movement along a path toward a goal is viewed as making progress and generally viewed positively. By making frequent use of this metaphorical concept the producers of the texts used to promote study abroad experiences appeal to the cultural values of their target audience.

Beyond the scope of these conceptual metaphors and the process of conceptual blending it is important to examine the discourse applied in the material used to promote study abroad programs with regard to the topics and themes that can be identified. A rather minimalist example will be the starting point of this examination.

Be Different: an Example of the Study Abroad Advertisement in a Nutshell



A rather innocuous newspaper style advertisement by Temple University's study abroad office which one of our students sent me without providing detailed bibliographical reference is maybe the best place to start this investigation of study abroad discourse as it brings together some of the themes that will be discussed here in a neat and compact way. Most notable is the urgency with which students are encouraged, indeed commanded, to make use of the opportunities study abroad offers in a general way. It is a daunting voice here that appeals both to the psychological, subconscious levels ("take a risk") as well as to the reasoning, practical, utilitarian mind ("enhance your resume"). Both strands culminate, in an increasingly louder voice—expressed typographically in an almost uncomfortably enlarging script—in one of the key themes in American culture, namely to "Be Different." In his famous essay "Self Reliance", Ralph Waldo Emerson, prophet of American individualism, has warned that "imitation is suicide" (Heath, 1994: 1542), and it is indeed hard to find an American author—except maybe Walt Whitman—to whom the rhetoric that appears in study abroad owes more inspiration. Study abroad student will "be different"—both as a human individual and as a competitor on the job market where the international experience on the resume will stand out, a combination of the commercial and the philosophical which in itself is entirely Emersonian. They will reach these goals by undertaking "Study Abroad!"—the advertisement culminating in an exclamation mark, appended by the address of the International Programs office.

Another American cultural narrative that is referred to here is that of the frontier. As if the urban setting of a Philadelphia university were not challenge enough, the risk taking when studying *abroad* is invoked when selling the experience. Thus, this advertisement pays tribute to the American concept of the rugged individualist on the western (in the meantime global) frontier and connects it

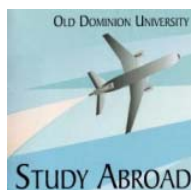
significantly with the future frontier of the job market. There is just one aspect that is missing: academic reasons are totally left out in this exhortation.

As the Temple advertisement shows, study abroad offices usually present a mix of reasons combined and edited in ways that students will respond to in a positive way. Oftentimes they reflect very basic American values and narratives. When, in the course of this analysis, they are isolated and categorized for analytic purposes, their interaction in the complete text may not be forgotten and will be considered here.

In the sections below, three central study abroad narratives will be discussed, each of which are concretized in a popular metaphor providing the heading of the section. "Journey to your Self" will look at the many examples which promise personal growth and self-fulfillment all the way to therapeutic functions. "The World as a Book" deals with the specific, unusual, and—in the end—quite unacademic learning that is promised by study abroad. "Passport to the World", finally, is probably the most recent narrative, although it, too, has a grand tradition. It places the study abroad candidate into the confusing—but challenging—world of globalization, promising an explanation, indeed a pathway, in this new environment.

JOURNEY TO YOUR SELF

Given the close connection between travel and tourism on the one hand and study abroad on the other, it is not surprising that the notion of the "journey"



The airplane is shown in full flight, about to disappear into the sky and represents one of the major icons for 'travel' and 'journey'. It stands for fast, efficient transport that allows for a quick crossing of borders. Keeping in mind that effective marketing tries to appeal to the cultural values of the target group, the themes covered here could be progress and freedom, two key concepts of American culture. As an icon of modernity, the airplane is a symbol of the American belief in technological progress and advancement with the United States always holding the role of a pioneer in the development of modern equipment and technological knowledge. Commercialized air travel opened new possibilities of transportation allowing for a crossing of borders in shorter periods of time, providing access to a multitude of places. In this respect the airplane symbolizes the overcoming of boundaries, thus also alluding to the idea of expanding one's horizons and gaining a new perspective.

In a section with rather awkward heading "Study Abroad: Fun, adventure and other great opportunities" Robert Morris University promises to its potential study abroad customers:

Study abroad is a great opportunity for students to learn and grow. It is filled with adventure and new things to do every day. It is a challenging and exciting journey that helps students enhance their personality. It helps you to know about other people's culture and how to be a part of it. (<http://www.rmu.edu/OnTheMove/findoutmore>)

The journey is a real trip, challenging and exciting, but – very much in the self-reflexive tradition of modern anthropology – also implies that the discoveries in the unknown culture will be paralleled by "enhancing" their personality. Discoveries outside will add to the development of character. But the remarkable argument made on this web page goes much further:

Study Abroad is as much a journey across an ocean as it is a journey into yourself.

This obviously has quasi-religious, almost mystical religious under- or overtones. I think especially as part of the transformational processes that take place during study abroad experiences, it is a discovery of uncharted regions in the self, layers of cultural traditions which can be re-awakened, maybe as much as a 'rebirth' in the new culture. This turns the study abroad "journey" into a pilgrimage. Education itself could be imagined as a journey that is structured into certain parts, stages and halts. The certain starting point would be the freshman year at the university—in – in itself a journey away from the home and into adulthood— –; the college experience as a whole the completion of the initiation into adulthood.

In this concept, study abroad would be a pilgrimage. Like Muslims who are bound by their religion to visit Mecca once in their lifetime, or Catholics who visit sites such as Rome or Lourdes, students are supposed to take part in an international exchange program to grow academically and also be enlightened on a personal and spiritual level. Without this international experience their education and also their personality would somehow be incomplete.

Both pilgrims and the study abroad students have to leave their normal, familiar surroundings, their "comfort zone", as Rutgers University's website calls it, and have to go away to be enlightened by their travel experience. Pilgrims and students alike are looking for authentic experiences on their ventures as there seems to be the need to break free from their inauthentic, everyday life to be enlightened and motivated again. That this authenticity, in a very Heideggerian way, connects the "world" very much with the

individual being is not surprising.

The connection to the American experience at large is obvious. Both the religious tradition, the religious travelers at the beginning of America's Puritan history, and the secular migration to the new world conceptually brings together the idea of a trip not only with material benefits but with spiritual, inner growth. In fact, Americans have become Americans as a result of their journey into the new world. We should indeed not forget that until the mid 1960s, American students embarked on their study abroad experience by boat, emulating, although in a more comfortable way and in the other direction, the significant journey of their ancestors.

IT'S NOW OR NEVER

One of the most surprising arguments in the context of the narrative of self-fulfillment has at times an intensely egoistical dimension. The message Kansas State University has for its students amounts to a strong warning:

Why study abroad?

IT'S NOW OR NEVER!

You may have big plans for your post-graduate life and all the places you will travel and live....but let's be realistic here. After college, you'll start to get used to that full-time paycheck. Maybe you'll settle down, get a dog, get married and have children, and maybe you'll buy a house and have to pay your mortgage every month. How are you going to leave your job and that nice paycheck and go travel for extended periods of time? Sure, since most companies have that extremely generous policy of two whole weeks of paid vacation each year, you might be able to use one of those weeks to spend time in another country, but it will be very difficult to go for longer.

College is perhaps the easiest time in your life to live abroad and experience another culture. While in college, students have the flexibility to go abroad and still gain the credits they need to graduate. So remember, the time is NOW – there is no LATER! (<http://www.k-state.edu/oip/students/why.htm>)

As in so many cases, this text addresses the students directly and intensely, forecasting their future life and warning them not to miss the boat. Later, they will not be able to get away to live in another country for a prolonged period of time. *Carpe diem* – it's "now or never". This warning is phrased in a highly ironic way which seems to rock the foundations of the American way of life. The reference to "that extremely generous policy of two whole weeks of paid vacation each year" almost amounts to a critique of the capitalist system. We are far distant from a "neutral", explanatory argument. The text does everything to remind students of the drag that awaits them in the future from the dog to the children and the "mortgage every month". What appears like the formula of the American Dream here is phrased like the nightmare of family and breadwinning life in a play by Arthur Miller. The bohemian in the students is appealed to, the relatively carefree and easygoing life of study abroad is put up as a temporary utopia one has to have experienced. The oppositions 'post-graduate life – college', 'settling down – flexibility', 'difficult – easy', 'LATER - NOW' reminds students that they need or safeguard their carefree lives. There is a strong sense of urgency underlying this text, expressed graphically by the use of capital letters in "the time is NOW—there is no LATER!" These opportunities will never come back and they should not be wasted.

A rather similar example is the text taken from the website of the University of Texas:

Do it now!

This is the best time in your life to travel abroad. After you graduate it will be more difficult to juggle the responsibilities of work and family to travel extensively. Check out the opportunities to study abroad on the Center for Global Educational Opportunities (C-GEO) web page [...]. There is financial assistance available too! Do it now!

<http://www.utexas.edu/internationalstudy/whystudy.html>

Again, there is the urgency, the exclamation marks, the imperative character of the text. And, again, there is the warning, though not quite as disdainingly anti-middle class as in the previous example, of the later social responsibilities.

Even a "value-based" college like Moravian does not consider it uncouth to recruit their students for study abroad by warning them of the later "car payments and rent", explaining that this "window of opportunity" will never appear again:

Timing

The absolute best time in your life to study abroad is when you are in college. You'll never get a better opportunity than right now. If you miss this window of opportunity, it's almost impossible to do later in life. Once you start working, it is difficult to get away as car payments, rent, and loan repayments become due. Traveling overseas is just not the same. [...]

(<http://home.moravian.edu/public/intstud/intlstudiesoffice/students/studyabroad/why.htm>)

There is almost something anti-capitalist in these examples, certain disgust with America or the American way life which is expressed here and it is not at all an overinterpretation to think of examples of Americans who left their home in disgust in order to find a better – and more fulfilling – life in Europe. Most

prominently, it was the "Lost Generation" after World War I, from Ernest Hemingway to Gertrude Stein, who voted with their feet against the narrowness of "Main Street America", preferring the careless, sexualized and artsy life on the banks of the Seine and elsewhere in Europe.

To place study abroad students of today in that same category is certainly an exaggeration—and yet, the pattern of the argument and the ring of it is certainly the same. The brief Prague craze of American students in the early/mid-1990s is a mixture of the "Lost Generation"-phenomenon and study abroad and shows that there is, at any given time, some appeal in the argument that one should at least once in one's life be able to bracket the American Dream for a period of time.

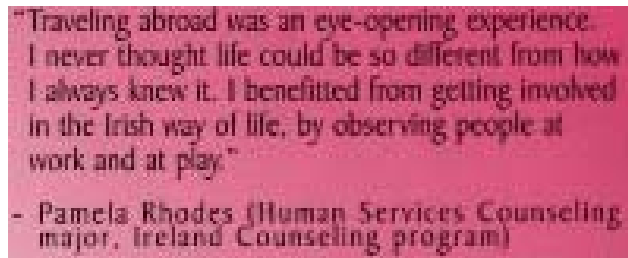
CHANGE YOUR PERSPECTIVE

"Perspective" has long been a buzzword in international education. In his last book, the grandfather of global international educational exchange, the late Senator William Fulbright, has defined the central task of international educational exchange to "see the world as the others see it". The most important competence of future world leaders, in his view, would be the ability to imagine oneself in a different role; to understand how others think. From the literature *on* international educational exchange, this has entered the literature *propagating* international study.

The material used to promote study abroad programs today naturally makes use of the concept of the 'perspective change':



Students are promised that they will gain "new insight" and will have a better understanding of other people and cultures. A direct quotation also used in the material gives this change of perspective a meaning that students can relate to:



"Traveling abroad was an eye-opening experience. I never thought life could be so different from how I always knew it. I benefitted from getting involved in the Irish way of life, by observing people at work and at play."
- Pamela Rhodes (Human Services Counseling major, Ireland Counseling program)

What is referred to in this account is an "eye-opening experience" and a life that would be radically "different". The student contrasts the previous knowledge she had with the insight she gained while abroad, by "getting involved" and by "observing people at work and at play." This short account also underlines the positive effect of the study abroad experience as its benefits are mentioned. What can be derived from this also goes back to the conceptual metaphor pointed out earlier "more is better" stating that a single one-sided perspective is inferior to a more-dimensional perspective, including more insights and more views allowing for a more elaborate outlook on one's own life and culture and of those of the others.

On the international programs website of the University of Missouri-Columbia, it states:

By discussing politics with foreign students, involving yourself in local issues or taking American history classes from a foreign professor, you will **gain a new, international perspective** on yourself and your society.
(<http://international.missouri.edu/studyabroad/start/why.shtml>)

Although this argument goes more into the direction of a global outlook, a narrative which will be discussed in the chapter "Passport to the World", the new perspective *on oneself* does, of course, include a new perspective *of the self*.

In other examples, this perspective change is made much more explicit. Study abroad not only creates a worldwide educational space with access to an international teaching staff, as students can take subjects and courses at a university abroad which are not offered or are taught differently at their home university. By providing an insight into the subject's international dimension and contact with new ideas, a change of perspective is generated which replaces the ethnocentric, i.e. in this case American, view, by an international perspective. This is obvious in an excerpt from Bryant University:

Change your perspective

You'll gain a more informed and accurate perspective on world affairs, and first-hand knowledge of how other cultures approach everyday life. You'll also have a better appreciation and understanding of the United States and its role in international affairs.

(<http://www.bryant.edu/bryant/academics/ug/studyabroad/top10.jsp>)

Thus, the study abroad experience provides students with the opportunity to reflect on their own self and perspective as relative and as a result of this process have a more informed insight into American and international relations.

The following excerpt taken from the website of California State University (CSU) also lists the effects of this perspective change in a rather systematic way:

Why Study Abroad?

- **To enhance your education.**

Study abroad adds a new perspective to your studies. You will see things from another point of view, which will help you to develop your analytical and critical thinking skills.

[...]

- **To develop your self-awareness.**

We sometimes impose limitations on ourselves that limit our progress toward our goals. By leaving the familiar behind to encounter different people and places we gain a better understanding of ourselves and the world around us.

- **To understand another culture.**

Living and learning in another culture in the midst of the unfamiliar adds to our understanding of the variety of cultures in our world and gives us a maturity and perspective which can be gained in no other way.

(http://www.gateway.calstate.edu/csuienet/ip_faq.cfm)

Along with the benefits of the change of perspective mentioned such as 'development of analytical and critical thinking skills' and a 'better understanding of other cultures' the argumentation warns of the limitations a life without exposure to the 'unfamiliar' has and what positive influence it has. Developing "maturity and perspective" contribute to improving a person's personality to make it 'well-rounded', a quality which is mentioned time and again as we will see in the following section.

THE WELL-ROUNDED PERSONALITY

One of the most characteristic features of American undergraduate education and also one of its key successes is the (largely 19th century) notion of the creation of a well-rounded personality through education. In this set-up, study abroad plays a significant role. Just as the "Grand Tour" was to complement and complete the training of the 18th and 19th century gentleman, an international experience is something that is required, according to this argument, for a "whole" human being. It is interesting that this

rather elitist notion of the international experience has survived into the era of mass democracy.

The discourse of "fulfillment", here placed next to that of "excitement", which promises much more immediacy, is frequent:

Studying Abroad is one of the most exciting and fulfilling parts of a university education – just ask anyone who has done it. [...]
(<http://www.montana.edu/international/sabrinfo.htm>)

Implicit in this argument, interestingly, is that the education on the domestic campus is not quite as "fulfilling" – or at least has some deficits which only study abroad can bring about. The argument made here by study abroad which goes very much against the claim usually made by U.S. colleges, namely that the four-year experience they offer is perfect and complete in itself and provides everything a student ever dreams of, is a bit surprising. It is also characteristic that the personality change promised can be supposedly studied, almost empirically, by looking at, and dialoguing with, the returnees. The quote refers students to their peer group: "just ask anyone who has done it."

