

**Intercultural Competence Development in US Undergraduates:
A Comparison of Three Study Abroad Program Models in Spain**

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Abstract

In study abroad it is generally assumed that students will develop intercultural competencies (ICC) in the affective, cognitive, and behavioral domains. These sojourns occur in increasingly varied program types as international education organizations seek to expand opportunities to diverse student types. With this proliferation it is vital to have empirical evidence to support calls for specific program structures to facilitate enhanced ICC development; presently very little research comparing different program types exists.

This study begins to fill that gap through a comparison of US undergraduates' perceptions of their ICC development while studying in Spain in one of three program types, specifically American (Island), Third Party (Hybrid) programs, and Direct Enrollment. This is done employing Deardorff's Model of Intercultural Competence. Data is collected through a qualitatively driven mixed methods design utilizing pre and post questionnaires modeled on Freed's Language Contact Profile and extended with interculturally focused questions inspired by Deardorff's model, one-to-one interviews with students, and semi-structured in person or written interviews with on-site program administrators.

Findings show each program offered students a valuable semester though some elements supported an additional level of cultural understanding and ICC development. American program participants cited difficulties due to their lack of interaction with the host environment while challenges faced by Direct Enrollment students, such as matriculation and language barriers, caused difficulty in their development of ICC. However, Third Party students reported stronger ICC gains and confidence, often citing their program facilitated immersion into the Spanish culture. Findings may support program designers in ensuring students are supported to make academic gains while developing a full range of intercultural competencies.

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Captain James Tiberius Kirk

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Logic is the beginning of wisdom, not the end.
Mr. Spock

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is original and I am the sole author, except where otherwise referenced, and it is the result of research that has been conducted since the official commencement of this degree program. This work has not, in whole or in part, previously been published and has never been submitted for award at this, or any other, university.

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

While speaking to the audience at a meeting of International Youth Exchange Programs in 1982 President Ronald Reagan said,

...there's a flickering spark in us all which, if struck at just the right age...can light the rest of our lives, elevating our ideals, deepening our tolerance, and sharpening our appetite for knowledge about the rest of the world. Educational and cultural exchanges, especially among our young, provide a perfect opportunity for this precious spark to grow, making us more sensitive and wiser international citizens through our careers. (1982, pp. 672–673)

Political and professional figures in the United States have repeated this sentiment regularly over the past century. People from all aspects of society and both ends of the political spectrum have accepted the increasing importance of intercultural skills as our learning, living, and working environments grow ever more diverse (Anderson, Lawton, Rexeisen, & Hubbard, 2006; Braskamp, Braskamp, & Merrill, 2009; Deardorff, 2006).

As a demonstration of this belief, study abroad has been an integral component of university academic programs in the US for over 100 years, though traditionally only accessible to a select segment of the student population, most notably those studying languages or the humanities and from high socioeconomic groups. Today, however, students of almost any discipline can access these opportunities, increasingly including those in the hard sciences, business programs, and career programs such as nursing or teaching, among others (Black & Duhon, 2006; Lewin, 2009). William Hoffa (2010) describes, in his *A History of Study Abroad*, that any travel is potentially educational, but warns that just how educational depends on the traveler and their openness to their new situations. Over the past few decades, along with the overall increase in enrollment in higher education, study abroad participation among undergraduates enrolled in US institutions has grown dramatically. The 2015 Open Doors Report showed a total of 304,467 US students studied abroad for academic credit in the 2013-14 academic year, a number that has more than tripled since 1990 (Anderson et al., 2006; "Open Doors 2015 Report," 2015). Even with the economic issues of the past several years this trend of increases shows no signs of halting.

Study abroad is constantly changing and growing to meet the needs of institutions and national higher education policies (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010). With the increased visibility of international programs, many universities have moved to create new opportunities so as not to fall behind their major competitors in the recruitment of potential students. As a function of these programs, it is generally assumed that students will develop in a few specific spheres most commonly identified as the cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains (Deardorff, 2006, 2009). However, with the widening range of program types available to students there is a dearth of informative studies addressing the influence the design elements of each program type have on this development.

International experiences are often said to be transformative, though this is usually based on anecdotal evidence from returning students (Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012). Such experiences are important to students for their academic development but also for the first-hand intercultural experience they provide (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Murphy, Sahakyan, Yong-Yi, & Magnan, 2014; Paige, 1994). Intercultural education is designed to prepare individuals to live and work effectively in cultures other than their own. While abroad, Paige (1994) says that learners must reflect on themselves and their actions regularly, to ensure they examine their new culture as they experience it. This also allows them to develop a new context with which to see this culture, preventing them from forcing their own beliefs and values upon it.

The researcher in this study has been involved in international education in a variety of ways. While an undergraduate study abroad student several program attributes, such as the peer group bubble (see section 3.2.4.4 for a detailed discussion), made a significant impression, leading to the pursuit of graduate education and employment in the field. While working in an international office in a university in Ireland she noted the differences between it and equivalent offices in the US, instigating an interest in global study abroad administration. Working in the US with incoming international students from an administrative perspective she saw firsthand how important cultural understanding and adaptation can be to student development. Through this experience in study abroad program promotion many issues were raised, specifically whether the field of international education was performing its duty of care in ensuring US undergraduate students receive the most beneficial study abroad experiences, meeting institutional and governmental goals of intercultural competence and global citizenship.

1.2 Significance of Study

Much previous evaluation of study abroad has relied on two major metrics: the number of students participating in programs abroad and the number of returning students who report the program as having transformed them (Vande Berg et al., 2012). It may be interesting to note that these are the two most easily accessible means of promoting study abroad as well. In traditional immersion programs, due to structures designed to offer a cultural experience such as host families, Direct Enrollment, *intercambios* (language exchange partnerships) and more, these metrics have been considered valid as it was not thought that participants would be able to avoid immersion which would, by its very nature, bring about transformation and stories from returning students which would cyclically encourage future students to participate. The increasing numbers of participants make study abroad more of a social norm than it previously has been, while returning students act as mentors or office assistants to help future students in the decision making process. However, the increased focus on internationalization and expanded program formats has led to this traditional evaluation being doubted. Faculty and staff have questioned the value of study abroad and demanded empirical evidence to support the myriad benefits claimed from such programs (Engle & Engle, 2003; Raggi-Moore, Katz, & Habif, 2005; Vande Berg et al., 2012).

A large portion of the relevant research was conducted decades ago, just as study abroad was first carving out an important place in higher education, while most current research is on the linguistic gains made by students in various study abroad settings, and usually consists of an abroad group compared with an at-home control group taking similar level language courses (see, for example, Cadd, 2012; Engle & Engle, 2004; MacIntyre, et al., 2003; Magnan & Black, 2007; Pellegrino, 1998; River, 1998; Segalowitz, et al., 2004; Tanaka, 2007). There has been little research investigating different study abroad program models (Norris & Dwyer, 2005; Vande Berg, 2007; Wilkinson, 1998b), however, with the proliferation of these different program types it is increasingly necessary to have empirical evidence to support calls for different structures to facilitate enhanced intercultural competence development.

This dissertation contributes to the field through systematic examination of study abroad in non-English speaking environment beyond the acquisition of language and examining participants' development, specifically in intercultural competence. It is also unique in being a comparison of the three major study abroad program structures, American or Island programs, Third Party or Hybrid programs, and Direct Enrollment, within one country and language base (see section 2.3 for more detail on these program types). This research moves past investigating the decision to participate in study abroad and begins to identify which specific program types are best suited to certain learning outcomes and program or participant goals. Lastly, this study includes data primarily from students but also uniquely from program administrators, ensuring a more complete understanding will be developed.

The following research questions are the focus of investigation in this dissertation, Do the structure and requirements of a specific study abroad program type (US Center, Third Party, or Direct Enrollment) in Spain, with regard to language, living, and classroom contexts, influence student participants' opportunity for intercultural development?

1. Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?
2. How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?
3. How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This study utilizes the definition of intercultural competence identified by Darla Deardorff, which is "effective and appropriate behavior and communication in intercultural situations" (2006, p. 249). She has expressed this definition as a model in two different formats, a pyramid model and a process model, each with the same key aspects (see section 3.3.5.4 for a more detailed discussion of Deardorff's models).

Attitude is the fundamental starting point in the development of intercultural competence as the attitudes identified are vital to the development of the following two aspects of the models.

Also highlighted are several areas of *knowledge* key to intercultural competence, specifically understanding the world from others' perspectives and recognizing how one's own culture influences identity and worldview, identified as cultural self-awareness. The *skills* identified in Deardorff's model are those that are useful in acquiring and processing knowledge, specifically about one's own and other cultures.

The combination of these attitudes, knowledge, and skills follows on to the *internal outcomes* which, though they may be attained to various levels of success, all lead to a shift in one's frame of reference. Flexibility, adaptability, an ethnorelative perspective, and empathy are explicitly provided as examples. The total grasp of the attitudes, knowledge, skills, and internal outcomes is then demonstrated by the individual through their behavior and communication, the *external outcomes* that are visual and experienced by the other.

1.4 Research Strategy

This section details the different data collection techniques chosen to address the research questions; data collection instruments included one-to-one pre and post-study questionnaires, participant generated photography, and semi-structured interviews for students and on-site semi-structured interviews or an online written interview with administrators.

Student questionnaires were modeled on the Language Contact Profile (LCP), developed by Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz, and Halter (2004) and first used in 1977 to assist in the analysis of studies of second language acquisition and proven popular in study abroad research (Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004; Martinsen, 2010; Paige, Cohen, & Shively, 2004; Segalowitz et al., 2004). A modified version of this instrument was used here to ascertain the extent of students' contact with Spanish culture and diverse groups prior to their term abroad and while abroad, including conversation with native and non-native speakers in Spanish and in English. The second part of the questionnaire featured questions designed specifically for this study, focusing on the major areas of intercultural development, as identified by Deardorff (2006), of attitudes, knowledge, and skills, while awareness was also added as a significant element to determine students' consciousness of culture. In total, 159 responses to the pre-study questionnaire and 131 to the post-study questionnaire were collected.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 28 student volunteers near the end of their time abroad. These interviews were held on-site or, in a few instances, via Skype due to scheduling difficulties, and provided an opportunity for reflection on the period in Spain and to allow the researcher to investigate the experiences of the student participants more deeply.

Participant generated photographs were solicited in this research focusing on three themes relating to cultural understanding abroad. However, due to a low response rate this data was not used in the full analysis and, as such, had no influence on the findings, yet to retain transparency, the design and utilization of this tool will be discussed.

To gather data from on-site study abroad administrators, a semi-structured interview approach provided a standardized list of questions, ensuring all interviewees were asked the same

questions. Administrators unable to spend such time on an interview were invited to complete a short online written version of the interview hosted on *Qualtrics*. In total, 1 administrator from an American program and 2 from a Third Party program were interviewed and 2 from American programs, 3 from Third Party programs, and 5 from Direct Enrollment programs completed the online written interview.

1.5 Chapter Outline

Moving on from this introduction, the second chapter provides context to this study and serves as an introduction to several key aspects of higher education and study abroad as they exist in the US, both historically and today. The situation, role, and expectations of US administrators, and international education administrators in particular, are detailed to provide the reader with a clear understanding of their importance in education abroad, not just in program development but also in supporting and nurturing students once their programs begin. Then, the three main study abroad program structures—American Programs, Third Party Provider organizations, and Direct Enrollment—are introduced with detail on their design, intention, and descriptions of example programs to explicate how the different types exist in practice.

The third chapter, the literature review, is divided into two main sections. The first covers a range of previous research on study abroad including the main domains of learning influenced by it, program design elements, and established evaluation procedures of the programs. The second section details intercultural competence including various definitions of the term, the definition chosen for the present study, a variety of frameworks for conceptualizing it, and an overview of the existing tools used to evaluate individuals' intercultural development.

The fourth chapter details the methodology chosen for this study. As has been introduced, this study has employed mixed methods research techniques. First, the research questions are stated and the sample selected for program site, student, and administrator participants are justified. Then, the construction of the research instruments is detailed; this includes the pre and post student questionnaires modeled partially on The Language Contact Profile (Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004) and using Deardorff's (2006) framework of intercultural competence, as well as the student interview schedule, and the interview and short answer questionnaire for program administrators, which were also influenced by Deardorff's framework and, more generally, typical study abroad program elements. Also included is participant generated photography.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters are each devoted to one of the three research questions and combine the data analysis and discussion for each. The fifth chapter addresses the question, *Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?* and presents the data collected via pre and post-study student questionnaires. This data begins to reveal a profile of specific student types enrolled in each study abroad program model.

The sixth chapter addresses the research question, *How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?* and

presents the data collected via one-to-one semi-structured interviews held with students. The profile initiated through analysis in the previous chapter is further expanded here, using student quotes to elucidate these findings and provide more insight into the specific ways in which students develop interculturality while abroad is provided.

The seventh chapter addresses the research question, *How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?* and presents the data collected from on-site program administrators, both through one-to-one semi-structured interviews and through the open response online written interview sent to all invited administrators. Using this additional perspective, student perceptions of the program model design elements are also compared to those of program administrators, illuminating areas of conflict and understanding between students and on-site study abroad administrators.

The eighth and final chapter is the conclusion. Here, a summary of the findings of this study is provided, as well as several key implications of them for the field of study abroad in general and program designers and administrators specifically. Also included are the ways this data may be utilized to enhance the student experience of study abroad and suggestions for future studies to build off of this research.

2 Context

2.1 The Development of Student Affairs in the US

Carpenter and Stimpson (2007) synthesized modern conceptions of the field of student affairs as a profession, including themes often mentioned in the relevant literature. Their first step was to define who or what is a professional; through a discussion of a range of definitions offered by others they surmise that professionalism is on a continuum and a particular placement on this continuum is dependent upon the social constructs, labor market, and place of higher education in preparation for the occupation. In terms of student affairs specifically, there has, historically, been doubt as to whether it is actually a profession of its own. Some contributing factors to this questioning are the inapplicability of the field to large segments of society, as not everyone attends college or university, the varying extent to which practitioners are aware of and utilize theory, and the variability in qualifications required to hold the relevant employment positions. Despite this, in recent decades it has become increasingly accepted as a profession in its own right.

2.1.1 Administrators

Within the context of higher education in the US the title of *administrator* holds a different significance than in many other fields. For instance, in the UK a university administrator is often responsible for daily office maintenance and other secretarial work. Beyond that, issues to do with student concerns, academic programs, and the like are often escalated to more senior members of academic staff almost immediately. In the US, however, administrators are those very people to which delicate matters are sent. For instance, a hall director in student accommodation in the US will be responsible for programming and student discipline while their UK equivalent may only be responsible for their actual room assignments. These US roles are important professional positions, often requiring advanced degrees and many years of experience. Despite the current respect often associated with administrators' status in higher education, it took time to develop and gain acceptance from members of academia, specifically academic faculty.

2.1.1.1 Professional Organizations

To support the professionalization of administrator roles, there are a range of organizations, both general and content area specific, that exist to both champion the field of student affairs through awareness raising and continued discussion of contemporary issues and to provide continuous professional development to members through conferences, webinars, courses, and more. A few of the major organizations are NASPA Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education, ACPA College Student Educators International, and NAFSA: Association of International Educators. Membership in these organizations ranges from undergraduate Resident Advisor student members to presidents of top tier institutions.

2.1.1.2 Education and Training

NASPA ("Graduate Program Directory," 2015) lists over 300 graduate programs related to working in higher education; these programs are given various titles but some of the most common

course names are ‘Higher Education Administration,’ ‘College Student Development,’ ‘Student Development & Leadership in Higher Education,’ ‘Higher Education,’ ‘College Student Personnel,’ and ‘Student Affairs.’ A review of these programs reveals several course topics that are similar throughout, including student development theory, leadership studies, diversity studies, and research methods. A large number of the programs also require students to complete an internship or practicum experience. The range of topics covered and practical emphasis through internships highlights the professionalized aspects of this applied field within the context of US higher education.

2.1.2 Administrators and Faculty

Throughout the growth and development of all aspects of higher education within the US there has been a noticeable and acknowledged divide between those seen to be working in academic or scholarly arenas, the faculty, and those providing more pastoral or student support roles, the administrators (Banta & Kuh, 1998; Carpenter & Stimpson, 2007; Kezar, 2001; Raggi-Moore et al., 2005). The most significant outcome of this has been the research carried out by the former on aspects of the work of the latter, without seeking their collaboration or input. Many have proposed that student affairs practitioners should adopt more traditionally scholarly behaviors which would make them more relatable for faculty while also improving their own practice (Carpenter & Stimpson, 2007) while others have warned that such activities would need to be done with great care to avoid failures that jeopardize future joint projects between the two spheres (Magolda, 2005). The typical distance kept between the groups on campuses has led many faculty to view student affairs as a lesser contributor to the intellectual atmosphere while student affairs professionals resent when faculty take on pastoral roles that they may not be appropriately trained for (Raggi-Moore et al., 2005). However, from the student perspective, it is sometimes considered a positive that there is an often visible disconnect between faculty and student affairs (Carpenter & Stimpson, 2007). Students are believed to see administrators as an escape from their academic learning, which allows them to seek out more emotional and pastoral support without the fear it may jeopardize their academic achievement.

2.1.3 Student Support Services

Within higher education administration there are a wide variety of support services offered to students ranging from academic advising to careers services and Greek life to cultural centers. These make up the key administrative clusters in higher education. Brief summaries of some of these areas will be included here, however additional detail on each content area, and more, can be found at <https://www.naspa.org/> in the section titled Knowledge Communities.

Academic affairs positions provide support to students in terms of course choice, major declaration, study skills, and extended tutoring or skill advice. *Admissions, enrollment,* and *financial aid* offices work year-round at college fairs, answering inquiries, and processing applications. *Alumni affairs* are often one of the most highly focused upon aspects of student

support within institutions as these offices work to create and strengthen relationships with the university before and after completion, bringing in valuable donations and other support. There are a wide range of services and offices designed to improve *campus life* for students, faculty, and staff including safety and security, service-learning, student activities, Greek life, and more. A range of *counseling, health, and wellness* services are provided to maintain and improve the physical and mental health of students including individual and group counseling, healthcare services, and wellness education. *Residence life* refers to the actual accommodation provided but also includes the wider provision of non-curricular offerings and often includes student staff who live in with younger students, providing peer mentoring as Resident Advisors. Relatively newer areas of focus in student affairs are those areas targeted toward fostering *diversity and inclusion*. *International student support* includes several stages of bureaucracy and administration prior to the students' arrival on campus such as issuing the necessary paperwork for them to apply for student visas as well as orientation programs on campus.

The area of administration most relevant to this research is study abroad, where administrators have varied roles, especially when considering the progression throughout related careers and the corresponding responsibilities. At the highest level these administrators are responsible for regular international trips and hosting international peers on their home campuses to build partnerships with strategic areas of interest. For example, many universities have developed strong institution wide relationships with various Chinese counterparts that range from joint research initiatives to faculty and student exchange programs. A more detailed explanation of the administrative duties within study abroad in entry and mid-level positions, those roles closely relevant to the sites examined in the current study, will continue in the following section.

2.1.3.1 Study Abroad Administration

Study abroad administration positions are often some of the most sought after, as advisors often have the opportunity to make international site visits, ensuring students and programs are successful. In addition to these visits, study abroad advisors are typically assigned specific regions for which they are responsible for the administration of programs. They meet with prospective students, help them through their applications, make admissions decisions, and assisting students in pre-enrolling in courses abroad (Teichler & Steube, 1991). Once students are abroad, professionals in the US are often still responsible for the wellbeing of these students, advising them and securing necessary services at a distance (Raggi-Moore et al., 2005).

Though there is still little data specifically addressing the benefits or influence of US trained student affairs professionals working on-site in programs abroad, they are often mentioned in passing in broader studies on academic outcomes of such programs. For example, in an Island (American) program (see section 2.3 for more detail on program types) run through Emory University, specifically for students in the undergraduate Italian Studies program Raggi-Moore, Katz, and Habif (2005) found that as soon as a student affairs professional's participation in the program was made public enrollment numbers rose dramatically, signifying the value both students

and parents see in such a practitioner. It was the department's belief that a well-trained student affairs professional would be able to better handle issues that were not strictly academic, leading to a perceived improvement in the quality of both academic and developmental aspects of the program while strengthening the connection and understanding between student affairs and academic spheres (Raggi-Moore et al., 2005). This was deemed to be accurate and this model of combined academic and student affairs support was repeated for future iterations of the program.

There are also many instances of an academic faculty member leading an Island group abroad, taking on the responsibilities of the traditional administrator role in addition to teaching responsibilities. For instance, in a five-week summer program in Spain, Talburt and Stewart (1999) surveyed participants enrolled in a Spanish culture and civilization course taught by a US professor. The students reported the importance of the professor's presence throughout their study, looking at her as an intermediary or mediator between themselves and the host culture. The teacher was there to help them actively reflect on their experiences and, when necessary, provide cultural background to more appropriately interpret what they witnessed or experienced (Talburt & Stewart, 1999). Responses from student participants showed that the intervention and constant dialogue with the professor were a valuable part of the experience and likely led to much deeper learning and understanding than the students would have had independently.

2.1.3.1.1 Addressing Expectations of Study Abroad

Though not to the extent currently seen in some other higher education systems, such as the UK, due to the long standing nature of fees, US students are keenly aware of the price they are paying for their education and expect significant returns from it (Vande Berg, 2007). Often their expectations refer more to the short term than the longer term; they expect immediate responses to their concerns or queries, such as broken air conditioning or a dispute with their roommate.

Many US parents consider themselves as the customers and the university as the supplier. The administration is, therefore, forced to work to meet their high expectations and provide a consistently high quality of academic, pastoral, and emotional care for their students. Basic safety is often the primary concern and this becomes a much greater issue when students are being sent across international borders. Students and parents often still demand 'American-standard' student housing, advising, and other types of support while abroad (Raggi-Moore et al., 2005). It becomes a delicate matter to balance these expectations while still providing the students with a truly international experience that will allow them to participate in a foreign culture and develop intercultural competence and global skills in study abroad (Gillespie, Braskamp, & Braskamp, 1999).

2.1.3.1.2 Administrators' role in fostering learning abroad

This shift toward a client oriented culture carries on into many study abroad programs through services such as pre-departure and arrival assistance. Engle and Engle (2003) assert that this may be detrimental to students' overall learning, "Treating students as paying customers with needs is to deprive them of unfamiliarity and ambiguity, the troubling interaction with which is the heart of

the successful sojourn” (p. 6). They insist that the struggle students go through upon their initial arrival in their destination country is one of the major learning opportunities in the experience. If they have support as soon as they arrive they have no time to wonder, wander, and experience the new culture. “[We] in this field are educators, not service providers. Our duties should not be seeing to client comfort or customer satisfaction but challenging, stimulating, pushing students to push themselves toward the greatest possible personal growth, both intellectually and emotionally” (Engle & Engle, 2003, p. 5). Without this, Vande Berg et al. (2012) say the US higher education consumer culture is being exported abroad, meaning programs are structured in ways to allow participants to avoid engagement with the host culture.

To completely avoid this, however, Vande Berg (2007) insists would amount to almost neglect from international educators. As the academy in the US has become one that prides itself on providing the best in support for its students in all aspects of their lives, expecting them to arrive in a new country and take on such vital additional responsibilities independently is untenable. Students would have to make a complete shift in the way they learn within an institution in these circumstances and most programs are simply not of long enough duration for this to be feasible or academically effective. To make up for this he insists professionals must “intervene actively in [student] learning throughout the program” and not reduce their role to simply pre-departure and orientation programs (Vande Berg, 2007, p. 397). They must be present and engaging with students during their entire stay abroad and, often, even after their return to their home institution.

Vande Berg does accept, however, that this may not be possible in all study abroad destinations, as this service oriented higher education structure is still largely a US phenomenon. It is this fact that he credits with leading many universities to choose to enroll their students in Third Party Provider programs or to create their own centers abroad. If an institution does operate in this way they must be cautious to avoid over structuring; there must be adequate opportunity for participants to make important decisions, as this skill, in a new and unfamiliar culture, will force them to grow and take ownership of their experiences (Engle & Engle, 2003, 2012; Hadis, 2005; Paige & Vande Berg, 2012). This will be discussed further in section 3.2.2 on study abroad program design.

2.2 International Education in Higher Education

2.2.1 Development of Study Abroad

From its modern origins, study abroad has traditionally consisted of a group of humanities students from a particular institution travelling to another university in western Europe during their junior year of undergraduate study for either one semester or, more often, an entire academic year (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010; Teichler & Steube, 1991; Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut, & Klute, 2012). These students would receive full academic credit for courses taken abroad and enroll in courses with and live with local students.

The Junior Year Abroad (JYA) study abroad format came about in 1921 at the University of Delaware and in the summer of 1923 the first group of study abroad students left Delaware for France, where they were fully immersed in language and academics in addition to participating in extracurricular activities such as basketball (Kochanek, 1998). With the success of the first program the university continued to send students each year for the JYA experience, eventually expanding to also offer programs in other European countries.

Today, study abroad has the benefit of increased funding from the US government, allowing it to continue to expand and reach a wider group of prospective students who would not have been able to consider such an experience in the past (Salisbury, Paulsen, & Pascarella, 2010). As it has become more financially lucrative, universities and independent agencies have had to find new ways of using this investment for gains in addition to the increases in student involvement. The opportunities a university makes available to students are increasingly being used in admissions marketing materials as a key tool for undergraduate recruitment (Anderson et al., 2006; Engle & Engle, 2003; Herbst, 2011).

With the increased publicity of study abroad programs, many universities have created new opportunities to remain competitive in student recruitment versus their peer institutions. Because of the relative ease in creating them, the majority of new programs are now short-term (8-week or less) and led by faculty from the sending institution (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004). Additionally, US universities are facing increasing competition from their international counterparts for undergraduate enrollment and are often turning to study abroad as a means of drawing prospective students (Altbach & Teichler, 2001). They are marketing their international opportunities as a benefit worthy of the increased costs (such as tuition, living expenses, etc.) of enrollment in a US institution.

The economic downturn of the past several years has not even had a significant or lasting influence on the participation rates of study abroad. There was a slight decrease in participant numbers in 2008/2009 but that decline was quickly made up the following year with a 4% increase in 2009/10, growth which has continued since (Witherell & Clayton, 2014). In the academic year 2013-14, the most recent year for which there is data, 304,467 US students studied abroad, an increase of 5.2% from 2012-13 (“Open Doors 2015 Report,” 2015).

Over the past several decades many US institutions have made concerted efforts to increase their international education resources and this is expected to continue well into the future (Altbach & Teichler, 2001). They have gone about this in many ways including rewriting and creating mission statements purporting the value of such work, increased focus on hiring international faculty and staff, increased focus on international student recruitment, and toward sending greater numbers of US students abroad for an international experience (Altbach & Teichler, 2001; Mazon, 2009; Trilokekar & Rasmi, 2011). While many of these efforts have proven to be quite successful, especially with the increase of international student enrollment and hiring of international faculty, many institutions have still shown difficulty in targeting prospective US study abroad participants (Mazon, 2009; Trilokekar & Rasmi, 2011). Many students who enter

the university are unaware of the international opportunities available to them, meaning those who do proceed to study abroad are typically those with previous international experience and who possess a more self motivated and independent nature (Mazon, 2009; Trilokekar & Rasmi, 2011).

2.2.2 Access to International Experiences

There are decades worth of data and accounts of the many hurdles potential undergraduate students face in gaining access to higher education (Karen, 2002; van der Wende, 2003) and many of these same obstacles exist for enrolled undergraduates as potential study abroad participants (Salisbury, Umbach, Paulsen, & Pascarella, 2008; Stroud, 2010). Though many institutions have instituted major campus internationalization programs not all of their efforts are effective in reaching the entire student population (Mazon, 2009; Trilokekar & Rasmi, 2011). Trilokekar and Rasmi (2011) conducted a survey of student perceptions of international education on the York University campus in Canada which found that while many students entering the university intended to go abroad few actually followed through. They cited obvious barriers such as the time and cost of the experience, but also a lack of publicity of available international opportunities and low levels of support services to guide them through the identification and application processes.

In line with the more general efforts to increase internationalization, many institutions, third party organizations, and even the federal government have made clear their goal to dramatically increase US students' participation in study abroad programs. One of the largest efforts, Generation Study Abroad, is being spearheaded by the Institute of International Education (IIE, 2015). Their goal is to double participation to 600,000 US students studying abroad in both credit and non-credit programs by the 2017/18 academic year. They plan to do so by increasing emphasis on the benefit of participation in such programs, increased and improved communication with public and private sector stakeholders, and providing new scholarship opportunities, not only for students but also for secondary educators to help them realize the benefit of such experiences for their students.

The International Opportunity Act of 2000 created the Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship program to award grants of up to \$5,000 each to qualifying students (*International Academic Opportunity Act of 2000*, 2000). However, Vande Berg et al. (2012) report that most students who benefit from federal government funding programs such as Fulbright Program travel grants, Gilman, and National Security Education Program scholarships enroll in programs abroad with little support for their non-classroom learning, meaning they do not have the student affairs and pastoral support they are accustomed to in the US and may suffer when faced with difficulties in such arenas. These programs are highly competitive and over subscribed with limited funds often stretched to help as many students as possible, meaning enrollment in under-resourced programs is justified in that selected recipients are felt to be of outstanding academic caliber and sufficiently capable of navigating the abroad experience independently.

Though there are increased opportunities to receive funding assistance for programs abroad, the cost can still prove a major hurdle. This means that a large majority of the students

who are able to participate are more privileged and have higher levels of cultural capital, along with high familial support and low familial responsibilities (Mazon, 2009; Trilokekar & Rasmi, 2011). A search through many of the available programs shows example costs for one semester of study in Spain (including tuition, accommodation, and some meals) in an American program at \$36,809, in a Third Party Program at \$12,595, and via Direct Enrollment at \$4,714 (€4,200). The inherent inequity in study abroad participation has sparked a long-standing debate about whether such programs are a privilege for a few or should be a right for all students (Lewin, 2009).

2.2.3 Rationale for Study Abroad in Spain

In the US context, in consideration of language learning desires, location, and potential cities, Spain is one of the leading host countries for study abroad. Western Europe has traditionally been the major destination for US students participating in study abroad, and that shows no signs of changing as the 2015 Open Doors Report demonstrates (“Open Doors 2015 Report,” 2015). The UK remains the leading destination, followed by Italy, Spain, France, and, an emerging destination outside of Europe, China. Since the dramatically increased interest in study abroad there have only been two instances of substantial decreases in program participation in any specific location (Witherell & Clayton, 2014). One of these was directly after the 2011 tsunami in Japan when many programs could not feasibly host their local students, much less international visitors (Redden, 2011). The second was Mexico; according to the 2012 Open Doors Report there was then a 41.8% decrease in US participation from the previous year. Traditionally study abroad has been used as a means of language development and, due to the changing demographics of the US, the Spanish language is growing increasingly important (Freed, 1998; Rumbaut & Massey, 2013). Despite the close proximity and increasingly strong and important political, cultural, and economic ties the United States and Mexico have with one another, for much of the past decade increasing numbers of US undergraduates have chosen to spend their term abroad in other locales for a few key reasons.

2.2.3.1 Pull Factors

2.2.3.1.1 Language Acquisition

As reported by 2014 US Census Bureau estimates, there are 55.5 million Hispanics in the US, which amounts to 17.4% of the total population, up from the 35.3 million reported in the 2000 Census (U. S. Census Bureau, 2015). This group accounted for 56% of the growth among the entire US population. As this trend shows no signs of slowing, the Spanish language will become increasingly vital to the entire US population. Because of this growth, and the emergent realization among Americans of the benefits of a second language, increasing numbers of students are incorporating Spanish into their academic program (Altbach & Teichler, 2001; Mazon, 2009). It follows that it is logical for Spanish-speaking countries to become more popular as study abroad destinations.

2.2.3.1.2 Travel Opportunities

Many students are drawn to study abroad for the potential travel opportunities while studying (Allen, 2010; Teichler & Steube, 1991). Spending a semester abroad in Spain puts the whole of Europe at the student's grasp. Both Madrid and Barcelona offer a student enviable nightlife options as well as a huge variety of museums and other historical places to visit. Increasingly, Valencia, Salamanca, and Sevilla are chosen as they have very convenient access to the larger cities and offer numerous cultural and academic benefits of their own. Each of these cities is also an easy starting point for travel outside of Spain with many budget airlines and easily navigable bus and rail travel networks.

Table 1 Top Spanish language study abroad destinations for US students 2012-14

Rank (as of 2013/14)	Destination	2012/13	2013/14	% of Total	% Change
3	Spain	26,281	26,949	8.9	2.5
8	Costa Rica	8,497	8,578	2.8	1.0
13	Mexico	3,730	4,445	1.5	19.2
14	Argentina	4,549	4,301	1.4	-5.5
16	Ecuador	3,438	3,699	1.2	7.6
19	Peru	2,956	3,396	1.1	14.9
20	Chile	2,879	3,333	1.1	15.8
	WORLD TOTAL	289,408	304,467	100.0	5.2

Source: Open Doors Report 2012-14.

2.2.3.1.3 Employability

Many students cite improvement of employment prospects after graduation as a major reason they decide to participate in a program abroad (Llanes, 2011; Mazon, 2009; Trooboff, Vande Berg, & Rayman, 2008). The reality of this benefit has been accepted for years, though as such opportunities have become more commonplace some researchers have begun to raise doubts; with more students studying abroad the experience is now less of a marker of an ambitious young person and increasingly a line on their resume that may be taken for granted. It has been suggested that the ground level human resources professionals typically responsible for hiring recent college graduates do not value the growth study abroad may afford a student as much as upper level professionals, such as company presidents and CEOs (Trooboff et al., 2008).

2.2.3.2 Push Factors

2.2.3.2.1 Lack of Suitable Alternatives

Table 1 displays data from the Open Doors Reports of 2012-14 on the numbers of US students studying abroad in Spanish speaking countries. This data has been taken from the top 25 host countries in study abroad, which includes 7 primarily Spanish-speaking countries throughout Central America, South America, and Europe, in the case of Spain. While some countries such as

Costa Rica show strong participation numbers and Mexico seems to be regaining its previous popularity, participation numbers in all other Spanish speaking destinations are still markedly lower than those for Spain which hosts 8.9% of all US study abroad students.