In addition to the well-rounded personality, study abroad also completes a person's competency on the skill sector:

Studying abroad is an essential part of a complete education and can give you the skills, attitudes and knowledge to function effectively in the workplace.
(Central Washington University)

Thus, there are also hands-on, immediately usable results of a study abroad experience – whether it is the ability to face new contexts, to be able to make decisions in a confusing situation, or

simply in the area of interpersonal (not even necessarily intercultural) awareness. In a way, this is the opposite to the argument that one would want to get away from the world of work, job and obligation: study abroad as a stage of character formation preparing for the later career.

More sophisticated arguments attempt to update the notion of the "proverbially well-rounded education". Here, the connection is made to the challenges of a multi-ethnic, globalized world:

Indeed, the proverbially well-rounded education in preparation for living and working successfully in the 21st Century needs not only to be 'higher', but also deeper, broader, and less nationalistic and monocultural than that which has served past generations. As stated by national report after national report, we now live in a global society in which knowledge, resources, and authority transcend national and regional boundaries. The knowledge, skills, and attitudes it takes to understand and prevail in such a society can be best achieved by living and learning through direct experience in a culture beyond one's own. (<http://www.aifsabroad.com/safetyfaqs.htm>)

The concept of a well-rounded education is reinterpreted as the necessity of an international experience to acquire global skills.

PERSONALITY CHANGE AND MATURATION

The promise of a changed personality has pervaded the study abroad literature for a long time. In fact, as the argument at times goes, study abroad is not so much about content, about knowledge, but about a maturation process:

So you want to study abroad. Do you know why? Maybe you want to be an adventurer—**exploring foreign lands, meeting new people, traveling off the beaten path.** Maybe you want to **dig into history and really live it**, not just read about it. Perhaps you want to **discover yourself**—gaining the independence and confidence that comes with self-knowledge. Possibly you have more concrete goals—like perfecting your French in Paris, or taking ballet in Moscow.

Believe it or not, all these experiences and skills you develop abroad will help you mature personally and academically as well as enhance your future career opportunities.

(<http://international.missouri.edu/studyabroad/start/why.shtml>)

This quotation is interesting because it initially charts out the different options a study abroad has of imagining himself – as an explorer or adventurer, a historian/archaeologist or simply as a seeker on the journey or pilgrimage towards the self. But what this eventually leads to is a *maturation process* which will result in a qualitatively different personality.

This metamorphosis into a new person has always been a *topos* in the discourse of international education. One of the most typical manifestations of this process are the many texts of the following type:

It is likely that you will learn a great deal about yourself as well—especially your personal strengths—and that you will be quite a new person when you return. (Wittenberg University)

The link of personal change, of the emergence of a new identity, as a result of a geographical change, a change in location, is of course part and parcel of the American ideology. In his *American Adam* (1955), a book which has become a classic in American Studies, Lewis studies the theme of the metamorphosis of the European

into the American. Writers such as Walt Whitman have sketched out the emergence of a "new man" in the context of the American experiment:

The new habits to be engendered on the new American scene were suggested by the image of a radically new personality, the hero of the new adventure: an individual emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritances of family and race; an individual standing alone, self-reliant and self-propelling, ready to confront whatever awaited him with the aid of his own unique and inherent resources. (Lewis, 1955: 5)

While the nineteenth century writers focused on the "*separation from Europe*—separation from its history and its habits." (Lewis, 1955: 5), the study abroad discourse also uses the concept of separation from the familiar, the well-known, in this case the American culture, and the contact and confrontation with a new culture as a vital component for the personal change that is supposed to be achieved. Students who engage in the 'adventure' of participation in a study abroad program will on some level also be alone to face the challenges that experience might bring about. By actively confronting their new environment and actively employing the resources they have gained through their domestic university education up to that point they will be able to be successful in their new surrounding and will as a result be transformed as a person. It is interesting how this classic American cultural narrative is now used, in Study Abroad, in order to explain a hoped-for outcome in international education.

That this connection to an identity-forming narrative is not an exaggeration is shown in a website by San Francisco State that speaks—maybe echoing the especially Californian "mind-altering" ethos—from a "life-altering" project:

Studying abroad is a life-altering experience!

Studying and living in a different culture will help you see the world from a completely different perspective. It is an amazing experience that will change your life. (San Francisco State University)

Lenoir Rhyne College similarly connects the "adaptation" to a foreign culture to the "life-changing" motif:

Study abroad is a life-changing experience. Adapting to a foreign culture firsthand allows students to develop an entirely new perspective about themselves and the world around them.

(Lenoir Rhyne College, <http://www.lrc.edu/OIE/studyabroad/index.htm>)

And Ferris State explicitly states that it is the foreignness of the (overseas) experience which will bring this life-change about:

Studying abroad is an enriching, life-changing experience both personally and academically. The lessons you learn from study abroad cannot be duplicated on any campus in the United States. (Ferris State University, <http://www.ferris.edu/htmls/colleges/ucel/studyabroad/index.htm>)

This life-changing rhetoric is maybe the ultimate version of the "journey to your self" metaphor. The study abroad experience is seen as a possibility for self-reflection, to monitor one's aims in life and to create self-assurance, adaptability and personal growth. The sum total of this is obviously what then amounts to the metamorphosis that will take place when students have to face the challenges of adapting to a new cultural surrounding and are confronted with studying at a foreign university. The quantitative argument – a person learns this plus that plus that plus that – eventually changes into one of quality, a dialectical movement which forms one of the conceptual basis for the thinking about study abroad. James Hoffman, Professor of History at Wittenberg University, who is quoted as an 'expert', provides a nice summary of this jump from quantity into quality:

Time and again, I have seen a study abroad experience change students—and always for the better: I have watched students come alive to the world of the mind when they study overseas, becoming more self-confident, and gaining a stronger sense of direction. There is, in my mind, no better path to a liberal arts education than international study, especially when it is grounded in solid courses back on the home campus.

The international experience thus both completes the liberal arts education, but also transcends it. In its excitement, it represents the culmination of the burden-free days of youth but also signals their termination. Almost miraculously and with religious overtones, students are said to be "born again" as new individuals.

THE WORLD IS A BOOK

Central Washington University uses a very direct approach to promote study abroad programs and directly instructs the students to "Go away" on a bookmark that is part of the material produced by the Office of International Studies & Programs:



*The World is a
book, and
those who do
not travel,
read only a
page!*

CWU offers
**STUDY ABROAD &
EXCHANGE**
programs in over
50 COUNTRIES
around the world and
in over 110 U.S.
universities!!

Office of International
Studies & Programs
International Center
(across from L&L)
400 E. 8th Ave
Ellensburg, WA
98926

Call (509) 963-3612

"The World is a book and those who do not travel read only one page!": the origin of this quotation—whether this is a controlled allusion or not—is quite surprising. But it is certain that St. Augustine, to whom we owe this line, did not want to push study abroad. Obviously, St. Augustine would have insisted on the primacy of the Holy Scriptures and on the necessity to live through one's life in accordance with it. And yet, it is not entirely a misappropriation of the church father. Just as Augustine wanted Christians to see the truth of God's word in life, students are supposed to go out and discover the truth, or a new version of it, in a foreign culture. Augustine's life was ruled by a search for truth and the Holy Scriptures were viewed as providing guidance and a sense of direction. This approach is opposed to John Dewey's theories of experimental learning that will be discussed below and that again stress the values of direct exposure and engagement with new ideas and concepts. Books, however, are—still—the major sources of information for students, at least officially and as required by reading. If the world is a book, we need to read it like we do books, trying to decipher its meaning or meanings, read it to appropriate its contents. Then, in the extended metaphor, the reading process is likened to living. If we stay at home, we merely read the first page of that book; if we depart for other cultures, we get the whole thing. It is not just the question of enlarging a limited perspective: the metaphor says clearly that those who do not leave, will miss most of it.

The metaphor thus has a double character. On the one hand, the book quality of the world means we need to go “out there” and read it. We may not confine ourselves to the books, the library, the ivory tower, the campus, but we need to go out into the real world in order to learn its ways. And, that world should not be merely the U.S. but the international world where, ideally, we will not only read books but involve ourselves in all kind of "hands-on"

experiences.

In a highly typical and, at the same time, succinct way, this is formulated in a study abroad leaflet of "New Jersey's Jesuit College", Saint Peter's:

Dancing at an African masquerade...building a network of business associates in Sevilla...ordering your sushi in Tokyo (just like you practiced)...comparing Latin American political systems in Chile and Argentina...waxing philosophical on theological themes in art with the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel overhead...researching your honors thesis on Film Noir in France...working for a German radio station...investigating marine life in the coral reefs down under...sketching the Greek ruins...all while earning credit toward your degree at SPC.
How cool is that?

Here some of the most prominent features of each culture and country are—at times stereotypically—listed to pitch students to study abroad. The participation in an international exchange program is portrayed as a very exciting experience that includes enjoyable aspects which are still an important part of one's education. The activities are both 'cool' and meaningful and in no way 'idle' as students work towards their degree. Students literally roam the world in order to take in experiences. They may lose themselves in a Dionysian dance in Africa or network for future success in Southern Spain, do film in France or radio in Germany. Like a Whitmanian catalogue, the world offers itself up as a series of opportunities which can be tapped by applying to the Study Abroad office. It is a mixture of high culture and low culture, of learning by taking in and learning by doing (but never, really, by traditional learning).

The University of Missouri-Columbia seems a bit more classroom-oriented at first: "You will also **grow academically**." But then it goes on to promise rather non-traditional forms and contents of studies:

You will be able to learn about lots of subjects not offered here at Mizzou: aboriginal studies in Australia, Flamenco music in Spain, or the Twi language in Ghana. As an international student, you will learn to challenge yourself and set your own pace. By discussing politics with foreign students, involving yourself in local issues or taking American history classes from a foreign professor, you will **gain a new, international perspective** on yourself and your society.

It is a strongly sensual program that is offered here, going towards the "origins", the "authentically" human—aboriginals, Ghanese language, Gypsy dance. The involvement in "local issues" will guarantee a degree of immersion which will bring this learning about. Then, however, again the move to the everyday, the learning on-site:

Even ordinary, daily living experiences will be a learning adventure! Shopping at the local market, doing the laundry with your host mom, and going out with your new friends will be an education in itself.

(<http://international.missouri.edu/studyabroad/start/why.shtml>)

This quotation links academic growth with the unique opportunities provided during study abroad experiences, as it is stated that certain subjects cannot be taken at the University of Missouri. It also highlights the benefits of a "world education" which provides much more opportunities than the education at home and underlines the value of direct experiences which seems to go beyond domestic academic knowledge. Study abroad, it

seems, is more self-directed, less rigid—or how else may we understand the reference to the student's "own pace"? At "home", certainly, between schedules, quizzes, mid-terms and exam weeks, nobody would worry much about a student's "own pace". Specific cultural features are explicitly mentioned, sounding exotic on the one hand but also very practical and familiar enough to connect them with various desirable cultural spaces.

Again, we are not far from important cultural narratives. In America's "cultural declaration of independence", "The American Scholar", Ralph Waldo Emerson defines American "scholarship" as the search for the practical, for experience, for activity. "Each age", he says, "must write its own books; or rather, each generation for the next succeeding. The books of an older period will not fit this." (Heath, 1994: 1545). Books are at best auxiliary materials:

Man Thinking must not be subdued by his instruments. Books are for the scholar's idle times. When he can read God directly, the hour is too precious to be wasted in other men's transcripts of their readings. (Heath, 1994: 1546f.)

Instead, the scholar needs to go out into the world:

The world, – this shadow of the soul, or other me, lies wide around. Its attractions are the keys which unlock my thoughts and make me acquainted with myself. I run eagerly into this resounding tumult." (Heath, 1994: 1548)

And, finally, a line which almost echoes St. Augustine's and Central University's words:

If it were only for a vocabulary, the scholar would be covetous of action. Life is our dictionary. Years are well spent in country labors; in town, – in the insight into trades and manufactures; in frank intercourse with many men and women; in science; in art [...] (Heath, 1994: 1549)

It does not matter that the American ideologue Emerson does not advocate study abroad—but he certainly argues for the interpretation of the world as a book.

FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE

One major dimension of the "World as a Book" narrative is that of the direct presence in the culture, the first-hand experience:

To learn things first-hand, for yourself

It's one thing to read about the culture of another country, but another entirely to experience it yourself. Things you had previously only read about in a book or learned about in a classroom will become your own personal experiences.

(http://www.usg.edu/oie/study_abroad/wsa.phtml)

'First-hand experiences' are obviously as authentic as any experience can be. It is the anthropologist's ethos of "being there", of taking it "in" directly, which is promised to and required from the study abroad student. The direct contact with a foreign culture will be more valuable than information students could gather from reading books. The opposites that are created here are 'knowledge acquired through books' versus 'knowledge through direct or personal experiences'. The emphasis on first-hand experiences can also be connected with the concept of "learning by doing" introduced by the American psychologist and educational reformer John Dewey who propagated the practical element as an essential part of education. For Dewey personal experience played a major role in the development of a person and he placed a great emphasis on direct experience that would enable learners to actively apply the knowledge they gain into their everyday lives. Dewey saw the limitations of a classroom environment and the possibilities of experimental learning which becomes obvious in the following oppositions:

To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity; to learning from texts and teachers learning through experience; to acquisition of isolated skills and techniques by drill, is opposed acquisition of them as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal; to preparation for a more or less remote future is opposed making the most of the opportunities of present life; to static aims and materials is opposed acquaintance with a changing world. (Dewey, 1938, 19f)

Dewey viewed 'traditional' learning as an obstacle to the development of individuality and as a passive process that does not involve active 'acquisition' or engagement with the world. He directly opposes the knowledge 'imposed' on students "by drill" or gained from outside sources such as texts with intellectual freedom that is given to students when there is room for "learning through experiences". In his view the knowledge students should acquire should have a direct impact on their present lives thus helping them to cope with a world that is changing. Today one of the developments in the field of study abroad that takes the practical aspect of "learning by doing" even further is the combination of conventional study in a university and community service work that offers practical experience. This approach assumes that mere immersion in a new culture does not help students to make the most out of the experience but adds the 'hands-on'-component of community work. As a pioneer of 'experimental learning'

The material promoting study abroad programs often uses students' personal accounts to underline the importance of 'first-hand experiences':

"Using my French skills and learning about the culture first-hand was the greatest benefit. Staying with a family is one of the best ways to experience the culture."

- Theresa M. Burns (International Studies major, summer in Tours, France)

"I got to experience a new culture, meet many new friends, see new places. No books could replace the education I got going abroad. Students should be aware that study abroad is possible and realistic, not some distant thing that you always hear about."

- Brad Fitzgerald (Marketing major, semester in Australia)

In those accounts reference is made to first-hand experiences which give students a chance to directly apply their theoretical knowledge that they acquired from a distance. The mention of families and new friends inform prospective students about the possible integration into social networks and incorporate the notion that students will encounter a welcoming environment. Speaking of an "eye-opening experience" conveys the idea that by studying abroad students will obtain a new consciousness and awareness.

Other images that also incorporate the "anthropologist approach" in study abroad programs are the pictures of foreign stamps used in the flyer by Old Dominion University. Using stamps as everyday objects of the host culture that for instance show the pictures of an Inca warrior or Finnish native flowers not only conveys a sense of authenticity but also points out the involvement in everyday life that students will engage in once they live in their host culture and underlines the host country's diversity with regard to its history or nature. Students will take part in their host culture, master everyday chores and be able to explore its manifold offerings.