2.2.3.2.2 *Violence*

The US Department of State routinely issues travel warnings for countries all over the world and many study abroad programs have long standing policies of cancelling or suspending programs in any location with an active warning (Lacey, 2010; Miller, 2010; Wilkins, 2011). In the past several years Mexico has seen an increase in violent crime, typically related to the various drug trafficking cartels in the northern and border areas of the country. Reports of mass decapitations, kidnappings, and murders have become prevalent in US news reports. The Director of International Programs at the University of Monterrey and president of the Mexican Association for International Education (AMPEI), Thomas Buntru, reported that 90 per cent of AMPEI member programs reported a decrease in international students in the spring of 2011, which continued from a 62 per cent drop in the fall of 2010 (Redden, 2011). Though most people do recognize that the victims tend to be closely related to the illegal activity themselves and not citizens, tourists, or students, many parents hesitate to allow their children to take the risk.

Beyond Mexico, there are increasing concerns about safety throughout Latin America. For example, in 2015 the homicide rate in Costa Rica was considered pandemic by the World Health Organization, with over 10 murders per 100,000 inhabitants (Torres, 2015). The majority of these deaths are considered related to organized crime and drugs, however that does not change the perception of these regions as unsafe.

2.2.3.2.3 *Health Concerns*

In 2009 the rise of H1N1, or swine flu, in Mexico had a major impact on study abroad programs. In just the spring of 2009, after announcements from the US State Department and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, more than 50 colleges in the US cancelled summer study abroad programs in the country while many more were cancelled or cut back for the fall (Redden, 2011). The Mexican department of health ordered the closure of all universities and colleges for at least one week while swine flu was at its peak.

Another emerging health risk for study abroad programs throughout the Americas is the Zika virus. Several universities and Third Party programs have created Zika specific pages on their websites, through which they communicate the potential dangers of programs in certain areas (Office of Global Opportunities, 2016; Pitt Study Abroad, 2016; "Study abroad alert - Zika," 2016). There has also been at least one case where a student was not permitted to study abroad in an area of outbreak because her funding body felt the health risk too great (Gold, 2016).

With the continued proliferation of programs abroad it is important to understand the varied motivations for student participation, both positive and negative. For the present study, with its focus on Spanish study abroad, several general issues are at play, including the desire to travel and improve future employability, alongside several more context specific issues, such as the

desire to improve language skills. In consideration of the above, study abroad in Spain for US students is an important area of academic inquiry and, as an aspect of this, the various program models in use must be understood.

2.3 Types of Study Abroad Programs

A wide range of program structures have evolved in study abroad over time (Twombly et al., 2012); they take many forms, but all share the characteristic that, by their very nature, they provide students with a healthy dose of experiential learning. Immersing oneself in another culture provides new opportunities for learning-by-doing, virtually twenty-four hours a day (Williams, 2005). There are three basic models for the structure of a study abroad program. They are: *American* (also called Island or US), *Third Party* (also called Hybrid), and *Direct Enrollment* (Gillespie, Braskamp, & Braskamp, 1999; Norris & Dwyer, 2005) and each may be administered by a variety of different organizations or institutions. There are other study abroad program types, such as field based study abroad, study tours, and so on. However, these are less common and usually of significantly shorter duration or with only ad hoc teaching and, therefore, are not relevant for the purposes of this study.

2.3.1 Island or American

Island programs, or American programs for the purposes of this study as the Island programs included are run by American universities, are those that essentially transplant groups of students to a city abroad (Norris & Dwyer, 2005). Students in these programs travel with other students, often from their own home university, and study in a center run by that institution, another American institution, or, occasionally, another independent provider. Courses are run solely for these students, in English, and often taught by American professors. This ensures that all academic content can be tailored to the needs expressed by the home institution and that the standards of the coursework meet the expectations held by the institution, the parents, and the students. The credits earned are generally fully transferable to their degree program.

2.3.1.1 Program Provider

Many US institutions are creating entire programs of their own to ensure they have ultimate control of the support, academic, social, and emotional, that each student receives while abroad. They also, importantly, have the ability to hire teaching faculty for each course, making it easy to ensure courses abroad will transfer back to the full degree program. This structure allows for universities to recruit student participants from other US colleges and universities, creating another source of income and funding for the programs and improving their own reputation in the US academic community.

2.3.1.2 Example: Texas Tech Center

The Texas Tech Center in Sevilla, Spain offers a wide range of courses from the Texas Tech University (TTU) catalogue, taught by Texas Tech professors in English with no prior Spanish language requirement (“Study Abroad Office,” 2013). Most student participants are TTU students,

though students from other US institutions may apply for a place in the summer program. The Center is staffed by Americans with previous US student affairs experience. Students enroll in one of four Spanish language classes at the start of term and may move through them as their abilities progress. They also have the option of two Spanish history courses and various other offerings that vary depending on the faculty on-site for that term. The Center itself offers high-speed internet connections and an extensive academic, literary, and travel library.

All participants must complete pre-departure orientation on campus in the US where course registration, student visas, and suggested budgeting are discussed, among other topics. There is an additional two-day orientation at a hotel in Sevilla upon arrival, which includes a walking tour of the city and various presentations by the American staff regarding a wide range of topics such as housing, communication, safety, and transportation. Students are required to live in a homestay with families vetted by the program administrators and, in most instances, share a room with one other TTU student. The host family provides 3 meals a day, 7 days a week, regular laundry services, and cleans student bedrooms at least once a week. Throughout the semester, the curriculum provides a wide range of cultural activities including excursions to cities around Andalucía and Portugal.

2.3.2 Third Party or Hybrid

Third Party or Hybrid programs are most common in countries where English is not the primary language of instruction (Norris & Dwyer, 2005). Students often take a few courses at a local university, either with local students or in courses especially created for international or exchange students. Other coursework is done at an independent study center and will usually include at least one course on the local culture, history, and/or language. These centers are staffed by administrators and faculty who are acutely aware of the demands and pressures such a program places on students and will be trained and have experience in assisting students in dealing with them.

2.3.2.1 Program Provider

A Third Party Provider is an independent group that organizes experiences abroad, either at an existing university or in a study abroad center they run. They often provide support services such as airport pick-up, assistance with visa and consulate registration, and finding local accommodation. In addition to practical services, most Third Party Providers also offer the traditional student affairs support students are accustomed to. Students in these programs generally have to arrange for all of their tuition and fees to be paid through private funds, as US federal student aid will often not transfer. These providers are often mixed with local and US faculty and staff.

2.3.2.2 Example: IES Abroad

The Institute for the International Education of Students (IES) was founded in 1950 and is a not-for-profit consortium of over 100 highly selective American colleges and universities with over 55

years of experience in providing study abroad opportunities to nearly 4,500 students per year in 45 programs in 15 countries. They oversee full year, semester, and summer programs throughout Europe, Asia, Australia, and Latin America (Gillespie et al., 1999; Norris & Dwyer, 2005). They run Island, Hybrid, and Direct Enrollment programs which offer courses and internships in a wide range of disciplines. To ensure the cultural validity of their programs, staff and instructors are hired from the host community and offer support for both academic and non-academic activities.

The Third Party program run by IES in Madrid offers a focus of either Engineering, Architecture, and Science, which is taught in Spanish and English and has no prior language requirement, or Language and Area Studies, which is taught in Spanish and has a prerequisite of 4 semesters of college-level Spanish (IES Abroad, 2015). They offer a range of choices for living arrangements including homestays, private apartments, and shared student dormitories with local students. On the website, these options are described in terms of the students who are likely to benefit and succeed most in each, to help ensure strong student fit. Also offered are a range of orientation activities and regular field trips throughout the country. The IES Abroad Madrid Center, where students can seek out advice and resources, is located on the campus of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, providing all students with regular access to local students.

2.3.3 Direct Enrollment or Facilitated Direct Enrollment

Direct Enrollment programs are those in which students enroll directly into a host university and participate in the same courses as local students (Norris & Dwyer, 2005). The students will often reside in private accommodation, flats suggested by the university international office, or in homestays with local families, though many have to handle the entire process of finding accommodation on their own. Sponsors of these programs may also provide additional support services for the students to aid things such as course registration and language skills, though these resources are not always present.

2.3.3.1 Program Provider

There is a history of US universities developing exchange relationships with institutions abroad to send a certain number of students and receive a specified number in return (Teichler & Steube, 1991). Usually, these programs are closely connected to the home university, allowing federal, state, and institutionally provided financial aid to transfer fully. Academic credits also transfer toward the full academic program. Beyond that, little additional support is expressly provided for these visiting students and they must navigate their semester or year abroad through the typical bureaucracy, often much more than they are used to in the US where much of this is addressed without students ever becoming aware.

Programs called Facilitated Direct Enrollment are offered by some Third Party providers to help provide additional support to students who choose to matriculate at an international university but need assistance to handle the requirements of non-English speaking countries.

2.3.3.2 Example: Universidad de Oviedo

The University of Oviedo has offered study abroad programs since the 1990's and has a large student population of over 28,000. Before enrolling in courses, visiting students complete a placement test for language and are either placed in the 3rd or 4th year level for course selection. Participants are required to have at least two semesters of college level study and a GPA of at least 2.5 and all content area coursework is conducted in Spanish. Students study at least 4 courses per term and often take 5, which equates to between 12 and 15 US credits.

The university offers language courses specifically designed for international students that may include elements of culture, however these are not required. Any internship or volunteer experiences must be arranged by the participant themselves through the typical channels any degree seeking student at the university would use. Individual sending institutions with large numbers of students may arrange, on their own, for a native to Oviedo to be available to their students for additional support in the first few weeks of their time abroad however this is not always provided.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter was intended to introduce the reader to the format of higher education within the United States, focusing on a few specific areas, namely administration and international program design. It has presented an overview of the unique professionalization of the field of student affairs including several of the key content areas within these roles. The emphasis, as is appropriate for this study, has been placed on careers related to diversity and international studies, specifically on study abroad administrators both working in the US to send students and working abroad to receive students during their sojourn.

Details of the most common study abroad destinations, including the growth and decline in participation in various regions, the impetus for foreign language study abroad, and perceived benefits of study abroad on future employment prospects were also covered.

Finally, this chapter introduced the three main study abroad program types to be investigated in this research, namely American (or Island) programs, Third Party (or Hybrid) programs, and Direct Enrollment.

The next chapter will follow on from this introduction to concepts to explore the existing literature on both study abroad and intercultural competence development.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main sections; the first provides a review of the existing literature on study abroad while the second discusses literature on intercultural competence.

The section on study abroad will first address the key domains of learning influenced by a stay abroad. It will then move into a discussion of the various aspects and types of program design, detailing several previous studies that have been conducted across and between the various models. Then, methods used for evaluating study abroad programs themselves will be discussed. Finally, there will be a short discussion of several of the common critiques of study abroad that elements of program design may create or respond to.

Study abroad is one of the most often utilized tools for growth in an international dimension during tertiary education and one of the most cited areas of that is intercultural competence or other related development such as global citizenry, global awareness, or cultural understanding (Murphy et al., 2014). As such, the section on intercultural competence will first provide a wide introduction to the topic, also discussing the concepts of culture and willingness to communicate. To gain perspective on how intercultural competence may be developed in domestic environments a brief introduction to some relevant literature will be included. From there, the obstacles to becoming interculturally competent are discussed before several key models of intercultural competence, deemed relevant to the current study, are provided.

In this research, language is seen as an integral facet of study abroad program design; however, acquisition is not tested in relation to competence. It is the researcher's belief that study abroad programs in non-English speaking countries can lead to intercultural competence development regardless of a students' language learning abilities. As such, throughout this study language will be addressed in relation to its role in previous study abroad research but will not be a focus of this investigation.

3.2 Study Abroad

The overall goals of study abroad vary according to each individual program and its participants, but there are several key outcomes few educators dispute. Braskamp et al. (2009) cite the overall goals of higher education as being the learning, intellectual, moral, social, physical, and spiritual development of students. These ideals are consistent with the expectations of international education, though certain elements receive more attention than others in different environments. Specific to study abroad, the goals of strengthening students' understanding of international issues, cultural awareness, language skills, specific course content, and developing students' ability to be global citizens are often mentioned (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Gillespie et al., 1999; Hadis, 2005; Mazon, 2009; Murphy et al., 2014; Pellegrino, 1998; Sachau, Brasher, & Fee, 2010; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Trilokekar & Rasmi, 2011; Zhai & Scheer, 2002).

Many universities make a point to mention their commitment to international education in their mission statements, though most use vague terminology and little to no substance to support their claims or to signify how they assess that this pledge is being met (Anderson et al., 2006; Gillespie, 2002; Gillespie et al., 1999). These unclear statements that are not held to account are one of the major issues in the field today. Without explicitly stated learning outcomes professionals and students are left to define them on their own (McKeown, 2009). As Battsek writes, “Program objectives should be carefully defined. The chief one should be academic...Study abroad program objectives should also include learning about the foreign society and culture...” (1962, p. 242). Clear learning goals set the context for the student so that they know what they are meant to be getting out of an experience before participating. Participants can make more informed decisions when they can easily identify situations that may be valuable for learning and this makes them more likely to opt to participate when they are optional (Engle & Engle, 2003).

Study abroad can be seen as a form of experiential education where the learner is not expected to fit into a traditional educational mold but, instead, to have a major role in shaping their own educational experience (Hopkins, 1999; Montrose, 2002). Experiential Learning Theory was addressed by Kolb (1983) who proposed the following six key characteristics of it:

1. Learning is best conceived as a process, not in terms of outcomes
2. All learning is relearning
3. Learning requires the resolution of conflicts between dialectically opposed modes of adaptation to the world
4. Learning is a holistic process of adaptation
5. Learning results from synergistic transactions between the person and the environment
6. Learning is the process of creating knowledge (Passarelli & Kolb, 2012)

Two vital points, as relevant to this study, are the idea of this learning being a process, one that is a constant cycle of learning with no final endpoint delineating success, and the other the importance of the environment. A learner must interact with and adapt to a given environment to be able to learn from that experience (Hopkins, 1999; Lutterman-Aguilar & Gingerich, 2002; Steinberg, 2002).

3.2.1 Domains of Learning in Study Abroad

This section discusses outcomes in terms of the specific learning that can occur in study abroad. Several scholars have identified three key domains of learning that are influenced in periods abroad; the *cognitive*, *affective*, and *behavioral* domains (Deardorff, 2006; Gillespie et al., 1999; Hadis, 2005; Immetman & Schneider, 1998; Pellegrino, 1998; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Williams, 2005, 2009), which parallel those included in Deardorff’s models (see section 3.3.5.4 for more detail) among others. These domains will be outlined in detail in the following sections.

Before beginning this discussion it is important to acknowledge again that one of the most frequently studied aspects of study abroad is language acquisition. However, as explained earlier,

this dissertation is not focused on language acquisition and, as such, this section will only briefly cover the development of language skills as one element of potential learning during a study abroad.

3.2.1.1 Cognitive Domain

The cognitive domain concerns the development of abilities and includes knowledge, comprehension, and critical thinking (Immetman & Schneider, 1998). Development in this sense is when an individual learns to investigate how they know something is valid. They move from seeing knowledge as an absolute reality to understanding the role their cultural perspective plays in their meaning making, allowing that something that is valid in their lives may not hold the same reality in another context (Root & Ngampornchai, 2012). It also includes problem solving, reasoning, and recall. Traditionally, this has been the major domain of focus in studies on learning through international education, so much so that Bennett (2009) has suggested it has been an overreliance to the detriment of the analysis of affective and behavioral development. This is likely due to the relative ease in measuring and monitoring growth in cognitive areas when compared to the others as modern educational systems have been set up to examine this sort of ‘book learning’ and these evaluation techniques may be easily adopted and applied to new contexts while it is much more difficult to conceptualize a representative way to measure the other domains.

3.2.1.1.1 Intellectual Development

Gonyea (2008) examined study abroad and its influence on students upon their return to their home campus for their senior year, controlling for student and institutional characteristics. This was done to compare student pre-study abroad campus engagement, and their self-reported gains. Results showed that study abroad participants were more engaged than non-study abroad peers and more likely to take deep approaches to learning, specifically through integrative learning and reflective learning. Gonyea concluded that these students demonstrated what he conceptualized to be intellectual development through this more profound engagement with their own learning.

Zhai and Scheer (2002) set out to study the influence of study abroad on agricultural students and findings included intellectual development. Prior to their sojourn students reported that they did not have much previous host country knowledge or that they held misconceptions about it. All participants, after the program, reported that they gained “appreciation, respect, and understanding of their host country and culture” (Zhai & Scheer, 2002, p. 26). Alternatively, they also reported increases in their ability to understand themselves and the US through non-US lenses, again showing intellectual growth through increased self-awareness of cognitive issues. Some of their general knowledge developed through study abroad included history, from multiple perspectives, travel skills, and non-verbal communication skills.

McKeown (2009) conducted a study on the intellectual development, what he considers to be active attempts to make meaning of experience, of study abroad participants and focused on which specific aspects of study abroad programs may impact this development. Students from eight different college-based study abroad programs were invited to participate in this study from two

types of programs: immersion and Island. This study did not show participants made gains in intellectual development over a semester abroad; however, McKeown says this is not surprising as it fits within the context of previous research on college student development which says that most intellectual development occurs during freshman and senior years. The majority of students in his study were juniors and there were no freshmen at all. He also addressed the impact the amount of cultural immersion had on student intellectual development through a comparison of immersion and Island programs, but again found no significant evidence of difference. He explains this as being due to the fact that direct enrollment in a host university in no way ensures greater cultural interaction than possible through an Island program, highlighting the importance of more thorough investigations of program design elements in future study abroad research. When compared with the previous two studies these findings begin to show some potential issues with the immersion and Island program models, this will be discussed in more depth in section 3.2.2.4.

3.2.1.1.2 Academic Performance

Building on the presumption that intellectual development forms a basis for aspects of scholastic aptitude, namely grade point average and specified learning outcomes, several studies have set out to investigate changes to academic performance after a period studying abroad. Thomas and McMahon (1998) examined American students' pre-departure qualifications and performance while abroad. Their analysis found that the relationship between pre-study GPA and study abroad GPA was strong and positive, but also varied across racial, ethnic, and gender categories. In their study, White males and non-White females performed especially well while abroad. The programs they investigated typically use GPA as a major factor for admission, a process which they state their findings support. However, those students admitted in exceptional circumstances with GPA's below the requirement prove to perform at acceptable levels while abroad, lending support to the notion of expanding the GPA boundaries to continue to improve the representation of males and non-White students participating in study abroad.

Sutton and Rubin (2004) implemented a long-term endeavor, the GLOSSARI Project, to investigate study abroad learning outcomes. In the first phase of this research they collected data from over 4,000 students and focused on a comparison of study abroad participants and non-participants in terms of their self-reported learning outcomes. Their findings showed that experience in study abroad had an independent and strong impact on four of the seven learning outcomes they tested: functional knowledge, knowledge of global interdependence, knowledge of cultural relativism, and knowledge of world geography. The three variables not influenced by study abroad, verbal acumen, knowledge of interpersonal accommodation, and knowledge of cultural sensitivity, interestingly, are all components of interpersonal communication skills. This shows that while these affective and behavioral skills may be developed similarly either domestically or abroad, the cognitive skills show much greater gains in an abroad environment, possibly pointing to low levels of interaction with host country nationals.

3.2.1.1.3 Second Language Acquisition

Language skills are a key aspect of the cognitive domain and a major consideration of many study abroad programs. As this study does not focus on language acquisition, the studies detailed below represent a sample of those that focus more on the context of language use versus actual development while abroad. Many American students are highly accustomed to traditional classroom learning methods and believe they are the only valid routes to learning, particularly language skills. When they first arrive in a new culture they adhere to the same style of speaking they would in the classroom, causing them to miss out on learning the colloquial or local methods of speech (Pellegrino, 1998). After some time, many begin to realize the benefits of communicating with native speakers and value social interaction over classroom learning (Ife, 2000). If a class is structured in a way that causes students to lose interest in the content, many will drop the course and continue to reject other such structured opportunities.

Pellegrino (1998) examined studies in which students report a direct connection between their perceived language use, especially among native speakers, and their perceived language gain. They noticed improvement in their spoken fluency, rather than grammar or language structure, showing that they felt the functional use of their language skills was more beneficial to their learning than their classroom study. Students interacted in the local community, picking up phrases and usage patterns, and brought that knowledge back into the classroom where the instructor was able to explain it and place it into the context of the language skills they had already developed (Pellegrino, 1998). The high levels of perceived language acquisition the students reported demonstrated success, not only with regard to actual language skills but also in the areas of self-confidence and awareness.

In a comparison study of Spanish language acquisition in the domestic US classroom and abroad in Alicante, Spain, Segalowitz, Freed, Collentine, Lafford, Lazar, and Diaz-Campos (2004) examined gains made in oral proficiency, oral fluency, grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and communication strategies using tools such as The Language Contact Profile, which has been adapted for use in the present study and will be detailed further in section 4.6.1. This study was undertaken, in part, in response to emerging claims that students who study abroad are not automatically immersed in the native language. Forty-six (dropping to forty due to nonresponse) students who studied Spanish for at least 2 semesters were interviewed, tested, and asked to complete questionnaires, once at the beginning of the semester and again at the end. Linguistically, the study abroad group showed gains in oral proficiency and fluency while the home group did not, yet the home group showed superior gains in grammatical proficiency. Study abroad students showed greater comfort in conversing in the second language. Segalowitz et al. (2004) concluded that the context of students' interactions in the target language needs to be further evaluated to understand its role in meaningful acquisition. However, in review for the present study sufficient research following up on this investigation could not be identified.

Important to understanding language acquisition from the students' perspective is a grasp of how they measure their own learning and their motivations and goals for this learning. Llanes

(2011) has said that the growing education and economic implications for bilingualism or multilingualism have influenced prospective study abroad participants' desire to learn a language for both career enhancement and personal growth.

3.2.1.1.4 Summary

As study abroad is an increasingly integral component of an academic degree, the cognitive development it can facilitate is key. Problem solving, reasoning, and understanding perspectives are at times daily aspects of international experiences. Intellectual development, which has been shown to include academic engagement, self-awareness, and meaning making, has been examined in a variety of studies (Gonyea, 2008; McKeown, 2009; Zhai & Scheer, 2002). Most obviously, academic performance or identifiable changes in GPA while abroad and upon return are included (Thomas & McMahan, 1998). The last aspect of this domain, though not integral to this study, is second language acquisition (Llanes, 2011; Pellegrino, 1998; Segalowitz et al., 2004). Because of the origins of study abroad this development must be included and the importance of contextual use of language is clear. While the cognitive domain is clearly an important aspect of student development it has often dominated the focus of inquiry in study abroad research. As such, the next two sections will focus on the other important domains, the affective and the behavioral.

3.2.1.2 Affective Domain

The affective domain, sometimes called the intrapersonal domain, involves the development of the adult personality (Immetman & Schneider, 1998). It is the development of one's understanding of personal values that lead to acceptance, or rejection, of intercultural encounters (Kim, 1988). This should lead to a greater awareness of personal strengths, values, and personal characteristics as well as one's sense of self. While abroad, a student may be faced with many challenges that cause them to question their identity within their expanding and diversifying worldview.

3.2.1.2.1 Moral and Value Development

In a study of US and Scottish social work students participating in a 4-week summer program focusing on at-risk children, youth, and families and alternating locations each year between the US and Scotland Lindsey (2005) found development in morals and values. Participants reported being more open to accepting and considering new perspectives and ways of thinking after the experience. The US students also showed increased self-awareness and insight, which Lindsey says is "intrinsic to values development" (2005, p. 237). This growth prompted students to be more likely to reflect on their personal and professional values, as well as allowing them first hand insight into the development of societal values, facilitating them in understanding the environmental influences.

Jurgens and McAuliffe (2004) examined a two week travel study abroad program in Northern Ireland intended for students studying counseling and related courses, which brought students into contact with Irish Traveller communities, allowing for the US participants to view minority groups through an outsider's perspective, enhancing their ability to examine similar groups within their own US context. Students also reflected on considerations of their place within

the study abroad group and the traits they like and dislike about themselves. This begins to reveal issues of the study abroad peer group bubble, which will be elaborated upon in the literature, in section 3.2.4.4, and in this study, in section 6.6.2.

3.2.1.2.2 Self Identity

International study involves many pieces including the adjustment to host country norms while home country norms become obstacles to be broken down and reshaped to fit the new environment. Marginson (2014) sees international higher education as “a process of self-formation within conditions of disequilibrium in which student subjects manage their lives reflexively, fashioning their own changing identities, albeit under social circumstances largely beyond their control” (2014, p. 7). Citing Sen (1999) he discussed the concept of freedom and international students’ capacity to take action with that freedom to guide the negotiation of their evolving identities. Some of the imagined development prior to their sojourn will prove to be impossible, meaning the students must be able to accept the impossibility, re-evaluate the situation, and set new goals that may be achieved, altering their own path in the process. His idea empowers the international student as someone able to meet and overcome hurdles as opposed to a weak individual requiring significant support to meet those challenges. In study abroad this meets a slightly different student as they are only abroad for a short period of time, as opposed to a full degree program. As such, this theory could be utilized in program formation where “enhancing the resources facilitating agency, programs designed to augment communicative competence, or provide housing, [could] augment[s] effective freedom” (2014, p. 18).

Self-efficacy development was also found to benefit from study abroad in Zhai and Scheer’s (2002) study. Specifically, the students realization that they were able to cope with living in a different country, successfully develop travel skills and confidence in being able to articulate their international experience to others.

Dolby (2004) investigated the study abroad experiences of US undergraduates in Australia and the ways in which they negotiated their ‘American identity.’ Prior to their study abroad most participants rated this identity as a passive fact while during the sojourn they found it difficult to be the outsider. This, along with other new experiences, such as discussions on the role of the US in a post-September 11th context with host country nationals, led to this experience being less of a cross-cultural experience and more an opportunity for students to better understand themselves as Americans.

3.2.1.2.3 Personal Development

Kauffman and Kuh (1984) looked at the relationship between personal development and study abroad in college students through a longitudinal study tracking students from before studying abroad, to immediately after their return, and again one year after their return. A comparison group of non-study abroad students was also used. Their findings showed development in reflective thought, interest in the welfare of others, and increased self-confidence in the study abroad group.

In Lindsey's (2005) study participants were also found to develop their personal professional identities as the experience of social work in two different contexts led them to feel a closer connection to their chosen profession. The experience of examining the codes of ethics and other norms of the field in the two different contexts allowed them to recognize and accept key tenants of the job, such as recognizing clients' dignity, worth, confidentiality, and their own professionalism and adherence to boundaries in their work.

3.2.1.2.4 Summary

The affective domain, with emphasis on the interpersonal, is highly relevant because of the stage at which most study abroad students tend to be; the period in university is when they learn to manage interactions with others (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; McKeown, 2009). This realization of oneself involves the development of morals and values systems as investigated by Lindsey (2005) and Jurgens and McAuliffe (2004). Identity development is often studied in research on higher education; within study abroad this can be influenced by adjustment to host country norms (Marginson, 2014), coping with living in a new environment and the subsequent confidence (Zhai & Scheer, 2002), and contextualizing their national identity (Dolby, 2004). Personal development, meaning changes in reflective thought, confidence, and professional identity, has been investigated by Kauffmann and Kuh (1984) and Lindsey (2005). Changes in these affective areas show how students respond to the various challenges and opportunities of a time abroad.

3.2.1.3 Behavioral Domain

The behavioral domain concerns the acquisition of observable skills that influence one's willingness to interact. These skills include group interaction, leadership, research, and managerial skills among others (Immetman & Schneider, 1998). These skills largely affect the building of relationships and understanding within them. In study abroad this includes the willingness one has to embark on such relationships with people from different cultural backgrounds and who subscribe to different value systems. In developing the behavioral domain a student will learn to accept and be comfortable around others, often with different personal values.

3.2.1.3.1 Mindful Observation

One of the skills often cited as necessary to be an interculturally competent person is observation (Deardorff, 2006; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). Ting-Toomey (1999) holds mindfulness as a particularly important aspect of intercultural competence. The present study has specifically adopted the concept of mindful observation as important for the added intentionality it brings to the basic skill. Ting-Toomey describes "an O-D-I-S (observe-describe-interpret-suspend evaluation) analysis" where first one must observe attentively both the verbal and non-verbal signals being exchanged and then mentally describe specifically what is going on before making several potential interpretations to make sense of the situation (1999, p. 269). Any student abroad may be able to see cultural differences but the added steps mindfulness brings to observation are what enables them to better understand what they are witnessing, place it into the appropriate contexts, and use that information to improve their future intercultural encounters. As

she explains, “By engaging in a reflexive dialogue with ourselves, we can monitor our ethnocentric emotions introspectively” (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p. 269).

3.2.1.3.2 *Global Citizenship*

A central goal of most intentional international experience is growth as a global citizen. While there has been an increased realization that higher education structures, economies, and societies abroad are vastly different to those of the US, the typical American undergraduate student is still thought of as ignorant of global geography, and world affairs, and reluctant to display empathy for those who are different from them (Hadis, 2005). The key to disproving this notion is allowing students the opportunity to recognize this themselves and actively work to grow in these ways. Through international experiences, learners should become more adept at navigating relationships with other cultures (Murphy et al., 2014). They develop skills as intercultural communicators through greater understanding of differences and experiences, facing and overcoming the barriers these differences may present (Kim, 1991).

Hadis (2005) conducted a survey of student participants from the New Jersey State Consortium for International Studies to find how their experiences abroad shifted their individual priorities after their return to the US. The students reported positive changes in the areas of global-mindedness and having a higher curiosity about world events. Participants were largely enrolled in programs that left a considerable degree of decision making to the students, allowing them to grow through taking responsibility for their own actions. This program and study demonstrate how students can exercise their agency in a program abroad to educate themselves, through study and experience, to increase their global citizenship.

Kehl and Morris (2008) compared development in global-mindedness between short-term (eight weeks or less) and semester long study abroad in Island programs while using those who had applied and been accepted to study abroad in the future as a control comparison. This is a rare yet useful technique in researching study abroad as the control are a group already inclined internationally, showing more accurately the influence of study abroad than a control group with no international aspirations would. Kehl and Morris describe the programs they investigated as being from three different private universities and offering a self-contained academic program where students study along with other US study abroad students and have faculty either from the home institution or hired locally with coursework conducted in English. They found no statistical difference in the global-mindedness of students who complete short-term study abroad and those who intend to study abroad in the future. They did find statistical differences between semester study abroad students and those planning to study abroad in the future and between semester study abroad students and short-term study abroad students. They conclude that these findings suggest colleges and universities that place global-mindedness as an important objective in their students’ growth should actively promote semester long study abroad over short term experiences and that this should be integrated into the construction of relevant academic degrees to enable more students to participate in these longer term programs.

In terms of global perspective, Zhai and Scheer (2002) found that for most students a study abroad led to a positive adjustment, allowing participants to feel more connected to the world and to individuals in other countries. They also showed increases in awareness of global issues and events, specifically with relation to their interaction with and influence on the US.

Gonyea's (2008) study also found that students who had participated in a study abroad program were more likely to be involved in diversity activities on campus upon their return for their final year of study.

3.2.1.3.3 Perception of Post Study Abroad Employment Prospects

A study conducted by Trooboff, Vande Berg, and Rayman (2008) provides significant support for the notion that human resources professionals are likely to value international experiences, specifically for the interpersonal skills that often come as a result of prolonged interaction with a foreign culture. They were also found to rate the acquisition of a second language and participation in an internship abroad highly when examining prospective hires (Trooboff et al., 2008).

Armstrong (1984) surveyed previous participants of a high school study abroad program in Mexico to determine how they perceived their experiences after the completion of high school and enrollment in college. In addition to reporting a propensity for further international travel and reimagined views of Mexico, over half of the respondents believed that their experience had influenced their selection of a career path. Both the language skills and cultural knowledge gained during their study abroad seemed to influence choices of careers in international business, working with ethnic minorities, working in immigration law, and so forth.

Uniquely placed as a long-term study on the topic, Wallace (1999) studied 48 study abroad program alumni ten years after their participation. Students had been enrolled in programs in ten different countries that ranged from one semester to an academic year in length. More than half of respondents expressed the belief that their experience had a moderate to significant influence on their career and almost three quarters of respondents said that study abroad had influenced their career in a constructive manner.

Norris and Gillespie (2009) examined data from an IES survey of 17,000 past study abroad participants to determine the impact of study abroad on students' career paths. Several factors of an experience abroad, including language of instruction, length of time abroad, host university courses, and internships are reported as possible influences on the pursuit of international employment. Additionally, housing is seen as an influence, as those who stayed in host families were more likely to have global careers. Those alumni who indicated they had globally oriented careers reported experiences of stronger influence on their personal and social development, intercultural competence, and intercultural awareness than those who indicated domestic careers.

3.2.1.3.4 Summary

The behavioral domain includes some of the most observable aspects of development in an international experience. They are the skills through which the sojourners are able to create

relationships with others, specifically those from backgrounds different than their own. A foundational aspect of this is the mindful observation detailed by Ting-Toomey (1999). One of the most cited goals of a study abroad is development of global citizenship—the act of effectively and appropriately engaging in society—aspects of this have been detailed, specifically global-mindedness (Hadis, 2005), global perspective (Zhai & Scheer, 2002), and engagement in diversity activities upon return to the US (Gonyea, 2008). Another of the most prevalent goals of international experiences is boosted employment prospects, which has been analyzed from both a human resources (Trooboff et al., 2008) and student (Armstrong, 1984; Norris & Gillespie, 2009; Wallace, 1999) perspective.

3.2.1.4 Summary

This section has served to introduce the three main domains of development accessed through a study abroad, namely the cognitive, affective, and behavioral. With the goals of this study in mind, namely increasing our understanding of the intercultural development possible through study abroad and the aspects of these programs that can facilitate it, several key aspects of each domain have been introduced as well as previous literature investigating them in this context. In the cognitive domain we have seen that study abroad can result in increased engagement with campus life and deeper approaches to learning (Gonyea, 2008). McKeown (2009), however, found that in immersion and Island programs there were no significant gains in intellectual development during a semester abroad. Pellegrino (1998) found gains in spoken language but not in grammar, while Llanes (2011) emphasized the increased importance of language for students' career goals. In the affective domain study abroad has been shown to support values development (Lindsey, 2005) and self-efficacy (Zhai & Scheer, 2002). A number of studies (Jurgens & McAuliffe, 2004; Kauffmann & Kuh, 1984; Lindsey, 2005) have found study abroad students develop their self-reflection and interest in others and their worldviews. The behavioral domain is shown to develop in a variety of ways during a sojourn; one of the most studied and idealized areas of this development is global citizenship. A study by Hadis (2005) showed students shifted their priorities to become more involved in world events and their own agency in being involved in them. Kehl and Morris (2008) found a statistical difference between semester study abroad students' global-mindedness and that of short-term or future study abroad students. Many studies have shown the potential positive influences of study abroad on participants' perceptions of employment prospects (Armstrong, 1984; Norris & Gillespie, 2009; Trooboff et al., 2008; Wallace, 1999). Again, each of these studies has been included specifically for their relevance to the present study, as will become clear in the following analysis chapters through connections to the data collected.