GAINING SKILLS AND JOB COMPETITIVENESS

In various examples study abroad is portrayed as providing students with key qualifications which will help them to an advantage in competing on the job market. Study abroad is advertised as the first step into a bright professional future, as a study abroad item in the CV tells possible employers that the

applicants are flexible and know how to adapt to new situations and are willing to take risks. These skills are frequently described as "vital qualifications in any profession".

Point three in the "Top Ten Reasons to Study Abroad" by Bryant University are the "new skills":

3. Build new skills for your future career or graduate school studies, including:

- Cross-cultural communication skills
- Analytical skills
- Flexibility
- Understanding of cultural contexts
- Ability to adapt to new circumstances
- Develop a view of the world outside the U.S.
- Independence
- Self-confidence

The way these different aspects and points are listed they read almost like the requirements in a job posting, and yet they are the promised results of an "academic" experience abroad. Each of them has to do more with character formation and behavior. Even the "analytical skills" are probably not those of textual (or generally intellectual) analysis but ways to understand – and deal with – a foreign reality. The nexus to the hoped for position later on is therefore quite logical:

6. Jump-start your career

The skills you gain will influence your career path, increase your marketability, and are a valuable asset for graduate school. Study abroad is a great resume builder—only 9% of American students study abroad.

(<http://www.bryant.edu/bryant/academics/ug/studyabroad/top10.jsp>)

Here, every qualification which proves to be an advantage compared to other competitors on the job market is extremely important. Being among the only 9% of US-students who go abroad could provide the competitive edge in a job interview. Global enterprises will be looking for employees with international experience who are capable of interpreting international contexts. Thus, "cross-cultural competence" plays a huge role, as study abroad obviously provides students with the opportunity to discover another culture and the ability to discover themselves. The seeming disappearance of boundaries between different countries and their integration in a mutual information and communication network such as the Internet call for a special sensitivity when dealing with other cultures. Following the reasoning of the material a cultural transformation process can only be achieved through a complete absorption by a foreign culture, a process which includes the experiences of study abroad and everyday life. Students are encouraged to gain skills outside of the classroom:

It's up to you to make of the experience what you will. It is hoped that you will learn not only in the classroom but also outside, using your powers of observation, analysis, and articulate questioning to come to an understanding of the culture in which you find yourself. (Wittenberg University)

According to this, understanding a foreign culture seems to be a very subjective experience and the result of a cognitive process which students have to actively engage in. The approaches sound academically respectable, but they are "merely" empirical: "observation", "articulate questioning" and "analysis". It is the anthropologist's approach is taken seeing students as scientists who have to take the initiative to detect different aspects of the foreign culture.

The University System of Georgia deals with the aspect of cultural competence in a twofold way, first pointing out the advantage these cultural skills will give students on the job market and then by emphasizing how unique these personal experiences will make participants:

To get to know another culture and way of life

This is a valuable commodity in today's global society. Potential employers will be impressed that you have a unique perspective on not only another society, but your own as well. Having had an overseas study experience shows that you're motivated, inquisitive, and willing to try new things—all very appealing qualities in an employee. People who study abroad tend to be willing to take risks, willing to put themselves in unusual situations, able to solve problems under unique circumstances, and able to overcome the fear of the unknown. You'll also be setting yourself apart from other American students.

Once more the aspect of distinguishing features on the employment market is repeated and complemented by introducing the idea of control. Students are supposed to leave the familiar, to conquer the unknown and survive in their new environment to eventually gain control of a new situation.

PASSPORT TO THE WORLD

This metaphor is part of the same semantic field of travel as the initial "journey". It characterizes study abroad as a "passport to your future" or a "passport to the world" as, for example, in a text by Mercer University:

MERCER STUDY ABROAD - YOUR PASSPORT TO THE WORLD!

"There are not any national frontiers to learning." - A Japanese Adage

A Mercer study abroad experience is about access. The study abroad programs at Mercer University give you access to opportunities that expand your intellectual and cultural curiosities. Mercer Study Abroad provides you access to the global economy.

Studying abroad is not living or traveling in another country; it is experiential education. Study Abroad is an experience that will broaden your academic horizons, challenge your perspective of the world, and prepare you for a career in the global economy.

<http://www2.mercerbears.com/OIP/StudyAbroad/Default.htm>

To stay in the conceptual field of traveling where a passport is needed to cross borders the text on the website explicitly mentions "national frontiers" and "access" that is validated by obtaining a passport. The aspect of providing "access" can be related to the concept of "access" developed by American economist and writer Jeremy Rifkin in his 2000 book *The Age of Access*. The essential message of his book is that with major changes taking place with regard to ownership of goods and properties the most important issue is to have *access* to experiences, privileges, opportunities, places, services etc. With a scarcity of actual goods and property to sell, companies will have to look for other, immaterial products to sell that will include the access to experiences. Rifkin's theory also incorporates the aforementioned "commodification of culture" and also of life experience, processes that allow for the setting of a price for immaterial items such as cultural exposure and experiences. According to Rifkin, in the post-modern age, social divisions are made on the basis of access instead of ownership. He describes the economical developments related to providing access to resources as a new form of capitalism, evolving around intellectual capital:

Intellectual capital, on the other hand, is the driving force of the new era, and much coveted. Concepts, ideas, and images—not things—are the real items of value in the new economy. Wealth is no longer vested in physical capital but rather in human imagination and creativity. Intellectual capital, it should be pointed out is rarely exchanged. Instead, it is closely held by the suppliers and leased or licensed to other parties for their limited use. (Rifkin, 2000: 5).

Within the context of study abroad it can be said that study abroad providers grant access to the experiences of studying in another country and encountering another culture. The text published by Mercer University picks up Rifkin's concept of providing access to the cultural experience of study abroad by explicitly telling their students that the "study abroad programs at Mercer University give you access to opportunities" and that they provide "access to the global economy". Since education is not a free commodity in the United States as students pay tuition fees to attend universities it is adequate to say that the services offered by Study Abroad Offices are part of a commercial, capitalist system. Thus, it is adequate to say that the provision of study abroad experience can be viewed in terms of Rifkin's concept of intellectual capitalism.

Coming back to the passport as the legal document that provides physical *access* to a foreign country, it is possible to find numerous examples of this image in the discourse used to promote study abroad programs. By way of an exception borrowing from an Australian instead of a US-institution, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology uses the "passport" image quite explicitly:



Education Abroad



Your passport to the world

The passport is a legal document that is needed to enter a foreign country and it at the same time is a very personal document, a document of identification which is very valuable. Without a passport, crossing borders into other countries is not possible; it is an important official document that opens entry into numerous countries. It is a key to opening borders and to experiencing another system and culture. Most importantly, it *authorizes* the bearer to travel. This authority is provided by the agencies of the traveler's own government.

In analogy, it is the study abroad student's own government which "authorizes" the American student to go abroad through their program. It makes possible the movement between cultures. The passport as an icon is used in a very practical context as well. To underline the message, the Office of International Relations of Old

Dominion University, for example, is willing to take over the cost for the first-time passport for students who take part in an international exchange program.

It is interesting to see that Canisius College uses the "passport to the world"-metaphor not only for study abroad experiences but to promote the concept of "Internationalization at Home". The phrase "Let it be your passport to the world!" is used to endorse the university's 'Intercultural Living Center' where students from different nations live together with US students to create an international atmosphere right on campus:

intercultural living center

[Welcome to Canisius](#) > [Department Index](#) > [Residence Life Home](#) > [Campus Housing](#) > [Themed Housing](#) > [Campion Hall](#) > The Intercultural Living Center

"Let it be your passport to the world!"

Mission

The mission of the Intercultural Living Center (ILC) is to build a community that celebrates, explores and recognized cultural traditions and heritages from from intellectual, interpersonal and individual perspectives.

Goal

The goal of the ILC is to create an environment where American students and international students will enjoy experiencing new cultures. In some cases, American residents may share a room or suite with an incoming/returning international student. As a member of the intercultural residence you will participate in a variety of social and educational activities, which will enhance your overall Canisius experience and prepare you for the global marketplace.

<http://www.canisius.edu/reslife/ilc.asp>

What can be derived from the text used to describe the Intercultural Living Center is the attempt to build an "international" space right on the domestic campus within the concept of "internationalization at home". By offering American students the opportunity to *live internationally* in "intercultural

residences" on their own campus, Canisius College follows the anthropological approach, as Canisius students will have the chance to *live* with foreign students, which entails activities such as sharing a room, preparing meals and spending time together. Adding the international component to the portfolio of the campus by installing the Intercultural Living Center, Canisius College wants to "enhance" the students' experience. Even if not all members of the student population will want to actually live in this intercultural residence, its existence on campus establishes a visible feature of internationality on campus.

One key to understanding the symbolic value of the passport is the knowledge that only some 20% of all Americans actually possess passports. The very procurement and ownership of a passport therefore makes its bearer a member in an exclusive club. However, it is the second part of the phrase, the access to *the world* which completes the image because it denotes the world in its current, globalized state. The password to the world makes its bearer fit for the challenges of globalization.

THE GLOBAL CITIZEN

Globalization has become a buzzword in the international economic, political and communications discourses. It is billed as unavoidable, as necessary, and, at least in the United States, as something mostly positive. It seems that business and electronic networks as well as travel have been quoted most often in the context of globalization. To many people around the world, globalization equals "Americanization"—in the U.S., this is often accepted or even welcomed as a given; in other parts of the world, it is a source of Anti-Americanism. Oftentimes, it suggests that cultural differences have become obsolete and that a new, homogenous, global post-industrial society is about to emerge

which neither requires the knowledge of foreign languages nor necessitates an understanding of foreign cultures. (cf. Grünzweig/Rinehart: 2002: 9ff).

The challenges of globalizations are on the other hand mostly interpreted in a different light. In their articles “Peripheral Visions: Towards a Geoethics of Citizenship” (2003) and “Freedom, Diversity, and Global Citizenship” (2006) American educators Grant Stoddard and Eve Walsh Stoddard identify education for citizenship as one goal of American higher education. In their view citizens need to have information to make knowledgeable decisions but in today's globalized world it is no longer possible to "separate being a member of American society from being a citizen of the world" (Cornwell, Stoddard, 2003: 14). Thus, they assert that beyond the concept of a national or American citizenship, students have to go beyond those limits and have to incorporate multiple perspectives. For them, one of the major challenges in today's globalized world is the amount of information; they state that the reference to multiple perspectives is the only option to deal with that overload of information:

[...] a cosmopolitan citizen has to maintain a commitment to complexity, to consulting multiple perspectives. While there is an overwhelming amount of information available from the Internet and the news media, sorting through it has become a daunting challenge, made even more complex by the fact that all sources are located and perspectival. (Cornwell, Stoddard, 2003: 15).

Consequently, according to Cornwell and Stoddard, global citizens not only have to master the massive amount of information but also have to realize that the information given are a product of their publishers and thus biased and "perspectival". Only by introducing students to a variety of ideas and perspectives the

authors see a chance to educate them along the lines of the concept of 'global citizenship'.

As one of the ways to achieve that goal the authors suggest that a diverse curriculum that includes numerous viewpoints can be a first step into that direction but does not seem to go far enough:

The curriculum can represent diverse points of view, but that is not enough. Precisely because the world looks different from different vantage points, the students and faculty who comprise a campus need to have different life experiences and different social locations that they can bring to the table in a collaborative or dialogic process of knowledge creation. They also need to get outside the campus, to gather perspectives from the local communities, the nation, and from other parts of the world, and then to subject those triangulations to interpretation and evaluation. (Cornwell, Stoddard, 2006: 33).

The aspect of leaving the campus, which also includes participation in study abroad programs for them plays a vital role towards changing the perspective of students. Participation in study abroad programs will give students a chance to engage into foreign cultures and to add new perspectives to their mental framework.

This conception of study abroad as an instrument to prepare students for the challenges of globalization and to consequently award them with *global citizenship* is one of the major arguments used in the material to promote study abroad programs:

...study abroad provides U.S. students with a global outlook, which emphasizes the contemporary inter-relatedness of nations and cultures, the universality of human values, and the necessity for working together.

(<http://www.aifsabroad.com/safetyfaqs.htm>)

Whereas this is a rather pain-free definition, the difference between the domestic surroundings of the students and the global experiences that lie ahead of them requires quite a bit more of an effort. At the same time, study abroad is an answer to this challenge. The four reasons for study abroad listed by Queens College centrally contain the world global:

- Gain an international dimension and a global perspective in your major.
- Expand your range of course options and develop a global resume.
- Experience the increasing interdependence of the U.S. and other countries.
- Explore the role you can play in the global community.

The list of arguments implies that a global perspective that goes beyond a merely American view of the world will help students develop a "global resume" that will provide them with the prerequisites to be part of the international community. Northwestern University also underlines the requirement to become a "Global Citizen":

Becoming a “Global Citizen” in Today’s Interconnected World

You have probably heard this before: Now, more than ever, the world we live in is interconnected. This means that to be successful—personally, intellectually, and professionally--students need to become “global citizens,” skilled at interacting in and between multiple cultures and capable of analyzing issues on a global level.

http://www.northwestern.edu/studyabroad/forms/why_study_abroad.pdf

This example directly equates success in the personal, academic and professional sphere with global skills. Students are told that without international experiences they will not be able to grasp the processes that are going on in today's world.

What all these excerpts have in common is their reference to the "inter-relatedness" and "interdependence" of today's world and how the world is "interconnected". The world is portrayed as a huge cohesive system that goes far beyond the American scope. Students who want to function in this new 'global' life need to be able to grasp the processes that take place. The key to mastering this task is taking part in a study abroad program. Furthermore the skills students may acquire during this experience abroad will also provide them with some sort of explanation and orientation in the modern globalized world which they might be looking for.

Another argument used to convince students to study abroad instead of just going on a trip is the notion that the experience of participating in a study abroad program will equip students with skills they could never achieve if they were mere tourists.

STUDY ABROAD—BE MORE THAN JUST A TOURIST

The texts used to promote study abroad programs makes use of the promise, discussed prominently in my theoretical parts, that the students' experiences will differ from touristic experiences, in fact that they will get a better idea about the new culture than tourist could ever dream of getting.

The line of argumentation goes back to the aforementioned "traveler versus tourist" and "study abroad student versus tourist" dichotomies and furthermore assigns a superior status to the study abroad student over the tourist. The following examples illustrate this value judgment:

Brighton Summers—*The Art of Travel*

Brighton study abroad programs redefine summer school. Our classroom stretches from the azure waters of the French Riviera to the rain forests of and the emphasis is on education through experience. Whether your focus is on building your fluency in Spanish or French or exploring something new like community service or the Culinary Arts, traveling with Brighton means that you'll head home with more than tourist memories filtered through the windows of a tour bus. (<http://www.allensguide.com/img/ddmha/609/listing.html>)

Without really explaining on what grounds the distinction between touristic and study abroad experiences is made, the text claims that after their participation in the summer school students will return with memories that are "more than tourist memories filtered through the windows of a tour bus". It also draws on the "whole world is a classroom"-image underlining the seeming infinity of learning possibility that study abroad offers.

The text also frequently mentions the act of traveling and even calls the summer program the "Art of Travel" an approach that goes back to the "traveler versus tourist" dichotomy. What is implied by calling the tourist memories "filtered" is that unlike tourists students will have a chance to get memories that are 'unfiltered' and thus more authentic. In addition to that the mentioning of the tour bus draws on the cliché that tourist just drive through their tourist destination without making a halt, and getting a chance to obtain access to the genuine culture.

Saint Mary's University of Minnesota makes the distinction between tourist and study abroad students on the basis of having to deal with everyday problems. In their Orientation Handbook for

studying abroad (in this case in Italy) they try to prepare students with difference in living conditions and standards they might encounter:

It must be realized that American customs and housing standards should not be expected. Heating, plumbing, and household appliances must necessarily conform to living conditions abroad. However, since the point of living in a foreign country is to learn about that society in more than tourist terms, such differences should be viewed as part of the educational process. A few cultural differences to keep in mind are: [...]
(<http://www.smumn.edu/studyabroad/Florence/Florence%20Handbook%202006.pdf>)

Students are reminded that having to deal with new and unfamiliar living conditions is what getting to know another culture is all about and that this knowledge goes beyond touristic experiences. It seems that finding out about cultural differences the "hard way" is part of an educational process that students have to go through in order to make authentic contact with the host culture.

Besides dealing with everyday situations and problems time seems to be the crucial factor that differentiates a touristic experience from a study abroad experience as the following example from Bryant University illustrates:

10. Why be just another tourist?
Spend more time overseas than the average tourist can dream of doing. See the sights while getting to know the local customs, and the greater significance of places and events.
(<http://www.bryant.edu/bryant/academics/ug/studyabroad/top10.jsp>)

Here it is quite obvious that studying abroad puts students into a superior role over the mere tourist as they are more than just

"another" "average" tourist. The appeal is made to students by asking them why they should be contend with being "just another tourist" when they could have a special role and be much more than that. As students overseas they apparently have a chance to spend more time in their host destination and are thus better equipped to grasp the "greater significance of places and events".

In a text about a summer program in Paris Rutgers University deals with the distinction between studying abroad and a tourist visit in a different way:

There's no argument: Paris is the perfect tourist city. From beautiful landmarks to priceless cultural treasures, from world-class shopping to unforgettable local color, all other cities are judged by how close they come to Paris. The only thing better than visiting Paris is living there.

The Summer Institute in Art History gives you that chance. This six-week, 6-credit program will make Paris your city, taking you on a guided tour of its streets and museums. After this summer, you'll never feel like a tourist in Paris again!
(http://studyabroad.rutgers.edu/program_fr_arthistory.html)

Here the primary distinction between tourist and study abroad student becomes clear in the contrast between "visiting" and "living there". The text states that by taking part in the offered program students will have the chance to live in Paris and make it their city by having a chance to become familiar with the new surroundings and overcoming difficulties. This conquest of the city goes along with the abovementioned 'Frontier Narrative' which is all about triumphing over a new surrounding and situation. Students are told that they will never "feel like a tourist" in Paris again.

Viewing this excerpt from a critical point of view one could say that it is quite bold to say that the summer program's participants will

have a different experience than a group of tourist. The whole text plays with the attractiveness of Paris being the tourist destination all others have to compete with. Students are promise a "guided tour" of the city which is supposed to make the city familiar to them. The "guided tour" is the most prominent feature of a touristic event and it is striking that students should nevertheless get such a deep insight in the city that they no longer have to feel like mere tourists.

I think it is easy to challenge this claim as I doubt that students' experiences during a six-week-stay in Paris will differ from a touristic experience. Even though the text claims that "living there" makes all the difference it is questionable whether a six-week-stay as part of a summer program that apparently also has an organized supporting program that includes an almost daily schedule of events will have a different impact than a two-week-holiday in the city especially since students will not be by themselves but part of a larger group of students who will most probably spend all their time together.

In addition to that some universities even give their students advice on how to make the most out of their experiences and to get a deeper insight into the host country that goes beyond a touristic view as the following example from George Washington University shows:

Attend cultural events that are not typically for tourists, such as an elementary school dance or a Swiss yodeling contest. Ask your host family and friends what local events are of interest and importance to them.

Try to shy away from familiarity. Eat at local restaurants or pubs instead of American restaurants. Limit the time you spend with other Americans and English speakers. Avoid locations heavily visited by tourists.

Above all, have fun! This is the experience of a lifetime. You are not a tourist, but a participant in a global encounter with the amazing opportunity to learn about another culture, another way of life, and another person on the other side of the world.
(<http://www.gwu.edu/~studyabr/cultural.shtml#f>)

Students are given the advice to ask the locals what events might be of "importance to them", thus interesting and culturally authentic as they should avoid typical tourist events. This advice seems to have its origin in the danger of "staged authenticity" where events are given the shape of "authentic" experiences but are indeed not authentic at all. Furthermore they should stay away from the familiar such as American restaurants or environments that are dominated by English language speakers. In addition to that students should not spend too much time at locations that are frequented by a lot of tourists. Apparently being confronted with the unknown and unfamiliar should foster their cultural understanding.

In the last paragraph of the excerpt students are reminded that they are supposed "to have fun" at their study abroad location and the student is told explicitly that he or she is "not a tourist". Instead students are participants of a "global encounter", taking part in the adventure of getting to know another culture and way of life. Again it is difficult to prove this claim as the phrase "global encounter" is not really defined and it does not really become clear why there seems to be such a harsh distinction between study abroad students and tourist.

Study Abroad Narratives II: How to Convince Students to Study in Germany

After having dealt with the stories that are told about studying abroad and also the way these stories are constructed I will now look at the material that was especially designed to promote German study abroad locations.

Similar to the material for study abroad in general the texts used to describe and promote, Germany will be looked at from a marketing perspective as well as with regard to discourse. The analysis will start off by looking at the way the German tourist board presents German cities in the Internet.

Following that, I will examine the texts that are used by American universities to give students information about their possible study locations in Germany and to convince them that Germany is a worth-while study abroad location.

From what has been shown about the narratives used to promote study abroad programs and the construction of realities that is connected with them, it is vital to keep in mind that these stories are created by a certain interested individuals with certain purposes in mind.

Furthermore, the creation of these narratives and the expectations they might evoke play an important role with regard to the students' quest for authenticity and the reality they encounter. By constructing the success story of study abroad programs, these texts have an important influence and impact on the way students will observe the experiences they make and will most likely compare their impressions with what they were promised. This concept is even more crucial when we look at the creation of spatial

identities of German cities and the construction of a German culture.

Germany for Tourists

From the north cage one looks up the Neckar gorge; from the west one he looks down it. This last affords the most extensive view, and it is one of the loveliest that can be imagined, too. Out of a billowy upheaval of vivid green foliage, a rifle-shot removed, rises the huge ruin of Heidelberg Castle with empty window arches, ivy-mailed battlements, moldering towers—the Lear of inanimate nature—deserted, discrowned, beaten by the storms, but royal still, and beautiful. It is a fine sight to see the evening sunlight suddenly strike the leafy declivity at the Castle's base and dash up it and drench it as with a luminous spray, while the adjacent groves are in deep shadow. (Twain, 1880/2003: 119)

Mark Twain's view of Heidelberg in his book *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), a result of his visit to the city of Heidelberg on his travels through Europe, seems innocuous enough and holds little surprises for the cursory reader. Yet, a careful look reveals a representation which is very specifically crafted for the American reader—and which renders *this* Germany as a construction of an American mind.

Already the preference, the look down the river, is characteristic, because it offers the "most extensive view"—a perspective which is natural to the observer of American nature where extensiveness and extension are key constituents of the American landscape, but hardly germane to a European view of the Neckar valley. The American, and more specifically, Twanian, look continues with the sea imagery "billowy upheaval" crafted onto the green leaves which certainly represents a strange way of indicating an elevation and with a characteristic indication of distance—"a rifle-shot

removed"—equally not exactly a highly conventional measurement in the South German landscape. The Castle itself is fascinating—and from Twain's perspective acceptable—because it represents the loss of aristocratic and monarchical power it is "deserted" and "discrowned" and in that way "royal still."

The texts addressed to prospective study abroad participants at German universities are by no means as complex, but they also require a closer look as they are mediating between an "official" image of Germany as constructed by the target culture and an image of the country designed to appeal to different types of U.S. students in different ways.

Germany is a relatively large country with many different traditions (and stories) and it is not surprising that it can appeal to different mentalities and expectations. The most surprising aspect of the investigation of the representation of Germany as a study abroad site, however, is the systematic way in which different identities are constructed for different German study locations. In fact, Germany is said not only to provide choices for different types of students but the German reality that is presented shows not so much a single homogenous culture but a radical heterogeneity which is characteristic for the multi-ethnic and diverse Germany of today. The touristic and study abroad discourses range from that of the "metropolis" and "New Berlin" to "enchanted towns" with their rather specific "historic highlights." It is not so much a series of specific images that is used to express what is remarkable, one-of-a-kind in Germany, but the variety, the broad range, the paradoxes and opposites. In that way, the presentation of Germany is rather modern and suggests a certain kinship with the culture of origin, the United States.

One good starting point for the analysis of the study abroad promotion may be by way of a control group, namely heterostereotypical representations of Germany as presented by the German Tourism Board. This material ought to represent the way that Germany and especially the German capital wants to be perceived by potential tourists, but also the pictorial and narrative strategies the German tourist managers believe will make Berlin and the country attractive for foreigners.

In fact, this is more than just a control group. It is quite likely that some of the study abroad providers rely on these accounts and in fact rely on them for the stories and representations they offer their students. These "touristic narratives" can then be profitably compared to the ways Germany is described in the material used to promote study abroad programs in Germany. The differences, even if only small, will be revealing and significant for our purposes.

In its internet presentation, the German Tourist Board uses the live organism as a controlling metaphor for Germany's capital city—and, in fact, a few others.



▶ **Berlin, the Capital**

In Berlin one can feel the pulsating liveliness. A variety of art- and flea markets, museums, bars, pubs, restaurants, opera houses, concert halls, theatres, vaudevilles and revues is awaiting the visitor.

Not only its millions of inhabitants and visitors, the city itself is characterized by a "pulsating liveliness." In German expressionist poetry, in an anti-urban reflex, the large metropolitan city was dynamized by investing it with a dangerous, threatening life of its own. The millions of subjects living in the city had disappeared in the jungle of its streets and buildings whereas this object world

had in turn taken on a strange life and energy of its own threatening the previous subjects.

Not much of this is left here. The city is a body energized by manifold attractions. Visitors, it is suggested, will become part of this vitality which exerts an immediate effect on the different senses. There are many places where it is possible to enter this warm stream of attractive energy, many points of connections for the foreign visitor to make. And, most importantly, this connection is immediate and direct, it is a city one can see, feel, taste and interact with. Immediacy is in the center of the promise made in this brief insert.

The reason for this liveliness and energy, it seems, is a built-in dynamism which makes the city invent itself and reinvent itself forever as new and ever-changing:

► **New Berlin**



The fall of the Wall gave Berlin the rare opportunity to redesign its city centre. Once Europe's busiest traffic intersection, Potsdamer Platz has been rebuilt at the heart of the new

German capital. Renzo Piano and Christoph Kohlbecker's 1991 design for the Debis Area (now: DaimlerChrysler Quartier) both complements and contrasts with the brightly lit tent-like roof of Helmut Jahn's Sony Center and the restored Kaisersaal of the Hotel Esplanade. Opening its doors early in 2004, the elegant Beisheim Center on the Lenné Triangle is the most recent building to be completed on Potsdamer Platz. Construction on Leipziger Platz will soon be completed, re-establishing the original octagonal form of the area. With its spectacular architecture, enticing cafés, restaurants, movie houses, a film museum and a shopping centre, Berlin's new centre is once again a major attraction for tourists and native Berliners alike.

Traditionally, urban reinventions, the celebration of the innovative "new" has been the domain of the United States metropolitan areas, especially New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. But Berlin has the advantage of having quite literally been re-created some fifteen years ago—or at least this case can easily be made given the development of the city in the past fifteen years. By starting with a headline referring to the "New Berlin" an opposition is created between "New Berlin" and "Old Berlin" and one instantly wonders what that "Old Berlin" would be. Berlin became the (new) capital only after the fall of the German Wall and, according to the text, had "the rare opportunity to redesign its city centre"—indeed, a rare occurrence even by American standards.

It is these oppositions between the old and new, between an unspoken "once" and the "most recent" and "once again" which is the major conceptual motor for this energy. Furthermore "re-building" and "re-construction," major concepts not only in architecture but also in American history, show that this German discourse comes close to American narratives. As we have already seen, this aspect of redesign and change is also a strong narrative in the promotional material for study abroad programs. Quite obviously, we will rediscover these narratives again in the study abroad promotional material.

As the website visitors navigate through the site, they find a list of Berlin features which are listed in the following order:


- Albert Einstein 2005
- Bock auf Berlin
- Shopping in Berlin
- Berlin Tourist Information
- Sights

It is a surprisingly heterogeneous, indeed unsystematic, list we are presented with here. A topical theme related to a particular year, the Albert Einstein year, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Theory of Relativity and the 50th anniversary of the death of Einstein, is followed by a German phrase which would be hard to understand by a non-speaking foreigner and yet seems to be indispensable, namely an ardent youthful desire for the capital city. Consumers are next, then the resources for the tourist, and, finally—possibly last because least—the "sights."

The list suggests Berlin in its huge variety and endless possibilities. The different headers are offered to show how diverse the city of Berlin is and to address the specific interests of different target groups. Einstein 2005 is a *pars pro toto* for those interested in science and underlines the connection between the famous scientist and Germany, establishing Germany as a hub of intellectual modernity. "Bock auf Berlin" functions as a direct address to young people to come and experience Berlin as a hip and modern city. "Shopping in Berlin" praises Berlin as a shopper's paradise for tourists. The header of "Berlin Tourist Information" represents the contact for tourist to get information and help with the organization of their trip.

The listed sights are iconic in rather specific ways:

► Sights



The sights in Berlin, for example the Brandenburger Tor, tell the history of a nation. In our picture gallery you find an interesting overview. Famous architects built here charming edifices. The dramatic events of recent history left their traces, where the remains of the Berlin wall adjoin to the futurist buildings of today. The collections in Berlin's museums include treasures of the world.

The Brandenburg gate obviously functions as the icon of the nation. It does, of course, not tell the history of the nation, in fact, not even a major part of it. Rather, history here is "recent history,"—more specifically the "dramatic events" of recent history. The city tells a (hi)story and that history is spatialized, spread out over an urban territory which the visitor will be able to visit and assimilate for himself. The remains of the Berlin wall and the "futurist buildings of today" make for a dramatic space where the city's history becomes its major theme. It is as though we are invited to a reality theme park. The exuberance of this presentation at times borders on a globalist political incorrectness. Although museums all over the world house "treasures of the world," which have usually been stolen and brought together in the imperial Western centers, this would not usually be as triumphantly stressed as happens here. However, political correctness is not a prerequisite for successful touristic marketing, quite to the opposite. This might be less welcome on a study abroad website.

The German capital, a modern city in transition, this is the story which in many variations is told by German Tourism Website. The graphic design of the website complements the aforementioned energetic liveliness by an image of coolness and modernity as it uses cool shades of blue and a rather technical and modern design. At the same time, the city has a strong awareness of the role it played in the history of Germany and pays tribute to that historical significance, it thus can be said that old and new coexist and tourists can get first-hand experiences of that rapid change still operating in the city today.

Apart from Berlin the German Tourist Board naturally also promotes other German cities. In fact, its classification order seems to be by size—there is an almost hierarchical ranking from larger to smaller. The big cities, the "regional metropolises", a slight

contradiction in terms, are next in line.

THE GERMAN CITY EXPERIENCE

Metropolises



Become fascinated by Germany's big cities pulsating with life. Besides Berlin, the capital, Germany offers many regional metropolises. The unique character of each of these cities bear the imprint of German history and culture. The cosmopolitan flair of these cities make every visitor feel welcome.

However, you cannot only experience most modern architecture and art treasures in Germany's towns but also different ways of living. Various traditions and mentalities have left an imprint on each town's cultural life and night life, variety of events, shopping and gastronomy.