3.2.2 Study Abroad Program Design

Astin's (1977) I-E-O model of student development is one of the most enduring models of general college student development and can also be easily applied to the concept of student development in study abroad. In this model, I stands for input, E for environment, and O for outcome. To understand this model in study abroad, input would be the characteristics the participant comes into

the sojourn with, such as their values, attitudes, and academic capabilities. Environment would be the unique make up of the host program, including the faculty, administrators, and other staff as well as the academic, co-curricular, and extra curricular offerings. It is this aspect that is the key focus of this study that seeks to find which aspects of these environments lead to the greatest intercultural development, or the outcomes.

In 1954 Allport first articulated the Contact Hypothesis for addressing human relations, specifically to do with how members of one group interact and feel about members of another. His hypothesis, what he identified as Intergroup Contact Theory, states that with appropriate conditions contact between different groups could be an effective way to reduce prejudices among them (Allport, 1979). The opportunity to interact allows them time to come to understand different points of view and appreciate the different backgrounds that inspire them.

However, Allport (1979) did specify that the situation had to be designed to promote positive developments, otherwise conflict could easily arise. He outlined four necessary criteria for this positive contact. The first is equal status, meaning that both groups must have an equal position in the relationship. The second is common goals, meaning both groups are working toward a similar end result. The third is intergroup cooperation requiring that there is an interdependent determination to meet the shared goal, not one of competition. And fourth is the support of authorities, law, or custom that requires both groups to acknowledge an authority that supports the interactions between the two groups.

If these four requirements are met it is said that positive development will occur. In the study abroad context this would require, for example, a study abroad group and a host country student group, meeting the need for equal status, both seeking an intercultural experience, meeting the need for a common goal, using the language or cultural strengths of each other to facilitate their quest for additional knowledge and experiences, working together in cooperation, under the guidance of an acknowledged study abroad authority, such as a Third Party program or a university.

Important to the concept of the Contact Hypothesis in this study Selltiz, Hopson, and Cook (1956) posed the question of whether the hypothesis holds in international contexts, as Allport had largely considered it in domestic intergroup contact situations. The first and key difference is that in domestic situations the groups are more likely to have strong preconceptions about each other. In the study abroad context, the host country nationals US students come into contact with will likely have developed stereotypes and other ideas about them based on pop culture and previous interactions with other study abroad students. The US participants, on the other hand, will likely come into the program with exceedingly positive ideas about their host culture that originally led them to choose to study abroad there, and which is in contrast to Allport's original assertion that this theory applies in situations with strong negative prejudices.

Building off of the Contact Hypothesis, Wilkinson (1998a) addressed the so-called *culture myth*, which states that exposure to a culture automatically leads to cross-cultural understanding (Pellegrino, 1998). It is assumed that being abroad demands immersion which, in turn, effortlessly

provides for meaningful and substantive development (Vande Berg et al., 2012). Often, when abroad, students experience behaviors from locals that threaten their comfort and deter them from attempting to interact further. If this happens too early in a sojourn, or in a situation where the student lacks support from external sources, they are likely to shut themselves off from the new culture and, instead, spend most of their time in American peer groups. Similarly, the *homestay myth* posits that residence with a host family contributes to second language acquisition and the development of cultural knowledge when, in reality, this can only be possible with a willing host family and a motivated student (Pellegrino, 1998). Accordingly, even when valuable learning opportunities are available, many students are reluctant to take full advantage of them.

McLeod and Wainwright (2009) proposed the application of Social Learning Theory (SLT) to evaluation of study abroad outcomes. SLT states that learning can take place in a social context where people learn from one another through observation, imitation, and modeling (Bandura, 1977). In study abroad, McLeod and Wainwright point to the concept of locus of control where the more a person believes what they do is connected to what happens to them the more likely they are to be internally controlled and the lower they feel this connection the more likely they are to be externally controlled. This concept could be very important in study abroad program design as,

The overwhelming consensus of findings from studies using social learning theory is that internally controlled persons do better in unstructured situations in which they are left to their own devices to solve problems, in contrast to externally controlled individuals, who do well in structured situations in which they are told specifically what to do and what to expect. (McLeod & Wainwright, 2009, pp. 67–68)

This may mean that those with an internal locus of control would thrive in programs that offer more unstructured opportunities, such as Direct Enrollment or Third Party programs while those with an external locus of control would do better in the highly structured environment offered by American programs.

3.2.2.1 Classification of Study Abroad Program Types

Engle and Engle (2003) have addressed this issue thoroughly and suggested the creation of a uniform system of classification of program types. This is intended to provide a more realistic basis for students, parents, and administrators to develop their expectations for what to expect from a program, not only academically but also the non-curricular support afforded to students before they leave and upon arrival. Engle and Engle's graduated system, which they clarify is only applicable to programs in a context where English is not the primary language, classifies programs in one of five levels: Level One—Study Tour, Level Two—Short-Term Study, Level Three—Cross-Cultural Contact Program, Level Four—Cross-Cultural Encounter Program, and Level Five—Cross-Cultural Immersion Program (Engle & Engle, 2003).

The level a program corresponds with is determined by seven key program components. The first two components relate to the basic structure of the program. The first is the length of the

experience; level one and two programs can last from just a few days, to a few weeks, or even a full summer semester, while level three programs last one semester and level four and five can be either a semester or full academic year. The second component is the participant's required second language ability at the time the program commences.

The next three components address the context of living and learning while the students are abroad. The third is the language of instruction. Only level five programs require that all instruction be done in the target language, though all levels, excluding level one, have some use of a second language in the classroom. The fourth component is the context of academic work, or where students take their academic courses. In a level one program students will take courses with faculty sent from their home institution, often one professor who is also the administrator for the study trip. Home faculty often teach the courses in level two programs. In level three and four programs instruction is typically still given with other international students, but the professors may be from local universities or be locals hired directly by third party providers. In level five programs courses are taken through partial or full enrollment in traditional courses at a host university. The fifth component is the type of student housing available. In the lower levels students will typically live amongst other American or foreign students, occasionally participating in short homestays with local families with one or two other program participants. In higher level programs individual homestays are used for the entire duration of the program.

The final two components focus on the resources and emphasis placed on student reflection and learning, beyond what is evaluated in the classroom context. The sixth is the provision for guided or structured cultural interaction and experiential learning, which is often lacking in programs all the way up to level four and is sometimes only found in level five. This is how a program is designed to foster or require students' participation in the local culture, whether through service-learning experiences, internships, volunteering, or any other such activity. The seventh and final component is guided reflection on the cultural experience. Most programs are only able to offer this through an introductory orientation program, though in level five programs there is on-going support and examination through the presence of a trained mentor to guide students' reflection on their direct cultural encounters and help them analyze what is revealed.

3.2.2.2 Evaluation of Study Abroad Programs

As there are many different types of programs abroad, and new forms appear on a regular basis, it is important to consider what, exactly, qualifies an experience as study abroad as opposed to, for example, a vacation (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Engle & Engle, 2004; Norris & Dwyer, 2005). Programs offered can range from as little as 2 weeks for a study tour, and last as long as a full academic year of Direct Enrollment in a foreign university. A 3-week program cannot be assessed for the same anticipated learning and development outcomes as a full academic year abroad.

While, in general, assessment and evaluation have become commonplace and highly routinized throughout US higher education, the specialized area of study abroad is often not considered. Joan Gillespie (2002), of the Institute for the International Education of Students,

suggests that study abroad has grown too quickly over the past several decades for formal evaluation to keep pace. She insists that the field needs an agreed upon set of minimum standards that can be applied to all programs and more comprehensive standards for specific program types, that can be adapted to the appropriate cultural context. For the student, such information will support the improvement of already existing programs and the development of new programs designed to meet specific academic demands. For study abroad professionals and international educators reliable data on program strengths and weakness will support petitions for funding to institutions, private sources, and governments, to maintain program quality that will prepare students for living and working in our culturally-complex world (Gillespie, 2002; Gillespie et al., 1999; Norris & Dwyer, 2005; Vande Berg, 2007).

Currently there are a variety of instruments for evaluating students, as will be seen in section 3.2.3, but there are very few accepted methods of conducting similar evaluations of the actual study abroad programs. Immetman and Schneider (1998) suggest looking to the assessment guidelines used for accreditation purposes for higher education as a whole to formulate study abroad program evaluation techniques. These guidelines make it clear that student learning must be documented in four specific domains: cognitive domain (knowledge acquisition), affective and social domains (attitudes and values), and behavioral domain (skills acquisition).

Formalized assessment is vital to the continued growth of the field of study abroad (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Engle & Engle, 2004; Gillespie, 2002; Gillespie et al., 1999; Immetman & Schneider, 1998; Williams, 2005). It is only with such data that programs and universities can ensure they are creating and adjusting experiences to attain maximum student learning and development.

Through regional accreditation agencies this practice is common for domestic higher education institutions, but, at this time, only two include study abroad as part of their evaluation, they are the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Higher Education & Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (Gillespie et al., 1999). NAFSA, the Association of International Educators, offers guidelines for good practice but does not have the authority to impose or regulate their use. The fact that this significant aspect of higher education has been able to operate without guidance equivalent to the accreditation process most other aspects must abide by demonstrates how it has been ignored, while at the same time universities and organizations alike are increasing their promotion of it. It is the hope of the researcher that the present study, along with others like it, will begin to provide evaluation of program elements to support increased rigor in the creation and approval of study abroad programs.

Gillespie, Braskamp, and Braskamp (1999) developed one of the most thorough conceptions of assessment criteria for programs abroad in the IES Model Assessment Practice (MAP). This tool was intended to provide a set of inclusive and specific criteria to measure quality to assist in the improvement of the existing and the development of new programs for IES Abroad, a Third Party organization. They recognized three main principles when beginning their work. The first held that programs must articulate their specific academic mission and goals in terms of

cross-cultural learning experiences. The second focused on non-academic program elements. The third required the negotiation of differences in the academic cultures of the US and host countries. In gathering data to determine the key areas to be evaluated, the researchers contacted the in-country staff to both gain their buy-in to the MAP and to ensure the requirements for their specific programs remained applicable to their individual cultures and program types (Gillespie et al., 1999). They also considered the differences in academic cultures between the US and the host country, acknowledging American students' learning styles and the teaching and assessment practices of the host educators. This level of commitment to the host culture clearly takes time and energy, a luxury many universities are not willing or able to offer their international education professionals when encouraging the development of new American programs abroad.

This is just one proposed model and is heavily influenced by the structure and expectations of the Third Party program type. It was now created over 15 years ago and no real significant shift in holistic study abroad program assessment can be traced since that time. In a review of the literature, outside of IES Abroad, though some researchers do mention the MAP (Bettez & Lineberry, 2004; Black & Duhon, 2006), none could be found to apply the MAP in a systematic way to uncover the practical or real world applications of model criteria or their subsequent successes or failures. While one other research team (Bringle, Hatcher, & Jones, 2012) used the MAP as a basis for creating their own model to be applied specifically to international service-learning programs, it was a very specific aspect of the wider models detailed in the original MAP. This reveals one of the primary issues in developing a systematic evaluation system for international programs, the disconnect between scholarship on and application of assessment tools or processes.

3.2.2.3 The Effect of Study Abroad Program Duration on Student Development

Dwyer (2004) addressed the question of whether a longer program abroad results in a greater and longer lasting impact on participants than a short term program. This cited the conventional wisdom that more is better and the trend toward students participating in increasingly shorter programs. Using data from full year, semester, and hybrid programs offered by IES Dwyer found that full year programs did, in fact, have a more significant impact on students. They were more likely to choose to live with host country nationals and more likely to directly enroll in foreign universities. They also showed increased interest in academic study, including second language acquisition, upon their return to the US (Dwyer, 2004). In examination of these findings it is important to note that program length had a direct influence on the opportunities available to the participants, meaning it is possible students on shorter programs were not eligible to enroll in local courses or live with host nationals. Summer term participants showed important growth in areas such as career direction, language acquisition, and increased self-confidence. This proves that well structured short-term programs can provide valuable growth to students who are only willing or able to participate in these shorter programs.

Sachau, Brasher, and Fee (2010) provided a comparison of three different types of short term study abroad programs; summer semesters abroad lasting between 6 and 12 weeks, study tours lasting between 7 and 28 days, and service-learning trips lasting between 2 and 6 weeks. They considered the different goals of the programs, such as increasing knowledge, attitudes, and confidence, and the different actors involved in the programs including the faculty, staff, students, and host country nationals, that may influence the programs and emphasized the importance of deliberate choices in their construction. Their paper includes a sort of checklist of the necessary steps in the creation of a new program including securing a site abroad, inviting faculty to participate, identifying worthy sites to visit, and choosing a housing option for all participants. Unfortunately, they did not conduct empirical research on these different program aspects to support their assertions of their importance but the points they raise are necessary to consider in any research on study abroad program types.

A study by Anderson et al. (2006) provides preliminary evidence that a faculty led four-week study tour in the UK and Ireland does provide a positive impact on students' intercultural sensitivity. The researchers utilized the Intercultural Development Inventory, which is based on Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (discussed in section 3.3.5.2) to assess participant growth (Anderson et al., 2006). Their sample consisted of 23 college seniors (21 when two international students in the course were excluded) in a business administration program with no prior second language knowledge. In addition to the academic subject area lectures, students all took a series of lectures on British life and culture. Though not learning with them, students were able to interact with local students in pubs near the universities they visited. The results showed weak, though positive, support that participants showed significant development of intercultural sensitivity but they provided stronger evidence that students were better able to adapt and accept cultural differences and were less likely to consider their own culture superior to others. Anderson et al. (2006) did note, however, that a limitation of their study was the lack of continued research on these students' development to ascertain how the experience continued to influence them once they returned to the US.

Another study by Black and Duhon (2006) investigated 200 business students on a month long study abroad program in London, taught by a range of faculty members from participating US institutions, to examine claims that short-term programs are little more than an extended vacation. Using the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI) and assessing one aspect of the Institute for the International Education of Students' Model Assessment Practice (MAP) they focused on students' development of intercultural competence and the program's impact on students' self-confidence and independence. The findings of the study show evidence of growth in cross-cultural tolerance and empathy and an increase in students' self-confidence and independence. These are significant results when considering the length of the program and that instruction was done by American instructors in English.

Chieffo and Griffiths (2004) also examined the outcomes of a short term study abroad program offered by the University of Delaware through their Center for International Studies

(CFIS). Such short-term programs have been offered by the university, with high levels of participation, during the five week January term for many years, providing a large pool from which to draw data. They chose to focus on student perceptions of their learning, specifically their development of global awareness, comparing students going abroad with those in similar courses on the Delaware campus during the same term. They defined global awareness as intercultural awareness, personal growth and development, awareness of global interdependence, and a functional knowledge of world geography and language (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004). Their results found that students perceived significant gains in awareness of global issues and functional skills, notably second language proficiency. This supports the continued use of well-planned short-term programs to meet intercultural goals.

3.2.2.4 The Effect of Curricular and Co-Curricular Program Design on Student Development

Most comparative studies on international experiences involve a group participating in a program abroad and a control group on the home campus in the US, often enrolled in similar courses with comparable academic goals. Only a few researchers have endeavored to compare two or more different study abroad program models to investigate which model may be most effective for a specific goal or student type. The following sections will detail some of these studies as relevant to the present research.

3.2.2.4.1 Intentionally Designed Courses

Several programs have begun to create academic courses designed specifically to require their students to interact with their host cultures in response to research showing that students are not meeting their full potential in this regard in traditional study abroad programs (Hadis, 2005; Rivers, 1998; Vande Berg et al., 2012). While a number of programs and studies have provided support and evidence for intentional interventions in study abroad student learning Maximizing Study Abroad (MAXSA) is one of the most comprehensive examples (Paige & Vande Berg, 2012). Spearheaded by a team centered at the University of Minnesota, this program has continuously evolved over time to include the development of textbooks, independent research, and course design. Using an experimental design, intervention group students felt that these materials helped them gain a better understanding of their host culture, helping them to navigate interactions more successfully than those students in the control group.

Cadd (2012) investigated whether the requirement for interaction with native speakers while abroad through such a course would improve students' self-assessed self-confidence in using the language, their willingness to do so, and their perceived gains in speaking. In total, 13 students participated in the study while enrolled in the course to earn the "Certificate of Competence in Language in Culture" offered at their home university. These students were studying in a range of countries in Europe, South America, Africa, and Asia and had varying levels of initial language proficiency. After completing the course students reported that their levels of anxiety fell as a result of the tasks required of them for the course. They also felt more confident in their language abilities and general cultural competence. All of these gains may have helped them to feel

confident enough to embark on even more interactions with native speakers that were not explicitly required by their course.

3.2.2.4.2 *Island*

Pedersen (2010) investigated a year-long Island program in central England and focused on the influence of intentional intervention in the program through comparisons of an intervention group, a group in the Island program without the intervention, and a third group who remained in the US using the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI). The intervention group received cultural immersion, guided reflection, and intercultural coaching through enrollment in a specific psychology course in addition to the other offerings the non-intervention group participated in such as field trips and the opportunity for independent travel. Examples of the additional expectations of the intervention students include interviews with locals, host family stays, and integration of current and cultural events into their course assessments. Comparing pre and post scores on the IDI the intervention group was found to have statistically significant scores while there was no statistically significant difference between scores of the abroad non-intervention group and the group in the US, supporting the idea that sending a student abroad is not adequate to support their global development.

Kehl and Morris' (2008) study of global-mindedness in programs of different lengths specifically targeted Island programs as research sites. Each of these programs was sponsored by a private university and featured teaching in English, often by US academics from the home institution. In their research, they used a sample of 520 responses to the Global-Mindedness Scale, developed by E. Jane Hett, which consists of 30 statements on a Likert scale. This is a large number in study abroad research, especially considering that the specific context of this study is restricted to Island programs.

The American University Center of Provence (AUCP) is an Island program, however it has been run, since its founding, with a dedication to intentional intervention designed to promote language abilities and intercultural competence (Engle & Engle, 2012). Using the IDI (see section 3.2.3.1) Engle and Engle have conducted continuous evaluation of their program in both semester and year-long sojourns. Intentional components of their holistic program include regular use of French, mandatory intercultural interactions, and guided reflection with all of this infused with a challenge and support model. When compared with other study abroad interventions, such as MAXSA, AUCP students show greater increases in intercultural development, specifically through reaching the acceptance level (see section 3.2.3.1 for detail of the levels of the IDI) (Paige & Vande Berg, 2012). This program demonstrates that, with the necessary commitment to intercultural competence, Island programs can bring about significant development, allowing students to experience living in a foreign country while still meeting the academic expectations of their American universities.

3.2.2.4.3 Direct Enrollment and Hybrid Comparison

Norris and Dwyer (2005) conducted a comparison study between a Direct Enrollment program and a Hybrid program to test the commonly held assumption that Direct Enrollment is more effective in meeting intercultural and academic goals. In conjunction with the Institute for the International Education of Students (IES) (see section 2.3.2.2 for more detail on IES), they compared three Hybrid programs in non-English speaking countries with two Facilitated Direct Enrollment programs in English speaking countries. Data was collected through self-report surveys.

Students who participated in Hybrid programs were more likely to participate in internship and field experiences which, later, played an important role in the development of their career plans. They also showed an increased interest in the culture of their host country and greater interest in foreign language. Facilitated Direct Enrollment students, however, were more likely to have forged lasting personal relationships with their host country peers. Both groups reported increased self-confidence and acceptance of ambiguity (Norris & Dwyer, 2005).

The specific programs used in this study may have played a major role in the findings. Most significantly, the Facilitated Direct Enrollment programs were in English speaking countries. This means students were less likely to be studying a second language while abroad and had fewer communication barriers in developing relationships with their host country counterparts. For various reasons, the Facilitated Direct Enrollment programs were less likely than the Hybrid programs to even offer an internship option, making such an experience completely unavailable to their participants.

As they are, these results do suggest that the common assumption that Direct Enrollment programs offer the greatest academic experiences may not always hold true. Despite these inconsistencies in the programs that were compared, the results do provide an important insight; each student is different and has different needs and expectations for an international experience. Study abroad advisors must be well versed in the potential programs to ensure they are matched with the best possible program for their personal goals. This connection may play a greater role in determining the outcomes of a sojourn than any potential intervention abroad could.

3.2.2.5 The Effect of Accommodation Type on Student Development

While there has been significant research conducted on language acquisition abroad specifically within the homestay context, little research has addressed development in alternative living situations and even less has investigated learning beyond the acquisition of language abilities.

3.2.2.5.1 Homestay

Tanaka (2007) explored the out of class context and contact with English of 29 Japanese English language students in New Zealand for 12 week courses at private language schools. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all students in addition to optional diaries and the Oxford Placement Test. The results showed very restricted contact with the target language in the possible living environments, including the homestay and student dormitory. Often communication with their hosts was limited to simple greetings during meal times, as the students

spent the majority of their free time in their rooms alone or out with other Japanese friends. As they scored as post-elementary speakers on the OPT, their language ability was found to have played a major role in this isolation as, even if they wanted to, many of the students were not capable of having more than simple conversations. However, there were several students in both living environments who actively sought opportunities to use their language skills despite these limits, meaning it was largely up to the individual student's personality whether they had regular interactions with native English speakers. Importantly, this study shows that study abroad students actively and intentionally avoided contact with their hosts due to their own insecurities about their language abilities.

Covering a perspective that is often neglected in research on study abroad Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart (2002) conducted an investigation of the homestay through the collection of data from students, program housing directors and, most uniquely, host families themselves. The data from all three sources was compared with the majority of reports by each group being echoed by the others, demonstrating general agreement from all that the homestay was a useful aspect of the study abroad program. Three major themes emerged from the data: adjustment, problems, and the homestay advantage.

Housing Directors (HDs) from six Island programs, four in Spain and two in Mexico, were interviewed. The researchers asked a series of questions to determine how host families were selected to participate in their programs. All of the HDs acknowledged the economic benefit to the family for participation with between 15% and 30% of all applications being accepted to join the list of available homes. In addition to the financial motivation host families also talked about wanting the opportunity to expose their own children to another culture and to the English language through hosting (Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004). One HD commented that their list was not completely full of good quality families but that certain periods of demand throughout the year necessitated the use of a larger number of hosts. Of the six programs only one gave students detailed information about their hosts prior to their arrival. Each HD described a system that allowed them to handle issues in cases of poor student-family fit or other problems.

In discussions with the host families it became apparent that the woman of the house, the *señora*, was almost always the responsible person in the homestay agreement, with many being older widowers or stay at home mothers (Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004). These women felt that students who enter the situation open to the experience find it easier to adapt, which supports the inclusion of openness as an attitude fundamental to the development of intercultural competence. The HDs also cited openness as important while the students tended to consider themselves to be oriented as such. An important finding for the student experience was that those in Mexico found it easier to adapt to their host families than those in Spain, which may reflect cultural differences between North America and Europe.

While the HDs said there was a system designed for handling problems the host families more often reported handling the problems themselves or, in some cases, not even knowing there was a problem until they were informed that their student was moving out (Knight & Schmidt-

Rinehart, 2002). This shows that, unbeknownst to them, the program staff may not have the full picture of the homestay situation as it is experienced by the participants, possibly leading them to the conclusion that students and families are benefitting from it in ways that they actually are not.

Language ability was not seen by the host families to be a major factor in their students' adjustment as they felt that their attitudes were more important. They also felt that those in short term programs, when compared to their counterparts in semester or year-long programs, were equally able to adapt. Another notable finding was that host families tended to think hosting more than one student at a time was also beneficial to their adaptation as they then had someone in the same position that they could talk to though this contradicted the HD perspective that more than one student in a house often had the more proficient student doing all of the work in communication. This also relates to the issue to be discussed in section 3.2.4.4 of American peer groups. These were once thought to be harmful to a students' study abroad experience (Ife, 2000) but are increasingly being seen as a useful method for these students to reflect on their new and challenging experiences (Allen, 2010; Wilkinson, 1998b).

While, in general, all parties found the homestay to be beneficial many students reported still feeling like a guest in their homestay at the end of their time abroad and many host families reported not spending much time with their students outside of meals. Much of this appears to be due to students' insecurities in asking to participate in activities or initiating conversations directly, whether due to personality traits or language proficiency. Host families also reported feeling that their students' lives were already overly scheduled with course activities and regular weekend travel, which may have made them more reluctant to ask their students to participate in even more activities with them. This may point to issues with the HD's position in ensuring all parties involved had realistic expectations and the necessary understanding of the goals of study abroad. If these host families knew that the program was situated as an intense period of in-depth intercultural development they may not have questioned adding to students' already busy schedules. Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart mention the lack of preparation materials or programs designed specifically for host families and imply that such organization may serve to lessen these issues in the future, allowing for more of the bonding experience already assumed to occur in the host family.

3.2.2.5.2 Homestay, Dorm, and Apartment Comparison

In a study that examined the influence of social interaction in a target language on linguistic gains Magnan and Back (2007) found no difference in outcomes between different housing types. A group of 24 students in a semester long program in either Paris or Montpellier, France were studied. The majority of the courses available to the participants were with only other international students, though one course in the Montpellier program could be taken with French students. Students were able to choose from dorms, apartments, or host families. Tests showed improvement in both confidence in French abilities as well as actual oral proficiency, according to the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI). This growth, however, did not appear to be linked to the living arrangements chosen by the students as there was no significant difference in the gains

of students who lived with French families or those who lived with American peers (Magnan & Back, 2007). They found that by the end of the semester students were just beginning to feel comfortable and confident in their ability to interact when they had to return home, limiting severely the time in which they were able to actively use their skills. The findings support the idea that study abroad can be beneficial to the acquisition of a second language but highlights that it is difficult to identify a program design that will guarantee linguistic gains while abroad.

In another study comparing the linguistic gains of students in either homestay placements or dorm living situations Rivers (1998) tested the claim that simply being in such a placement was enough to guarantee development. He analyzed 2,529 records gathered from 1976 to 1998 from the American Council of Teachers of Russian Student Records Data Base where almost all were postsecondary academic exchange participants from summer, fall, and spring semester students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Upon beginning their study abroad those in dorms had approximately one semester more of college-level Russian while the homestay students had more previous opportunities for high school and recreational international travel. For speaking, the dorm group had more participants showing gains while the homestay group showed a weak negative effect on speaking. In listening, the results were mixed though homestay students were slightly more likely to gain and homestay was not a significant predictor for listening. It was, however, a factor in reading where homestay was a weak positive predictor for gain. Rivers interprets these results as signifying the importance of consideration of the nature of the homestays students are offered and of the students they are offered to. He posits that students who face difficulties may focus intently on performing in their classes and give up on developing language proficiency. He also suggests a greater emphasis be placed on the selection of host families and on preparing students for the negative potential in study abroad to allow them to better prepare themselves for the challenges and begin to take more personal responsibility for the time abroad and interactions with native speakers. This is similar to the requirements for interaction in the intentionally designed course mentioned above.

3.2.2.6 Summary

This section has served to familiarize the reader with the variety of program types and design elements prevalent in US study abroad programs today. As can be seen, there are currently very loose guidelines regarding program design, allowing for a great deal of variety in each. Of the many different areas of program design intentional interventions are one of the areas with the greatest focus in recent research (Engle & Engle, 2012; Paige & Vande Berg, 2012; Vande Berg, 2007). Less emphasis has been placed on investigating these differences on a more structural level through comparisons of the different program models, something this study seeks to begin to change. In the few existing comparison studies a common theme emerging is the importance of intention and faculty and staff familiar with US student needs and willing to facilitate interactions. Finally, the various accommodation choices possible were discussed with clear emphasis on the homestay option, as this is often the one housing type intentionally designed to foster intercultural

interactions. Despite this common importance, there is relatively little research on the actual effectiveness of such programs beyond simple student or host family satisfaction data, making the housing issue a key and emerging area of further study in the field.

3.2.3 Evaluation of Student Development in Study Abroad

Regular and systematic assessment of the outcomes of study abroad has only begun to emerge over the past two decades. The wide variety of program types and accompanying aims has made it difficult for any one assessment technique to be applicable to all. Many scholars, administrators, and educators have noted this and increased demand for appropriate instruments to be developed and utilized (Black & Duhon, 2006; Braskamp et al., 2009; Carlson & Widaman, 1988; Engle & Engle, 2004; Gillespie, 2002; Immetman & Schneider, 1998; Steinberg, 2002).

Carlson and Widaman (1988) cite concern with the traditional pretest-posttest measurement method for development of intercultural competency during a study abroad because of the assumption that any changes are due solely to the experience. They insist that this necessitates that any true analysis of the impact of study abroad require a significant comparison group in the alternative home university be studied concurrently. They also support the use of large sample groups for each context to ensure greater confidence in the results and any generalizations that can be made from them. However, in the context of this study these requirements feel slightly dated. With the increased normalcy of a study abroad here the decision whether or not to study abroad is less pertinent and instead the importance is placed on how they decided to experience their sojourn via their chosen program type.

One of the most common techniques for measuring students' growth and development are their self-reported feelings, often concurrent with the program but more commonly as a retrospective analysis. The problem with this technique is that the students who are participating in programs abroad are often bombarded with the possibilities for development during the program and may project these desired outcomes onto themselves (Carlson & Widaman, 1988). Self-reporting students may stretch or imagine development they think their administrators would expect from them in these surveys, leading to unreliable results.

In examining the learning and experiential outcomes of study abroad it is important to consider the perspective of the student participants in addition to academics and program administrators. Learners are the most important aspect of international education and their responses, though biased, subjective, and difficult to generalize to any extent, shape their involvement in the learning process.

In her Delphi study to come to an agreed definition of intercultural competence (to be discussed in full in section 3.3.5.4) the scholars and administrators Deardorff questioned agreed on the importance of regular assessment of students' intercultural competence and of doing so by using a wide variety of methods (Deardorff, 2006). Qualitative and quantitative techniques are both reported as valuable and some of the most popular methods were case studies, interviews, self-report instruments, observation, and judgment by self and by others. Despite their agreement

that this analysis is necessary, only 38% of the administrators questioned worked for institutions that already systematically measured their students' development of intercultural competency.

While the present study relies heavily on qualitative data and participant self-reported perceptions of their development, the majority of existing assessments are quantitative tools used to objectively place respondents on a scale of competence before and after their international experience. Several of the more common assessments will be detailed below.

3.2.3.1 Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)

The Intercultural Development Inventory, created by Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman (2003), uses Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, discussed in more detail in section 3.3.5.2, as a basis. It is used to assess intercultural competence in students participating in international experiences before, during, and after their time abroad and has been tested and designed to be valid to all cultural orientations. They tested the six dimensions described in the DMIS, namely denial, defense, and minimization and acceptance, adaptation, and integration, and found support for most elements of the instrument and evaluated their results against earlier studies (Bennett, 1986, 1993). Instead of the six dimensions, they used previous research on the DMIS to identify five factors that fit the data better than either previous study: denial/defense, reversal, minimization, acceptance/adaptation, and encapsulated marginality. Their findings demonstrated support for the continued use of the IDI to test students' intercultural sensitivity development after a period abroad.

These tests also included evaluation of the possible effects of social desirability in respondents' answers through the use of the Marlowe-Crown social desirability scale (Hammer et al., 2003). The findings showed no significant differences between social desirability and the five IDI scales assessed, meaning scores did not appear to be influenced by the students' aspirations toward social acceptance. As many tests of intercultural competencies can seem to be leading or transparent, this finding is significant in supporting the use of the IDI to attain true results of subjects' development.

3.2.3.2 INCA Framework of Intercultural Competence

The INCA (2004) project was a collaborative project between scholars from the US and Europe, including Byram, Köhlmann, Müller-Jacquier, and Buden with the aim of developing assessment tools for intercultural competence. The research conducted uncovered a new theoretical framework on which these subsequent tools were based.

The first component is tolerance for ambiguity, which is the ability and willingness to accept that there can be multiple realities in any situation. The second component is behavioral flexibility, which is the ability and willingness to adjust one's own behavior to appropriately fit the needs of any given situation. The third component is communicative awareness, which is a realization of the fact that different cultures may use different communicative styles, structures, and other conventions. The fourth component is the skill of knowledge discovery; this pertains to the ability to gather knowledge through life experience or other methods, such as research and

second hand accounts. The fifth component is respect for others, which includes a willingness to suspend primary belief in one's own cultural beliefs and practices and disbelief in the cultural beliefs and practices of others. The sixth component is empathy, which is the ability to see and experience things through the perspective of another.

The INCA Framework does not stipulate how these components can or may be acquired or how they are related to one another. There is also the possibility that there may be more than just these six components and that likelihood is not clearly stated within the model. This ambiguity in aspects of the model make it unsuitable for incorporation into the present study.

3.2.3.3 Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory

The Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI) serves to evaluate student development during a period abroad. Kelley and Meyers (1995) designed the CCAI to work as one of many complementary instruments used in assessing the ability to adapt to any culture. The four areas measured by the CCAI are emotional resilience, flexibility/openness, perceptual acuity, and personal autonomy.

In a study to examine the usefulness and reliability of the CCAI, Davis and Finney (2006) found that there are major flaws in the basic structure of the tool. Their findings, after administering the test to a random sample of 725 sophomores at a Mid-Atlantic university, showed a poor fit of the students' responses with the four realms meant to be measured by the CCAI. As such, they insist that this inventory should not be used to assess cross-cultural adaptability in students participating in programs abroad until further tests are done to investigate its' suitability and revisions are made to eliminate the error in fit; again making this model inapplicable in the present study.

3.2.3.4 The Reflective Model of Intercultural Competency

Recognizing the increasing reliance on quantitative surveys to evaluate student outcomes from study abroad, Williams (2009) proposed an alternative qualitative approach to collecting data that also helps encourage students to reflect on and contextualize their experiences. Because of this qualitative focus, there are several areas of similarity between this model and the methodology used in the present study. As such, these more relevant aspects will be discussed in greater detail as follows.

This is less of a specific instrument to measure development concretely and more of an all-encompassing process for gaining data of significant quality and depth through which to review the study abroad experience. Williams' work began with the establishment of a specific set of learning outcomes for study abroad, largely based on her university's desire for their students to develop intercultural competence and the three dimensions of it, namely the cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions. They are presented during the pre-departure stage to students, faculty, staff, and parents with descriptions of situations or events in which they might experience things that lead them to develop along these lines which enables students to be better prepared to deal with them when they are encountered while abroad.

To examine the degree to which these outcomes are met during the sojourn, end of term evaluations are the primary method for data collection. Students are asked about aspects of the culture they understand better, times when they had to be flexible or creative, and whether they believe they are different because of their study abroad, among other questions. Responses to these surveys have found that a majority of students, 85%, respond positively and at least half expand upon their answers providing researchers with more opportunities to gain in-depth insight into student responses and remove socially expected responses in a way not possible with quantitative data collection methods.

In addition to the survey, a photo contest through the university study abroad office has also been used where students are asked to submit photos and explanations of how they demonstrate the same learning objectives. It is the explanations provided with the photos that researchers can use to extract even more information regarding student development abroad.

Because of the qualitative nature of the data collected through this model many of the findings and conclusions are easily utilized in many facets of study abroad to improve the experience of future participants. For example, Williams discusses incorporating previous students' comments on what they wish they had known in certain situations into the following years pre-departure programs, allowing those students that extra insight into what they may experience and providing them more opportunity to learn and plan to be able to more successfully process a situation. The process of data collection used here also helps foster the student's individual reflection on their development, making them better able to identify and articulate the growth they experience, which will benefit them in multiple ways upon their return to their home campus, including their own employability and campus internationalization. The qualitative and reflective nature of this form of evaluation make it the most relevant to the present study.

3.2.3.5 Summary

This section has provided an overview of several of the existing methods of evaluation of student development during a period abroad. While none of these models are applied in the present study, an understanding of the techniques popularly used provides insight into some of the most common methods and areas evaluated. While most of the tools commonly used are quantitative leaning some, such as Williams' (2009) model, are qualitative and provide background and inspiration for the techniques employed in this study. Specific detail of these techniques will be provided in section 4.6.

3.2.4 Criticisms of Study Abroad

Though it continues to grow in popularity and accessibility, there are still many criticisms of study abroad by academics, potential participants, parents, and society as a whole. It is this researcher's belief that many of these doubts arise from the difficulty scholars face in adequately assessing individual study abroad programs.

3.2.4.1 *Glorified Vacation*

While faculty of language departments have traditionally understood the value of a period abroad, many other academics and administrators have been more reluctant to view it as a vital part of a students' learning, instead seeing it as superfluous or even distracting (Raggi-Moore et al., 2005). Short-term programs, run over the summer or winter breaks, have been notoriously dismissed as extra curricular bonuses for students as evidenced by the use of the term 'Vacation Study Abroad' until as recently as the late 1990's (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004). Student participants are often also guilty of this denigration by viewing the experiences as more of a 'trip' than an academic experience, especially in the time leading up to their departure (Hadis, 2005). Those who question whether these programs are any different from a vacation highlight the fact that students who return often talk excitedly about the experiences and friendships made with other US students while abroad, instead of with host country nationals, and the continued reports of excessive alcohol consumption and related trouble from participants (Vande Berg et al., 2012).

3.2.4.2 *Program Validity*

As stated earlier, it is common for university goal statements and missions to identify international education as a major focus of their programs but few go on to provide meaningful or visible support to back up those statements. It is difficult to examine the merit of study abroad programs as opposed to just raw numbers of participants and program options. In this instance, a common program classification system would, again, help to provide much needed clarity. If Engle and Engle's system (discussed in detail in section 3.2.2.1) were adopted and a program had only level 2 status it would provide the impetus for them to develop their programs further to provide more meaningful educational experiences and outcomes. In this same way they would be able to clearly demonstrate their future improvement by adding level 3, 4, or 5 programs to their offerings (Engle & Engle, 2003).

3.2.4.3 *Student Self-Selection*

The student who chooses to participate in a program abroad is likely to be one who already has at least some inclination toward being interested in and appreciative of other cultures (Anderson et al., 2006; Dwyer, 2004; Hadis, 2005; Norris & Dwyer, 2005; Vande Berg, 2007; Williams, 2005). As Dwyer notes, this "raises the question of whether the experience promotes greater racial, ethnic, and cultural tolerance, or whether the students who study abroad are *a priori* a self-selected, more tolerant group" (2004, p. 158). Many programs, especially those that facilitate direct enrollment or are conducted in a language other than English, have high minimum GPA requirements for all applicants, unintentionally discouraging those students who are less confident or have less previous international or cultural experience. A study by Kehl and Morris (2008) addressed in detail in section 3.2.1.3, has successfully taken the inclination into account, comparing an abroad group with a group approved to go abroad in the future, instead of with a non-inclined group on campus.

Along these lines, the more motivated students are more likely to enroll in a study abroad program that involves direct enrollment in a foreign university. Such enrollment can often

jeopardize the participants' time to degree completion at their home university and the transferability of their credits to their degree program (Norris & Dwyer, 2005). The willingness to take these risks shows they are more keenly aware of the potential benefits they will receive. This student typically begins their program with a competent level of second language proficiency, a willingness to engage with a local culture, the ability to adapt well to challenges, and a self-starting learning style (Vande Berg, 2007).

3.2.4.4 Peer Groups

It is human nature to gravitate toward people or things we know when we are in an unfamiliar or challenging situation and students abroad are no different. One of the most common phenomena is the formation of strong American peer groups abroad, often among people who would not be friends on their home campuses (Ife, 2000; Magnan & Back, 2007; Norris & Dwyer, 2005; Pellegrino, 1998; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Wilkinson, 1998a). These are especially prevalent among hybrid and Island programs where students have less opportunity for meaningful interaction with host culture peers.

Wilkinson (1998a) cites Stranger Theory in her discussion of the potential benefits of home culture peer groups abroad. The group of compatriots provides an opportunity for them to share the responsibilities involved in cultural adaptation. In many instances these groups serve an important function as a confirmation of their native identity, giving them the confidence necessary to face cultural and linguistic differences. They may be able to piece together their individual knowledge to make sense of a larger whole. However, in others they may serve as a crutch. When a student meets a challenge or experiences failure in navigating a cultural situation they may retreat into this group (Allen, 2010). They feel discouraged and doubt their abilities, missing out on opportunities to retest themselves and learn from their mistakes.

3.2.4.5 Summary

This section has provided an introduction and overview of several aspects of study abroad. The three main areas of learning influenced by it, the cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains, were introduced and within each several key areas were highlighted. The discussion then moved to the more practical and logistical matters related to these programs, specifically their length, intentional programming, and accommodation. Several previously developed tools for the evaluation of study abroad, both in student learning and program design, were then reviewed. Finally, several of the most common and relevant critiques of study abroad programs were introduced with an emphasis on those that are influenced by program design. Building on this, the next section will detail intercultural competence and, specifically, its development in aspects of international education such as study abroad.

3.3 Intercultural Competence

As our world becomes increasingly global and interconnected, facilitating communication between people from opposite sides of the world with various technologies, the value of the ability to

appropriately and successfully interact with different cultures has become clear. As Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel (2011) put it, “Broadly speaking, globalization has brought about the realization that modern societies must learn to cooperate in order to prevent their mutual self-destruction” (p. 2). Specifically, intercultural competence includes the ability to communicate with someone from another background successfully to be able to gain his or her trust and facilitate a productive relationship, in whatever form it may take. This encompasses a wide range of attributes necessary for one to excel in our global society including attitudes, knowledge, skills, and beliefs. These attributes will be discussed in more depth in following sections.

As mentioned previously, there are a wide variety of terms used in discussions of study abroad and the intercultural learning that is intended to come with it. Bennett (2010) provided a detailed description of several of the different aspects of cultural contact and experiences that are highly relevant to study abroad. A modified version of this list is provided in Table 2. It is important to note the differing levels of cultural interaction involved in these terms and that ‘intercultural’ refers to actual participation in cross-cultural contact and communication and that the learning associated with intercultural experiences is transferable beyond those specific contexts.

Table 2 Key terms in cultural contact

Term	Definition
International relations	Refers to multiple nations and their institutions
International education	Refers to curriculums that incorporate attention to the institutions of other societies, and it refers to the movement of students, faculty, researchers, and other academics across national borders.
Multicultural	Refers to a particular kind of situation, one in which there are two or more cultures represented.
Cross-cultural	Refers to a particular kind of contact among people, one in which the people are from two or more different cultures.
Intercultural	Refers to a particular kind of interaction or communication among people, one in which differences in cultures play a role in the creation of meaning. May also refer to the kind of skills or competence necessary to deal with cross-cultural contact.
Intercultural learning	Refers to the acquisition of general (transferable) intercultural competence; that is, competence that can be applied to dealing with cross-cultural contact in general, not just skills useful only for dealing with a particular other culture.

Adapted from Bennett, M. (2010). A short conceptual history of intercultural learning in study abroad. In W. Hoffa & S. DePaul (Eds) A history of U.S. study abroad: 1965-present. Special publication of *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, pp. 419-449.

3.3.1 Culture

Before examining intercultural competence further we must first identify what culture means in this context. The Merriam-Webster dictionary (“Merriam-Webster,” n.d.) defines culture as,

The integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations and the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group; also: the characteristic features of everyday existence shared by people in a place or time.

Culture, therefore, is dynamic. It will constantly grow to reflect the society within which it exists, meaning it is constantly influenced by immigration and emigration within a country or territory. In 1871 Sir Edward Burnett Tylor defined culture as "...that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871, p. 1). The specific society in which the individual participates is key as the acknowledged definitions will vary accordingly (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997). In 1954 Kroeber and Kluckholm identified more than 200 different meanings of the term culture, all credible and applicable (McLaren, 1998). It is important to keep this in mind to avoid discounting any key interpretation of the word in favor of the definition we choose for ourselves.

3.3.1.1 Culture's Characteristics

To more clearly understand the vastness and validity of these many different understandings of the term culture we must examine how culture is created or shared. Essential to this is the fact that culture is learned; it is passed down through familial and social groups and learned through interaction, observation, and imitation, beginning almost in infancy (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2009). Through this, we begin to develop our own personal identity or sense of self, which is strongly representative of the ideals of our culture (Dolby, 2004; Samovar et al., 2011). This also allows for continual development of an individual and accepts that they may learn new ideas or beliefs through experiences and contact with other groups, integrating them into their own to facilitate learning and participating in a new culture.

Culture is shared through both verbal and non-verbal symbols, such as words, gestures and images, to convey meaning (Jandt, 2012). Members of a culture will attribute the same meaning to these expressions to develop an ease of understanding between themselves and the sharing of these meanings is the most basic sign of involvement in the culture (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). Culture can be both visible and invisible, or visible only to those who already have in-group membership.

Preservation of culture provides future generations with a roadmap and references to consult when unknown situations are encountered. In this sense, there is a *cultural inheritance* meaning basic ideals and expectations were born long before the current participants and will endure long after they are gone (Samovar et al., 2011). Importantly, this requires a continued stream of communication between members of a culture to ensure the transmission. Future generations may modify or contribute aspects, but the accumulation of the whole is what we know as culture (Jandt, 2012).

Some of the most pertinent aspects of culture to this study of intercultural competence in study abroad are those behaviors and actions that may influence a student's decisions such as: perception (the process of selection, organization and evaluation of stimuli) (Almarza, Martínez, &

Llavador, 2015; Bennett, 2010; Lutterman-Aguilar & Gingerich, 2002), patterns of cognition (the way in which one reasons and approaches problem solving or drastic variances between traditional western and traditional eastern models) (Bennett, 2009; Jackson, 2005; Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004; Williams, 2005), verbal behaviors (Byram, 2000; Cadd, 2012; Pellegrino, 1998; Rivers, 1998; Segalowitz et al., 2004; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004), nonverbal behaviors (including gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, posture, movement, use of space, touch, silence, etc.) (Hammer, 2012; Martin & Hammer, 1989; Root & Ngampornchai, 2012; Ting-Toomey, 1999), and the context in which they act (Cadd, 2012; Samovar et al., 2009). In many cases, a study abroad location will expose participants to an entirely new set of these cultural norms that they must adjust to in order to understand and act appropriately within their host context.

3.3.2 Communication

Communication is a process with many actors and influences. Byram explained it as a focus on the establishment and maintenance of relationships and suggested that “...the efficacy of communication depends upon using language to demonstrate one’s willingness to relate, which often involves the indirectness of politeness rather than the direct and ‘efficient’ choice of language full of information” (1997, p. 3). All communicators will bring their own knowledge, culture, and skills to a conversation, regardless of their language abilities or the audience with which they are speaking (Byram, 1997; Samovar et al., 2009, 2011). Intercultural communication is the exchange of messages between people of various countries and social backgrounds and the study of it examines the manner in which these messages are communicated and interpreted.

Over the past several decades, largely due to the increase in international experiences for US university students, intercultural communication has become a more mature and respected field of academic inquiry (Vande Berg, 2007). “By increasing students’ intercultural sensitivity, it is reasonable to expect that they will also be better prepared to address different cultures within the US—including those on their college campus” (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 467). This will have an effect on them while they are abroad, once they return to their home campus, and throughout their lives.

3.3.2.1 Willingness to Communicate

Willingness to communicate (WTC) was first highlighted by McCroskey and Baer who defined it as “the probability of engaging in communication when free to choose to do so” (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels, 1998, p. 546). There are many different factors that can influence an individual’s willingness to communicate, such as how well they know those they are speaking with, the number of people they are speaking with, the status of those they are speaking with, how well they know the topic they are speaking about, among many others. All of these facets are significant in the speaker’s native language and just as or even more significant in a second language.

In a review of previous studies, MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, and Donovan (2003) explain that intensive learning experiences, such as immersion, have been shown to influence variables in

language learning including WTC and individual motivation. In their own study they investigated first-year French language students to test for differences between immersion and other intensive learning environments and those in traditional second language classes on non-linguistic outcome variables, which were specifically WTC, communication apprehension, perceived competence, and frequency of communication in the target language. Fifty-nine students participated in total with 27 in intensive programs, of those 14 were in intensive summer immersion programs, 11 in full-time late immersion programs, and 2 with partial immersion, and 32 in non-immersion programs in Canada.

From the data collected there did appear to be a positive influence on non-linguistic facets of language learning after participation in immersion programs in French. The participants had an increased willingness to communicate which showed itself an increased frequency of communication in the target language. This leads MacIntyre et al. to conclude that fostering increases in WTC is a valid goal for language education and could be seen as yet another explicit criterion for the evaluation of such programs, which could have an impact on the future structuring of study abroad programs.

Kassing (1997) looked at whether or not people vary in willingness to communicate, specifically in intercultural interactions. He highlighted the differences among cultures in their predisposition toward being willing or unwilling to initiate communication with others. To assess this he created the Intercultural Willingness to Communicate Scale (IWTC), which adopted several aspects of the already proven WTC scale as created by McCroskey. Because of the vast and varied nature of definitions expressed for intercultural communication, four separate items were included in the scale to reflect them: “Talk with someone I perceive to be different than me; Talk with someone from another country; Talk with someone from a culture I know very little about; and Talk with someone from another culture” (1997, p. 401).

After the creation of the scale two studies were conducted to test its validity, both using voluntary US undergraduates enrolled in introductory communication classes. In the first, participants completed a 12-item version of the IWTC scale and an open-ended question asking how many international friends they had. The results showed high reliability for the IWTC scale and that those with high IWTC were more likely to report having international friends than those with low IWTC. In the second, participants completed a 17-item version of the IWTC scale and demographic questions. The results of study two showed that the IWTC scale scores should correlate moderately and positively with the WTC scale, demonstrating the relationship between the two tests.

This study of IWTC is especially relevant to the present study as a central tenant of intercultural competence is interaction with other cultures—if a student participating in study abroad has low levels of willingness to communicate they will be denied the opportunities for exchange and learning in their host culture. Though much more research is needed on the differences and relationship between inter- and intra- cultural communication it is important to keep this concept involved in discussion on student development abroad. As Kassing (1997)

emphasized, sending and host cultures may have varying innate levels of WTC and these may have a significant impact on the study abroad student experience.

3.3.3 Barriers to Intercultural Competence

Continuing the discussion from IWTC and the focus on factors that may hinder one's intercultural experiences, there are several barriers that may exist. Five main barriers will be addressed in this section; they are ethnocentrism, uncertainty avoidance, communication as a cure-all, stereotyping, and prejudices and racism.

3.3.3.1 Ethnocentrism

The most prevalent problem with intercultural interaction is the difficulty that arises in accounting for one's own ethnocentrism, which can lead a person to believe that their culture is superior to any other (Jandt, 2012). People engaging in ethnocentrism simplify beliefs, ideas, or actions into right and wrong and dismiss those that do not fit with their cultural standards or understanding of society (Nanda & Warms, 2010). Strong cultures tend to have similarly strong levels of inadvertent ethnocentricity. Insular culture groups tend to have little meaningful interaction with those from other cultures, leading to an inability or unwillingness to understand (Samovar et al., 2009). Though it is often described from a derogatory perspective, ethnocentrism is common among almost all people and does not necessarily lead to negative interactions. Nanda and Warms (2010) assert that some degree of ethnocentrism is actually vital as a means to hold a certain culture or segment of society together through its common ideals.

3.3.3.2 Uncertainty Avoidance

Intercultural communication tends to place a disproportionate focus on the 'other' in a conversation. This means the communicator is hyperaware of the differences between themselves and the person of the other culture with whom they are communicating. This can lead to assumptions about appropriate behaviors or attitudes that could jeopardize either party's position in a given situation, without due consideration of their own role in that situation. People will remove themselves from situations as a type of defense mechanism if they sense potential for being confronted with a person or culture that is too unfamiliar, thereby preventing the development of ICC skills or meaningful understanding of the other. Hofstede (1986) calls this uncertainty avoidance and describes it as "...the extent to which people within a culture are made nervous by situations which they perceive as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable, situations which they therefore try to avoid by maintaining strict codes of behavior and a belief in absolute truths" (p. 308). This can also lead to people developing an aversion to situations in which they anticipate they may be unsure of what to expect from the other people involved.

3.3.3.3 Communication as a Cure-All

As the need for global communication has become more obvious it has sometimes been seen as a simple means of creating quick and easy understanding between all cultures. While it will help, communication cannot be expected to accomplish such a feat in isolation. Communication is a

process and will depend on the input from both parties to determine whether it is capable of solving a problem or, at the other extreme, actually causes more problems to be managed (Couch, 2010). Samovar et al. (2009) remind that there are actually occasions when communication can be the cause of problems. In addition, the many layers and attributes of different cultural norms for communication must be acknowledged and well understood for the interaction to be successful.

3.3.3.4 Stereotyping

Stereotypes are overgeneralizations of attributes, behaviors, or beliefs by one person or group about another (Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002). As Scollon and Scollon (2001) put it, “When one of those [themes] is singled out for emphasis and given a positive or negative value...then we would want to call that ideology rather than cultural description” (p. 271). This act occurs often when people attempt to anticipate what to expect in a particular situation and may be used as a tool to try to lessen the uncertainty spoken of previously (Samovar et al., 2009). Allport (1979) described stereotypes as being derived from rumors, rather than being proven in fact, through the stereotyper’s perception of the values and behaviors they witness from the stereotyped. This may lead to misinterpretation of messages in intercultural encounters when we may try to fit what we have received into the unsupported idea of what we think the sender will want us to understand. This confusion can also often add to ethnocentric tendencies as most stereotypes are negative and can be easily used to justify placing the other at a level below that of our own culture (McLaren, 1998). Ideally, through study abroad negative stereotypes can be counteracted by intentionally designed programs that promote intergroup contact, proving Allport’s hypothesis.

3.3.3.5 Prejudice and Racism

Prejudice and racism are commonly found in cultural groups throughout the world. Often it is the stereotypes one group holds about another that lead to the prejudiced notions or attitudes that people experience. Allport (1979) also offers a definition of prejudice as “an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group” (p. 9). In dealing with study abroad specifically racism and prejudice have been identified as a major issue by Talburt and Stewart (1999). In Spain, one of their participants articulated her struggle as a Black person and minority in Madrid where people regularly commented on her appearance. Because of this, after just one week in her host country she began idealizing race in the US, comparing the situation at home to that she encountered in Spain where she felt Black people were not considered in the creation of historical narratives or constructs. Her lack of preparation for the issues of racism abroad led to her retreating into what she knew from home, stifling her opportunity to see and experience more while in Spain.

3.3.4 Development of Intercultural Competence in Domestic Environments

Though not directly relevant to the focus of study abroad in this study, many researchers have previously created intentional programs to support the development of intercultural competencies in students in domestic classroom environments.

In a business course in intercultural communication for undergraduates Holmes and O'Neill (2012) targeted intercultural competence development by requiring students to engage in an ethnographic fieldwork assignment that included engaging with a cultural other over a series of meetings. In this process, they structured a data collection model to Prepare, Engage, Evaluate, and Reflect (PEER). They asked students to actively recognize their assumptions or prejudices prior to meeting with their other culture subject. Students employed field notes to record their thoughts after these encounters, and reflected critically on them "which prompted a (re)construction and/or (re)negotiation of taken-for-granted ways of thinking, behaving and communicating" (2012, p. 711). Their findings showed that students demonstrated increased awareness of their intercultural abilities and greater evaluation of themselves. This was part of a greater appreciation of both their own and other's worldview, an important aspect of intercultural competence development. These students also demonstrated a stronger understanding of their own agency within an intercultural encounter. Other examples of domestic programs to increase internationalization and intercultural competence can be found in Lee, Poch, Shaw, Williams (2012), Thanaraj (2016), Soria and Troisi (2014), and Hser (2005).

3.3.5 Definitions and Models of Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence is a concept important to the globalization of education with many different facets and known by a variety of terms that are commonly used as synonyms, or at least considered as closely related, such as world mindedness, cross-cultural competence and global citizenship (Braskamp et al., 2009; Deardorff, 2006).

According to Paige (1994), there are three main factors that comprise the intercultural experience: intensity of emotions or culture shock, knowledge areas that incorporate cross-cultural differences that the student finds difficult to understand, and the actual bases of cultural differences that influence how people evaluate information. Development of intercultural skills helps students cultivate an awareness of their emotions that allows them to be able to successfully navigate the challenges and frustrations that come from immersion in a new culture. Through cognitive, affective, and behavioral learning experiences students become able to use these skills to acquire insider knowledge of a culture and begin to act in contextually appropriate ways.

Braskamp, Braskamp, and Merrill (2009) state that the goal of undergraduate education is to develop students as whole human beings, meaning that "higher education leaders and faculty are not only concerned with intellectual development and learning but also moral, social, physical and spiritual development" (p. 101). They also use the term 'global learning and development' as it clearly acknowledges both the inner and external growth of students. They cite Kegan's work, which argues that growth comes as a result of meaning making in three different

spheres: cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal (Braskamp et al., 2009). Through this, it becomes clear that university is an optimal time to address intercultural competency as students are constantly confronted with new people, places, and ideas while also being supported by the academic and welfare professionals in their institutions.

3.3.5.1 Description of Intercultural Competence Model Typology

Many scholars have set out to create models and theories of intercultural competence. Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) detailed five different subjective categories of these models which will be detailed below. They provide several caveats to their categories, including the fact that no categories are mutually exclusive, classifications other than the five identified may be possible, and that their categories may include ethnocentric biases as a result of their being developed in a western context (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). These model descriptions help to provide insight into how the different aspects of each interact with and are influenced by one another.

The first category is compositional models. As the name suggests, they identify the different components the researcher finds key to intercultural competence. No relationship between the elements is specified. This type almost appears as a simple list of attitudes, knowledge, skills, etc. Compositional models include Deardorff's (2006) Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence, the INCA Framework (2004), and Ting-Toomey and Kurogi's (1998) Facework-Based Model of Intercultural Competence.

The second category is co-orientational models. These models focus on the comprehension outcomes of interactional processes. They cover how intercultural understanding, meaning, and empathy are developed in people through these interactions. Co-orientational models include Fantini's (1995) Intercultural Interlocutor Competence Model.

The third category is the developmental models. These models all adhere to the idea that competence is an evolutionary process. They look at how it develops over time and the various stages one goes through to attain the growth. Each individual stage signifies a level in the maturation of the individual in successfully maneuvering through intercultural situations. Examples of development models include King and Baxter Magolda's (2005) Intercultural Maturity Model and Bennett's (1986) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity.

The fourth category of models is adaptational models. These focus on the actual adaptation process as a part of intercultural competence. They highlight the adjustments made in attitudes, understandings, and behavior in interactions with people from different cultures. Adaptational models include Kim's (1988) Intercultural Communicative Competence Model.

The fifth category is causal path models. They describe the causal relationship between the different components of intercultural competence. These models are laid out to create predictions about the linear process an individual will undergo as they move toward gaining competence. These predictions can be empirically tested by standard cross-sectional multivariate techniques (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Examples of causal path models are Hammer,

Wiseman, Rasmussen, and Brusckke's (1998) Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Model of Intercultural Competence and Deardorff's (2006) Process Model of Intercultural Competence.

The following sections will detail three main definitions of intercultural competence and four models designed in accordance with these definitions, specifically Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, Byram's Intercultural Competence Model, and both Deardorff's Pyramid and Process Models of Intercultural Competence. These models are summarized because of their applicability to the present study, as will be discussed in more detail below, and their popularity within the field.

3.3.5.2 Bennett's Definition of Intercultural Competence

Bennett (1993) defines intercultural sensitivity as "the construction of reality as increasingly capable of accommodating cultural difference that constitutes development" (p. 24) and views the development of it in terms of the stages of a student's personal growth. While he does not posit that every international sojourner will go through each stage, he does present them as a typical progression of development. Additionally, there is no set age for when an individual will go through each stage as they are instead directly linked to experiences. A young university student may have significantly more intercultural experience than a retiree, causing them to be further along the developmental process.

3.3.5.2.1 Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

Bennett (1993) presents his Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) to define the attainment of intercultural sensitivity in terms of the stages of a student's personal growth. The model consists of three ethnocentric stages (denial, defense, and minimization) and three ethnorelative stages (acceptance, adaptation, and integration) and is considered a developmental model in Spitzberg and Changnon's (2009) model designations.

The ethnocentric stages assume that the worldview of the learner holds their own culture as central to all reality. During the denial stage the student does not consider the existence of true cultural difference and it is important to the individual to avoid any discussion of cultural issues to avoid making them uncomfortable in their new environment. They may actively try to cut themselves off from those they see as different. During the defense stage the learner accepts the culture of the other but sees it as a threat to their personal culture. They see their culture as the correct culture and there is a strong 'us versus them' mentality leading to high criticality of the other, as a defense mechanism. Often there are high levels of negative stereotyping present. In the third stage, minimization, the learner begins to focus more on the similarities between the cultures instead of the differences. Though they are becoming more open, it is still at a superficial level. At this point they maintain that all human beings are, essentially, the same, resulting in the application of assumptions typical to their own culture on other cultures, where they may be entirely inappropriate.

The ethnorelative stages assume that "cultures can only be understood relative to one another" and analyzes behaviors within their specific cultural contexts (Bennett, 1993, p. 43). Any

culture is seen as just one among many. During the first ethnorelative stage, acceptance, the learner acknowledges and respects cultural differences and understands how they shape behaviors and values. They accept that each culture is just as complex and meaningful as the other and demonstrate behaviors that reflect respect. They begin to be able to view a situation from the perspective of another, though they may still apply negative stereotypes. During the adaptation stage learners can understand other cultures in the context of their own worldview and shape their own behaviors to be appropriate to a given situation and express empathy with others. The individual's wider worldview will begin to expand, including aspects of other cultures' worldviews. They also adapt their behavior to fit effectively within another culture with first cognitive and then behavioral changes. Finally, during the integration stage the learner is able to move between cultures, acting appropriately in each, and holds a clear understanding of themselves throughout. They can evaluate any given situation in multiple frames of reference. Their own identity is being constantly redefined to include new aspects encountered through experiences and education. They will evaluate their own values and beliefs in relation to others. This stage is only reached by a small portion of society—those who are of minority groups living amongst a largely majority population, those who live as long-term expatriates, and those who live a life constantly moving about.

The DMIS model was used to create an instrument called the IDI to measure an individual's intercultural sensitivity, discussed in greater detail earlier in the chapter (see section 3.2.3.1) but, here it is useful to note that there have been no major longitudinal studies using the IDI, meaning it has proven valuable in determining an individual's stage at one point in time, but not at charting their movement through the stages. Bennett (1993) says that an individual may skip one stage to reach another or that they may regress instead of moving forward. These issues raise questions as to whether this model is actually developmental or whether it may be more accurately described as a descriptive framework, without a defined progression, as such in the current study where we seek to find development over a defined period of time using an instrument based on a model with this potential would have been ineffective.

Bennett (1993) stipulates that a person may be more sensitive to one culture, according to the model, than to another, depending on their familiarity with the particular cultures and their practices. This means the model is not an inclusive, general model but instead highly context specific. Additionally, while one may be in an advanced stage within a comfortable and familiar context they may be in another when initially put into a new situation, as occurs during study abroad. The extremes of this new situation may promote a return to a defense status, almost acting as a form of self-preservation when the differences come as a shock. The DMIS is also weakened slightly as it has been created in a North American context, meaning it is potentially insensitive to other cultures. One study using the model outside of North America was done by Greenholtz (2005) in Japan where he had questions as to its validity outside of the US. One caveat for this conclusion is that the IDI is only offered in English in the original form, meaning the researcher had to translate the tool into Japanese for his participants who were not adequately conversant in

English. Greenholtz collaborated with 6 other fluent Japanese and English speakers to ensure the translation was appropriate to convey the intended meanings by each statement, but it is still possible that this led to the reported ineffectiveness of the tool in the Japanese context.

3.3.5.3 *Byram's Definition of Intercultural Competence*

Byram asserted that the foundations of intercultural competence are in the attitudes of the participants in the encounter. In short someone with some degree of intercultural competence is someone who is able to see relationships between different cultures—both internal and external to a society—and is able to mediate, that is interpret each in terms of the other, either for themselves or for other people. (2000, p. 9). The learner must be curious and open, ready to suspend disbelief about other cultures and beliefs about one's own culture, and be willing to relativize one's own values, beliefs, and behaviors. They have to be willing to examine how they themselves might seem to an outsider with a different set of values, beliefs, and behaviors.

3.3.5.3.1 *Byram's Intercultural Communicative Competence Model*

Byram (1997) created a model in the context of language schools, where students would learn not only to use the language proficiently, but also about the culture of the countries in which the language is spoken. Many of these schools also exist to prepare the students for an exchange or immersion program abroad. This model, which focuses on communicative competencies, has five components, or *savoirs* in Byram's terminology, and, as such, is a compositional model based on Spitzberg and Changnon's (2009) model designations.

The first component is attitude, or *savoir être*. This refers to the individual's curiosity and openness toward other cultures. It also includes their willingness to suspend belief in their own culture and beliefs and to view them from the perspectives of people from other cultures.

The second component is knowledge, or *savoirs*, which can be both general and specific. General knowledge of processes of socialization and individual interaction is important while specific knowledge of the social structure which exists in one's own and in other cultures, including their practices and beliefs, is also necessary.

The third component is the skills to interpret events, practices, and documents of another culture, or *savoir comprendre*. This involves explaining these elements to a point where one is able to relate them to similar things in their own culture. They can identify both common ground and differences. This also assists them in understanding how misunderstandings between cultures may arise and the ethnocentrism by which many of them are motivated.

The fourth component is the skills of discovery and interaction, or *savoir apprendre / faire*, which is the ability to acquire knowledge about other cultures and the ability to use this knowledge, along with appropriate attitudes and skills, in the context of interaction and communication with those of other cultures to gain further knowledge. These skills of interaction allow an intercultural speaker to converse effectively, helping them to manage any potential breakdowns in communication.

The fifth component is critical cultural awareness, or *savoir s'engager*. This is an awareness of cultural perspectives, practices, products, and other norms in one's own culture as well as in others. They must be able to evaluate these elements in a critical manner. Again, this trait allows the intercultural speaker to assist in mediating any intercultural exchanges, but with an explicit critical standpoint.

This model describes an interculturally competent person as one who is open and curious about other cultures. One who possesses, and is open to gaining more, knowledge of others. An individual who is able to foster intercultural relationships and is able to successfully mediate any misunderstandings that may arise within them. They are willing to be constructively critical of their own culture, as well as others. As it emerges from an environment of education, each of these components is presented as attainable through curricular means.

As this is a compositional model, it is likely that other, less closely related, stages of a more general development may inhibit or promote the development of these components in an individual. It is also possible that these components may be attained through means other than formal education, such as life experiences. There may also be more than the five elements listed in the model that play a role in the development of intercultural competency.

3.3.5.4 Deardorff's Definition of Intercultural Competence

Darla Deardorff (2006) defines intercultural competence as "knowledge of others; knowledge of self; skills to interpret and relate; skills to discover and/or interact; valuing others' values, beliefs and behaviors; and revitalizing one's self" (p. 247). In her work to develop this definition she conducted an in depth investigation of the actual definition of intercultural competence, in which two groups, international administrators and scholars, were asked to complete several rounds of questionnaires with the aim of finding a consensus of meaning (Deardorff, 2006). She used a Delphi technique to be able to structure information gathering from a geographically diverse panel in order to reach the most relevant audience without relying on any participants more heavily than others.

International administrators largely preferred a general definition of intercultural competency, as opposed to one that clearly stipulates specific traits or abilities (Deardorff, 2006). In keeping with this generality, the administrators also tended to use a wider range of terms to refer to the concept of intercultural competence such as "...cross-cultural competence, global competence, intercultural competence, and global citizenship" (2006, p. 247). Deardorff suggests that this is due to the fact that administrators are responsible to their individual institutions, which often work with and assess students, faculty, and programs in a wide variety of academic majors and require that they remain flexible with what specific learning or development they seek to promote (Deardorff, 2006).

The second group, intercultural scholars, also had a wide variance in their responses but, importantly, those responses with 85% or higher agreement tended to identify behavior as a major component of their definitions. The top definition from the Delphi study characterized intercultural

competence as “the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one’s intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes” (2006, p. 249). These responses indicate a necessity for a base of the requisite attitudes of openness, respect, and curiosity for any student to develop intercultural competence. On this base, they will then be able to develop the knowledge and skills required. These three facets then lead to possible internal and external outcomes of the increased cultural awareness.

Importantly, language abilities are not explicitly stated anywhere in Deardorff’s model (2006). This is due to the lack of agreement on its role from the scholars she contacted. It is noted as being an important skill, but in no way sufficient on its own; alone language ability does not guarantee successful intercultural experiences without the presence of the other aspects identified.