In a rather repetitive manner that is not a testimony to the creative outburst of German public relations specialists, the image of "pulsating life" is repeated. The uniqueness of each of these places is confirmed by the reference to German history and culture, less dramatic and less connected with the *recent* past, the present and even the future. Whereas Berlin is a drama which is played out on a huge urban stage, the regional metropolises are much more static and, given their stronger down-to-earth quality "imprinting" itself on each town, also more "authentic."

One is not quite sure about the label "cosmopolitan". Is it applied in order to make foreign visitors feel welcome in view of the racist and xenophobic reputation of the country or is it an indicator of the regional, slightly boring reputation which this term attempts to overcome. However this may be, it is the task of the Tourist Board to portray German cities as open and welcoming touristic destinations.

A particularly interesting category on this list is a group of "historic" cities that come in a bundle of 14, having "joined together to offer [...] some truly incomparable travel experiences":

HISTORIC HIGHLIGHTS OF GERMANY


▶ **Historic Highlights of Germany**

Come and be enchanted by the **HISTORIC HIGHLIGHTS OF GERMANY!** This is the motto chosen by fourteen historic German cities that have joined together to offer you some truly incomparable travel experiences. They will all fascinate and delight you - Augsburg, Erfurt, Freiburg, Heidelberg and Koblenz; Lübeck, Münster and Potsdam; Regensburg, Rostock and Trier; Wiesbaden and Würzburg.

Each of these many-faceted cities is steeped in history. At every turn you will encounter the great names of the past and enjoy the architectural and artistic heritage of great eras. Here, history really comes to life.

And life comes to life too- in every season the calendars are jam-packed with events for every taste: Top quality concert series, art exhibitions, outstanding theater, major international sporting events, colorful street festivals and traditional Christmas Markets sparkle with lights. This rich, interwoven tapestry of the past and the modern is also the key to the charm and dynamism of the **HISTORIC HIGHLIGHTS OF GERMANY**.

▶ **Historic Highlights of Germany**



Sights included in UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage list and picturesque half-timbered buildings, magnificent palaces and cobblestoned alleyways, romantic inns and attractive shopping precincts. Sentimental memories and surprising curiosities - all this and more is just waiting to be explored. Take your time, it's well worth it!

Every HISTORIC HIGHLIGHT has its own special attractions. You can get to know all of them with a "City Pass", which provides a number of attractive benefits and reductions on your journey of discovery. Come and see for yourself.


Go on a tour and visit the Historic Highlights of Germany. Click on a city to see further information.

This, indeed, is themed tourism. Although of course any place anywhere on this globe has a history and is therefore "historic", this historicity is operational. It requires a pass which allows tourists to check off the major sights and provides an illusion of historical completeness. This is the medieval history of German Romanticism as suggested immediately by the key term "enchanted". Enchanted, visitors will feel by the "historic highlights of Germany", the reference is to fairytales, obviously alluding to the world of the Brothers Grimm, Germany's famous tale collectors. In the same way, the tourist will be able to collect sights and enter them into his or her history pass. Reference is made to "picturesque half-timbered buildings, magnificent palaces and cobble-stoned alleyways" that give these cities a medieval character which is equaled with a history that is truly remote—but nevertheless there to touch. This condition of being "steeped in

history" we will come back to when we look at the study abroad material.

The final category is the group of the small and—yes—"enchanted towns":

▶ **Enchanting Towns in Germany**



For many centuries, Germany's small historic towns have been genuine jewels with various facets. Here, you can find a variety of architecture and styles which is worldwide unique and each town itself is a fascinating experience.

Middle Ages and Modern Age - Germany's small towns derive their dynamics from this contrasting mixture. They are as individual as human visages - each town having its distinct identity.

These towns, however, also attract visitors with the modern and vital facets of Germany: enjoy shopping tours, events, excursions or the culinary delights of Germany's regional specialities.

There is not much of a difference to the network of "historic" town—what wonder, they are also "historic" in themselves. Visitors are told that the special charm of these towns lies in their greater individuality as they are presented as having distinctive identities "as individual as human visages"—paradoxically portrayed as masks. Cities as individual as human beings, recognizable, approachable. Going to such a small place might not make you join to the urban bloodstream as in Berlin, but it does provide for distinctive and recognizable differences contributing to the strategy of portraying Germany as having a wide cultural variety.

From a marketing point of view, the pictures used do not really display a distinctive but rather a homogenized identity when the website visitor is confronted with views of three historical buildings which look very much alike and do not really represent concrete

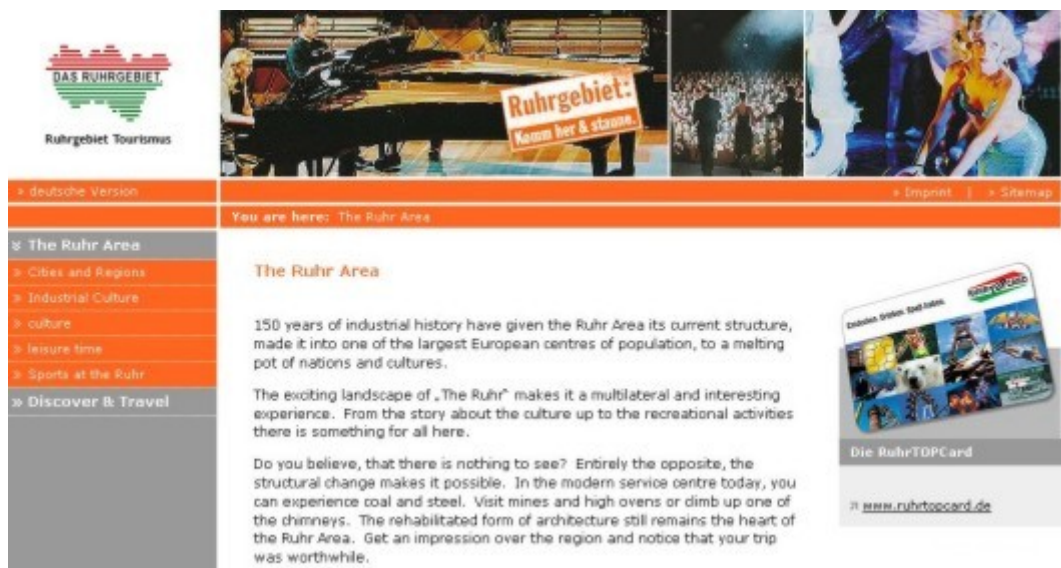
diversity. Nevertheless, they promise potential visitors' feelings of amazement and wonder and invest the cities with a certain charm that especially tired big city people might crave for to experience a contrast to their everyday lives.

One region which is omitted by the National Tourist Board's website is the Ruhr Area, a densely populated region in Western Germany that consists of a number of former industrial cities that are located between the river Rhine in the west and the Ruhr river in the south.



I will therefore use the website of the Ruhr Area Tourism Board in its place (<http://www.ruhrgebiettouristik.de/>).

The Ruhr Area with its 5.3 million inhabitants is part of the larger Rhine-Ruhr area with more than 12 million people and represents the fourth largest urban area in Europe. This larger urban area is often referred to as "Ruhrstadt" implying that there are no real boundaries between the single cities. These characteristics are highlighted both in the touristic and the study abroad narratives about the Ruhr Area.



As in many of the cities of the (former) U.S. rust belt, the Ruhr, an area in the process of restructuring from an industrial to a postindustrial age, presents itself as a center of music and culture. The logo of the Ruhr Area and the slogan that appear on every page suggest a corporate identity rather than touristic coherence:

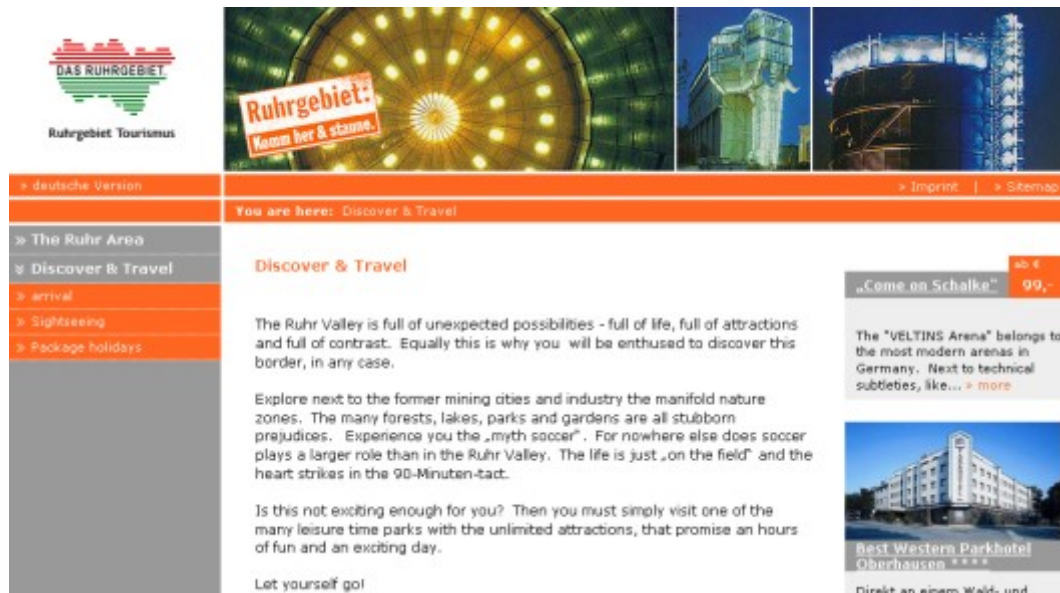


The stylized map of the Ruhr Area is supposed to put a region on the map which is not always there, at least in the eyes of foreigners, but also visually merges the area (and its many cities) into a coherent whole. The slogan that in a translated version says something like "Come here and be amazed" toys with the prejudice that the Ruhr Area, in addition to not being very well known, has nothing special to offer and instead states that there are actually many attractions available once visitors travel to the region. The prejudice that the area has no attractions is taken up in the text again as the question "Do you believe there is nothing to see?" is posed and negated by giving examples of what activities are possible. This short text also makes a reference to the 150 years of industrial history which is still visible when visitors encounter the mines and chimneys. In an attempt to make the symbols of the past an asset for the region, these industrial landmarks are marketed as 'sightseeing highlights' of the region. The structural change that has taken place in the course of recent decades is portrayed as a motor innovation resulting in the modern appearance the region has taken on and which is supposed to appeal to visitors.

The Ruhr Area is said to be very diverse and to have something to offer for everybody. The text also recalls the role of the Ruhr Area as a "melting pot for nations and cultures" implying that it would be a wonderful place for foreign visitors as it is highly mixed ethnically and thus capable of providing a welcoming and friendly atmosphere for tourists from abroad and, again, that xenophobia need not be expected here.

The next screenshot shows what the Tourist Board finds worthwhile for tourists to discover while they visit the Ruhr Area. The main message is that visitors to the region are able to embrace

unanticipated possibilities that are shaped by contrasts.



The pictures that are used are photos of industrial sights all illuminated at nighttime looking very impressive and majestic. In the text the remains of the heavy industry are mentioned as posing a contrast to the vast green spaces and parks the region has to offer. This approach of describing the region as full of contrasts to make it sound especially exciting has already been seen in connection with the descriptions about Berlin. However, whereas the excitement of Berlin seems well spelled out, the Ruhr Area holds out the promise of discovery.

What is more, as there apparently still are a lot of prejudices about the region - for instance the pollution as a result of the heavy industry - the text explicitly refers to these prejudices and tries to refute them. It is interesting that it mentions the "unexpected possibilities" and "unlimited attractions" the region has to offer; it almost seems as if the authors tried to establish a resemblance

with the United States as the discourse used about the United States frequently includes references to "endless opportunities". The region is also presented as an area defined by contrasts such as "industry versus nature" which is supposed to enhance its attraction. Other aspects that are mentioned are amusement parks and above all soccer that has a strong influence on the life of the region. To underline that impact the text even talks about the region's heart beating in a 90-minute-beat—the duration of a soccer match.

As shown above, different touristic narratives are used to describe various cities and regions in Germany which underlines the attempt to show the country's cultural diversity. The stories that are told about smaller cities and towns, especially in the South of Germany, make use of "natural" resources such as mountains and the landscape with tranquil enchanting towns. Berlin and the Ruhr Area tell a more modern story about themselves and use change and the mixture of old and new as their main story components.

In the following I will compare these touristic narratives with the narratives that the study abroad promotional material puts forth about Germany as a study abroad location in general and specifically about Berlin, the study locations in Southern Germany and the Ruhr Area. It will be shown how the discourse used in study abroad promotion builds on the touristic narratives but interprets them in order to cater to the needs of the target group, the prospective study abroad student.

Germany for Study Abroad Students

After students have finally been convinced that studying abroad will add a vital component to their education the crucial question that emerges is where to go. Here the study abroad offices, similar to the Tourist Boards, use vibrant descriptions to sell their various study abroad locations. As seen in the section about place marketing it is striking how the images used vary for different countries as well as different cities or regions within a country. Europe obviously has a special appeal for American students but it is at first more likely to be the destination for big summer Inter Rail traveling than a location for a study abroad experience. Where does Germany come into this picture as a study abroad site? It has to be remembered that Germany is just one study abroad location among many and that it might from the outset not be too attractive for American students because of language problems or the image of the country as a whole. For this analysis I gathered information from the websites of more than 50 universities with study abroad programs in Germany. It is possible to identify several stories and complexes of images used for the description of both Germany and different cities within Germany. The evaluation of this material will, similar to the touristic accounts, place an emphasis on descriptions of Berlin, being the capital and a key site for study abroad programs, as well as Munich and other "traditional" study abroad locations in the South of Germany. Finally, a number of relatively "new" study abroad destinations in the Ruhr Area, in the so-called 'heart of Germany', will be discussed.

Indeed, the large variety of German study abroad locations is frequently itself highlighted and emerges as an important narrative as on the website of the University of Southern California (<http://www.usc.edu>):

From the cutting-edge culture of Berlin to the unspoiled and beautiful Black Forest, Germany offers a surprising variety of regions and cultures within its own borders. USC students can study for one semester or year in Berlin, or if they prefer a smaller more student-oriented city, they can spend a semester or year in Freiburg im Breisgau.

These lines clearly emphasize the wide range offered by Germany which is open to American students. Berlin, as the capital, obviously plays a special role whereas Freiburg can be viewed as a, indeed *the*, representative of the traditional, picturesque university town in the south of Germany. Berlin is described as having a "cutting-edge" culture, an American frontier metaphor suggesting innovation while Freiburg is associated with the "unspoiled and beautiful Black Forest" which, paradoxically, is far away from the image of the frontier. Other opposites between the two are created by stating that Freiburg represents a "smaller more student-oriented city" implying that Berlin on the contrary is huge, fast-paced which offers a world which goes far beyond the confines of academia. Below, this opposition, as it plays itself out in study abroad materials, will be developed in detail.

Before looking at the different regions of Germany and the specific narratives that are used in the material to promote study abroad I want to present some of the narratives used for all of Germany as a study abroad location. These "super-narratives" are used as overriding stories that draw a vivid picture about the country and are supposed to appeal to students and make Germany attractive as a study abroad location.

Germany—The Turbulent Past

Even a cursory look at the material reveals the numerous references to German history. The historical events are described as adding a 'dramatic' component to the country's appearance and this history is stressed to have an impact on modern-day Germany and how it also shaped Europe. The following example from Cultural Experiences Abroad (CEA), an organization providing international education opportunities for American students, reflects this way of dealing with history:

Why Study Abroad in Germany?