3.3.5.4.1 Deardorff’s Models of Intercultural Competence

From the definition provided above, Deardorff identifies attitude as the fundamental starting point in the development of intercultural competence. The attitudes identified are vital to the development of the knowledge and skills also needed. Respect for others and their culture is required; a student must be willing to show that others are valued, no matter how different they may be. Openness is also relevant to this in that one must refrain from judgment making as they experience new things. Curiosity and discovery imply a willingness to explore people, places, and things that lie beyond one’s comfort zone and that they are able to withstand uncertainty.

The scholars surveyed in Deardorff’s study agreed upon several areas of knowledge key to intercultural competence. Most important is understanding the world from others’ perspectives. The way in which the individual recognizes how their own culture has influenced their identity and worldview is identified as their cultural self-awareness. Deep understanding and knowledge of other cultures involves the understanding of the role others’ culture has on their behavior and communication, as well as the historical context of cultures. Deardorff also includes the knowledge of culture-specific information, meaning to attain intercultural competence one must be versed in a variety of cultures. Finally, sociolinguistic awareness is identified as the awareness of the relationship between language and meaning in a social context.

The skills identified in the model are those that are useful in acquiring and processing knowledge, specifically about one’s own and other cultures. Listening and observation are included as key skills. Several cognitive skills are also included, namely analyzing, evaluating, and relating. The ability to interpret knowledge, surroundings, and experiences is the last skill mentioned. Each of these skills assists in the on-going development of intercultural competence through knowledge acquisition and evaluation, supporting the notion that this development is continual.

The combination of these attitudes, knowledge, and skills follows on to the internal outcomes. Though they may be attained to various levels of success, they all lead to a shift in one’s frame of reference. Flexibility, adaptability, an ethnorelative perspective, and empathy are

explicitly provided as examples. Together, they assist the individual in recognizing and seeing through another’s perspective and responding in a manner the other person desires.

The total grasp of the attitudes, knowledge, skills, and internal outcomes is then demonstrated by the individual through their behavior and communication. These are the external outcomes that are visual and experienced by the other. As the definition of intercultural competence offered by Deardorff is “the effective and appropriate behavior and communication in intercultural situations” (2006, p. 249) the importance of the external outcome state is clear. She warns of the implication of the understood definitions of “effective” and “appropriate” behavior and communication. The individual has power over the determination of what counts as effective behavior but the other is the only one able to assess the appropriateness, which is related to the cultural sensitivity and norms of that individual. This means there is some remaining ambiguity to this definition and model of intercultural competence. If a greater emphasis was placed on the importance of awareness of these attitudes, knowledge, and skills may lead to increased understanding of this last issue of effective and appropriate behavior. However, overall, this model is still quite well suited to research on intercultural competence development in US higher education.

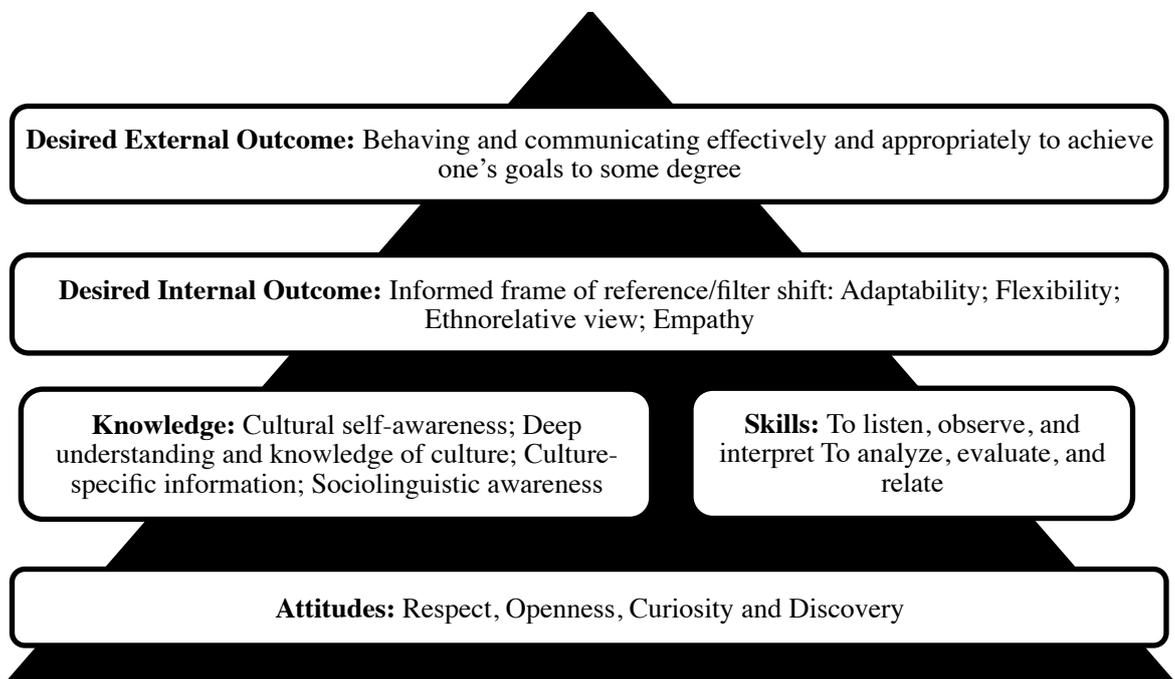


Figure 1 Adapted pyramid model of intercultural competence

Adapted from Deardorff, D. (2006). Identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 10(3), p. 254.

3.3.5.4.2 Pyramid

The initial representation of this description of intercultural competence was done through a pyramid model, a compositional model according to Spitzberg and Changnon’s (2009) classification, with attitudes on the bottom, working up to external outcomes at the top. The positioning of attitudes was intentional as the model suggests that no intercultural development can

occur if the individual is not open to it, a key point to consider in study abroad as it is possible many people participate solely for the way it may be seen, such as potential benefits in employment opportunities, and not for sincere intercultural interests. This model has been adapted in a slightly simplified form in Figure 1. It is useful in emphasizing the importance of attitudes as an unavoidable starting point but can be seen as slightly simplistic as it does not clearly imply that intercultural competence development is on-going and also minimizes the latter elements, such as internal and external outcomes by placing them at the peak of the pyramid.

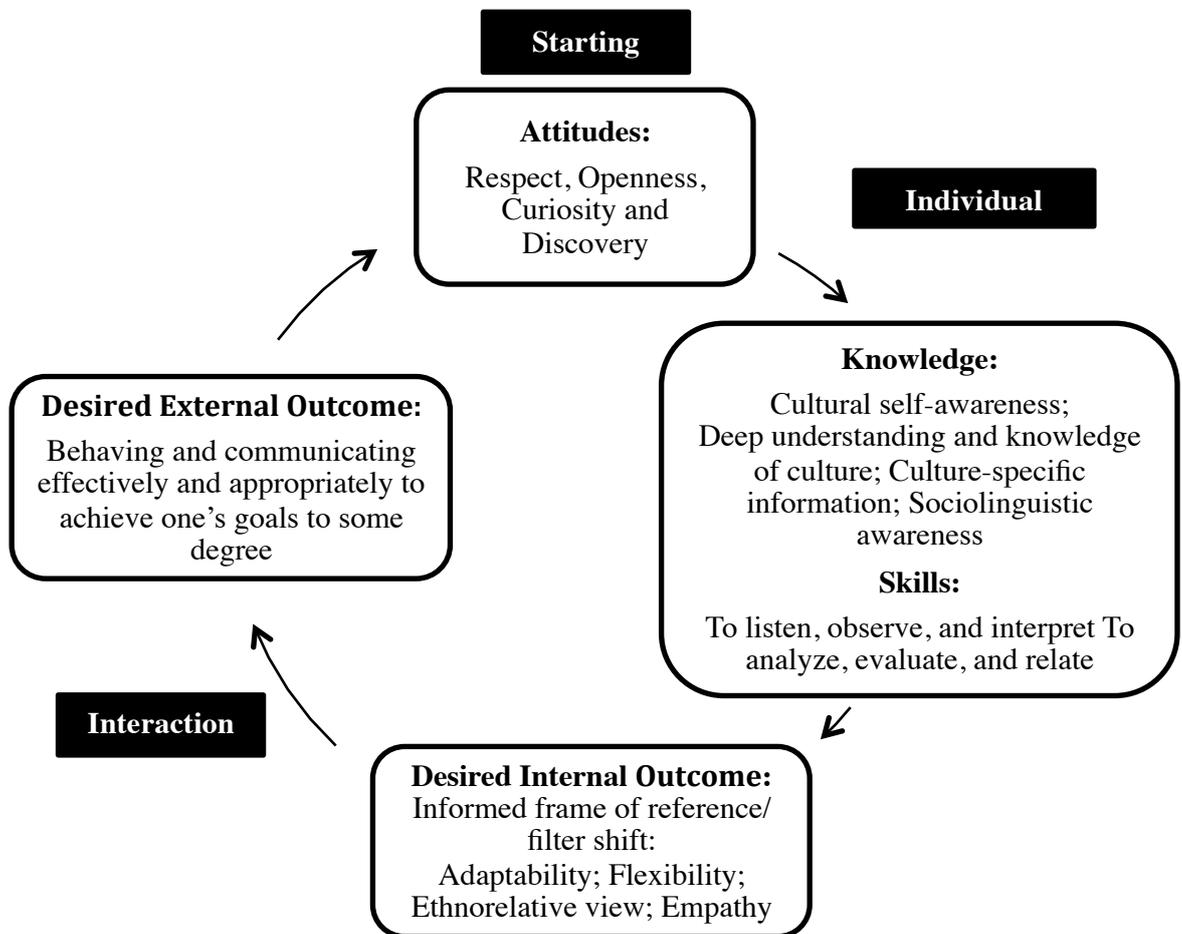


Figure 2 Adapted process model of intercultural competence

Adapted from Deardorff, D. (2006). Identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 10(3), p. 256.

3.3.5.4.3 Process

To clarify these issues, a process model, a causal path model in Spitzberg and Changnon's (2009) system, was created with arrows pointing through each cluster in a continuous cycle. An adapted and slightly simplified representation of the process model may be seen in Figure 2. It also shows that it is possible for one to move directly from attitudes, knowledge, or skills to external outcomes, though this typically leads to less powerful development. Again, it is important to note that the process of development must always begin with the requisite attitudes. For the present study it is this process model that is largely utilized as, though the elements are the same in each,

the continuous nature of the latter model fits better with study abroad as just one element of a university students' intercultural development.

This framework is especially appropriate for this study as it was created with the US higher education system explicitly in mind (Deardorff, 2006). It can be used to help guide efforts to intentionally address intercultural competence in this unique group of students through an integrated approach, instead of the random, unorganized manner that often occurs. Through curricular and co-curricular means, such as program construction and orientation, domestic and international students should be able to progress and this clearly depicted framework should assist in evaluating all of these elements for adequacy and support in improvement efforts.

3.3.6 Summary

This section has detailed intercultural competence and specifically its relevance to international education experiences. It began with a brief description of culture and its characteristics relevant to intercultural competence as well as a discussion of communication and willingness to communicate in cross-cultural contexts. Then, several barriers to intercultural competence development were explained. The emphasis in this section, however, was on the existing definitions and models of intercultural competence. Several key models were described and one definition and corresponding model, that of Deardorff, was chosen for application in the present study due to its nearly all-encompassing nature and relevance to US higher education.

While Bennett's model has been proven useful in a number of situations, for the present study it is seen as slightly too quantitatively leaning. One of the most commonly relied upon models of ICC is that of Byram, however for the present study the researcher believes that this model focuses more deeply on the details of ICC rather than the internal or external outcomes. Byram's model has strengths in providing a broad definition of intercultural communication as "a person's ability to relate to and communicate with people who speak a different language and live in a different cultural context" (1997, p. 1), however because the present study is not concerned with language in a traditional acquisition of fluency sense, it is seen as more language focused than Deardorff's definition that emphasizes attitudes, skills, and behaviors. Byram's resultant model includes the five savors of attitude, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relations, skills of discovery and/or interaction, and critical cultural awareness and none of these are disputed in the present study with regard to their importance in the development of intercultural competence.

However, these component parts are not clearly articulated, in this model, in terms of how the development of them is experienced by the learner or the cultural others they interact with. It is here, with the inclusion of the internal and external outcome elements, that Deardorff's model was determined to have strengths better suited to the research questions of the present study. That said, many of the component parts of the two models are quite similar, so while some areas discussed will be applicable to Byram's model they will more frequently be discussed with specific reference to Deardorff's model instead. Another reason for the preference for Deardorff's model over Byram's is the origin of each definition and framework. While Byram's is specifically intended for

application in language learning environments, Deardorff's was created with US higher education in mind.

In sum, though many aspects of Byram's (1997) Intercultural Competence Model are quite similar to the first three elements of Deardorff's they are more focused on the details than the internal or external outcomes. Byram's influence of language learning programs is also not ideal for the present study given the explicit decision not to focus on language as an aspect of intercultural competence. Through this analysis, it is clear that Deardorff's Model of Intercultural Competence is one of the most suitable for examining US students' study abroad. For this reason it has been chosen for this study. The following chapter will detail the creation of a questionnaire instrument using this model as inspiration as well as other details of the methodology utilized.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has served as an introduction to the two key facets of this study: study abroad and intercultural competence. An overview of the many intended areas of learning in study abroad was provided; along with descriptions and examples of the many different potential structures these programs may take to try to meet these intended learning outcomes. The wide range of different evaluation methods for student development, including discussion of the difficulty in formulating effective forms of evaluation for program design, was also included. A brief introduction to culture and its facets and the issues of willingness to communicate were covered in an intercultural context. Barriers to successful intercultural competence were also discussed before a more detailed description and analysis of several key definitions and models of intercultural competence.

From the literature discussed above, the need for more research into study abroad, without the heavy focus on language acquisition, and specifically dealing with intercultural competence, is clear. This review of the literature has shown that while some studies have addressed issues other than language development during study abroad, few have looked at intercultural competence specifically, instead focusing more on study abroad's influence on citizenship or career trajectory. Previous studies have also tended to focus on data gained through structured tools and language metrics with few focused on more qualitative data—because of this these studies have also often been more positivist, not making a firm case for the interpretivist nature of student experiences. For these reasons, the present study will look specifically at intercultural competence development with an emphasis on data gained through elicitation of student perspectives. In an effort to supplement this, and in a manner seen in very few prior studies, the perspectives of program administrators will also be sought. Previous literature has seemed to place some emphasis on administrator influence on program design with regard to housing option but very little otherwise. The following chapter will detail the final research questions used to address these issues, as well as the many methodological aspects of the study.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the mixed qualitative and quantitative research design used to assess the stated research questions for this study. Detail about the program sites chosen for examination, a description of why they were chosen, the present structure of the program and the student participants in each will also be included. The role of the researcher, including her past experiences in this area of higher education will be explained. The specific instruments chosen for this study, questionnaires and interviews, will be outlined in depth. Supplemental participant generated photography will be explained, though this data had minimal influence on this study's findings due to the limited rate of participation. Potential ethical concerns in the study are also provided. A short discussion of the pilot study and its implications will be included. The chapter will move on to address the process of data collection and analysis.

4.2 Interpretivist Ontology

Ontology is the "science or study of being" and is primarily concerned with reality. In general, there are two main ideologies within ontology: positivism, which believes that the world is external and objective reality exists, and interpretivism, which assumes that reality is relative and influenced by various systems, experiences, and cultures (Creswell, 2012). It is the latter that this study adopts.

The researcher in the present study has worked with an interpretivist epistemological orientation, meaning she does not recognize an absolute truth but, instead, that social action and the individual's viewpoint create meaning (Merriam, 2014). What an individual knows to be true is subjective and constructed, influenced by shared signs, symbols and actions common in the world in which they live. A social constructionist ontological position has been adopted in line with this epistemology. The researcher sees social phenomena and their meanings as being continually created by social actors in a constant state of revision and development (Bryman, 2012).

This interpretive ontology, emphasizing the subjective nature of reality is seen as especially suitable for the present study because of the human element of study abroad and intercultural competence. Specifically, the students and hosts will have significant influence over a study abroad. Students vary drastically in terms of their previous international experience and motivation, as well as their post study satisfaction with their development and overall experience. Because a large and important part of intercultural competence is awareness and attitude, these personal opinions may have a substantial influence over how willing these students are to engage in future intercultural activities. As such, more positivist data, such as only scores on an intercultural assessment tool, are insufficient to gauge whether these study abroad programs are effective.

4.3 Research Questions

Each year increasing numbers of US university level students participate in study abroad programs and as a function of these programs, it is generally assumed that students will develop in a few specific spheres, including the cognitive, affective and behavioral domains (Deardorff, 2006, 2009). However, with the widening range of program types available there is a dearth of informative studies addressing the influence design elements of each program type have on this development.

This project was designed to help identify whether these program elements, such as living environment and interaction with host country nationals, influence students' perceived development of intercultural competencies. The research questions addressed are as follows, Do the structure and requirements of a specific study abroad program type (US Center, Third Party, or Direct Enrollment) in Spain, with regard to language, living, and classroom contexts, influence student participants' opportunity for intercultural development?

1. Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?
2. How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?
3. How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?

4.3.1 Role of the Researcher

The researcher is an American, born and raised in the US, resulting in a shared language and similar background to the student participants. As a fulltime postgraduate student and a relatively recent college graduate, she was at a similar status level to that of the student participants. She has also previously been an international student, both through exchanges and a full degree program, in England, Ireland and, most relevantly, Spain. Prior to beginning this doctoral research she also worked in a US university international office with primary responsibility for incoming international students with regular interaction with the sending functions of the study abroad administrators.

4.4 Sample

The sample used in this study was selected for several reasons. This section will describe the process used for identifying potential program sites and the methods used to gain access to them. Descriptions of the chosen sites and their different characteristics will be discussed. The profile of the student participants will also be included.

4.4.1 Selection of Program Sites

The research questions for this study mandate the inclusion of multiple academic program sites; they are, American programs in Spain, Third Party provider programs, and degree granting Spanish universities.

A review of the APUNE (Association of American Programs in Spain) website revealed a number of study abroad programs operating in Spain. As a result of the population and academic climate in Spain, cities other than Madrid and Barcelona tend to have only a handful of universities, dissimilar to many large American cities that are in the vicinity of numerous community colleges, colleges, and universities. As such, larger cities tend to have bigger North American student populations. In an effort to avoid such situations where students spend the majority of their time with home country peers smaller host cities were targeted for this study. After identifying potential sites in each city the researcher contacted the administrative heads of each, through email (an example invitation letter can be found in Appendix B), explaining the study and asking for their participation.

For various reasons, including the small number of sites available, it was difficult to gain access to large numbers of students who fit the required profile and were participating in Direct Enrollment programs. In order to gather more significant numbers, a second wave of data collection was conducted where programs in the larger cities were included in order to generate more robust participation numbers. This resulted in those participants having slightly different background descriptors than those in the smaller cities such as the use of the local language required by their living situations and the different regional cultures interacted with on a regular basis.

4.4.2 Description of Program Sites

Table 3 provides brief details of each of the program sites participating in the final study intended to provide the reader with the relevant background on the resources available to each program's participants. To maintain the anonymity of the research sites only general details are provided. Detailed descriptions of the design of each of the three program types may be found in section 2.3.

4.4.3 Student Participants

For the purposes of this study, participants were to be studying at one of the identified sites as a visiting student (not full degree seeking) for a period of one semester. There was no academic program requirement, meaning students could be of any major or minor and no previous Spanish language ability was specified; though that did have an impact on what program type students were enrolled in (ex. In many programs, students with no Spanish knowledge were not permitted to directly enroll). Full information on the number of student participants can be found in Table 4.

Table 3 Program sites

Program	Location	City Population	Program/ University Size (approx.)	Language Requirements	Living Requirements
American 1	Valencia	786,424	75	None	Residence Hall
American 2	Valencia	786,424	90	1 semester of Spanish	Host Family or Shared Apartment
American 3	Malaga	566,913	15	4 semesters of Spanish or equivalent	Host Family
Third Party 1	Sevilla	696,676	200	6 semesters of Spanish or equivalent	Host Family
Third Party 2	Barcelona	1.602 million	*Unknown	“Good command” of Spanish and/or Catalan	Residence Hall
Third Party 3	Madrid	3.165 million	100	None	Host Family
Direct 1	Sevilla	696,676	10,000 *Approx. 800 study abroad	Advanced level 2 language exam pass	Residence Hall or Host Family
Direct 2	Barcelona	1.602 million	18,000 *Approx. 700 study abroad	At least 1 semester of Spanish, 4 recommended	Residence Hall or Shared Apartment
Direct 3	Madrid	3.165 million	36,000 *Approx. 1,000 study abroad	Level B2	Residence Hall or Shared Apartment
Direct 4	Bilbao	346,574	10,000 *Approx. 1,000 study abroad	Two semesters of Spanish	Residence Hall, Host Family, or Shared Apartment

4.4.4 Administrator Participants

All administrators at the sites chosen for data collection were invited to participate in one-to-one interviews with the researcher. As interviews were conducted at the beginning of the academic term it was difficult to secure interviews with a large number of administrators. When agreed, interviews were conducted in English or Spanish, according to the administrators’ preference, in person on-site in Spain at the beginning of the data collection process. In total, 1 administrator from an American program and 2 administrators from Third Party programs participated.

Table 4 Student participation details

Type	Pre Questionnaires	Post Questionnaires	Interviews	
American 1*	50	48	7	
American 2*	22	11	7	
American 3**	2	3	--	
	74	62	14	Total American
Third Party 1*	54	28	10	
Third Party 2**	2	4	--	
Third Party 3**	--	10	--	
	56	42	10	Total Third Party
Direct 1*	6	8	1	
Direct 2**	8	--	2	
Direct 3**	1	11	--	
Direct 4**	14	8	1	
	29	27	4	Total Direct
Total	159	131	28	

* First Wave, ** Second Wave

Because of the low number of administrator interviews secured, an online written interview was emailed to administrators in each of the programs contacted to participate in the study, whether they had agreed to involve their students or not. The final numbers of administrator participants may be found in Table 5.

Table 5 Administrator participation details

Program Type	Interview	Online Written Interview	Total Respondents
American	1	2	3
Third Party	2	3	5
Direct Enrollment	0	5	5

4.5 Research Design

This study adopted a mixed methods approach to data collection with an emphasis on qualitative data. This combination of methods was chosen for its pragmatic functions as the research questions to be addressed in this study required a wide range of data, some of which, such as daily use of the Spanish language or interaction with host country natives, would be appropriately gathered through quantitative means on a wide scale while other data, such as personal accounts of participation in each program type, would be better gathered through qualitative techniques. This combination allows for the researcher to capture a more accurate and adequate understanding of the phenomenon under investigation than would be possible by just one strand of methodology (Biesta, 2012). Many scholars have insisted that a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods is necessary to address the overarching desire for accuracy and understanding in a research project (Creswell & Clark, 2010). Denscombe (2009) offers that the key element of research is the ability of the researcher to apply the strengths of one method to balance the weaknesses of another.

4.5.1 Mixed Methods Research

Mixed methods research is a popular and widely used technique (Biesta, 2012); this specific study used pre and post questionnaires, assessing frequency of language use and intercultural experiences, with student participants in the three different program types previously identified. From this group, volunteers were recruited for participation in a 1-hour one-to-one interview at the end of their period abroad. Program administrators were also asked to participate in an interview about their general experiences with American students. As a supplement to these more traditional techniques, student generated photography was also used. This additional element was intended to allow for an additional avenue for students to demonstrate their understanding of key concepts, as explained to them. However, as stated earlier, due to low response rates this data was not used in this study. Each of these methods will be discussed in depth later in the chapter.

4.5.1.1.1 Convergent Parallel Design

This particular study utilizes a convergent parallel design in which the researcher conducted both quantitative and qualitative methods in the same stage of the research (Creswell & Clark, 2010). The structure of this design can be seen in Table 6. With this strategy, quantitative methods can be used as another tool to validate the findings of the qualitative techniques. In this study, questionnaire responses were used to provide concrete and generalizable support for the thoughts or ideas expressed on a smaller scale in qualitative, semi-structured interviews and are likely to benefit the outcomes, especially in allowing the findings to be more easily generalized to multiple contexts.

Table 6 Timeline of data collection

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Data Collection	Pre Questionnaires		
		Post Questionnaires	
		Student Interviews	
	Administrator Interviews		
			Photo Submissions Solicited
			Administrator Questionnaires

4.5.1.1.2 Comparative Design

This study has adopted a comparative design, meaning that the same research methods were used in multiple contexts, namely American study centers, Third Party programs, and Direct Enrollment programs in Spain. This structure allows for a comparison of similarities and differences in the findings from different contexts, which has the potential to provide a greater understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The examination of multiple contexts also increases the possibility of the research having transferability to additional contexts or generalizing the findings more widely.

4.5.1.1.3 Triangulation

In this research, triangulation is the main benefit for using a mixed methods design; it allows the researcher to be more confident of their results, provides richer and thicker data, as well as allows them to uncover any contradictions present (Creswell & Clark, 2010). Between-method triangulation has been adopted for the current study. Quantitative questionnaires completed by 159 (pre) and 131 (post) students are used to elicit participation in qualitative interviews with 28 students to address several of the same concepts in more detail. The combination of these elements is used to identify any themes and inconsistencies.

4.6 Instrumentation

This section details the three different data collection techniques chosen to address the research questions. Quantitatively, both pre and post-study questionnaires were distributed to participants. Students who were willing were then asked to participate in a one-to-one interview with the researcher and to submit photos depicting their time in Spain.

4.6.1 Student Questionnaire

Questionnaires completed by respondents are a very common instrument used in data collection, created in a wide variety of formats, delivery methods and lengths (Sarıs, 2014). In the present study, questionnaires (Appendices C & D) were distributed by the researcher on-site in paper form or via a Google form online. This choice was made in conjunction with the administration at each

site to best suit their students. This allowed the researcher to gather information from a wider group of students than possible through interview alone. The questionnaire focused on intercultural skills and combined closed and open questions, to allow participants to elaborate on their responses, when appropriate. The use of the questionnaires limited aspects of social desirability in the students that an interview may have increased, such as a feeling of obligation to provide responses they believe the researcher would like. Many of the pre-existing tools focused more heavily on language acquisition, necessitating the creation of a new tool for this study to focus on the respondents' interaction with a new culture (Collentine & Freed, 2004; Dwyer, 2004; Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004; Martinsen, Baker, Dewey, Bown, & Johnson, 2010; Tanaka & Ellis, 2003).

Many previous investigations into study abroad, often focusing on second language acquisition, have used student journals, diaries and language logs to collect relevant data, proving the value of eliciting students' own perception of their language usage (Collentine & Freed, 2004; Freed, 1995; Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004; Hadis, 2005; Martinsen et al., 2010). The Language Contact Profile (LCP), developed by Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz, and Halter, has been continuously adapted and developed, since its first use in 1977, to assist in the analysis of studies of second language acquisition. The instrument was created to serve as a template to gather standard information required in all such studies, including demographics, language learning history, contact with native speakers, and practical use of language (Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004). This was in response to many scholars having to constantly develop their own questionnaires, wasting valuable time on relatively basic tasks. It was designed to be utilized in various contexts, such as academic classrooms, intensive domestic immersion programs, and programs abroad, making it easy to fit into a wide variety of projects. The LCP has been used in several contexts; in studies of Japanese language learners (Dewey, 2004), studies of French language learners (Freed, Segalowitz, et al., 2004) and in studies of Spanish language learners in US and host country programs of varying levels of intensity or contact (Diaz-Campos, 2004; Lafford, 2004; Segalowitz et al., 2004; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). For the present study, demographic and background questions have been adapted from the LCP, due to these previous successes in research, as discussed in more detail in the following section.

4.6.1.1 Demographic and Background Questions

This questionnaire was divided into two sections, comprised of 21 questions in total, with most questions asked in both the pre and post version to allow the researcher to make comparisons and identify any areas of student development while abroad. This 1st section, based on Freed's LCP, collects demographic information and language background, including languages known, how long used, and proficiency levels. As language ability is not a major concern in this study and to ethically ensure that respondents are only asked to provide information directly relevant to the present study, many LCP questions were combined and/or simplified to elicit students' perception of their Spanish ability, both input and output. As the term abroad was likely to force students to

use their Spanish more than they would in the United States, it was important to collect data on their typical use of the language in the year before they went abroad. This was done through questions using a likert scale where independent Spanish activities, such as TV watching, newspaper reading, and music listening were targeted. These questions were adopted but often combined or simplified. For example, to collect data on learner interaction with foreign language media the original LCP asked,

15. For each of the items below, choose the response that corresponds to the amount of time you estimate you spent on average doing each activity in Spanish prior to this semester

- a. watching Spanish language television*
 0) *never* 1) *a few times a year* 2) *monthly* 3) *weekly* 4) *daily*
- b. reading Spanish language newspapers*
 0) *never* 1) *a few times a year* 2) *monthly* 3) *weekly* 4) *daily*
- c. reading novels in Spanish*
 0) *never* 1) *a few times a year* 2) *monthly* 3) *weekly* 4) *daily*
- d. listening to songs in Spanish*
 0) *never* 1) *a few times a year* 2) *monthly* 3) *weekly* 4) *daily*
- e. reading Spanish language magazines*
 0) *never* 1) *a few times a year* 2) *monthly* 3) *weekly* 4) *daily*
- f. watching movies or videos in Spanish*
 0) *never* 1) *a few times a year* 2) *monthly* 3) *weekly* 4) *daily*

and for the purposes of this study it was simplified significantly to the following,

17. In the year prior to the start of this semester, on average, how often do you estimate you did each of the following activities:

- a. watch Spanish language television or movies*
 never *a few times a year* *monthly* *weekly* *daily*
- b. read Spanish language newspapers, magazines, or novels*
 never *a few times a year* *monthly* *weekly* *daily*
- c. listen to songs in Spanish*
 never *a few times a year* *monthly* *weekly* *daily*

To determine the degree of experience participants had with living and learning in non-US locations respondents were asked to state whether they had ever traveled or lived abroad prior to this period of study. If so, they were asked to provide details on when and where, helping us to

understand the students' rationale for which program type they have chosen. For instance, one may believe that a student with no previous international experience would opt for an American program where they know they will receive a high level of support while another with significant experience may want to embark on the experience with little support to fall back on, or vice versa.

In altering the communication background section for the post questionnaire, to provide broader insight into the use of Spanish, an expanded question was included to find how often students used Spanish for conversation with instructors, friends who were native speakers of English, friends who were native speakers of Spanish, host family members or roommates, and service personnel (Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004). They were also asked how often they used Spanish for superficial or brief conversations and for more extended conversations with host family members, friends, professors, etc.

Participants were asked to identify whether they had any existing intercultural relationships from the time before they studied abroad to begin to identify how open the students were to interacting with people from different backgrounds before they experienced it regularly in Spain. Importantly, 'intercultural' was not defined for the students in the questionnaire, meaning it was completely up to the individual student to identify the criteria that would mark someone as being of a different culture from their own. From their responses, some students used very simple criteria, such as skin color, while others used more complex characteristics, such as religious background or native languages.

4.6.1.2 Intercultural Questions

The second part of the questionnaire consists of questions not included in the LCP but designed by the researcher specifically for this study to address previous intercultural experiences to understand how open or closed students were to such situations before their time abroad (Hofstede, 1986). Without such markers, we cannot determine how transformative their experiences were. Accordingly, respondents were asked to rank their previous intercultural encounters with friends, roommates, classmates, professors, other university staff, and Spaniards. The options for response were positive, neutral, negative, or not applicable if they had not yet had any intercultural encounters with that specific group.

Using these responses as a benchmark to compare against in the analysis, in addition to considering those same relationships or interactions while abroad and ranking them accordingly, in the post questionnaire students were asked to think about any intercultural relationships they had developed during their time in Spain. If they had in fact developed any they were asked to state whether or not they felt these relationships would continue upon their return to the United States. This helps to provide some insight into both the extent of their interaction with Spaniards and whether these were superficial relationships or whether they were able to make meaningful friendships in a new, and possibly more challenging, social environment.

To ascertain the levels of intercultural competency possessed by participants before studying abroad a series of questions, again designed specifically for the present study, were asked

in relation to their intercultural attitude, knowledge, skills, the domains identified by Deardorff (2006) and discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, along with awareness and overall desire for bilingual and bicultural development. Here, again, individual students were left to define what bilingual and bicultural meant to them, which was proven useful when many students expanded upon these concepts in their one-to-one interviews, as will be seen in later analysis (see Chapter 6). These 13 questions were designed as a series of phrases in which students were to indicate how closely they applied to them on a likert scale from not at all or 0 to completely, or 5.

The first three questions addressed students' attitudes going into the experience, as this is fundamental to their development of intercultural competence. For example, respondents were asked to rate the statement, "*It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures.*" This information helps to determine whether students were participating in their program for personal motivations or whether it was just a requirement for their university or degree program. The following questions asked them to consider how much they try to understand differences in behavior and attitude and how much they enjoy interacting with people different from themselves, showing how much they value unique traits in an everyday situation and not necessarily understanding the differences.

The next three questions addressed students' existing knowledge about intercultural interaction to assess their understanding of their own and other cultures. They were asked to rate their knowledge of the cultural values and their ability to compare that knowledge with their knowledge of their own culture. The third question addressed their awareness of the culturally specific knowledge they use through the statement, "*I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds.*" These all serve to highlight the importance knowledge and understanding of different cultures, as well as their contexts, has on an individual's behavior and communication.

Existing skills were addressed in the next three questions. Each was constructed to investigate the students' skills used in acquiring and processing knowledge, specifically related to their own and other cultures. The focus was on the students' interactions in cross-cultural situations such as the amount of change in their verbal and non-verbal behaviors when in specific cultural encounters. The final question in this section simply asked them to rate their comfort, "*I feel comfortable interacting in a variety of different social situations.*" This is a simple yet important aspect of their incoming profile as if they are extremely uncomfortable in such situations they were unlikely to place themselves in them, reducing their opportunity to grow interculturally.

Two questions focused on students' awareness of intercultural aspects. The first asked how conscious they were of the importance of changes in their own actions to fit within the culturally and societally formed expectations of specific situations. This speaks to their awareness of taking responsibility for intercultural interactions, as opposed to just waiting for the other party to adapt to them. The last asked respondents to think about how important they consider the unique aspects of other societies, "*I feel it is important to value the many differences and*

similarities in all languages and cultures,” revealing how they cognizant they think they are of these traits and how much they appreciate their individual facets.