From the Reformation to Nazism, events and trends in Germany have shaped the history of Europe. Germany's turbulent past has undoubtedly left its mark on the country as we know it today. Modern-day Germany is divided into sharply defined regions, or Länder, with each region maintaining its distinctive character, with its own customs, dialect, traditional dress and cuisine. Attractions include the big-city charm of Berlin where east meets west, the medieval villages and castles of the Black Forest, the mountains, woodlands and lakes of Bavaria and the beautiful sandy beaches of the Baltic Sea. [...]

<http://www.gowithcea.com/programs/germany.html>

The text mentions two historical events, "Reformation" and "Nazism", anticipating that students might be able to associate these events with Germany. It is noteworthy that the dark side of Germany's history, Nazi-Germany is brought up openly, referred to as being part of "Germany's turbulent past". What can also be derived from this text is the suggestion that Germany has somehow learned from the events of the past since it is explicitly stated that it "has left its mark on the country". Presented as a country that is still connected to its past, but directly referring to "modern-day Germany" the text also uses the opposition of modern and historical to underline the energetic and diverse set-up of the country. This diversity is also reflected by Germany's regional

make-up, the division into different "Länder" which according to this short excerpt all have maintained their "distinctive character". By underlining this variety students are given the impression that once they go to Germany they will encounter a multitude of different customs and traditions. This line of argumentation appeals to the anthropological instincts in the students who are supposed to view themselves as explorers who will be able to conduct fieldwork in Germany. The idea of variety is further underlined by listing the assortment of study locations, from the big city of Berlin to the small enchanting villages. This list reflects the line of argumentation found in the tourism discourse about Germany and it seems as if it were taken out of a travel guide for Germany.

Another example, from IIE-Passport Study Abroad Directories, replicates the argument of history's influence on Germany's development but focuses on the (re)unification of the country:

Germany was first unified in 1871, and still has strong regional cultures. Today, the country continues to work through the challenge of reunification between East and West that began in 1990. After forty years of separation that left a deep cultural, social, and economic divide, Germany has demonstrated its resolve throughout this process as it has throughout its history.

Germany has many lessons to teach and provides an inspiring environment and a challenging system to facilitate learning. Capitalize on the opportunities you will have there to further your education and expand your horizons.

(<http://info.iiepassport.org/country/germany.html>)

Students are told that the challenges the division of the country brought along add a vital component to everyday life. Germany is depicted as a country still in the process of development. By following this line of argumentation, the text again uses the

anthropological approach, presenting prospective study abroad students with the opportunity to explore this country and be part of the transformational processes that take place. By creating a story of Germany as a nation in constant transformation, the students are informed that they will be able to learn valuable lessons and expand their horizons once they are willing to face the challenges of this new, exciting environment.

Brethren Colleges Abroad (BCA), another organization facilitating academic exchange, presents students with the same argument of dynamics that shape the German nation:

Why study in Germany with BCA?

Modern Germany is a dynamic nation that bears the imprints of the many changes in its turbulent past. From the Reformation to Nazism, events and trends in Germany have long had an enormous impact on the rest of the world. The country's rich history and culture make Germany an exciting and rewarding place to live and study.

(<http://www.bcanet.org/Programs/germany/why.asp>)

Again, German history is portrayed as a reason for the 'drive' and energy that shapes the face of modern Germany. The country's "rich" history is said to guarantee the positive influence a study abroad experience will have on the student. What is emphasized once more is that studying abroad entails both "living" *and* "studying" in the host culture. By explicitly mentioning both aspects, students are again reminded what impact the study abroad experience will have on their lives. What is also brought up here is the influence Germany has on the rest of the world. This notion, in other texts, is frequently expanded to suggest that the country is portrayed as the leader and center of the European Community.

Germany—European Leader

In many accounts about Germany as a study abroad location, the country is portrayed as the center of the European movement, telling students that Germany is thus a key location in Europe. Dartmouth College uses a rather factual-statistical approach to underline Germany's influence in the European Community:

Among Europeans, in fact, the approximately 101 million native speakers of German greatly outnumber those of English, French, Italian (58-60 million each), or Spanish (36 million). [...] As a language used in business, diplomacy, and tourism, German stands second only to English in Western Europe, and in Eastern Europe it holds first place. [...] Furthermore, Germany is the most influential member of the European Union, the world's second-largest economy. Size is not the only source of Germany's importance, however. The Federal Republic boasts the highest worker productivity in Europe, and Ernst & Young's annual surveys of international business executives from 2004-6 have each year rated it the world's third-most attractive economic location, behind only the U.S. and China. The World Economic Forum's 2003 *Global Competitiveness Report* ranked Germany's potential for sustained growth 13th in the world, ahead of that of 15th-ranked Great Britain, 26th-ranked France and 41st-ranked Italy. (<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~german/gerwhy.html>)

The text offers numerous statistics from the importance of the German language to the productivity of the German workforce. Instead of presenting students with a “romantic” discourse about the beauty of the German landscape or the Black Forest, students learn the “hard facts” that underline the importance of Germany within the European economy. Germany being the “most influential member of the European Union” is portrayed as providing boundless opportunities for students eager to engage in this thriving economy. The way the text is designed it clearly highlights the career aspect of the study abroad experience, assuring the

students about the benefits study abroad will have on their future career. The format of the text appeals to the American values of achievement and success and highlights the competitiveness of modern day society while it at the same time invites students to take their chances and to be part of the 'international community'.

Again emphasizing Germany's key role in Europe, Valdosta State University stresses Germany's leadership in European integration associating this process with the overall story of "Western civilization":

The leader in forging an integrated Europe, Germany offers a unique experience in an advanced, humane society built upon a long history of achievement. Understanding modern-day Europe is not possible without understanding Germany. Imagine yourself following in the footsteps of Goethe, Beethoven, Martin Luther, Albert Einstein, and other major figures who have helped shape Western Culture.
<http://www.valdosta.edu/europeancouncil/students/germany/>

The text explicitly calls Germany the "leader" in the European integration process and depicts an understanding of Germany as the key to grasping the concept of Europe as a whole. Besides referring to the modern-day world the text also mentions German historic figures of importance such as Goethe or Beethoven, but also Luther and Einstein (!) and their influence on Western Culture, again using the dichotomy of modern versus historical as adding to the exciting environment of the Germany of today. By asking students to imagine themselves "following in the footsteps" of famous personalities, the text tries to inspire them to set goals and strive for success.

Another example from IIE-Passport Study Abroad Directories shows the same approach of portraying Germany as a very influential member within the European community:

Perhaps one of the most relevant factors for students visiting Germany is to explore and learn in a place that has arguably had more of an impact on Europe than any other nation. Charlemagne, Bismark, and Hitler all left their mark not only on Germany but also on the rest of Europe and the world at large. While not always positive, the influence of Germany cannot be understated and the lessons to be learned there are extremely valuable.

(<http://info.iiepassport.org/country/germany.html>)

Referring to the explorative mode of the study abroad experience that text reassures students about the inimitable influence Germany has had in the past and how much students will profit from studying there. Mentioning important leaders such as Bismarck and even Hitler who exerted their influence throughout Europe, this passage not only reminds students of Germany's past but also asserts that the nation's influence has not always been positive – obviously an equally important part of the learning enabled by studying abroad. By experiencing this diversity and contrasts first-hand, students will be able to profit from their experiences and will learn "extremely valuable" lessons.

These examples show how Germany is described as *the* place to go when attempting to grasp the notion of Europe as a whole. By exploring and embracing the diversity, students will be able to fulfill their thirst for knowledge as explorers of the continent as a whole.

Germany—Getting Everywhere in No Time

Strongly connected to that narrative of European leadership is the emphasis on the implications of Germany's geographical location. Students are reminded that Germany is strategically placed in Europe, using the almost paradoxical line of argumentation that Germany is the perfect place to study because it is easy to get away:

Germany's geographic location at the center of Europe is matched by its political and economic centrality in the European community. For centuries, Germany's historic universities have been among Europe's most famous centers of learning. Students are in a strategic position to study the challenges and opportunities of both a reunified Germany and an emerging united Europe.

(http://www6.miami.edu/UMH/CDA/UMH_Main/1,1770,6371-1;37917-3,00.html)

This connection of the notion of Germany's centrality in European history and in the European Union and the central, "middling" geographical location is very powerful. Not only will that exceptional position give students a better understanding of Europe but it is portrayed as an excellent base for the further exploration of the continent. The advantages of Germany's location viewed in connection with travel is opportunistically expressed by New York University:

Moreover, Germany's excellent rail and bus system allows for easy travel to the beautiful islands of the Baltic Sea, to Poland, and to Scandinavia, and the many inexpensive flights from Berlin's two convenient airports allow students to explore farther afield at minimal cost. [...]

(<http://www.nyu.edu/fas/summer/berlin/>)

The choice of words such as "convenient", "easy travel", "inexpensive flights" already suggests how effortless it will be for students to travel. The text also plays with the German image of effectiveness, having a superb traffic infrastructure that is punctual and efficient. The text assures students that it will be easy and convenient for them to make the most of their study abroad experience and travel to a large number of other

destinations while abroad. At the same time, study abroad propagandists must know that this emphasis on travel obliterates the distinction between study abroad and tourism or at least puts the two into a dangerously close vicinity of each other. Hence, the repeated attempts to couple the “getting away” argument almost helplessly with the emphasis on the cultural tradition as seen in the flyer by Marymount University. At first, it stresses the connection with the old masters:

As Beethoven's birthplace, Bonn preserves its cultural heritage with the Opera and the Beethoven Music Center.

Immediately following, it expands to the rest of Europe:

The city is located one-half hour from Germany's fourth largest city, Cologne, and is only a half day's journey from major European cities such as Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt and Strasbourg. (Flyer published by Loyola Marymount University Study Abroad)

The Online Educational Portal EuropeanCampus.com gives students very detailed information, but goes beyond the traditional locations in order to include “New” Europe:

There are excellent connections between the Federal Republic of Germany and other main European cities. In 1998, Deutsche Bahn extended their international network eastwards and it now connects with 13 European countries, including Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia. [...] A number of scenic rail journeys begin in Germany and go to Austria or Switzerland, such as the routes through the Black Forest: [...] Germany is connected to all surrounding countries by a first-class network of motorways and trunk roads [...] In every major city, there are Mitfahrerzentralen (car sharing agencies, see Yellow Pages) which offer shared car travelling to all European cities [...] (<http://www.studyineu.com/studyingermany/gettingto.htm>)

Again the excellence of the German infrastructure is pointed out to students as they are informed about the transportation network the country has to offer. The "Deutsche Bahn" is explicitly mentioned as a trademark of German efficiency. The text informs students about all the options they have to travel and visit as many places as possible while they are in Germany. This line of argumentation picks up the notion of the "European Grand Tour" discussed earlier, inspiring students to follow this traditional travel route and use their study abroad location of Germany as some sort of 'base camp' that represents an ideal starting point for their travels all over Europe.

BERLIN

All in all, the narratives relating to Germany as a whole, are rather limited. The major focus of the study abroad material relating to Germany is directed to the regional quality of the study abroad site. This is, of course, not surprising as students need to be sold a specific location, but it also reflects the fact that regional narratives are a major appeal for potential foreign students coming to Germany. We will find that this is closely connected with the various promises of authenticity we have come to know so far in this study. The city of Berlin will be our starting point.

Berlin—The Capital

Among the many study abroad programs in Germany, Berlin is certainly one of the focal points as its name is already known to students. The controlling concept in the study abroad texts for Berlin is the picture of the ever-changing metropolis. As Germany's capital, it is definitely "on the map". As will be shown later, the descriptions for other German cities make use of all kinds of geographical references or markers of identity such as rivers, forests and borders. Berlin, however, does not need that, as it seems to stand for itself and is attractive out of and in itself, without requiring special praise.

The representations of Berlin allow a series of generalizing observations. Berlin is described as multicultural, having a "broad ethnic mix" (Dartmouth College, <http://www.dartmouth.edu>); everyday life in Berlin is supposed to be "less complicated than in the States" offering all kinds of "music, arts and intellectual stimulation" (Duke University, <http://www.duke.edu>); the texts often praise Berlin's architecture for instance as "a distinction of the New Berlin" (Florida State University, <http://www.floridastate.edu>) or mention the wonderful arts scene. Similar to the touristic narratives about Berlin, the study abroad material also describes Berlin as a city in a constant process of reinvention and renewal. In this section, I will focus on the more extensive narratives told about Germany's old and new capital.

Berlin—Steeped in History

In the description of the exchange program with Berlin New York University quotes the following sentence from the *New York Times*: "No major European city displays its history more visibly than Berlin" (NY Times, 11 April 1999) (<http://www.nyu.edu>). By using this quote to convince students of the historical significance of Berlin New York University follows a line of argumentation which can be found quite frequently. Seeing Berlin as a *pars pro toto* for the whole country of Germany, similar narratives about the historical significance can be found here. There is no text about Berlin that does not make reference to Berlin's "central role in European history" (Dartmouth College). Students are reminded of the "positive attitudes towards Americans in Berlin because of our role in the Cold War" in order to lessen their fear of anti-Americanism. Other accounts include Berlin as "capital of a reunited country" and thus "good for an understanding of German history". Berlin is seen as representative for "Europe's effort to become a single community" while combining the "character of the

old central European style with a vibrant modern arts scene" (Duke University)

The connection of key, albeit very different historical events creates a version of historical monumentality designed to impress students:

Berlin was both the epicenter of fascism in the 20th century and the city that represented the division of Europe during the Cold War. (Florida State University)

Berlin has played a central role in European history for over two centuries. For forty years Berlin was a divided city and the fulcrum of the Cold war balance of power. (New York University)

People usually think of Berlin as contemporary and hip, filled with artists and known for its youth culture. It is also a city with a crucial place in modern European history, its path leading from the defining cultural avant-garde of the Weimar Republic to the devastation of World War II, from a divided city symbolizing the Cold War to today's reunified and renewed capital. (New York University)

The stories told about Berlin, mixing stories of perpetration and victimization, frequently emphasizes the significance of the city as a symbol of the Cold War with its direct connection to American history. The texts also argue that the historical developments Berlin has gone through have defined the appearance of the city today, an architecture providing a hands on, direct—and authentic – connection with – often traumatic – the past.

Berlin—A City in Transition

Another narrative that is often referred to is that of Berlin as a city in transition. According to a text published by Florida State University Berlin "has been addicted to change". It is viewed as "one of Europe's most vibrant cities" and a "driving force for

Germany in the 21st century (Duke University). Keeping that in mind it is interesting to look at the imagery used in the following excerpt:

Berlin has endured so many historic changes in the past century that is now reinventing itself with a new face, a new identity. High-tech buildings have sprung up on waste land and the German government has reintegrated its Reichstag over new foundations. Wandering along the jovial avenue of Ku'Damm, or through lively neighbourhoods like Tiergarten, will let you discover the different cultures that have come together and spread throughout Berlin. Berliners are at the peak of avant-garde artistic expression, and numerous parties and festivals enliven the city's youthful nightlife. The city's turbulent past has been transformed into a fascinating present. (<http://www.esl-languages.com/en/adults/learn/german/berlin/germany/index.htm>)

The aspect of reinventing itself and adapting a "new face" or "new identity" through processes of change is a very American concept and thus naturally appeals to the American readers. The image that is created of Berlin is that of a modern and open-minded capital, hosting a diverse ethnic mixture of cultures. By mentioning the "waste land" Berlin is given the character of a new frontier, an open range that needs to be conquered and is filled with enthusiastic pioneers who contribute to the vibrant atmosphere. The city is described as a center of nightlife and art, having used the energy of the "turbulent past" to create a mesmerizing present-day ambience that will unquestionably appeal to students.

Florida State University also makes a reference to the transition the city has gone through over the past:

Even before its roller-coaster ride through the 20th century, a 19th century observer remarked that the city was constantly on the verge of becoming, never in a state of being. (Florida State University)

Using the image of a roller-coaster includes both fast up-and-down movement as well as a direct emotional appeal to the student as roller-coasters are the symbol of fun and excitement. Also, the impression of being "unfinished" still being on the "verge of becoming" might be a feeling a student can well relate to. In addition to that, being part of that change might be quite attractive for study abroad participants.

Rutgers University illustrates Berlin's attractiveness by calling it the "most rapidly changing major urban center in Europe" (<http://www.rutgers.edu>), not only implying that much is happening in Berlin but also attributing some kind of "gold rush"-atmosphere to the city. What is implied here is the same urgency that was found in the material for study abroad programs, as Berlin is portrayed as changing so fast that students might miss out on a great chance if they do not go there soon. We have already come across this sense of urgency in the career-oriented arguments for study abroad that also follow the "now or never"-argumentation-tread. Connected to this is another image of development and transfer that is used is the description of Berlin as a "crossroad between eastern and western Europe for business, politics and culture." (University of Southern California), again underlining the city's importance within Europe.

The image of Berlin as a divided city consisting of East and West which can be found here falls into another category that identifies the city as being full of contrasts and more or less conflicting elements.

Berlin—A City of Dichotomies

This German capital rendered as a modern city in transition is also full of dichotomies which are – dialectically speaking – the motor of this dynamic. Berlin is able to bring together its history of being divided into "East" and "West" and reflecting its role in the Cold War.

In addition to the narratives mentioned earlier, the students who are supposed to be convinced to go to Berlin are presented with stories about Berlin that are full of contrasts and that contain dichotomies which make a stay in Berlin extremely exciting, an adventure even. The city, although unified, still has an Eastern and Western part, old tradition coexists with a modern art scene and its metropolitan character is complemented by many green areas all around the city. Containing such a wide spectrum of characteristics and features, Berlin seems to "have it all" as we can see in this description:

Berlin is one of the world's most livable cities as it is a both quiet provincial city and at the same time a great metropolis. (Dartmouth University)

Berlin is a city of contrasts. It has served as the capital of Imperial Germany, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, the German Democratic Republic, and now the reunified Federal Republic of Germany. During the cold war, the wall that ran through the middle of the city was the most powerful symbol of the division between East and West. On the night of November 9, 1989, the dismantling of that same wall became the symbol of the end one era and the beginning of another. (University of Cincinnati, <http://www.artsci.uc.edu/german/studyAbroad/Berlin>)

Stanford University puts it even more explicitly:

Berlin is a city of dichotomies; east-west, coolly contemporary and strongly traditional, Prussian monuments coexist with modern high rises and trendy nightclubs. (Stanford University, <http://www.stanford.edu>)

These obvious contrasts enrich Berlin's character as an exciting metropolis. The student can have it all, a now unified, former divided city, history combined with modernism, big city flair combined with green areas. Berlin is described as a city of contrasts that contribute to the energy which can be felt while studying in the city. The dichotomies that can be found in the descriptions are "old versus new", "historical versus modern" and "metropolitan versus provincial charm".

The fact that a city like Berlin is able to contain all those different contrasting properties makes it a pulsating, vibrant and exciting place that needs to be explored by the students. The German capital is a city full of energy, moving force and a potential of ongoing and constant change.

The stories that are told about Berlin describe the capital as a city that contains great diversity and dynamism, major cultural and other sights at close range. As we can see these stories share a significant number of features with the touristic narratives about Germany that have already been identified. The texts for study abroad programs, however, interpret these stories for their customers, as they make suggestions about the type of student who should go to Berlin for a study abroad experience. Berlin seems to be the right place for students who are hip and trendy, looking for fun and adventure and who feel comfortable in a metropolis that nevertheless has retained some kind of provincial

charm. The essence of the line of argumentation could be summed up by the sentence "The bold go to Berlin", referring to students who are not afraid to face the challenges of a big city and are on the contrary willing to embrace the fast-pace pulsating life of Germany's capital.

It is interesting to see how students are guided to get a first impression about their future study abroad destination. This is often achieved by using visual images such as maps that serve as some sort of a geographical clue.

THE SOUTH

The regions in southern Germany are viewed as another sort of cluster that will be looked at in particular.

Not Berlin—The Need to Identify the "Other"



The maps taken from Clark and Rutgers University's websites give an impression of how Germany is perceived. Students are presented with Germany as a whole, Berlin as its capital and the study abroad location, in this case Trier. While Berlin is a given entity, other German study locations need something students can

relate to, descriptions of the area or the landscape that surrounds the specific location. Thus, the descriptions of the study locations often include geographical references and ethnic markers such as references to rivers, woods or landscapes that seem to be famous for Germany, such as the Black Forest for instance. Here is a list of references made on the websites:

Freiburg, located on the edge of the scenic Black Forest. (Duke University)

Regensburg lies on the confluence of the Danube, the Naab and the Regen rivers. (Arizona State University, <http://www.asu.edu>)

Munich is Germany's second largest city, situated on the Isar river near the Alps. (Florida State University)

Trier is a picturesque town on the Moselle. (Georgetown University, <http://www.georgetown.edu>)

Freiburg is located in the Upper Rhine Valley at the foot of the Black Forest in southern Germany. (Michigan State University)

Konstanz is a beautiful city in the Southwest of Germany, [...] surrounded by Lake Konstanz and the Rhine River. (Stony Brook University, <http://www.sunysb.edu/>)

Braunschweig is surrounded by the beautiful recreational areas of the Lüneburger Heide (Heath) to the north and the gentle Harz mountains to the south-east. (University of Oklahoma, <http://www.ou.edu/>)

Heidelberg is Germany's oldest University Town, situated in a delightful setting on the banks of the River Neckar. (University of Oklahoma)

As mentioned before, unlike the descriptions for Berlin, there seems to be a need here to give students some sense of geographical orientation. Also, as shown in chapter two, regional markers attribute a distinctive spatial identity to a place, thus making it special and unique.

Although it cannot be taken for granted that students have any idea about the "River Neckar" or the "gentle Harz mountains", it seems to be important to put these cities on the map, as well as to give them a special identity that can coexist along with such a strong competitor like Berlin as the capital. The identity these cities are assigned is consistently positive, obvious in the choice of adjectives that can be found: "scenic", "picturesque", "beautiful", "recreational", "gentle", and "delightful". All these words underline the genuinely positive experience students can expect in these locations. The use of these positive attributes along with the regional and ethnic markers and the narratives that are told about these smaller cities are supposed to give these cities the same significance as Berlin as study abroad destinations.

Local Culture: Slower Paced Study Abroad Customized for Exchange Students

The descriptions of Berlin often characterize the German capital as the right place for courageous students who are up for an adventure incorporating the frontier narrative mentioned earlier. Berlin is portrayed as a "new frontier" that has to be "conquered" by those students willing to take the risk and explore the unknown.

For the student looking for a more controlled environment, i.e. a "student-oriented city", there are numerous other study abroad locations in Germany which will be analyzed below.

Like other countries for study abroad, Germany has more than the capital of Berlin as a destination for students and the different locations compete for the students' favor. There are few countries, however, where the difference between the appeal made by the capital is so markedly different from that of the rest of the country. There are many reasons are given to convince students that a study abroad experience is worthwhile even if they do not get a chance to experience the "capital city" culture of Berlin.

In order to promote such “alternative” location, the difference to the (by implication) default location, Berlin, are often implicitly or explicitly emphasized:

Capital cities are expensive, impersonal, overcrowded, while smaller cities have fewer foreigners and offer a better experience of the local culture". (<http://www.clark.edu>)

To allege that smaller cities in Germany have "fewer foreigners" is a rather problematic statement, both politically and factually. It is not only slightly xenophobic but also implies that study locations far away from the capital are able to come up with a more "authentic" and unspoiled culture than that of metropolitan city that is “diluted” by the presence of foreigners. Another seemingly positive aspect about a small town is "to have everything in walking distance" but that it is "still large enough to offer a rich cultural life of its own" (Institute for the International Education of students, <http://www.iesabroad.org>) – it is transparent and complex at the same time, simple and sophisticated. A further move into the direction of the authentic is shown in the portrayal of the city of Mayen by Michigan State University:

Mayen was chosen because our program emphasizes living in the cultural environment rather than just visiting great monuments of the past and present. A smaller town offers a better chance to get to know the people, their customs, and their language. In Mayen, our students have the opportunity to develop personal relationships, as well as to experience daily life in Germany. (<http://www.msu.edu>)

What is suggested by these texts is that students will have better access to the local culture, including relational networks, or put differently, the smaller city will make it easier for them to feel at home and access the local population. If we follow that argument, it almost implies that students should probably avoid metropolitan cities such as Berlin as they would appear anonymous and impersonal without providing access to the 'authentic' culture. As will be shown in the section about studying in the Ruhr Area, that same line of argumentation is taken up in the narratives used to promote the region, as students are told that being "off the beaten track" provides them with easier access to the host culture.

Not On the Map But the Ideal Getaway

Similar to the narrative about Germany being in the heart of Europe and thus representing an ideal location to travel to other countries, the stories told about smaller German cities contain descriptions about the proximity to neighboring European countries and the short distances to other major European cities. However, in this case, adjacent travel locations are highlighted, turning the study abroad location into the hub of a European region. Unlike the maps presented earlier, which depicted only Germany, the maps used in this context explicitly show the close proximity of the numerous European countries:



Looking at the examples it is possible to gain the impression that students are encouraged to not stay in their study abroad location but to "get away!" as we can see in an example by the University of South Florida:

Osnabrück is a good hub for travel to other parts of Germany or to other destinations in Europe, as it is approximately 90 minutes from Amsterdam and just several hours from Paris.

Other examples are the following:

[Freiburg is] in close proximity to the neighboring countries of France and Switzerland and to many interesting regions of Germany. (Duke University, <http://www.duke.edu>)

Regensburg is close to the cosmopolitan city of Munich as well as the Bavarian Forest on the border of Germany and the Czech Republic" (Arizona State University, <http://www.asu.edu>)

Freiburg is only 40 miles from the Swiss border and 14 miles from the French border, offers convenient access to Basel and Strasbourg (Michigan State University)

It seems to be common understanding that American students need geographical references as well as features of proximity in order to be convinced to study at a certain study abroad destination. It also seems to be a matter of course that their desire to travel is irrepressible. The frequent mention of both borders and the vicinity of other European countries is supposed to assure the student that "their" section of Europe is relatively small and that they will have unique opportunities to travel to numerous countries. Many of them may never have left the United States and all of a sudden they find themselves in Europe, where it is possible to cross borders and enter different countries in a three-hour-drive. This is a concept which is quite appealing to many of the students who go abroad and is thus used in the material in order to cater the needs of the target group. Germany is portrayed as providing access to numerous other European cultures implying that a study abroad experience in Germany will include an even bigger advantage for students, namely the "European Experience".

The Historical Heritage

Similar to the descriptions about Berlin history plays a significant role in the stories told about German study locations. Whereas the major image about Berlin was change, the references made the "antiquity" of these cities are to their long tradition and history which is obvious in their architecture and design. Freiburg is described as having a "gothic cathedral" and "small streams

(Bächle) dating from the middle ages" (<http://www.iesabroad.org>).

This does not mean that all is well – or always has been well – in the German provinces. Where Berlin is frequently connected to the Cold War, Munich's history is connected to Nazi Germany as can be seen in sentences such as "part of Munich's history is as the city in which the Nazis rose to power (Florida State University) or

Munich is known for the darkest chapter in its history, when it was the willing capital of the Nazi movement" (Harvard University, <http://www.harvard.edu>).

Even though one would assume that it is not very pleasant for a city to be mentioned in the context of this rather negative chapter of German history, it nevertheless gives the city a historical significance which seems to be more important than possible negative connotations and, of course, a share in the Nazi myth which so fascinates many foreigners around the globe. More frequently, however, there are references to medieval history can be found (an era which excludes Berlin); aspects that are mentioned are for instance that Trier "dates back to Roman times" (Georgetown University) or that Augsburg was "founded by the Roman Empire in 15 B.C." and that "back in 1468 the first books were printed in Augsburg" and that "Paderborn was first mentioned in the year 777 AD and played a significant role in the policies of the Holy Roman Empire" (both University of Oklahoma). Oldenburg used to be the "seat of the counts of Oldenburg" (University of Colorado at Denver), that Bamberg is not only "one of the most beautiful cities in Germany (indeed, all of Europe)" but that it was "at various times the home of emperors and bishops" (The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, <http://www.uncg.edu>). Students are informed that in Worms "Martin Luther in 1521

started his protest against the Catholic church" (The University of North Carolina at Greensboro) and that "Heinrich der Löwe (the Lion) built his residence in Braunschweig in the mid-12th-century" (University of Oklahoma). This frequent, almost random reference to historical dates, events and "significances" is based on the assumption that a long history is something attractive for American students who somehow need to look to the Old World to find these historical roots.

It seems as if these references to history are used to tell American students the story of these cities' historical significance at the same time reminding the students of the long, long tradition these cities can look back on. At the same time the narratives used in the study abroad material are very similar to touristic discourse that could be found in a travel guide about these locations when for instance Florida State University states about Heidelberg that the "student population adds youth and vitality to this popular tourist destination".

Having seen how touristic and study abroad narratives for Berlin are interconnected by the image of 'rapid change', it is possible to see the same intersection for the narratives for smaller cities. They share the elements of 'tradition' and 'tranquility'. Similar to the Berlin narratives the study abroad texts make a further step and adapt these narratives for their students as they interpret them. In this interpretation they claim that these smaller study abroad locations provide a more relaxed atmosphere for studying especially for those students who might not feel comfortable in a big city like Berlin. What can be taken from this is that the adventurous students should go to Berlin where some sort of clash with the 'culture' is almost unavoidable while the more introverted, cautious students will also get their chance to get access to the local 'culture' as the smaller study abroad destinations provide

them with a "better access to the culture". In a very simplistic marketing point of view it is possible to say that each study abroad location in Germany tries to make the most out of their initial situation and format and tries to attract as many students as possible.

THE RUHR

As a final region, the Ruhr Area will be looked at in further detail. The discourse used to describe the region's advantages as a study abroad location seem to combine the 'best of both worlds', i.e. the most convincing arguments for Berlin and the smaller study locations in southern Germany.

The Ruhr Area—the Ideal Compromise?

As already pointed out in the examination of the touristic discourses about the Ruhr Area, this region uses other forms of argumentation to convince students that their location is the ideal place to study. Most universities in the area refer to the fundamental structural changes that have taken place in the area, as the coal mining and steel industry declined and had to be replaced by other industries. Looking at a text from ConRuhr, the Consortium of the Ruhr Universities of Bochum, Duisburg-Essen and Dortmund, specifically designed for American students, we can see that the challenges of structural change are interpreted as giving the region dynamics:

The Ruhr area has long been one of the most dynamic regions in Germany. For two centuries it has played a pioneering role in meeting the challenges of the fundamental structural changes in the economy, society and the technical environment. (ConRuhr, 2005: 7)

This is echoed by Universität Essen in its appeal to American students:

The Ruhr Valley is one of the most densely populated city areas in the world. The numerous cities are inter-connected and together form an internationally important economic centre. The Ruhr Valley is unrivalled in terms of its many theatres, museums, educational and recreational facilities. In short, the Ruhr Valley is a cultural area with Essen as important centre.

Similar to Berlin, stories about the Ruhr Area draw on comparisons between the past and the future: "[...] and at the same time preserves its memorable past of the coal and steel era [...]", and mentions the "new international face" of the area. Similar to the smaller cities in the South of Germany, the Ruhrgebiet boasts its close proximity to the neighboring states which follows the "ideal to get away" approach we already encountered earlier that tries to access the tourist part of the international student. Thus it seems as if the Ruhr Area is an ideal mixture of the advantages of both Berlin and the smaller German cities, combining the assets of both without the negative aspects.