The final two questions assessed participants' desire to be bicultural and bilingual, revealing their long-term goals for the semester. These questions were meant to be most meaningful when pre and post responses were compared, as many students go into a term abroad expecting to return home completely fluent in their second language. Responses may show whether there was any change in this desire after they actually experienced immersion in this second culture.

Important to note is the reliance on self-report data in this study. These responses may have been influenced by participants' perception of the research study or their program at the time of data collection. The strength of their memories or positivity or negativity of attitudes on the day may have varied widely. As such, it is vital to remember that this data reveals the participants' perceptions, not absolute fact.

4.6.2 Student Interview

Interviewing is another widely used method of data collection in qualitative research as such interactions provide the researcher access to individual attitudes and values that may be difficult to discern through other methods, such as questionnaires (Byrne, 2004; Lichtman, 2010; Mears, 2012; Merriam, 2014). The researcher was able to use her similar background to the students to set a casual environment and develop a good rapport with the interviewees, allowing the students to speak more honestly and reveal more than they may have with someone who they felt to be an authority figure (Cohen, 2007; Lichtman, 2010). In this study, a semi-structured interview approach provided a standardized list of questions (Appendix E) to ensure collected data could be compared appropriately (Barriball & While, 1994; Bryman, 2012; Hartas, 2010). This structure also allowed for the asking of follow up or clarifying questions if any responses were not clear or if they brought up other interesting or relevant topics. In general, the replies could be aggregated, though this is only because these replies were made in response to identical questions.

In consideration of the objectives of the interview, the nature of the subject matter and the nature of the respondent open questions were chosen, some with multiple follow up questions, to ensure no one prompt was too long, in hope that this would eliminate the opportunity for misunderstanding (Barriball & While, 1994). Byrne (2004) says that open-ended and flexible questions are more likely to evoke a thoughtful and considered response, providing greater access to the views, understandings, and experiences of the respondents. Because the programs selected for this study were so varied in terms of coursework, living situations and social activities offered, and the same questions were asked of all participants to allow comparison, no questions referred to any specific program features. In constructing each question, care was paid to ensure that none contained wording that would imply a value judgment or lead responses and that they were general enough that respondents could use their own experiences and judgments to determine their answer.

Due to timing restrictions, some interviews were completed via Skype within 2 weeks of the onsite interviews. Because of the increased distance and technological interference, it was more difficult to set an identifiable relaxed mood in these interviews, however, all Skype interviews tended to last longer than those conducted in person, due to an increased amount of information being shared. This is likely, in part, due to the fact that many students were in their own space when participating in the interview but is also proof that the relaxed atmosphere did transmit technologically, putting the respondents at ease and helping them be comfortable sharing very personal experiences.

An example question targeted at investigating the knowledge and awareness gained while abroad is, “*What aspects of the culture of Spain do you feel you understand better now than you did upon arrival?*” This question was intended to provide the researcher with concrete examples of what the student learned and experienced as well as to tap into the extent to which they were willing and able to participate in activities unique to their host culture.

Another sample interview question was asked in stages, to allow the student to first identify an example and then think more deeply about it, hopefully leading to the collection of a higher quality piece of data. The question is as follows,

Was there ever a time where you did not know what to do in a certain situation?

a. Can you please describe the situation?

b. How did you figure out what the appropriate response/solution was?

The content of this question is designed to reveal information about the students’ tolerance of ambiguity and evaluative skills as well as demonstrate the external outcomes of their intercultural development, as identified by Deardorff (2006).

4.6.3 Administrator Interview and Written Interview

Due to the time constraints faced by most administrators, it was not possible to have a large number of one-to-one interviews with them. As a supplement and to gather more detail, the interview schedule (Appendix F) was converted to an online open-ended written interview (Appendix G), hosted on Qualtrics, to allow more administrators to provide information in their own time. This link was sent out to all sites the semester after the initial phase of data collection was completed. The questionnaire consisted of ten free response questions and was hosted on the *Qualtrics* web platform. These ten questions were directly adapted from the questions asked of administrators in the interviews, though they were edited to be slightly shorter to reduce the burden or time commitment necessary from potential participants. The first questions, in both the interviews and the questionnaires, were designed to gather factual information from the respondents regarding their careers in study abroad and about the programs they worked in at the time of data collection. Administrators were asked to describe how their programs were designed to support their students, both in their preparations for living and studying abroad and in their development of specific intercultural competencies including their attitudes, skills, behaviors, and

knowledge. They were also asked how their program's location and available types of living arrangements influence their participants.

Participants were also asked several questions to obtain their personal perceptions or experiences with study abroad students. This included the motivations they have seen students have for participation in their programs, the average amount of interaction students in their programs had with Spaniards, and how willing or reluctant their students tend to be in seeking these interactions independently. A question was also asked to solicit reflection on the struggles they often see students encounter and how they overcome them, either on their own or with program support. A final question asked about the general evolution administrators had witnessed of students' skills, attitudes, and behaviors while in Spain.

4.6.4 Participant Submitted Photography

As stated previously, analysis of participant submitted photography was not included in this study due to the low response rate. However, as it was an intended part of the research design, to ensure the inclusivity of this chapter it will be covered in brief (though the data was not used, the photo submission guidelines may be found in Appendix H, and the photos submitted may be found in Appendix I). Previously unknown or unconsidered dimensions of daily life may be easily captured through visual methods (Banks, 2008). Edgar (2004) asserts that photos have the ability to "access the latent knowledge and unexpressed feelings of respondents" (p. 104). There are four main photographic methods currently in popular use by researchers, they are: documentary photography, photo elicitation, photovoice, and autophotography (Karlsson, 2012). For the purposes of this study, a combination of aspects of autophotography and photovoice was chosen. Used in conjunction, photos and language can compliment one another, assisting the participant in creating their responses and the researcher in stimulating additional and more detailed information (Taylor, 2002).

All students who completed the questionnaires were invited to participate in a photo contest. They were instructed to consider the photos they had taken during their time in Spain and identify those that would fit into one of three categories provided for them by the researcher that aligned with the domains identified as key to intercultural competence. The category titles were:

- *Explorando mi nuevo país* or Exploring my new country, which aligns with attitudes, allowing students to show to what extent they were open to discovering their host culture
- *Cultura, costumbres, y tradiciones* or Culture, Customs, and Traditions, which aligns with knowledge, providing the students an opportunity to highlight the characteristics of Spanish life they had learned about
- *Como un español...* or Like a Spaniard..., which aligns with skills, prompting students to detail how they were able to behave as Spaniards would.

Participants were instructed to submit a short explanation, of around 100 words, of how they felt the photo reflected the chosen category. As students, almost without fail, are prolific photo takers during their time abroad, it was decided that this data collection technique would fit seamlessly into

their lives while still providing valuable information about how they experienced their time abroad. In total, 11 photos were submitted by 5 different participants, all studying in Third Party programs.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

There are several ethical issues to consider in a research project, especially one such as this that has significant interaction with university students. In consultation with the researcher's academic supervisor an Ethical Issues Audit Form was submitted to and approved by the University of York's Education Ethics Committee in June 2013. This was done in line with the University of York Education Ethics Committee Guidance on Data Protection, Storage and Management.

4.7.1.1.1 Informed Consent

Each participant was presented with a detailed informed consent form (Appendix A). The form included background information on the study, information about the researcher, participant procedures, known risks of participation in the study, and benefits of participation in the study. Respondents were also informed of their right to withdraw their consent for participation in the study at any time. It was explained that all data collected would be used solely for the present research project and all anonymity, both of the students and of their study locations, would be protected.

4.7.1.1.2 Harm to Participants

There was no potential for harm to the participants in any of the three data collection phases of the study. It was also clearly explained that the researcher was in no way related to their programs, meaning no information obtained from them could possibly influence their performance in their academic courses. They were informed that raw data would be shared with the program, if they requested it, but that it would be completely anonymous. The data collection tools were reviewed to ensure information gathered was relevant to the research questions, ensuring that no participant time would be used in vain. The methods of collection were all verified with each site, allowing the directors to specify which methods best suited their contexts (ex. online versus paper questionnaires).

4.7.1.1.3 Deception

There was no deception used in the course of this study, either with student or administrator participants.

4.7.1.1.4 Confidentiality and Anonymity

All participants were informed that responses would remain confidential and anonymous throughout the research process and in subsequent reports. The researcher stored all data in password protected computer files and a secured locker that only she had access to. In analysis of data, respondents were assigned codes that could only be deciphered by the researcher. Those photographs that were submitted did not include the students' likenesses, so there was no need to alter the photos to protect their anonymity.

4.7.1.1.5 Access

A major consideration in the study was the manner in which the researcher would gain access to the institutions and students to be studied. As discussed in Section 3.1 on the sites included in this study, the researcher first contacted the head administrator, as identified in staff listings on the program websites, with a preliminary explanation of the intended research and request for access to the students for the Fall 2013 semester. This contact was chosen, instead of contacting students directly, for two reasons. First, the US has several laws protecting university students and who may gain access to them, including the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act, known as FERPA (*Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA)*, 1974). Though these laws often do not legally extend to the programs abroad, the researcher chose to maintain respect for the principle behind them. This contact also helped in assuring the researcher would be able to administer the questionnaire to as many students as possible.

4.7.1.1.6 Payment to Participants

Participants were informed that completion of both the pre and post questionnaires would qualify them for entry into a drawing to win a \$25 Amazon Gift card to be held in the term after their participation in the study. Participants who submitted photographs for the Photo Contest were also entered into a competition for the first (\$50 Amazon Gift card), second (\$25 Amazon Gift card), and third (\$15 Amazon Gift card) place photos, as judged by the researcher.

4.8 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted approximately 4 months prior to the commencement of the first stage of the main study to assess the pre and post-study questionnaires as well as the one-to-one interviews. The process of these pilots and any subsequent alterations to the instruments will be discussed in the following two sections.

4.8.1 Questionnaire

Participants for the pilot pre-study version of the questionnaire were recruited through the use of the snowballing technique in which the researcher first contacted students she knew would be participating in programs abroad during either the upcoming Summer or Fall terms and who were then asked to share contact information of their friends who would also be going abroad. Participants for the post questionnaire were selected randomly from the large numbers of international students resident on the researcher's home university campus, as the majority of those students were participating in 1-year programs that would be ending within the next three months. To suit these students' needs, several portions of the post-study were edited to replace "American" or "English language" with "Chinese" or "Chinese language" and "Spain" or "Spanish language" with "British" or "English language."

The primary findings from the pilot study pertained to the actual physical format of the instrument. Though the length of the questionnaire had already been addressed in the initial editing phase, the pilot study found that it was still slightly longer than the participants would have

preferred. The layout and instructions provided were also not clear enough for respondents to mark the forms as the researcher intended. In order to combat this, both questionnaires were put online through the Google forms tool, allowing for much more intuitive instructions and formatting. At this point, the order of some questions was modified to allow for a more logical thought progression. Furthermore, due to the streamlined format, it was possible for a few additional questions to be added to both questionnaires. Most significant in this was the addition of the open-ended question, “*How do you define Spanish culture? How does it differ from American culture?*” to gather a small amount of qualitative data from a wide range of respondents.

4.8.2 Interview

Three pilot interviews were conducted to refine the standardized interview schedule. Again, due to the population of the researcher’s home university, all three participants were Chinese masters students in the final quarter of their one-year academic program. As a result of the limited options available to them (i.e. no option for a homestay and limited opportunity to arrange for off campus housing before arrival in the country) all three students were living in the same level of university accommodation, though not in the same buildings. Many of the terms used in the original interview questions, such as tolerance, flexibility or resourcefulness, caused confusion among the participants who were not immediately familiar with them. Once the terms were explained each interviewee provided valuable responses, leading the researcher to conclude the issues were due largely to the respondents’ level of proficiency in the English language. For this reason, the interview questions were shared with two American students who had previously participated in study abroad programs. Though they did not participate in full pilot study interviews, each assured the researcher that questions were clear and easily understood. Despite this, more examples were added to the interview guide so that they would be available if any future participants required clarification.

4.9 Validity and Reliability

Reliability in quantitative research is often associated with whether the results can be generalized and replicable while validity is usually related to whether the means of measurement are accurate and applicable. The qualitative nature of the majority of the present study influences the overall significance placed on the confirmation of reliability and validity. As described by Stenbacka (2001), “the concept of reliability is even misleading in qualitative research. If a qualitative study is discussed with reliability as a criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is no good” (p. 552). This stated, in this research steps were taken to strive for the strongest levels of validity and reliability possible in this type of qualitative research.

As discussed above, multiple data sources were employed and questions used in both the interviews and questionnaires sought to address the same issues of affective, cognitive, and behavioral development leading to each piece of data either being supported or refuted by another. This helps to build the certainty of conclusions made, in some instances helping the findings to be

generalizable. This study is firmly focused on study abroad programs in Spain and each program type was represented by data from multiple sites. It is hoped that this wide collection of data will help the findings to be cautiously generalizable to study abroad programs throughout Spain. It would also be unwise to generalize these findings to programs in other destinations, especially in English-speaking host countries. However, as this is a qualitative study, even findings supported by multiple data sources are influenced by the researcher's opinions and perspectives. Detailed information about the design of the study and analysis has been provided, meaning this study could be replicated in other contexts with relative ease.

As a portion of the questionnaire was adapted from a well used form created by Freed et al. (2004), these repeated uses by a number of researchers in the field speak to its validity (see more detail on previous applications of the LCP in section 4.6.1 of this chapter). To assess the validity of the codes made by the researcher second rater validation was conducted with 3 of the researcher's peers in the Department of Education at the University of York. Through this there was 87.5% agreement in coding of American program participant statements, 83.33% agreement in coding of Third Party participant statements, and 77.77% agreement in coding of Direct Enrollment participant statements. These codes are thus deemed acceptable for the current study as, due to areas of specialization in the department, the second raters were not familiar with study abroad or intercultural competence specifically in the US context and it has been made sufficiently clear that this is a largely qualitative study relying heavily on perceptions, both of the participants and of the researcher, in interpreting the data.

4.10 Data Analysis

The following sections will detail the processes used for data analysis of all forms of data collected, including student and administrator questionnaires and interviews. There are a variety of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) programs to aide researchers in appropriately dealing with large quantities of data (Gibbs, 2012). In this study NVIVO 10 was used to analyze interview transcripts. The act of coding entails applying labels to passages of text, in this instance the transcripts from interviews with students and administrators (Gibbs, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This is done to allow the researcher to quickly gather related segments of text when analyzing a specific theme or idea and to allow the comparison of these ideas within multiple sources.

4.10.1 Student Questionnaire

Due to the nature of the data collected in the questionnaires the analysis was broken into two sections. The demographic and interaction data collected from the first section was highly descriptive, meaning it was most meaningful when examined in aggregate, by program type. Where possible, such as with participant ages, response averages were taken. In other instances, such as motivation for study abroad, the frequency of each response was used.

The second half of the questionnaire, the likert scale information on intercultural attitudes, knowledge, skills, and awareness and the open-ended questions on culture, was analyzed similarly. The likert scale responses were again combined into three distinct groups: American, Third Party, and Direct Enrollment programs and averages were found. Responses were made on a scale from not at all (0) to completely (5), making it possible to convert these responses into numerical data for averaging. Though this study is predominantly qualitative and interpretivist in nature, some qualitative data was collected via the questionnaire to provide a more sound basis for potential generalization of these findings to other programs and locations. As such, this quantitative data was analyzed for significance. In most instances simple averages were used, appropriate to the qualitative nature of the study. However, for the likert scale questions on intercultural competence more sophisticated statistical analysis was carried out by means of the Wilcoxon Signed-rank test in SPSS.

The Wilcoxon Signed-rank test is a nonparametric test, equivalent to a dependent t-test, that does not assume normality in the data (Martella, Nelson, Morgan, & Marchand-Martella, 2013). It is used to compare two sets of scores from the same participants, in this instance the pre and post study scores from participants in each of the three program types, respectively. This test delivers the significance and allows us to determine whether or not to accept the null hypothesis. With the data collected for this study just seven pre and post responses were significant to reject the null hypothesis, three in American programs, three in Third Party programs, and one in Direct Enrollment programs, these will all be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

In response to the open-ended short answer questions of, “*What is Spanish culture? How does it differ from American?*” a range of responses were received, both in the pre and post questionnaires. Broadly, six categories of concepts or observations were identified during analysis and were then analyzed for frequency. However, this analysis did not provide evidence for any progression, as such, this data has not been included in the wider analysis of this dissertation.

4.10.2 Student Interview

When preparing interview data for analysis it is recommended that the researcher complete all transcriptions themselves so that they become deeply familiar with the information (Holton, 2010). As such, the researcher transcribed each completed interview, however, due to the language used by most participants, several filler words, such as ‘like’ and ‘um’ have been omitted where the researcher felt they did not contribute to the overall meaning of the response. During this process it was possible to begin to note emerging themes.

Initially, the three categories identified by Deardorff and others, attitude, knowledge and skills, were used as a guide in creating relevant codes. With these in mind, as well as the codes developed from the analysis of the free response question in the earlier stage (see Appendix J), open coding was used in a line-by-line analysis of transcripts. This was chosen for its generative nature in showing themes and categories present in the text (Gibbs, 2012; Holton, 2010; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and also helped to ensure no important examples were skipped, forcing a saturation

of the codes that were created (Holton, 2010). As the process continued in the first round of coding and the researcher noticed ideas repeating more often, coding was no longer done line by line but as appropriate. After this initial round of coding, in a second round codes created were examined for repetition and similar ideas and such codes were combined. Then, codes were grouped together in appropriate categories and sub-categories, which fit neatly with Deardorff's (2006) material, though some codes that emerged completely from the data, were also included. No identified codes were not included in this analysis, though the language used to describe some codes did evolve over the rounds of coding, being streamlined to prevent repetition. More detail on codes can be found in section 6.1, and the full list can also be found in Appendix K.

4.10.3 Administrator Interview and Questionnaire

As with the student interviews, administrator interview data was analyzed using NVIVO coding software. Because the interview and questionnaire were designed to target specific areas of the study abroad experience, such as program design and administrators' observations of participants, the codes developed were much more narrow than with the student interviews. The initial coding process used codes generated from the actual interview data, which were then reviewed and grouped together to eliminate redundant codes, focusing on the key themes, as will be detailed in Chapter 6 on the discussion and analysis of these results.

4.11 Summary

This chapter has provided description and detail of the methodology applied in this study. After a brief introduction of the researcher and her connection to the topic studied an explanation of the program sites and brief descriptions of them were included. Then, detail of the specific research instruments, including their design and revisions made due to pilot study findings, was provided. The ethical issues in this study and steps taken to minimize or avoid them were explained. The reliability and validity of the research was explained followed by a detailed description of the process of data analysis, including the creation of appropriate coding models. The following three chapters will address the findings for each of the three research questions, respectively.

5 Research Question 1: Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?

5.1 Introduction

The introduction to this chapter will provide a brief description of the types of data collected from both the pre and post-study questionnaires. In the pre questionnaire several demographic questions were asked to help construct a better understanding of the students who participate in each program type. There were also several questions on intercultural relationships and language use, as well as a section on intercultural attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors. These same questions, or variations thereof, were asked in the post questionnaire to allow the tracking of any development during the period abroad. The data discussed here will be from quantitative questionnaire results, but will be expanded upon with some supplementary information about the program sites and insights from interviews where appropriate, with in depth discussion of interview data to come in the following chapter, to enable us to create a wider picture of the development students in each program type may experience.

These questionnaire items were designed with the goal of gathering data to answer the first research question of, *Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?* While detail of the program site structures can provide a general overview of the program, it does not provide much information about the student each tends to attract with sociological data.

Biographical information such as age, class year, degree subject, and self-rated proficiency in the Spanish language begin to create a picture of the individual, while details of previous international travel and study of Spanish help to make this profile more specific and relevant to the current study. Responses to questions on background information collected in the pre-study questionnaire are the foundation of the individual students and vital to understanding how they see themselves and, as such, must be taken into consideration in this type of study (Pellegrino, 1998). This may provide data that reveals patterns about which students are able to gain more benefits while enrolled in each program type. In the post-study questionnaire students were asked to identify which type of living situation (dormitory, private apartment, or host family) they had for the majority of their time abroad to help elucidate whether home life plays an important role in their intercultural development.

The pre-study instrument, to gather background information on students enrolled in each program type, had to take into account the fact that students participate in semesters abroad for a wide range of reasons. Because there are so many possible destinations for such programs it was important to determine why these students chose to participate in a program in Spain (Engle & Engle, 2003). Many students knowingly opt for a program that allows them a great deal of autonomy to be a test of their ability and capacity to take responsibility for themselves and their potential integration in the host community, while others do not want to take on such a charge and opt for other program types (Hadis, 2005). The host country in this study often necessitates the use

of a second language in course work and homestays, unlike in the student dormitories common in many other locations such as the United Kingdom. Understanding whether these challenges were explicit reasons for participants' study in Spain or whether they were unintended byproducts of the decision was important to determine their goals for their time abroad.

Participants were asked to rank their own Spanish abilities at the time of their arrival in Spain, specifically listening, speaking, reading, and writing abilities, relying on the students' own impression of their abilities, as their actual language proficiency was not of particular importance to this study. As the term abroad is likely to force students to use their Spanish much more than they would in the United States, it was important to collect data on their typical use of the language in the year before their sojourn (Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004).

The questions in the intercultural development Likert section of the questionnaire were designed with reference to the framework developed by Deardorff (2006), which was detailed in depth in the literature review (section 3.3.5.4). While averages are used for the majority of the reporting of this information a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test was performed to compare the pre and post-study responses for each question, from each cohort. Because this study is largely qualitative, the data from these tests are added for information in the appendices (Appendices, J, K, and L) with attention drawn in the text to those values that are statistically significant.

The following sections will illustrate the above information for each of the three program cohorts included in this study through an analysis of the self-reported questionnaire data collected at the beginning and at the end of their period of study in Spain. As a reminder, the number of responses for the pre and post-study questionnaire differ (see Table 4 for full participation numbers), so there will be some variance in total numbers discussed for certain sections; this will be pointed out in text as appropriate. Each section will first present the findings on each of the above topics, followed by a discussion of these findings for each program site to elucidate what they mean in the wider frame of study abroad program design.

5.2 American

5.2.1 Demographic and Biographical Information

The gender distribution of participants in American study center programs was about 2/3rd female and 1/3rd male, with an average age of 19.216 years. As one of the American programs used in this study serves as an option for a first year in-state tuition incentive program 36 of the 74 total pre questionnaire respondents, or 48.64%, were first year students. The next largest group was 3rd years, or juniors, of which there were 23, 31.081% of the total. The remainder were 4 sophomores, or second years, totaling 5.405%, 10 seniors, or fourth years, totaling 13.513% and 1 fifth year student who accounted for 1.351% of the total. A total of 62 participants completed the post questionnaire. The overwhelming majority of participants in American programs had English, though one each spoke Spanish, Arabic, and Chinese, as a first language.

Almost 1/4 of the respondents, 18 of 74, were double majors with the majority having Spanish as one of these majors. In total, there were 16 Spanish majors. The hard sciences were the most popular with 22 students, while 7 were still undecided on their course of study. Seventeen students studied a range of internationally focused subjects, such as international relations, international affairs, and international business. Four studied communications while the rest took Social Science, Arts, and Humanities subjects such as psychology, education, political science, history, and anthropology.

Students in American programs tended to have less opportunity to decide what type of living environment they had while in Spain. One of the programs in this study required participants to live in a student dormitory physically connected to the building that housed their classrooms and administrative offices. A few of the older students had an option to apply to live in either student apartments or with a host family but this option was more difficult and rare. As a result, 31 participants in American programs lived in student dormitories, 19 lived with local host families, and 12 lived in private apartments. Those that lived in private apartments had support from the program administrators in finding and setting up their accommodation but daily responsibilities fell to the individual students.

5.2.1.1 Motivation

For American program participants, motivation for a term or a year abroad is especially interesting as a large portion of these students had chosen to complete their first term or year of university abroad—meaning they would miss out on the orientation and bonding activities their peers would be experiencing on their US campuses. Many of the students demonstrated a stance typical of new students, experiencing their first opportunity for responsibility for their own decisions. Many were influenced to enroll in the program for the benefits offered from their home university that allowed first year abroad students to pay in-state tuition fees for the entirety of their undergraduate study. This financial incentive for study abroad is still quite unique and shows a long-term outlook in those students as they opted for reduced fees over the comfort of the traditional campus freshman year. Of the 74 total participants from American programs a significant portion, 31 students, cited opportunities to travel as their primary motivation for study abroad. These young students had not had extensive travel opportunities prior to the period abroad and were largely experiencing their first time with what they saw as freedom from their parents.

Still significant, 22 students cited a general interest in Spanish culture, representing a large focus on the destination chosen for study abroad, despite the fact that these students enrolled in a program that would closely mimic the college experience of the US. On a more practical note, six students sought to improve their Spanish while 4 were fulfilling a foreign language graduation requirement. A further 5 were hoping to improve their future employability. As the courses in American programs were often very closely linked to those on US campuses many students were able to complete majors or minors while abroad, which was a strong motivation for many who

were interviewed. These same students also saw study abroad as an opportunity to improve their overall GPA, as courses abroad had a reputation of being easier than those on US campuses.

5.2.1.2 Previous International Experience

Despite their young ages and Anglophone backgrounds about 2/3 of respondents did report that they had previous international travel experience. The majority of this experience came in travels through Western Europe in cities such as London, Paris, and Rome, though several students did report travels to Asia, Africa, and Australia. Three students reported that they had previously lived in the United Kingdom. Several students had previously traveled to parts of the Spanish-speaking world including Spain, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, and Ecuador.

Just 5 of the 74 students reported that they had undertaken study of the Spanish language in a Spanish speaking country prior to their semester in Spain. The length of study ranged from one week to a full year and had been completed in their junior years of high school or later in locations such as Vigo and Madrid, Spain, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and Guatemala.

5.2.1.3 Spanish Language

Before studying in Spain, most students tended to rate their input skills of listening and reading higher, at averages of 1.932 and 1.945, respectively. The output skills of speaking and writing recorded averages of 1.567 and 1.770. In sum, students reported using Spanish while speaking to fluent or native Spanish speakers a few times a year with an average of 1.162. They used Spanish while speaking with instructors or classmates even more sporadically at .986 and friends who were fluent or native speakers less at .810. The most infrequent use was in public with service personnel with an average of .405.

In the post questionnaire participants in American programs reported use of Spanish for superficial exchanges almost 6 days a week with an average of 5.983, showing quite regular use, though it likely would have been the same sorts of conversation every day, whether simple greetings or ordering dinner at a local café. These students had extended conversations in the target language much less frequently at 2.951 days a week. These would have been conversations with roommates, friends, and other acquaintances that they saw on a regular basis. Due to the structure of these programs, a majority of these people would have been native English speakers; meaning students would have likely defaulted to their native language when the situation allowed for it.

In classroom situations students reported using Spanish to speak with instructors 3.548 days a week. As most students had class 5 days a week and a large portion of them actually lived in the building in which their classes took place this shows a reluctance to speak with instructors, which could be due to a general reluctance to speak with authority figures due to age or a hesitation to use their Spanish in a practical environment. They used Spanish with native English speaking classmates only slightly less often at 3.306 days a week. These students were even less likely to speak Spanish with host family members or other Spanish speakers at 2.951 days a week. Because

of their living situation, many of these students did not have much opportunity to interact with Spaniards in their direct living situation, though the student dormitory was staffed by native speakers in a reception area, other common areas, and cleaning staff, meaning there was the option to communicate with such individuals on a daily basis for those students willing to do so. These students used Spanish in conversation with service personnel in stores or restaurants much more often at 5.370 days a week. As reported above with their superficial conversations, this usage was probably fairly similar each day, meaning the students would have likely known a small range of vocabulary quite well but were probably not tested on a deeper level in their usage on a regular basis.

Respondents reported minimal use of Spanish language TV or movies with an average of .594. Slightly lower was their use of materials involving the written language such as magazines, newspapers, or novels with an average of .540. They reported listening to Spanish language music more than twice as often with an average of 1.378.

Students in American programs showed a large increase in their use of Spanish media, though considering how rarely they used such sources before their time abroad it is still not significant usage. Students watched Spanish television or movies 1.645 days per week and read Spanish language print media 1.370 days a week. Their use of Spanish language music was higher at 2.258 days per week. With reference to this higher number, in discussions of their time in Spain in interviews many of these students said that most of their social time while abroad was spend out with other American friends at local bars and nightclubs where music would have been mixed with popular American music and Spanish language music from all over the world.

5.2.2 Intercultural Development

The following two sections will detail the students' starting points in a number of intercultural areas and show any growth in these during their period abroad. In general, students in the American programs began their period abroad with quite low scores but did show growth at the end.

5.2.2.1 Intercultural Relationships

When asked whether they had any existing intercultural relationships from before their semester abroad 43 of the 74 respondents responded in the affirmative. The majority of which were said to be with friends, though several students noted familial connections and coworkers. Two students had a parent born abroad and two others referenced friendships formed with exchange students at their high schools. Several students reported having family who lived abroad in locations including England, Cuba, Spain, Germany, Greece, Panama, and throughout South America.

In the post questionnaire students were asked about the intercultural relationships they developed while abroad. In total, 18 American program students said they had developed no such relationships, while 26 did develop them but did not anticipate they would continue once they left Spain. Many of the relationships that were developed were done so through participation in team sports or dance in the community, meaning without regular in person interaction they would have

no way to continue the relationships. Another 18 said they had developed intercultural relationships and did envision they would continue once they returned to the US; these were more likely to be relationships created through participation in the *intercambio* programs where a Spanish student participated specifically for the opportunity to create intercultural relationships of their own.

When rating previous intercultural interactions, the overwhelming majority of all responses were positive, though for some groups, such as roommates and university staff, more than ½ of respondents indicated that they had never had an intercultural encounter. This may be reflective of the fact that so many of these students were first years, meaning they had no previous opportunity to have roommates and had not had significant time on a university campus to have the need for any interaction with university staff.

In their post questionnaire responses students in American programs showed a much greater range of intercultural encounters. Where before their time in Spain many had never had an encounter with roommates or staff, after only 16 had not had such an encounter with a roommate and just 4 had not had one with university staff, possibly because of the US staffing in many of the program roles. In general, their interactions were still largely positive. Two negative interactions were reported each for roommates and host families and just a few neutral encounters were reported. This shows a decreased presence of the students' uncertainty avoidance in that, while abroad, they were willing to accept a level of ambiguity in different situations and go outside of their comfort to meet more people from different cultural groups, instead of always staying in their American program sites (Hofstede, 1986).

5.2.2.2 Attitude, Knowledge, Behavior, and Awareness Development

5.2.2.2.1 Attitude

In the intercultural section of the questionnaire the first three questions addressed students' attitudes going into their experience abroad. Participants in American programs tended to have very positive attitudes toward culture; the statement with the highest average score, 4.432, was "*It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures*" reflecting their innate curiosity, corresponding with their adventurous choices such as studying abroad, for many of them very early in their degrees. They also rated their enjoyment of interaction with people from unfamiliar cultures high at 4.256, though slightly lower than the importance they placed on understanding the differences in behavior between themselves and others, which had an average response of 4.364. This may reflect the lack of opportunities many of the students had to actually interact with different people—they may not have had enough experience with people from backgrounds different from their own to be able to relax and enjoy the experience as opposed to trying to understand the myriad details of these rare encounters.

Students in American programs showed very slight changes in attitude from the pre to the post questionnaire. All averages raised slightly but with an increase of .1 or less. This shows that they enjoyed their time abroad but were neither inspired to live a more international life nor

discouraged from such situations and desperately wanting to return to the United States. This development will be addressed in more detail in section 6.2.

5.2.2.2.2 *Knowledge*

The next three questions addressed students' existing knowledge about intercultural interaction. These questions were each rated considerably lower than the responses to those on attitude. Respondents indicated fairly low knowledge about cultural norms specific to the Spanish culture with an average of 2.594, supporting the assumption often made of American students as ignorant of global affairs and cultures (Hadis, 2005). Despite this, they rated their ability to contrast their own culture with Spanish culture and language more than one point higher at 3.756. This would show that the students must have made at least a degree of assumption about what Spanish culture is. Their rating of consciousness of the knowledge they use in intercultural interactions fell between these two averages at 3.554. These responses indicate much lower confidence in their knowledge, but when this is combined with their attitude displayed in the previous responses it creates a profile of an eager student excited to learn about a new culture while accepting they may not be well informed about it prior to becoming a part of it.

While attitudes were relatively unchanged, these students showed significant changes in their cultural knowledge at the end of their semester abroad, similar to the agricultural students studied by Zhai and Scheer (2002). Their knowledge of Spanish cultural values, norms, and taboos rose, for this question a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-4.226$, $p < .000$, showing a notable increase in this knowledge. Their confidence in their ability to compare them with that of their own culture rose to 4.032. This shows significant factual information was gained during their time abroad, whether through academic work or every day experiences. They also showed an increase of almost .4 in their consciousness of the cultural knowledge they use in interactions, showing growth in their understanding of their individual role in such contact (Immetman & Schneider, 1998). Again, a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.281$, $p < .023$.

5.2.2.2.3 *Behavior*

In questions about their existing skills the students showed a degree of confidence and comfort with their ability to actively monitor their behavior in their interactions with people from other cultures with an average of 3.729. Ranked fairly highly, 3.851, is their comfort with interacting in a range of social situations. This fits with the demographic profile of the program participants as any 19 year old or first year student willing to spend their entire first year of college in a foreign country, often taking courses in a foreign language, must have a certain level of comfort and confidence to make that choice (Walker, 2012). They reported that they were less likely to alter their own verbal and non-verbal behavior to improve their cross-cultural interactions, with an average of 3.405, demonstrating they were observational at this stage, just not mindfully (Ting-Toomey, 1999). When compared to their responses on other skills necessary for such interaction it

seems that this may be another result of their limited experience with such interactions. If they had not had much experience with these situations they may not have realized how alterations of their own actions could improve the overall success of the communication.

Table 7 American program participant pre and post intercultural questionnaire averages

	American	
	Pre	Post
It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures	4.432	4.451
I try to understand differences in behavior, values, and attitude between myself and others of different backgrounds	4.364	4.467
I enjoy interacting with individuals from a culture that is unfamiliar to me	4.256	4.290
I know the cultural values, norms, and taboos of the Spanish culture	2.594	3.387
I am able to contrast aspects of the Spanish language and culture with my own	3.756	4.032
I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds	3.554	3.919
I change my verbal (e.g. accent, tone) and non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural interaction requires it	3.405	3.822
I monitor my own behavior and its impact on my learning, growth and on others	3.729	3.903
I feel comfortable interacting in a variety of different social situations	3.851	3.983
I am conscious of the importance of adjusting my behavior to correspond with the expectations of varied cultural and social situations	3.932	4.129
I feel it is important to value the many differences and similarities in all languages and cultures	4.445	4.516
I want to become as bicultural as possible	4.351	4.338
I want to become as bilingual as possible	4.594	4.387
I often wanted to return home		2.161
I felt I was not learning much		1.467

The cohort's intercultural skills also rose, though not as dramatically as their knowledge. The biggest growth was in the students' changes in verbal and non-verbal behaviors when appropriate, where a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.374$, $p < .018$. This demonstrates an important change in their understanding of their own actions in helping to ease the difficulties that may arise from intercultural encounters and an incorporation of the mindful aspect of observation, helping them to understand more clearly the importance of context (Deardorff, 2006; Ting-Toomey, 1999). They showed very modest increases in their attention to their personal behavior and its influence on their development at 3.903 and in their ease of participation in a range of social situations at 3.983.

5.2.2.2.4 *Awareness*

At the beginning of their study abroad the cohort also recorded high levels of awareness and desire to be interculturally competent. They said they saw value in acknowledging and understanding the differences and similarities in all languages and cultures with a high average of 4.445. More than .5 lower was their awareness of adjusting their behavior to fit within a specific cultural context with an average of 3.932. Again, this may be evidence of a lack of prior experiences being a member of a minority culture. As native English speakers, even when they were in international locations, prior to their study abroad the people they interacted with would have likely been much more familiar with their culture than these students were with the Spanish culture, making it likely the other person made the adjustment to make the situation easier for the American, instead of the reverse. Almost all students reported that they truly wanted to be bilingual, in their own perception of the term, with an average of 4.594, though we cannot extrapolate from the current data whether that is something they felt they would be able to achieve during their year or semester abroad.

These students reported modest increases in their awareness of culturally specific expectations at 4.129 and the value they place on the differences and similarities they encounter at 4.516. Interestingly, this cohort actually showed a decrease in the last two questions. Though only a decrease of less than .02 they did cite a lowered desire to become bicultural with an average of 4.338. There was a larger decrease, over .2, in their desire to become bilingual with an average of 4.387. In review of interview responses this decrease seems to correlate to these participants' realization that gaining full fluency in a second language is a time intensive process; it seems that while many came into the semester abroad anticipating being fluent after four months most realized after just a few weeks abroad that it would take much more time and practice to actually gain that level of command. In this instance, despite an initially stated awareness of the potential value of fluency in Spanish, as emphasized by Llanes (2011), these students found it quite difficult while abroad and were drawn to reevaluate their plans.

Of the three cohorts assessed in this research, American program participants reported the highest desire to return home during their stay in Spain with an average of 2.161. As so many were first year students we must also take into account the general adjustment one experiences during their first year of university, typically the first time these students spend a significant period away from their parents and support system. These students reported feeling as though they were not learning much while abroad with an average of 1.467; this low average may reflect positively on both the classroom content of their courses and the extracurricular activities open to them.

5.2.3 **Discussion**

In sum, students who participated in American programs tended to be slightly younger than the traditional third year study abroad students, and native English speaking females. Many students were majoring or minoring in Spanish, but there was a wide range of other subjects represented as well, showing that degree was likely not a major factor in the decision to study abroad or in specific location choice. Most students, whether by choice or as a program requirement, lived with

other American students in student dormitories, though several opted for homestays when they were possible.

Their stated motivation for study abroad was to be able to travel and explore. This attitude, along with the dearth of a strong connection to degree requirements, describes inexperienced and eager students who want to see the world. However, they seem to lack a devotion to exploring one specific place or culture, as seen by their choice to live amongst their peers which meant they could avoid cultural immersion at any point and for any reason.

Students in American programs had traveled internationally but few had experience with Spanish in an international context. More than half reported at least one intercultural relationship prior to Spain but that same proportion did not feel like the relationships they developed while abroad would continue once they returned home. This hints at the superficiality of these relationships, such as those with cleaners or school staff and volunteers, and may have been a direct result of their extensive focus on international travel. They wanted to see so many sights while in Europe that they were not home in Spain long enough to develop meaningful connections.

With respect to their intercultural development, students in American programs began their time in Spain positively. The only slight increase in responses on attitudes indicated that these students had no major incidents while abroad; they were neither crushed by an especially trying experience nor buoyed by an exceedingly positive one. However, this may also indicate that they were never pushed to grow by their situation in Spain. With American courses, student affairs professionals, and living environment, these students were rarely, if ever, out of their comfort zones.

The students' perception of their actual cultural knowledge showed a different trajectory. Pre-sojourn they reported that they had fairly low knowledge about culture, both Spanish and their own, or knowledge enough to be able to compare them with one another. The greatest growth came in their cultural knowledge of Spain that, due to the lower levels of interaction with locals, was likely a benefit of the culture-specific courses offered by American programs. This type of classroom driven, teacher supported learning is the major benefit of having complete control over course offerings and design. These courses can be mandatory, leaving students with no opportunity to avoid classroom, and sporadic facilitated experiential, learning about the local culture. The distance from the host culture only occurs once the students leave that supportive environment and return to a dorm with other Americans or to a homestay where they spend limited time due to their regular travels around Spain and Europe.

Again, in terms of intercultural skills students in American programs did experience growth, however it was less than that reported in their knowledge. They started the program confident in their ability to interact in diverse situations. By the end of the term they believed they had grown to be slightly more aware of their own behavior in intercultural situations. This is representative of the few occasions they had to use and grow their skills in real life situations. Most of their interactions came with other American students or with Spaniards through their

school or in their homestays, which were made up of locals who had significant experience with American undergraduates.

The issue of American peer group formation was typically quite clear in the data collected through this study (Magnan & Back, 2007; Norris & Dwyer, 2005; Pellegrino, 1998; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Wilkinson, 1998a). The students, due to the course structure and living environment, were almost defaulted into peer groups, unless they had the confidence and drive to put themselves in positions of uncertainty where they could potentially meet others. However, considering the young age of these students, this may have provided a vital safety net for them, such as that suggested by Wilkinson (1998a) in her discussion of the importance of peer groups abroad. Most students expressed a desire to have future international experiences, allowing for the possibility that this type of secure environment helps them to grow the confidence necessary to choose a different type of program, such as Third Party or Direct Enrollment, for their next international experience.

Peer groups are made possible because of the support offered by the American programs. It is made clear to the students which faculty members or administrators they should go to for specific problems, meaning they do not have to interact with outsiders. Students often feel that they are paying high fees for the experience and expect this convenience to be an included facet of it (Raggi-Moore et al., 2005). The decision of what level of challenge is appropriate for different students is left to the program staff. Some American programs, such as those that have allowed students to opt for homestays, exercise more flexibility in pushing the students, where other programs, such as those that overwhelmingly enroll first year students, are stricter in ensuring they provide the necessary support immediately. However, this support often violates one of the key characteristics of Experiential Learning Theory in that they remove the opportunity for these participants to take responsibility for the resolution of conflicts between opposing worldviews, potentially stifling their development (Kolb, 1983).

As has been found in previous research, it is likely that some students would never participate in a term abroad without the assurances offered by the presence and participation of student affairs professionals (Raggi-Moore et al., 2005). In this case, while it may seem like these students are being overly protected to some, it may be that without this safety net they would never experience anything other than their hometowns. The make up of undergraduate students in the US is remarkably diverse, and continues to grow even more so. It is important to keep these diverse backgrounds and requirements in mind while evaluating program types, as no one program type will work best for all students.

5.3 Third Party

5.3.1 Demographic and Biographical Information

There were 56 total participants enrolled in Third Party programs who completed the pre questionnaire, 47 females and 9 males, while 42 participants completed the post questionnaire.

The average age of participants was almost a year older than in the American programs at 20.196 years. The vast majority of students, 82.142%, were in their 3rd year, a reference to the traditional Junior Year abroad model. There were no first year students but 3, or 5.357%, were in their sophomore year and 7, 12.5%, were seniors.

For their academic studies, 28 of the respondents were double majors and 2 were triple majors. In total, 23 students majored in a language, 20 in Spanish, 2 in Spanish and French, and one in Classical Languages. The next most popular subject area was made up of programs with an international relations or affairs theme with 12 students in total. Psychology and communications were also popular with 8 and 6 majors respectively.

Again, the majority of students were native English speakers with 49 of 56 respondents, or 87.5%. Three students listed Spanish as their first language, 5.357% of the total, and two indicated both English and Spanish as their first language, accounting for 3.571%. One spoke Tamil and German as native languages and one spoke French, each accounting for 1.78% of the total.

The majority of students participating in Third Party programs seem to live with host families while abroad. In this study, 34 of the 42 participants who completed the post questionnaire lived with host families. They varied in family composition and the number of study abroad students resident in each home. Many students lived with just one host mother, often with grown children living within 30 minutes of their apartment. Several students were able to specifically request host families with young children, in order to replicate what they felt was a more realistic Spanish family experience. Just 6 participants in these programs lived in a student dormitory and only 2 lived in private apartments. Because of the benefits purported to come with living with natives, Third Party programs tend to emphasize the merits of homestays and have vetted their host families to ensure an enjoyable stay for students; more detail on the process of selection of host families will be included in section 7.3.2.3 through interview data collected with program administrators.

5.3.1.1 Motivation

In contrast to the heavy interest in wider travel from American program participants, the vast majority of students in Third Party programs chose to study abroad because of their interest in the Spanish culture. These students were older than those in the American programs, meaning they had more time to reflect on their personal goals for their semester abroad and were, likely, more forward thinking as far as what types of experiences would improve their prospects and allow them to explore a country in depth. There were several students in Third Party programs who had already participated in a form of study abroad, either during high school, in a gap year, or on a short course. These experiences were often cited as the reason for pursuing a semester or year abroad during their undergraduate course. They reported extensive previous travel experiences, which, along with the connection between their academic programs and chosen study abroad destination, reflect this sincere interest in the host culture.

The next most common driver was the opportunity to improve their personal employability in the future, as in interviews students often referenced a belief that US employers look favorably on applicants who have tested themselves with such challenging experiences, supporting Llanes' (2011) assertion about the increased economic focus from modern study abroad participants. This, again, shows a responsible motive for their program selection. Spanish language development was also a major driving force for them both for the general desire to improve their communication abilities and also for their course requirements as many of these students had language or global studies majors that required a certain level of proficiency attained and courses completed for graduation. As with the American program, there were several other students who chose Spain due to its location and the ease with which they could explore that country and others in Europe during their time outside of the US.

5.3.1.2 Previous International Experience

Students were asked to indicate if they had ever lived or traveled outside of the United States prior to their semester abroad. Over 4/5 of Third Party participants indicated that they had traveled previously, many of them widely. There were multiple reports of travel around traditional European destinations but several students also reported travel to Africa, South America, Asia, Oceania, and around North America. Twenty-five students had previously traveled to a Spanish speaking country including Peru, Bolivia, Panama, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Ecuador. Of these students, eight had previously visited Spain.

These students' travel was not solely for leisure; several students reported traveling on short study trips, previous study abroad terms, and mission trips. Four students had previously lived outside of the United States in Mexico, Bolivia, France, and Montreal, Canada.

Several participants had completed previous study of Spanish before their term in Spain. In total, 16 had studied the language internationally before in locations such as, and including, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Guatemala.

5.3.1.3 Spanish Language

Students were fairly confident in their Spanish language abilities with all averages falling between good and very good on the questionnaire rating scale (more detail on the rating scale used can be found in section 4.6.1.1). Their lowest ranked skills dealt with production. Speaking abilities were ranked at an average of 2.089 though writing was slightly higher at 2.339. Their ratings of their listening and reading skills were higher at 2.482 and 2.517, respectively.

Students in Third Party programs reported more regular use of Spanish in the year prior to their semester abroad than the cohort in American programs. They recalled speaking Spanish with fluent speakers on an almost monthly basis, with an average of 1.928. They had slightly more interaction with their Spanish instructors and classmates in that period with an average frequency of 2.071. It was less common for them to use the language in social situations with friends who were native or fluent speakers, 1.428, and half as common for them to speak in Spanish with service personnel, 0.732. This usage, typically just a few times a year, shows that the language was

still primarily an academic discipline for them but that it was somewhat of a communicative tool in occasional real world situations. This is a theme seen throughout this paper with students discussing language in classroom terms versus communicability however, with Third Party students we will see this begin to change.

In the post questionnaire students in Third Party programs showed much higher usage of Spanish while abroad than their American counterparts. They used the language in superficial conversation 6.452 days a week and in more detailed conversation 5.285 days per week. They used Spanish with instructors 4.357 days a week, which fits well with the typical 4-5 day a week class schedule most students had. This shows a regular willingness to try to use their language skills in a practical context and in a meaningful way, as discussions held with instructors were likely closely related to class requirements or grading processes. They spoke Spanish with classmates who were native Spanish speakers 3.666 days per week and classmates who were native English speakers 2.547 days a week. This shows that slightly more of their Spanish use with peers was with native speakers, adding more authenticity to the language used and increasing the likelihood that they were practicing proper Spanish, as native speaking peers would be able to correct them and demonstrate appropriate use in a way that other non-native speakers would not be able. Third Party students spoke Spanish with their host families 6.071 days a week, another opportunity where the Spanish used was likely to be more appropriate to the context as they would pick up phrases and slang from their host parents or siblings and be corrected when errors were made. Their language use with service personnel was only slightly higher than students in American programs with an average of 5.428. Because these students had a living situation that provided most, if not all, meals and other necessities such as laundry, they had less need to actually interact with service providers on a regular basis.

These students reported infrequent use of Spanish language media in the year prior to their term abroad. With an average use of 1.0, students watched movies or TV in Spanish just a few times a year. They used Spanish print media slightly more often with an average of 1.339. They listened to Spanish language music much more often with an average of 2.017, which represents slightly higher than monthly use.

While abroad, these students showed a major increase in the use of all forms of Spanish language media. The largest increase came in Spanish television and movies. The average use was 3.261 days per week. The most obvious explanation for this is the fact that most students lived in host families, where the adults would have had established daily routines that often included television. Many students interviewed reported returning to their homes at siesta and sitting down to watch the daily news with a host mother or father. These students read Spanish newspapers and magazines 2.309 days per week and listened to Spanish music 3.142 days a week. This last result shows the students had a much greater involvement in the culture, as music tends to be important in Spain, whether top 40 or more culturally related music such as flamenco.

5.3.2 Intercultural Development

The following two sections will detail the students' starting points in a number of intercultural areas and show any growth in these during their period abroad. Students in Third Party programs began their study abroad semester with even stronger and more positive self-perceptions of their abilities than those in the American programs. While, in most areas, they also showed marked growth during their time in Spain, their already high starting scores restrained some of development visible through these self-reported scores.

5.3.2.1 Intercultural Relationships

When asked whether they had any existing intercultural relationships 2/3, or 66.071%, said yes. Of those 37 students most cited friendships and familial ties. A few students had significant others from different cultural backgrounds. One student cited a childhood nanny from Argentina. Two students spoke of friends they had made during high school who were participating in exchange programs from Europe. Interestingly, one student cited their participation in a society at their home university, "I participate in the largely black gospel choir at my university." This foreshadows the increased involvement in campus diversity activities found by Gonyea (2008). Another student said, "Yes, my best friend is a first generation immigrant from China." These two responses signified slightly more thought and reflection than responses to the same question from the participants in the American programs as they have identified ideas, activities, and connections beyond surface level race, nationality, or religious labels. These students have already identified niche traits and acknowledged their connection to both an individuals' self-identification and others' identification of them. These students showed a greater involvement in diverse campus activities, though they do benefit in being older, meaning they would have had more time to find their place in campus life and, through that, have more opportunity to try new things with new groups of people. A number of students stated that they had family living outside of the United States. One cited family living in both Spain and Mexico while the others listed countries such as England, Italy, the Philippines, Canada, and France.

In post questionnaire responses, these students tended to have formed intercultural bonds while in Spain, with just 18 students reporting no such relationship. Eleven students had developed friendships but did not expect them to continue. A majority, 23 students, said that they did expect their relationships to continue once they returned to the United States.

In rating intercultural experiences prior to their study abroad students responded overwhelmingly in the positive. From all responses just 1 student identified a negative experience with a previous classmate. Again, a number of students responded that they had never had an intercultural relationship with a roommate, 25 of 56, or university staff, 18 of 56.

In their post questionnaire responses Third Party participants again remained mainly positive in reflections on their intercultural experiences. In total, there were 5 negative experiences with friends, classmates, professors, and other university staff reported. About ¼ of respondents reported that they had not had an intercultural interaction with a classmate, which is striking as a

majority of these students were in at least one course with each other, in addition to those with Spanish peers, signifying a difference in individual conceptualization of what constitutes one culture versus another. These intercultural reflections will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

5.3.2.2 Attitude, Knowledge, Behavior, and Awareness Development

5.3.2.2.1 Attitude

In general, students enrolled in Third Party programs did experience meaningful development during their time in Spain. They started out with quite strong self-ratings on most accounts and had very positive attitudes when embarking on their period in Spain. They demonstrated a very strong desire to meet and interact with languages and cultures different from their own, with an average of 4.678. They followed through with wanting to understand the differences that they witness in this type of encounter, with an average of 4.625. Slightly lower was their rating of their enjoyment in interacting with people from cultures that are unfamiliar to them with a 4.517 average. For many students, based on their earlier responses about previous intercultural interactions, this slightly lower average may be in part due to the lack of experience they had with individuals from other cultures.

As with the American cohort, student responses to these questions about their attitudes tended to be fairly similar in the post questionnaire data. They placed slightly higher importance on interaction with different languages and cultures with an average of 4.785. There was a less than .07 increase in their attempts to understand cultural differences to 4.690. Their enjoyment of intercultural interactions increased .06 to 4.571, though a slight rise, this may connect to Marginson's (2014) idea of international students being able to use their time abroad in their self-formation, growing more comfortable with negotiating their own identities through interactions with others. This shows, as with the American group, that the time these students spent in Spain was a generally enjoyable experience. They held strong attitudes when considering intercultural experiences, which may signify that potential future international situations are neither significantly more nor less likely.

5.3.2.2.2 Knowledge

Respondents indicated some doubt about their knowledge of the cultural values, norms, and taboos of the Spanish culture with an average rating of 2.928. They were much more confident in their ability to compare Spanish culture with their own with an average of 4.375. This shows some naïveté as if they were not confident in their knowledge of the Spanish culture they could not be sure of their ability to accurately compare it with their own culture. With an average between these two aspects at 3.857, Third Party students were aware of the cultural knowledge that they used in their own intercultural interactions.

In their post questionnaire responses, these students reported even more knowledge growth than American program students. They felt significantly more knowledgeable about Spanish norms and culture with an average of 3.928. As with American program participants a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher

than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-3.858$, $p < .000$. Because of this increased knowledge they felt they were also better able to compare that information with their American culture with an average of 4.714. This development was also proven with a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test that indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-3.402$, $p < .001$. These students also showed a very high awareness of the cultural knowledge used in intercultural interactions with an average of 4.357. Again, a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.351$, $p < .019$. These results all combine to describe a student who was keenly aware of and attentive to their surroundings while in Spain and, as Root and Ngampornchai (2012) say is a vital aspect of cognitive development, was conscious enough of this information to actively place it in the context of the Spanish environment.

Table 8 Third Party participant pre and post intercultural questionnaire averages

	Third Party	
	Pre	Post
It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures	4.678	4.785
I try to understand differences in behavior, values, and attitude between myself and others of different backgrounds	4.625	4.690
I enjoy interacting with individuals from a culture that is unfamiliar to me	4.517	4.571
I know the cultural values, norms, and taboos of the Spanish culture	2.928	3.928
I am able to contrast aspects of the Spanish language and culture with my own	4.375	4.714
I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds	3.857	4.357
I change my verbal (e.g. accent, tone) and non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural interaction requires it	4.035	4.238
I monitor my own behavior and its impact on my learning, growth and on others	4.071	4.047
I feel comfortable interacting in a variety of different social situations	3.875	4.047
I am conscious of the importance of adjusting my behavior to correspond with the expectations of varied cultural and social situations	4.428	4.309
I feel it is important to value the many differences and similarities in all languages and cultures	4.732	4.642
I want to become as bicultural as possible	4.339	4.261
I want to become as bilingual as possible	4.857	4.738
I often wanted to return home		2
I felt I was not learning much		1.666

5.3.2.2.3 *Behavior*

These students rated their pre-existing intercultural skills about equally. They were confident in their ability to use appropriate verbal and nonverbal behaviors at 4.035, and to monitor them to understand their impact on others 4.071. This shows they began their experience knowing that their actions would play an integral role in their interactions with Spaniards, an awareness that would lead them to benefit more from the experiential (Kolb, 1983; Passarelli & Kolb, 2012) program design elements common in Third Party programs (see section 2.3.2 for more on Third Party program design). They were slightly less comfortable interacting in different social situations at 3.875, again a possible result of their relative inexperience with such things.

There was a slight increase in Third Party students' willingness to actively change their behavior according to the specific intercultural interaction to 4.238. There was a similar increase in their comfort in such situations to 4.047, both of these speak to increases in intercultural communication abilities as these students developed comfort with differences and skills to overcome any subsequent barriers (Kim, 1991). Though it is only very slight, there was actually a decrease in students monitoring of their own behavior and how it influences them and other people to an average of 4.047. The participants' behavior was only slightly modified after four months in Spain, though because of their responses to questions on knowledge and attitude it does not seem that this was due to a lack of development. It is possible that because this study spans just 4 months, one semester abroad, there had not been enough time between the addition of the relevant experiences to allow students to actually put their new skills into action in real world situations, which may have called for a change in their individual behaviors. From one perspective, this could be seen at the first step toward operationalizing mindful observation (Ting-Toomey, 1999) as these students have observed many cultural differences and had begun to place them into context, though their sojourns ended prior to them being able to do so at a high level.

5.3.2.2.4 *Awareness*

Third Party students showed high cultural awareness before studying abroad. They placed a very high value on the differences and similarities found in cultures with a 4.732 average, but also had quite high understanding of how they must adjust their own actions to be appropriate to any given situation in relation to its cultural context, averaged at 4.428. When asked about their desires for future growth, these students had quite strong goals of gaining fluency in the Spanish language with an average rating of 4.857 and a slightly lower desire to become bicultural with an average of 4.339. Though again this is slight, it begins to point to the practical reasons many of these students had for wanting to learn the Spanish language (Llanes, 2011; Trooboff et al., 2008).

Responses to the questions regarding intercultural awareness were both lower in the Third Party program participants' post questionnaire responses. Again, both decreases were slight, but still worth mentioning. Their feeling of importance in valuing similarities and differences in languages and cultures decreased to 4.642 while their consciousness of the importance of altering behavior for specific contexts declined to 4.309. The starting ratings for each of these questions was higher for the Third Party participants than for either American or Direct Enrollment students,

so much higher that their decreased post responses are still higher than any average from the other two cohorts. This tells us that these students still had extremely high awareness but they adjusted the importance they placed on different aspects. This may actually reflect a deeper understanding of and respect for other cultures in that it signifies a decrease in an ‘us’ and ‘them’ attitude and more of a general acceptance of everyone, despite the differences that exist. Like students in American programs, Third Party participants reported a lower desire to become bicultural at 4.261 and a lower desire to become bilingual at 4.738 in their post questionnaires. Again, their original responses for each question were still much higher than the other two program types and remained either slightly higher or similar, even after the slight decreases.

Third Party participants had a slightly lower average for how often they wanted to return home at 2.0, showing a slightly greater comfort with living in a new environment. This score is difficult to compare directly with American program participants as the majority of these students were living in host families, giving them a different range of reasons for wanting to return home, from similar academic or classroom issues to uncomfortable home environments with what they occasionally described in interviews as uncaring or awkward hosts. Because of this extra layer of potential hurdles, their lower average response to this question shows these students were still better equipped and more comfortable in facing challenging home environments. They had a slightly higher score than the American program students, 1.666, on how much they felt they were learning. Because these were largely third year students, they had more experience with university level coursework than the American program counterparts, providing them a stronger knowledge base and experience to judge their learning against.

5.3.3 Discussion

Even more than in the American programs, students in Third Party programs tended to be female native speakers of English. They averaged around 1 year older than American program participants and had a clearer connection between their majors and their study abroad program choice. Slightly less than half majored in a language and about one quarter majored in another subject with a clear global focus, such as international relations. Different from the American programs, these students generally cited an interest in Spanish culture as their reason for their study abroad, as opposed to a wider interest in European travel.

Almost all Third Party students had prior experience with international travel and many had already studied abroad for short courses or even a full academic year. This situated them in a more advanced position than their American program peers. If study abroad programs were on a continuum, the emerging profile of Third Party students situated them as the American program students, but a few years in the future. They had already lived the eager ‘I want to see it all!’ phase and had now targeted one specific culture for further exploration, echoed in Norris and Dwyer’s (2005) comparison study which found an increased cultural interest in Third Party (in Norris and Dwyer’s terminology referred to as Hybrid) program participants.

Likely because of their prior international experiences, Third Party students came into the program with many existing intercultural relationships and developed even more relationships while abroad, which they expected to be able to continue once they returned home. These students also showed a more nuanced understanding of what intercultural was—thinking deeper than race or language—which is reflective of their greater development, age, and sense of direction in their academic work.

Due to their academic interests, previous travel, and study Third Party students felt more confident in their Spanish abilities prior to their study abroad in Spain than American program students. It is likely the case that this confidence is what led them to select a Third Party program where they knew they would not be living or studying with an overly structured US program and would have flexibility to own their study abroad experiences. While abroad, they used their language skills more often and more actively than the students in the American programs. While in their pre-study questionnaires they reported speaking in Spanish on just a monthly basis, in Spain they were having in depth conversations more than 5 days a week, compared to the American program participants who were at less than 3 days a week. With this level of consistency it seems that they were using the language in a functional way in daily life, solving their own problems, getting to know the culture, or making friends.

The overall intercultural development of these students was also greater than that of the Americans. They reported very strong beginning levels in all categories, another possible effect of their previous experiences. Because their starting attitudes were so positive it was not possible for them to grow much, but it is important to note that their attitudes did not sour—the challenges they faced from having less of the traditional US student affairs support were all surmountable, not leaving them feeling defeated or unprepared.

They were less confident in their cultural knowledge, specifically their knowledge of Spain, but by the end of their semester abroad this had increased dramatically. Where the American students were keen to have weekends away all over Europe, the Third Party students tended to stay in Spain or even their own host cities on free days, allowing them to gain the more specific cultural experience that they desired from the point of their original program selection.

Third Party students began their study abroad believing their intercultural skills were quite strong. Their firm grasp on the reality that they would play a major role in their intercultural interactions while in Spain shows their experience and suitability for a program that required them to take an active role in their social life while abroad. In such a short period, around 4 months, it was never likely for these students to experience even more growth in these skills. This study did not report, however, whether after their return to the US, these skills might have continued to grow with the study abroad experience as a catalyst. These findings support those of previous studies that found that Third Party students demonstrated an increased interest in the culture of their host country (Norris & Dwyer, 2005). They were highly comfortable with new and unknown experiences because their interest was sincere.

The Third Party programs offer a balance between the full support of US trained student affairs professionals and the scaffolding of taking a step back to let the students navigate any obstacles that may develop (Vande Berg, 2007). If anything severe were to arise trained professionals would be on hand to take the necessary steps, but not until the point that they were actually necessary. This allows these students to truly own their study abroad experience and live the local life in a way not possible in the American program model.

5.4 Direct

5.4.1 Demographic and Biographical Information

There were 29 total respondents studying in Spain through Direct Enrollment programs who completed the pre questionnaire and 27 who completed the post. As with most study abroad programs, the majority of students were female and just 9 were male. Again, the majority of participants were in their 3rd year, 22 of 29, and 3 each were in their 2nd or 4th years with one respondent studying in their 5th year. The average age of participants was 20.448 years.

Many of the students were studying degrees with clear career paths with 8 in international affairs, 8 in business, and 8 in the hard sciences. A majority of the major subjects have a close connection to interpersonal skills and activities such as psychology, management, communications, and marketing. Five of the students had Spanish majors, though 4 of those 5 also had a second major. Every student had a declared major, showing they were already keenly aware of their course requirements and, in many cases, what they planned to do with their degree after graduation, which was distinctly different from most students in the other two cohorts.

Most of the students were native English speakers, 24 of the total, or 82.758%. Spanish was the first language of 4 students for 13.793% and one student, or 3.448%, spoke Portuguese as a first language.

Again, as in most Spanish study abroad experiences, the majority of Direct Enrollment students lived with host families. In total, 26 of 27 the students who completed the post questionnaire lived with host families, while the other lived in a private apartment. In most situations, a student dorm is not an option, making it absolutely necessary for them to either navigate finding their own room or live with locals during the period abroad.

5.4.1.1 Motivation

Students in Direct Enrollment programs emphasized the long-standing nature of their desire to study abroad. They discussed how potential study abroad programs shaped their college choices and decisions regarding programs of study. One student explained how she was studying abroad as a break from school, an idea also mentioned by several students in American programs, and one last opportunity to make such a major decision before beginning a graduate degree.

When compared with the other two cohorts, students abroad via Direct Enrollment programs were more evenly split in their motivations for studying abroad. In total, 10 students chose the program for opportunities to travel while 9 chose it for an interest in Spanish culture.

This shows their desire to see the sights but also a connection to the host country. As detailed in the following section, Direct Enrollment students had extensive international travel experience prior to their term abroad.

Several other students reported participating in the program to improve their employability or to improve their Spanish language skills. As they were slightly older these motivations are more practical. Their increased worldliness from previous travels and the later stage of their academic careers allowed these students to represent a fair balance between the various potential motivations for a period abroad. Just 1 of all Direct Enrollment participants who completed the questionnaire cited a foreign language graduation requirement as their motivation for study in Spain.

5.4.1.2 Previous International Experience

Almost all of the participants, 25 of 29, had previous international travel experience. Again, Western Europe was the most common destination though several reported travel to places such as Japan, Fiji, and Morocco and one student had been to Israel for their Birthright.

Three students were born outside of the United States—one lived in Mexico until the age of 8 while another was Costa Rican and living in the US while completing college. The third was born and raised largely in Brasil and regularly returns to visit family and friends still living there.

Many of the Direct Enrollment students had previously been abroad for academic purposes. This included experiences such as working on research projects in Argentina and Singapore, high school exchange in Spain, and a week long study abroad trip with a business class to Panama, though the course was conducted in English.

In total, eight participants in the Direct Enrollment programs had studied abroad in Spanish previously, mostly in Central and South America for periods ranging from one to six weeks.

5.4.1.3 Spanish Language

The majority of students participating in Direct Enrollment programs take all of their academic courses at a local Spanish university, some in courses especially intended for international students and many in the same Spanish language courses as degree seeking Spanish students. This means that their initial language abilities upon arrival in Spain are especially important for their success, both academically and socially. Students in this cohort identified fairly strong listening, at 2.586, and reading, at 2.482, skills, which made them moderately well prepared to be a passive participant in lectures targeted toward local students. They rated their speaking, 2.137, and writing, 2.241, abilities slightly lower, meaning it may have been more of a challenge for them to actively participate in lectures and to get to know course mates when they first began their classes. However, in Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart's (2002) study host families expressed a belief that actual language ability was not the most important factor in determining students' success in interactions; they felt that attitude was more telling, suggesting that if these Direct Enrollment students were motivated enough they could overcome any barriers created by language.

Generally, Direct Enrollment students reported higher levels of use of the Spanish language in all contexts in the year before their semester in Spain than the other two program types.

They spoke in Spanish with fluent or native speakers several times a year with a reported average of 1.655. When speaking with instructors and classmates they were also willing to use the language several times a year with an average of 1.758. They spoke in Spanish with friends who are native and/or fluent speakers slightly less with an average of 1.482 and quite infrequently with service personnel at a .758 average though both of these factors may be lower due to the students having few opportunities for such interaction in their home or university towns, not because of the students' desire.

While in Spain, these students used Spanish for brief exchanges quite often with an average reported usage of 6.296 days a week. They used it for extended conversations with host families, roommates, friends, and other native speakers an average of 5.814 days per week.

In their post responses these students reported slightly less casual Spanish usage than their Third Party program peers but they did report more detailed language use, signifying the importance of their communication in the local language in practical situations. Direct Enrollment students used Spanish with instructors 3.481 days a week. As most Spanish universities do not offer teaching on Fridays, this shows sincere engagement with the coursework in that during the four days of classes they were actively using the language as opposed to simply passively attending courses. These students communicated with classmates and friends who were native speakers slightly less than Third Party students at 3.555 days per week. As is likely the case at home in the US, students spoke with peers slightly more often than instructors. Their use of Spanish with their English-speaking peers was lower at 2.740 days a week on average. Because most students were in programs where there were few other English speakers, those native English speakers were likely to come from cultural backgrounds different from what they would normally have encountered in the US. Many students, in their one-to-one interviews, reported friendships with British and Irish peers on Erasmus programs, creating intercultural relationships with a different twist than the relationships with Spanish peers presumed. This is a demonstration of the isolation these students may have felt from the host culture as a result of language barriers and increased stress brought about by their higher levels of responsibility and their subsequent peer group bubble used to cope and also found in the other cohorts and in previous research (Wilkinson, 1998b). In their living spaces, Direct Enrollment students reported an average of 6.185 days a week using Spanish with host family members, roommates, or other native speakers. This includes any type of conversation, superficial or deeply meaningful. In other social situations, such as in stores, restaurants, and bars, students reported using Spanish 5.814 days a week.

Direct Enrollment students reported the highest use of Spanish media of the three cohorts studied in this research. They reported about equal use of Spanish language TV and movies and print Spanish language media with averages of 1.241 and 1.275, respectively. These averages equate to several instances of use over the course of the year, meaning these students began their program abroad already having a moderately developed comfort with the Spanish language as it is used in the real world, not just in the classroom context. These students also reported regularly

listening to Spanish language music with an average of 2.275, further demonstrating an already existing knowledge of Spanish popular culture.