The Ruhr-Universität-Bochum University addresses the entertainment instinct in its potential international students from the United States:

Studying in Bochum is not only about having your head buried in books. It is also about having the chance to experience culture, nature, and history. The Ruhr area actually has the highest density of theatres and cultural events in Europe, and Bochum one of the three best theatre halls in Germany. If after the theatre, concert or film you want to go for a drink or to party through the night, just visit the well known Bochum pub district, the so-called 'Bermuda Triangle'.

All who want to walk, cycle, or row can meet up under the blue sky in and around the Kemnader reservoir, just south of the RUB. There is also the university's own botanical garden for the lunch hour.

If you want history, then all around you in the Ruhr area is the imposing evidence of the industrial age gone by. You can experience how an industrial region has re-awoken to a new life but at the same time is a witness to recent history. Visit the Zeche Zollverein – part of the UNESCO's world's cultural heritage list - in Essen to see this for yourself.

The text tells students about the highlights of Bochum in the fields of culture, nature and history to underline the diversity of the region that has something to offer for everyone. Again it is possible to identify the approach of trying to anticipate the needs and demands of the target group and at the same time making an attempt to show that the city is able to fulfill these needs.

In analogy to the high population density the texts emphasizes the high density in cultural opportunities such as plays, concerts and movies. Nature lovers can enjoy the numerous green spaces in and around the city and those interested in history can visit the impressive sights of industrial culture.

Descriptions about the universities of Dortmund and Essen follow the same approach:

The university is situated in the west end of Dortmund in the Eastern part of the Ruhr area. The campus can easily be reached from the center city in five minutes by regional transportation. The city, whose origins date back to 890 A.D., has grown into a modern center of business, high-tech industry, education, and culture. The old districts of town with their restaurants and pubs contrast with the newer

sections dominated by daring modernist and postmodern architecture. More than half of the city's incorporated area is devoted to green spaces: gardens, spacious parks and forests.

The Ruhr is a major metropolitan area and one of Europe's most exciting regions. More than 5 million people live in 53 cities, with Cologne, Bonn and the vineyards of the Rhine Valley on the periphery. A public transportation network, available to students at no cost, connects the whole area and opens its vast cultural offerings to each of its inhabitants. The proximity to neighboring states such as The Netherlands, Belgium, and France adds to the attractiveness of the region.

The city of Essen is one of the biggest cities in the Federal Republic of Germany with a population of more than 600,000. Previously a leader in the coal mining and steel industries, the city is today an important trade and administration centre with excellent recreational facilities.

The city of Essen has a multifaceted cultural programme. In 1982, Germany's most modern opera house opened here. In 1972, the university was founded in Essen, which is very close to town. With its almost 25,000 students the university has a significant impact on the cultural life of the city.

The notion of an exciting metropolitan area – r—recently the three regional universities have founded the “University Alliance Metropolis Ruhr” –are clearly different from the tranquil Southern locations but also from the awesome dominance of the capital Berlin. The multipolar region making up the *Ruhrstadt* is a relatively uncommon phenomenon among the German – and other European – study abroad locations offered to American students. The numerous references to the efficient public transport system underline this linkage as students are told how easy it will be for

them to move between the particular cities. The image of a network of cities that are interwoven by a network of public transport and the idea of linkages are the predominant concepts that are presented. The stories that are told about the Ruhr Area – in this case more by the Ruhr universities themselves and their New York-based consortium "ConRuhr" than by their U.S. partners – inform students that the region has the advantages of a metropolis such as Berlin without having to give up the small town charm which still prevails in the single cities that are part of the greater concept of the "Ruhrstadt". This model was developed by regional planners who see the whole Ruhr Area as one huge metropolis. These narratives still go along with the touristic narratives about the region that have been identified.

As for an interpretation of these narratives, the attempt to transfer the touristic attraction into the field of study abroad, the cities in the Ruhr Area seem to borrow from the argumentation of both Berlin and the smaller regions in the South. Facing the problem that the cities lack the picturesque landscape of southern Germany as well as the additional benefit of being the capital, universities in this region of Germany have to find other aspects that make them attractive. The presented aggregation of single cities to one "Ruhrstadt" as well as the vicinity to other European countries are two of the exhibited benefits.

As already seen in the touristic narratives about the Ruhr Area, the region somehow plays with the fact that it is not well known as a tourist destination and that tourists might think there is nothing to see or experience. In this approach the lack of touristic interest is viewed as a hindrance for the attractiveness of the region and the tourist boards try very hard to convince prospective tourists of the attractiveness of the region.

Similar to Berlin the Ruhr Area portrays itself as a region shaped by change, in this case structural change. The reconstruction processes that have taken place in the area, transforming it from a former area of heavy industry and coal mining are viewed as vital components evident in everyday life. Comparable to the city of Pittsburg in the United States that went through a similar process of structural change, the educational sector in Ruhr Area has been given special emphasis. A prominent number of institutions of higher educations, research institutes and innovation-oriented enterprises underline this development and add to the atmosphere of change and innovation.

The study abroad offices, on the other hand, make use of this apparent hindrance of being not too attractive as they transform it into their main narrative for study abroad students, which could be formulated as "Study in the Ruhr Area, study off the beaten track and get access to the real German culture that is not spoiled by touristic clichés or the fuss made about Berlin as the capital". Being 'off the beaten' track is portrayed as an advantage and is used as a promise for more "authentic" experiences. By presenting themselves as some sort of 'back region' where authenticity is still available for students the universities in the Ruhr Area hope to attract students who would like to get to know the 'real Germany', that is not disturbed by the hype of a metropolis or the of the cities in southern Germany. The study abroad material tries to persuade students to study in the Ruhr Area by using the promise of discovery that entails a spirit of adventure and excitement.

Coming back to the different stages of authenticity it is adequate to compare this attempt by the universities in the Ruhr Area to the process of creating a 'false back', a region that is artificially arranged to look like an authentic back region. The same process can be found when the image of being 'off the beaten track' is used to make a study abroad program in the Ruhr Area look like a possibility to get access to the authentic culture.

As shown, the narratives in the material used for different study abroad locations in Germany make use of touristic discourse about the particular areas which are in turn interpreted with regard to students' expectations. Similar to the narratives about study abroad in general the study abroad material about Germany contains certain promises on the nature and quality of the experiences the students will make. These promises range from the excitement of a metropolis, the tranquility of picturesque southern German towns to the culturally authentic 'back region' in the heart of Germany. This approach underlines the fact that the quest for 'authenticity' is one of the driving forces in the students' expectations as well as in the material presented to them.

5 RESULTS

This investigation has explored the approaches and strategies applied to promote study abroad experiences. Apart from the visual aspects of marketing, the stories and narratives told about study abroad in general but also about specific German study locations were identified and classified with regard to their relevance to American culture. Reference was made to the connections between study abroad experiences, tourism and traveling. It was shown that while travelers in the past left their familiar surroundings for educational reasons, mass tourism's main focus was recreation, thus standing in sharp contrast to the seemingly meaningful activities of the traveler. This resulted in the development of the "tourist versus traveler"-dichotomy, attributing a superior status to the latter.

The purpose of the journey and the question of the authenticity of experiences played a major role in this distinction. Due to the different purposes of their endeavors, the possibility to have access to authentic experiences was reserved for travelers, as tourists were seen as swarming to a place and destroying its authenticity with an attitude that is aimed at the mindless consumption of the cultural heritage of a place. In the course of the commodification of culture, a standardized and mass-compatible version of 'culture' was created. Nevertheless, the quest for authentic experiences has at all times been a major impulse for people to leave their everyday lives. As presented, research on tourism has shown that tourism itself has contributed to the creation of 'staged' authenticity, the preparation of touristic sights to comply with the visitors' expectations. This 'staging' of authenticity can be performed to different degrees but the bottom line is an overall lack of authenticity which has been replaced by realities specifically

constructed to satisfy the needs and desires of sightseers and visitors.

Study abroad can be seen as the educational travel of today as students are also perceived as traveling with a higher motif in mind, namely to expand their horizons and to enrich their education with international elements. Thus, material used to promote international exchange programs adapts the "traveler versus tourist"-dichotomy and reformulates it as the "study abroad students versus tourist"-dichotomy including the same judgment on the superior status of the student. Furthermore this approach incorporates the quest for authenticity as an incentive for students to go abroad. This concept again seems in danger of being compromised in the course of the aforementioned commodification of culture, turning it into a commodity that can be offered, sold and purchased, i.e. attained by the participation in a study abroad program.

By using the tools of discourse analysis, marketing theory and approaches of cultural studies, an analysis of the material used by American Universities to promote study abroad programs has shown that supported by strategies following marketing principles and the use of swaying layout and design, various narratives are used as means of persuasion. By telling a variety of stories about study abroad programs the material promises highly desirable effects of studying abroad. In telling students how they will benefit from the experiences during their time in a foreign culture, the narratives in the material range from the academic enhancement of the education, the advantages for future careers to the positive impact on the resume. Moreover the material uses cultural narratives specific for an American context to reach out to the students with the highest possible impact. Using the 'frontier narrative' that represents the American value of exploration and

conquest of an unknown territory and the narrative of 'reinventing the self', an attempt is made to appeal to the students' foremost values and ideals to have an even more convincing effect.

Again 'authenticity' is used as an incentive for students, as the material promises 'first-hand'-experiences and genuine access to real and unspoiled culture of the host country. Students are explicitly told that they will have a chance to set themselves apart from simple tourists as their chance to spend more time in the host culture and the necessity to deal with everyday situations and problems will provide them with more genuine experiences and thus give them authentic access to the host culture.

The analysis of the material specifically designed to inform students about particular study abroad locations in Germany also uses narratives and stories to construct specific ethnic identities of the different regions and cities in Germany. This assignment of unique spatial identities for Berlin, the smaller traditional cities in the south of Germany and the Ruhr Area repeats the aforementioned invention and creation of constructed realities especially designed to fulfill the students' needs and expectations.

Based on the touristic narratives about the different destinations in Germany, the material to promote study abroad programs incorporates an interpretation of this touristic discourse for the target group of the students. The various German study locations are given different labels to go along with the students' presumed expectations. In addition, a variety of regional identities is constructed to cater the needs of different types of students. While the adventurous students represent the target group for studying in the ever-changing metropolis of Berlin, the more cautious students are targeted by the material about the picturesque and tranquil study abroad locations in southern Germany. The material

used to promote the cities in the Ruhr Area addresses yet another group, those students who are willing to study 'off the beaten track' in order to have a more authentic experience during their time abroad.

The concept of authenticity is used as a motivational factor for students to come to the Southern regions of Germany where it is supposedly much easier to get access to the 'real and unspoiled' Germany. The different stories that are told about these various regions in Germany contribute to the idea of constructing a heterogeneous German culture in order to create an image of Germany that will be positive and attractive on the one hand and that on the other hand can be 'sold' to students who want to get access to a foreign culture.

Even if we assert that there is no such thing as an 'authentic' culture, the quest for authenticity is in the end still an important theme within the marketing material to attract students for study abroad programs. Against all theoretical standards and models, international educators still successfully maintain the claim that study abroad experiences offer access to the 'authentic' culture of their study abroad destination. The discourse used in study abroad marketing portrays students as superior to mere tourists in their attempt to get access to the genuine host culture as they will be able to have "first-hand experiences". Even if this 'authentic' culture might be a construction, study abroad students who spend time in Germany will very frequently be promised that they have an excellent chance to catch a glimpse of what is perceived to be German culture.

Implications for Further Study

The analysis of the material used to promote study abroad programs at American institutions of higher education has shown what mechanisms are used to persuade and convince students to go abroad. It has become clear that a great deal of effort is necessary to make students aware of the benefits of study abroad programs especially today when the threat of international terrorism and new forms of communication and also of tourism represent obstacles and alternatives to common forms of study abroad programs. In my final remarks, I would like to make suggestions on the basis of my research on how marketing on study abroad for students in the United States could be customized to allow for the specific expectations and requirements of this particular target group.

In an attempt to create a customized marketing for study abroad programs, Germany's position in the international exchange market has to be considered. It can be assumed that the average American student does not perceive Germany and Western European countries as specifically exotic destinations and thus might not be particularly interested in studying there. As a consequence the marketing for exchange programs to Germany has to generate interest and convince students that they will benefit from a study abroad experience in Germany. Furthermore Germany faces the difficulty of the language barrier as it is not an English speaking country and students will have to have a certain level of proficiency in German to successfully interact with their environment. As the analysis of the material used to promote study abroad programs has shown, the search for authenticity and a destination that is different from the host country are central elements in the marketing of many programs. Elements that suggest an authentic and culturally different environment are for instance the absence of large groups of other Americans or US

media and companies. Thus, marketing material for successful study abroad programs in Germany for instance has to emphasize that US students will have a chance to “blend in” into the host culture.

The desire to find access to the 'authentic culture' is a key element that cannot be ignored as seems to be a driving force of motivation in the process of encountering another culture. In addition to that it has been shown that the marketing for German study abroad locations works with many clichés and prefabricated stories which are conveyed to the prospective study abroad students. From a marketing perspective it is almost impossible not to work with stereotypes and clichés as information has to be communicated to the target group in the most convenient way. The analysis of the material used today has shown that it is easy to categorize the different German study locations with regard to stereotypes which serve a touristic purpose rather than the academic objective

While it is obviously necessary to tell certain stories about the prospective study location, it should be the aim to avoid widespread clichés and stereotypes. In the process of persuasion, in this case the process of persuading students that they should study in Germany it is extremely important to work with vivid images and ideas that have an impact on the target group. There is, however, a danger connected to the use of prefabricated stories about the future study location: it could be the case that the reality students will encounter might be completely different from their expectations which have been shaped by the marketing material they received. This discrepancy between students' expectations and the everyday life they have to master in the host culture might lead to problems in the adjustment to the new surroundings and counterproductive to the overall experience.

What I would like to suggest here is to accept the (postmodern) insight that realities are constructed and to argue for the creation of stories that will lead students to explore different versions of their target culture. In the case of the Ruhr, for example, the by now dominant story of the restructured post-industrial society can lead students to explore these changes in their everyday lives in this area. I am arguing, therefore, for stories in study abroad marketing which are adequate to comprehend a (frequently equally narrated) reality once they arrive.

What should be in the focus of the marketing for study abroad in Germany is information which is of relevance to the target groups. Students need affirmation that their study abroad experience is well-organized and they need planning reliability, without being promised chaperoning throughout the experience – at least in the case of programs that want to achieve at least *some* degree of immersion. One of the aspects that has gained increasing importance, especially after the events of September 11 is that of security. The study abroad marketing material contains numerous references to security aspects and offer advice: Students are explicitly told to avoid tourist destinations and to make an attempt to not be recognized as American citizens as that might put them in danger of being the target of a potential terrorist attack.

On top of being a foreigner in a different country this approach also questions the students' sense of identity as they are given the advice to refrain from showing traits that could be identified as typically "American" and could in consequence cause problems and danger. In order to make prospective students and their parents feel safe it could be helpful to present first-hand accounts of former study abroad students who can offer meaningful insights. It is important to use longer statements instead of isolated sentences which are typically not more than 'catchphrases'. After a thorough

analysis of the target group it will be important to incorporate aspects of importance for the students into the marketing material such as how their life will differ from their life in the States and how they will be able to handle the difficulties and enjoyments they will encounter. By providing students with detailed and reliable information and thus offering a thorough preparation for their study abroad experience it will be possible to pave the way for them to make the most of their international experience.

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