At the end of their period in Spain these students' use of Spanish language TV and movies had almost doubled to 2.333 days per week. While this is a significant growth it is still less than that experienced by Third Party students. Because these students are afforded more independence it is possible that they had not had the same access to this type of entertainment as the Third Party students who often had more involved and supportive host family structures. Print media usage rose slightly to 1.555 days per week. Again, this is lower than with the Third Party programs where some of the culture courses regularly used local newspapers and magazines as academic materials for their coursework. As with the other cohorts, reports of listening to Spanish language music rose slightly to 2.740 days a week, again less than the Third Party students. This may reflect the directly enrolled students' need to relax in their down time and listen to music that does not require the extra thought and processes that listening to music in a second language may require.

5.4.2 Intercultural Development

Like the students participating in Third Party programs, Direct Enrollment students tended to have high intercultural confidence at the beginning of their time in Spain. They experienced growth in many areas but also showed decreases in many self-ratings at the end of the term. The following two sections will detail this student data in a number of intercultural areas and detail the changes during their period abroad.

5.4.2.1 Intercultural Relationships

A majority, 24 of 29, identified existing intercultural relationships. Many students identified friends and family, though most of them provided significant detail as to why they considered them to be intercultural relationships. These students took into account the differences in the backgrounds of other American friends, even more so than the Third Party students, "A lot of my friends from...college are from all over the world, or very distinct backgrounds in the USA." Another student said, "...my closest friends are very diverse and include: Mexican-Americans, East Asian-Americans, South Asian-Americans, Southwest Asian-Americans, North African-Americans. They practice a variety of religions including Catholicism, Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism." Several other students also cited relationships with friends from different religious backgrounds than their own, "I am not religious at all and some of my best friends are. However, it never really presents a problem." These comments show a deeper understanding and appreciation of differences within their peer groups. In addition, several students had family living in the Philippines, Vietnam, and England while one student mentioned a Mexican grandmother.

A large majority of directly enrolled students did develop significant intercultural relationships while abroad. Only 4 students did not report developing such a relationship and of the 23 students who did develop them, 16 believed that they would continue after their return to the United States.

Most previous intercultural experiences had been positive, though 1 negative encounter was reported for each of professors, other university staff, and Spaniards. There were many fewer instances of students reporting that they had not had any intercultural experience with any of the six categories specifically asked about in the questionnaire, showing that this group of students was already more experienced than American and Third Party program students and, as such, more likely to be open to intercultural encounters in their daily life while studying in the United States.

In the post questionnaire again Direct Enrollment students reported a wide range of intercultural experiences. All students reported creating intercultural friendships. Surprisingly, when compared with previous studies and some interview responses from students in all program types, 24 host family experiences were positive, 2 neutral, and none negative. Three students reported negative experiences with faculty and 4 with other Spanish members of university staff. Bearing in mind the considerable pressures these students faced each day in their time abroad such experiences speak to the resilience and persistence of the Direct Enrollment student. It is also important to remember that because of the program structure and increased amount of bureaucracy these students had to navigate independently, they likely had significantly more interactions with Spanish university faculty and staff, meaning these negative responses may actually be in line with those from American and Third Party participants.

5.4.2.2 Attitude, Knowledge, Behavior, and Awareness Development

5.4.2.2.1 Attitude

Students studying in Spain through Direct Enrollment programs reported generally high attitudes toward intercultural issues at the beginning of their time abroad. They valued the opportunity to interact with different people with an average response of 4.482 and wanted to understand how those people were different from themselves with an average of 4.655. Considering these students all chose to enroll in a program that would necessitate their daily interaction with people from a different background from their own their average rating of 4.517 in their enjoyment in such interactions is slightly surprising. While this is not a low number it would be reasonable to anticipate students would be more excited at this prospect at the beginning of their period abroad.

In their post-study responses, Direct Enrollment students rated interaction with different languages and cultures slightly higher with an average of 4.518, just .36 higher. Most interesting, though, is that the other two points on attitudes were lower at the end of the period abroad. Their self-reported effort toward understanding differences in behavior between themselves and others decreased .32 to 4.33 while their reported enjoyment of interacting with unfamiliar cultures fell .14 to 4.370. While these decreases are not significant, they are noteworthy in a category such as attitude as it is such a vital component of the entire experience. Considering this from the perspective of a stage model such as Bennett's (1993) DMIS these students could be in the minimization stage, reporting lower tendencies toward understanding differences because they are actually recognizing fewer things as differences, preferring to see everyone as more similar than different. On the other hand, this may reflect the increased responsibilities and stresses directly

enrolled students must navigate during their period abroad. These students do not have the same large support structures as in other program models, meaning their interactions while in Spain, with new and unfamiliar cultures may have been stressful or hindering experiences where students in American or Third Party programs may have lived these same experiences as more fun, yet still challenging, learning experiences as they were secure in the knowledge that a student affairs professional was ensuring their basic requirements, whether academic, welfare, or cultural, were being met to a certain standard.

5.4.2.2.2 Knowledge

Students in Direct Enrollment programs were more confident in their knowledge of various characteristics of Spanish culture such as values, norms, and taboos, with an average of 3.137. This group reported a much stronger ability to contrast their knowledge with their own cultural background than those in the other two program types with an average rating of 4.448. This large gap shows that these students were willing to make guesses, or rely upon stereotypes, to compare and contrast their host culture with their home culture when they arrived in Spain, similar to the American program participants. They seemed somewhat uncertain of what aspects of their own culture influenced their interactions with others with an average rating of 3.758. This shows that while they felt certain they knew what their own culture was piece by piece, they did not necessarily understand how it all fit together to create part of who they are as an individual.

In their pre-study responses Direct Enrollment students had the highest self-reported knowledge of Spanish cultural values, norms, and taboos. Their post-study rating was higher, at 3.851, yet the growth was not as high as with Third Party students. However, because they started at such a high level this lower growth is not unimpressive and a Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.924$, $p < .003$. In his study of intellectual development abroad, McKeown (2009) suggested that most college student development occurs during the first and fourth years, supporting the idea that the limited development of the students in this study is not surprising. The students' self-rated ability to contrast aspects of their own culture with that of the Spanish culture was .041 lower than in the pre questionnaire at 4.407. This, again, may be a reflection of the greater responsibilities these students had in their daily lives while in Spain. Unlike in the other two cohorts, most directly enrolled students did not have an additional seminar or course around the theme of 'Living and Learning in Spain' that helped them work through individual aspects of culture with an experienced teacher or other guide. These students had to balance any management of the differences and similarities with their actual coursework and living requirements on an individual basis. In their consciousness of the knowledge they use in intercultural interactions directly enrolled students did experience growth from 3.758 to 4.111.

5.4.2.2.3 Behavior

There was more than a .5 difference in the rating students averaged for their observation of their own behavior and its impact on themselves and others, 4.172, and their willingness to alter their

behaviors when a cross-cultural situation requires it, with an average of 3.655. This shows a strong analytical mindset when thinking about their own learning but a lack of operationalizing that knowledge, potentially showing that the 'mindful' aspect of the mindful observation promoted by Tiny-Toomey (1999) was missing. These students reported the strongest average rating for their comfort interacting in a variety of different social situations with an average of 3.931. This is evidenced by the mere fact that they were studying directly in Spanish universities, willingly taking on the challenge of coursework completed in Spanish and intended for a Spanish audience.

Direct Enrollment students reported a significant increase in making conscious changes in their verbal and nonverbal behavior in varied intercultural encounters from 3.655 to 4.074. This shows the very practical side of their growth experiences in that they had to actively develop awareness of their behaviors and alter them to make each individual experience as effective as possible. On the other hand, when queried about whether they monitor their behavior and its impact on their personal learning the average fell to 4.148 from 4.172. Though a slight drop, this also points to the practical application of Direct Enrollment students' communication skills while abroad. They have to focus on the actual effectiveness of their communication, which makes it more difficult for them to have the relative luxury of reflecting on their behavior in the moment. Recalling Allport's (1979) Contact Hypothesis, two of the foundational elements for effective interaction are that all parties involved have common goals and equal status. In the interactions Directly Enrolled students did have with locals they were likely taking the role of a less powerful interlocutor, possibly because of their actual language abilities, which may have influenced their feelings about the success of their interactions. However, their reported comfort in interactions in a variety of social situations rose .069 to 4.0. Again, this may show the authenticity of their experiences in Spain. Because they have had the full responsibility of solving various concerns and questions they have grown more comfortable and familiar with a range of interactions. The influences of this greater responsibility will be elaborated upon in Chapter 6.

5.4.2.2.4 *Awareness*

In the pre questionnaire Direct Enrollment students reported their awareness of the need to adjust their own behavior to be appropriate to varied cultural and social situations with an average of 4.241. They rated the value of recognizing the differences in all cultures slightly higher at 4.689. This may show a true appreciation of living in a globalizing world but slight uncertainty on how they are to adapt, on an individual level, to fit within it.

In statements regarding their awareness of intercultural situations the students reported lower averages in the post questionnaire than in their pre responses. Awareness of the importance of adjusting their own behavior to fit a specific situation fell .02 to 4.222. Though not a dramatic decrease this, again, may show the real world connections they made in Spain. Prior to studying abroad, these more daring students were willing to accept the challenge of navigating an entirely new culture, language, and higher education system almost on their own which would require keen awareness of the aspects of themselves and society that may be most challenging. They also

decreased in the importance they placed on valuing the differences and similarities in all aspects of culture. The average response fell from 4.689 to 4.444 which, at the end of a demanding term abroad, may signify a general exhaustion at having been constantly switched on to all cultural situations for so long. The problem here comes if the student reflects on the experience in a negative way; some students may persevere and feel stronger because of the experience while others may harbor resentment toward having to work so hard while abroad.

Table 9 Direct Enrollment participant pre and post intercultural questionnaire averages

	Direct	
	Pre	Post
It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures	4.482	4.518
I try to understand differences in behavior, values, and attitude between myself and others of different backgrounds	4.655	4.333
I enjoy interacting with individuals from a culture that is unfamiliar to me	4.517	4.370
I know the cultural values, norms, and taboos of the Spanish culture	3.137	3.851
I am able to contrast aspects of the Spanish language and culture with my own	4.448	4.407
I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds	3.758	4.111
I change my verbal (e.g. accent, tone) and non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural interaction requires it	3.655	4.074
I monitor my own behavior and its impact on my learning, growth and on others	4.172	4.148
I feel comfortable interacting in a variety of different social situations	3.931	4
I am conscious of the importance of adjusting my behavior to correspond with the expectations of varied cultural and social situations	4.241	4.222
I feel it is important to value the many differences and similarities in all languages and cultures	4.689	4.444
I want to become as bicultural as possible	4.241	4.296
I want to become as bilingual as possible	4.724	4.629
I often wanted to return home		1.851
I felt I was not learning much		1.222

The average of Direct Enrollment students' desire to become bicultural was the lowest of the three cohorts in this study at 4.241 at the beginning of the sojourn. This is not a low average, but may indicate that students in Direct Enrollment programs had first considered their personal academic requirements for their time abroad instead of the extracurricular offerings when making the choice of what type of program to participate in. Because these programs allow students to take the same courses as locals, they have often been the only option students from certain subjects, such as the hard sciences, to study abroad for a full semester. They rated their desire to become bilingual slightly higher at 4.724, again possibly highlighting their practical reasoning behind their

program selection. This again fits with Llanes' (2011) suggestion that economic implications for bilingualism are increasingly influencing student choice, especially as this cohort was the oldest of the three and, presumably at a crucial stage in determining their next career steps.

In their post responses the students had a slightly higher desire to become bicultural, rising to 4.296. They were the only cohort of the three to have a higher desire to be bicultural at the end of their period abroad, though they also began with the lowest average rating in this regard. This is interesting in that this group, arguably, were the only cohort to have significantly authentic opportunities to become bicultural while abroad, meaning being able to live and study as local students do, where the other two groups would have had to actively seek out their own situations for this development to have been possible. It could be the difficulty they found in locating those situations actually discouraged them from continuing with that goal in the short-term. Additionally, they, like the other two cohorts, reported a decreased desire to be as bilingual as possible going from 4.724 to 4.629.

5.4.3 Discussion

The participants in the Direct Enrollment program were, again, mainly female with an average age just slightly older than those in the Third Party programs. Most students were native English speakers, though five listed either Spanish or Portuguese as their first language. Their academic majors and minors were not as directly related to study in Spain as in the Third Party program but were more relevant than majors represented in the American program cohort. Almost all Direct Enrollment students in this study lived in homestays, meaning they were integrated in both their classes and in their home life however, it seems that many of them experienced a higher level of detachment from their hosts than students in American or Third Party programs, which may be a result of the higher levels of vetting done for hosts in those two program types, due to their greater administrative resources (Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2002; Pellegrino, 1998).

Like the American program participants, many Direct Enrollment students chose their program to be able to travel around Europe. An equal amount cited selecting the location to satisfy their interest in Spanish culture. It is interesting that students who wished to travel would enroll in direct programs because the difficulty of their coursework—conducted in the Spanish language at a pace set for native speakers—would, seemingly, reduce their ability to find ample time to travel. On the other hand, for those who were interested in culture, there are few better ways in which one could understand what Spanish student life is like.

Almost all Direct Enrollment students had traveled internationally, a few were born outside the US, and many had previous study or internships in international locations. When reporting existing intercultural relationships Direct Enrollment students provided the greatest level of detail in explaining how they classified them as intercultural relationships. This shows them as dedicated students, responding to a prompt in meaningful detail. In Spain, most of these students made new intercultural relationships and overwhelmingly believed they would continue after they left the country. This unique attitude within this study may be due to the fact that these Americans became

a regular part of the Spaniard's everyday life in their classes and lived in the same apartment blocks or neighborhoods whereas in the other study abroad program types interaction with Spaniards usually consisted of planned and programmed interactions, resulting in the formation of less sincere relationships.

Direct Enrollment students were more confident in their Spanish than the American program students but less secure than Third Party students. As their program was the one most likely to have coursework conducted in Spanish that level of confidence would make learning more challenging, especially when compared with those of the Third Party students. Because directly enrolled students' language usage in Spain was similar to that of the Third Party students, this demonstrates that although they were not as confident with the language they were still willing to put themselves in potentially uncomfortable situations and work to use Spanish as necessary. Providing further evidence to their experience of authentic Spanish culture, these students were the cohort most likely to use Spanish language media—a typical aspect of everyday life.

The Direct Enrollment students had very strong starting intercultural attitudes, almost identical to those in Third Party programs, however, their post responses varied. At the end of their stay abroad, these students had lower attitudes regarding understanding differences in behavior and, importantly, in interacting with individuals from a different culture. This is the sort of withdrawal from the study abroad experience that the American and Third Party programs were created to try to prevent (Cadd, 2012; Engle & Engle, 2003; Vande Berg, 2007; Vande Berg et al., 2012). This is demonstrative of the extreme stress these students can face from daily life in Spain without the support of authorities deemed necessary by Allport's (1979) hypothesis and that they had grown accustomed to in the United States higher education system.

In their knowledge, Direct Enrollment students were the most confident about Spanish culture, showing they had researched and prepared for the experience. Again, though, there was a slight decrease in their perception of their ability to contrast aspects of their host culture with their own. With the addition of one of the specially designed courses that facilitates cultural understanding used in the Third Party and Americans programs it may have been possible to mitigate any negative affects of the stress of the program. This would correspond with Cadd's (2012) findings that culture specific courses lowered anxiety levels and increased language and cultural confidence in participants. Importantly, despite this negative, most categories did show growth in knowledge, situating Direct Enrollment as valuable, just not necessarily reaching its full potential.

Intercultural skills were another area of confidence for the Direct Enrollment students. However, a similar story of post-study declines exists. This reinforces the point that a more structured system is ideal for most American undergraduates. No matter how competent or confident the student is they are coming from a higher education system with a considerable student affairs component. On their home campuses, often without their knowledge, administrators, faculty, and staff solve their problems for them. Thus, the stark difference when they get to their study abroad site can easily be overwhelming.

Due to the lack of programs designed specifically for them, Direct Enrollment students do not have clearly defined learning goals for their study abroad experiences (Engle & Engle, 2003). They have goals set for their individual courses but not for the program as a whole. This lack of an overarching goal may leave the academically minded student who seems to opt for Direct Enrollment at a slight loss. Instead of being fed a directive they are left to determine this on their own. In just a one-semester study abroad program it is very possible that time does not allow for them to come to these conclusions fast enough to take the necessary actions to achieve their personal goals.

Table 10 Combined pre and post questionnaire averages

	American		Third Party		Direct	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures	4.432	4.451	4.678	4.785	4.482	4.518
I try to understand differences in behavior, values, and attitude between myself and others of different backgrounds	4.364	4.467	4.625	4.690	4.655	4.333
I enjoy interacting with individuals from a culture that is unfamiliar to me	4.256	4.290	4.517	4.571	4.517	4.370
I know the cultural values, norms, and taboos of the Spanish culture	2.594	3.387	2.928	3.928	3.137	3.851
I am able to contrast aspects of the Spanish language and culture with my own	3.756	4.032	4.375	4.714	4.448	4.407
I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds	3.554	3.919	3.857	4.357	3.758	4.111
I change my verbal (e.g. accent, tone) and non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural interaction requires it	3.405	3.822	4.035	4.238	3.655	4.074
I monitor my own behavior and its impact on my learning, growth and on others	3.729	3.903	4.071	4.047	4.172	4.148
I feel comfortable interacting in a variety of different social situations	3.851	3.983	3.875	4.047	3.931	4
I am conscious of the importance of adjusting my behavior to correspond with the expectations of varied cultural and social situations	3.932	4.129	4.428	4.309	4.241	4.222
I feel it is important to value the many differences and similarities in all languages and cultures	4.445	4.516	4.732	4.642	4.689	4.444
I want to become as bicultural as possible	4.351	4.338	4.339	4.261	4.241	4.296
I want to become as bilingual as possible	4.594	4.387	4.857	4.738	4.724	4.629
I often wanted to return home		2.161		2		1.851
I felt I was not learning much		1.467		1.666		1.222

Direct Enrollment attracts the most motivated of an already driven group of students—those willing to not only leave their home comforts but to do so in a completely immersive environment. They arrived in Spain confident in their language, knowledge, and choice to study abroad. This confidence could act as a negative as well as a positive. They may be so secure in

themselves that they are unwilling or unable to accept that they do not already know the relevant information, causing them to close off to actual intercultural interactions when they face a challenge.

5.5 Conclusion

To review, this chapter discusses the data collected to respond to the research question, *Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?* The findings from each of the three programs sites were presented followed by a discussion of each. The differences in the overall study abroad experience in each type are clear to see. While each program provided students with a valuable and exciting semester, some program elements can already be seen to provide an additional level of cultural understanding and skill development.

The most obvious conclusion from these results is the importance of finding a balance. US students need some degree of a structured environment that allows them the flexibility to make their own choices and own the study abroad experience but also to guard them in case of anything going wrong (Hadis, 2005). This facilitated learning contradicts the assumptions that immersion in a culture always leads to full learning. In practice here, the support from the American and Third Party programs allows the students to go deeper into their learning, especially in the culturally oriented courses (Talbert & Stewart, 1999). While the Direct Enrollment students may have an opportunity to live an authentic Spanish student life while abroad they are, at times, overwhelmed by the multitude of real life responsibilities they must navigate to live that daily life. With the support allowed them by their program design students in the other two program types may make their own decisions about when, where, and in what manner they test themselves. They know that, as at home, if any of these decisions resulted in them taking on too much or led to problems they would always have their study abroad program administrators on hand to assist.

Practically, most Direct Enrollment options do not have the resources to always provide such a cultural facilitator. Alternatively, the American programs have greater resources but are also more constricted by the academic requirements of the American university or consortium they are affiliated with and have to meet those guidelines before they can be concerned with the wider growth of intercultural competence (Anderson et al., 2006). As intentionally designed programs, in contrast with local universities that simply enroll visiting students into already running programs, these sites must explicitly meet the agreed upon learning objectives for study abroad. Their curriculum must touch on things such as developing global citizenship and other intercultural competencies (Anderson et al., 2006; Deardorff, 2006; Vande Berg, 2007). Despite this, the statistical significant in the growth from pre to post questionnaire responses on statements regarding cultural knowledge do support the idea that all three of these program types can be beneficial for participants' learning in this regard.

This exploration of the pre and post questionnaire findings begins to suggest that the conventional wisdom of Direct Enrollment offering students a more complete and life changing

intercultural experience abroad may not actually hold true, as scholars have begun to suggest in greater numbers over the past two decades (Norris & Dwyer, 2005; Pellegrino, 1998; Rivers, 1998; Vande Berg et al., 2012; Wilkinson, 1998a). Between American programs and Third Party programs there is a significant difference in the demographic make up, showing that these two program types offer very valuable study periods but may be best suited to a different stage of student. Younger students with less experience dealing with different international and cultural situations may thrive with the close support of the American programs while those with slightly more experience in both college life and international travel may benefit from the challenges of a less structured environment such as that offered by Third Party Programs.

These findings will continue to be developed in the following chapter, which will provide detail and discussion of the findings from the one-to-one interviews conducted with student participants in each of the three program types with references to the second research question.

6 Research Question 2: How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?

6.1 Introduction

The second research question in the present study addresses students' perception of their development during their study abroad in Spain. Students who completed the pre questionnaire were given the opportunity to participate in an approximately one hour one-to-one interview with the researcher in the last week of their term abroad. The questions were designed, with reference to Deardorff's (2006) Model of Intercultural Competence, to address the research question, *How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?* In total, 14 questions were designed; several included follow-up questions to prompt students when clarification was necessary.

While some questions addressed specific aspects of a stay abroad, such as living with a host family, many other questions were designed to broadly access many potential areas of development. As such, in this analysis responses to each question were considered for relevance to all areas of intercultural competence and will be discussed accordingly in this chapter, permitting the formulation of a cohesive picture of these students' development. The complete interview schedule can be found in Appendix E.

Most interviews were conducted in person on-site in Spain though a few, due to scheduling issues, were conducted via Skype while the students were still in Spain; final participation numbers were 14 from American programs, 10 from Third Party programs, and 4 from Direct Enrollment programs. It is important to keep these response rates in mind while reading as the limited sample size has resulted in less reflection from students in Direct Enrollment programs when compared to the other two who had higher participation rates.

Many of the final codes found through the analysis described in the methodology fit well within Deardorff's (2006) model, though there were a few that fell outside of its boundaries. The following list includes seven main categories, with several sub-codes. Those from Deardorff's framework will be marked with a 'D' while those emerging from the data collected will be marked with an 'O' to signify that they are *original* to this study. The final categories are:

- Attitude (D), with the sub-codes of
 - Openness to New Things (D),
 - Discovery (D),
 - Interest in Another Culture (D—derived from Deardorff's concept of 'curiosity');
- Knowledge (D), with the sub-codes of
 - Cultural Self-Awareness (D),
 - Host Culture Awareness (D—derived from Deardorff's Culture-Specific Knowledge),
 - Sociolinguistic Awareness (D),
 - Spanish University System (O),

- Understanding Others' Worldviews (D);
- Skill (D), with the sub-codes of
 - Communication (O),
 - Navigating the Unknown (O),
 - Mindful Observation (D— 'Mindful' has been added here to clarify this refers to an intentional and reflective version of observation),
 - Operationalized Travel Competence (O);
- Internal Outcomes (D), including the sub-codes of
 - Adaptability (D),
 - Coping with Living in a Different Culture (O),
 - Ethnorelative Perspective (D),
 - Flexibility (D),
 - Confidence (O);
- External Outcomes (D), with the sub-codes of
 - American Peer Groups (O),
 - Interaction with Host Country Nationals (D),
 - Dependency on Host Family (O).

There were two other categories not included in Deardorff's framework, or any other of those discussed in the literature review, emerging completely from the interview data collected for this study. The prevalence of references to these aspects necessitated their inclusion in this analysis and helped to reveal the participants' understanding of their time in Spain. These two categories are:

- Program (O), which detailed the structural and support aspects of each program type, and
- Motivation (O), concerning their drive for studying in Spain.

Data collected on motivation for participation and selection of their program was covered in detail in the previous chapter, as the interview data helped to support and explain a large portion of the information collected via the pre and post questionnaires and, as such, will not be discussed again in this chapter. The full list of these codes may also be found in Appendix K.

6.2 Attitude

In the categories designated in Deardorff's (2006) model of intercultural competence attitude is the foundational point in a student's development. In the present study, this encompasses both the mindset they begin their period abroad with and the mindset, or mindsets, they adopt while they are in their host culture. Attitude is also mentioned by Fantini (2000) in his work on developing intercultural competence as one of the most vital, yet most difficult to measure, facets of this growth. Participants' comments and reflections will be examined below in three main components of *attitude*, namely the extent to which they were *open to a new culture*, their sense of *discovery*, and their *interest in another culture*.

6.2.1 Open to New Things

An important aspect of a student's attitude is the extent to which they are *open to new things*, and in which ways, if at all, that develops during the course of their sojourn. A willingness to experience things unfamiliar and outside of the individual's comfort zone is an important facet of this development, as has been identified by several researchers, among them Deardorff (2006), Gudykunst (2004), Byram (1997), and Jackson (2005). Specifically, this category is examining any comments from students addressing how open they felt to their study abroad experience and new cultures upon beginning their sojourn and any ways this may have changed while abroad, either becoming more or less open to new things.

In interviews with students from **American** programs only 4 of 14 referred to their desire to encounter new things, however those 4 were quite enthusiastic about it upon arrival in Spain. One student commented, "I was just so ready to go. I was ready to come to Spain" (American Participant 11). Another from the same program reported a similar message, "...I feel like before I came to Spain I was raring to go somewhere else. Like, everything in my life had been leading up to go somewhere else" (American Participant 13). This shows she entered her program excited to experience new things and see a new way of life. However, that same student said that by the end of her term abroad this mindset had been altered, "While of course I'm never going to stop, hopefully, travelling, I had planned out this whole idea for myself where I would study abroad multiple times and be on different continents as often as possible and I definitely don't think I'm going to do that now" (American Participant 13). This shows that her openness actually lessened while abroad, due to her struggles.

There were no remarks from participants in **Third Party** programs referencing openness to new things in response to any of the interview questions. As will be seen later in this chapter, these students were typically verbose and reflective in their interviews. The lack of explicit commentary on this, considering the depth with which these students discussed the majority of other topics, may potentially support the idea that these were well prepared and experienced students who assumed that their openness was implied simply by the fact that they chose to study abroad.

Students in **Direct Enrollment** programs reported this idea infrequently, as those in American programs did. They said they came into the program believing that they were open, but reevaluated that once in Spain having authentic experiences. One credited her time in Spain with promoting her growth. "I was never a closed-minded person but I had no idea how much being out of my Southern California bubble could expand my horizons. I learned so much about myself and everything around me" (Direct Participant 2). This shows a willingness to accept that there are still things to learn, despite their knowledge and experiences before studying abroad, showing that this type of student has significant potential to learn while in Spain.

6.2.2 Discovery

In this study, the category of *discovery* mainly refers to the participants' attitude toward potential new information about themselves and their host culture when beginning their time abroad (Alred

& Byram, 2002; Deardorff, 2006). Many of the following responses came from the question asking participants what they learned about themselves while abroad.

Students participating in **American** programs spoke about a sense of freedom in Spain that they had not felt previously, “I had no responsibility, just absolute freedom” (American Participant 11). This may reflect the student who traditionally chooses to go abroad with this type of program; they come from programs of study that have strict requirements, either in courses, requirements, or extra or co-curricular expectations. Living in a vastly different locale forces them to experience life in a different way. The relaxed nature of most of the Spaniards they reported coming into contact with would have shown in stark contrast to what they were accustomed to. For many, study abroad was the first opportunity they had to reflect on themselves and their experiences.

Because of this, self-discovery was one of the key themes that emerged in interviews with American program participants. One particularly deep reflection on this theme came from a student who had just ended a demanding extracurricular program and embarked on his time in Spain with an explicit goal of observing and reflecting upon his own experience:

I think I have learned to relax quite a bit. In the US I was very up tight and high strung. That is partially because of the competitive environment I was in, just the over work and the over commitment. I didn't make time for myself...so I think here, now that I have so much more free time... I've just become much more relaxed, laidback. (American Participant 11)

Another student echoed this sentiment and discussed how having the opportunity to experience a new society enabled them to learn more about themselves. For these students, being taken out of their comfort zone, but still having the support of the professional staff to back them up, seemed to allow them the freedom to more fully discover themselves and their personalities.

These students also contributed more traditional discovery themes, stating, “I think everybody should study abroad just to open their eyes to the fact that there is other stuff out there” (American Participant 1). In fact, the majority of comments from American program students consisted of similarly vague statements with little detail of what aspects of the experience were meaningful in allowing them to discover new thoughts, cultures, or ways of life.

While the American students were very focused on their initial self-discovery **Third Party** students approached this slightly differently. Beyond feeling as though they knew themselves better, these students actually turned these discoveries into action points for themselves upon their return to their home campuses. “I have been able to more clearly pinpoint things that I want to—not fix about myself—but like areas I want to work on of myself. And I think when I get home I'm going to start kind of pinpointing those things to help me be a better person in the future” (Third Party Participant 8). They also spoke of study abroad being “a humbling experience” (Third Party Participant 2) that helped them in “finding a new element” (Third Party Participant 2) in which to live their lives or, in other words, finding a new way in which they were comfortable being. They felt as though they had met a new version of themselves abroad and were eager to continue learning more.

Their comments often showed a comfort with these discoveries that could come from a high level of maturity that was not as clearly visible among other groups of study abroad students. One Third Party student described it as follows,

I've learned a lot—that I don't know exactly who I am or what I want...Part of just being here and knowing that its not too likely that I'll be back makes me a little more reckless than I normally am and that has been a weird side of me that discovered that not only am I different than I expected I was I'm now also a lot more patient than I expected I was—that was good. (Third Party Participant 10)

The acceptance of newfound truths that may have been surprising or unexpected, shows these students had appropriate attitudes going into their sojourn. They allowed them to face challenges and seek them out and, once they found them, they were able to investigate them and turn them into constructive action points.

While a wide range of discovery oriented themes emerged from interviews with American and Third Party program students there were far fewer with those in **Direct Enrollment** programs in Spanish universities. One student described being grateful that they were able to have the experience to explore another culture but did not talk about it in a reflective manner, as those in other programs did. Again, this response rate was surely influenced by the small sample from Direct Enrollment programs. However, to speculate, it may also be that these students, typically older and more experienced, already felt they knew more about themselves and their host culture than those in the other two program types.

6.2.3 Interest in Another Culture

Interest in another culture was derived from the inclusion of 'curiosity' in Deardorff's (2006) framework. An active attitude embracing learning about others is important in beginning a sojourn abroad but also important to be retained, or developed, while abroad. To understand whether the participants in this study were disposed to developing interculturality it is helpful to know their interest in other cultures, as if they were studying abroad to fulfill a language requirement, they may not have been as likely to accept development as those who were actively engaged in the possibilities.

Just three students from **American** programs touched on an interest in another culture and each of these students spoke of that interest in direct connection with their lives in the US. One explained how she had grown up in a diverse area surrounded by Latin American culture and said she chose to study in Spain to expand that knowledge and formalize her understanding of the connection between the two Hispanic cultures. After her time abroad she said, "...I have more of an understanding of Hispano-America or, you know, versus Europe, versus South America, versus Latin America...all of the different definitions of Spanish speaking countries and the cultural differences that lie in them. I think I have a greater awareness definitely" (American Participant 14). This demonstrates an awareness of the real world ramifications of her time abroad and a desire to better understand the world around her.

Another student in a different American program immediately connected his interest in exploring a new culture with the changing demographic make up of the US. He was inspired to study abroad "...as the electorate is becoming more Hispanic" (American Participant 3) and felt he would be better able to understand them after spending time immersing himself in the culture which would, in turn, make him better prepared for a career in politics after completing his education, echoing Llanes' (2011) assertion of the current increase in participants' desire to study abroad to improve economic and career prospects.

In slight contrast, many students from **Third Party** programs discussed their interest in culture on a more personal level, speaking of themselves and the Spanish environment. One of these students explained, "I took a gap year in Alicante and so I kind of wanted to go a little bit further. And I guess also to be exposed to another culture and a different university system" (Third Party Participant 1). This echoes experiences of many students in Third Party programs who had previously studied abroad or were accustomed to international travel with family. Many thought about their potential study abroad experiences in Spain in contrast to what they would be experiencing on their home campus in the US. A student who reported being very active in her host city said, "I wanted to be able to be in and around the culture more—my first year at university I literally lived in my room so I didn't want to do that here" (Third Party Participant 10).

When reflecting on her actual experiences while in Sevilla, another Third Party student lamented, "I really would have liked to spend my time here from the inside out instead of the outside in. Which is not to say I haven't enjoyed my time here or explored the city, I've explored a lot. But maybe to explore the lesser known parts" (Third Party Participant 2). In other parts of her interview she discussed how she grew very comfortable with her immediate environment and a few of her American course mates. They would regularly go out and interact with Spanish peers but they tended to always start their nights in the same location, limiting the different aspects of the culture and locals that they met.

One **Direct Enrollment** student spoke of her interest in the culture but did so only briefly. She spoke of her desire to know the culture but focused more on the challenges posed by that desire. She felt it was difficult to parlay that inquisitive spirit into her life in Spain as her introverted personality created a hurdle. After realizing this, she said "I concentrated more on quality over quantity" (Direct Participant 2) showing she, to some extent, gave up on her initial enthusiasm to focus on making the best of her experiences and learning with the situations she was faced with.

6.2.4 Summary

While it is undoubtedly an important aspect of developing intercultural competence, participant comments relating to attitude varied dramatically between program types. Three specific aspects have been addressed: *openness to new things*, *discovery*, and *interest in a new culture*. **American** program students began their study abroad with high levels of enthusiasm and expectation. However, much of the attitudes they discussed were insular and unrealistic. While American

program participants discussed burgeoning self-awareness, they focused on themselves, where **Third Party** participants had similar growth in self-awareness but, instead, focused on how their own thoughts and viewpoints would influence others, wanting to experience the culture of Spain from the inside. The development of both groups' development, though different, is similar to that found in study abroad students by Lindsey (2005), though she connected this explicitly to value development rather than intercultural growth. In contrast, **Direct Enrollment** students provided limited reflections on attitude development and through an examination of their responses an ongoing theme of missed opportunities began to emerge for them as will become clearer as this chapter continues. These students expressed desire to learn about the culture but were prevented from doing so by their inadequate knowledge and skills.

6.3 Knowledge

In Deardorff's (2006) framework, *knowledge* follows *attitude* as a major foundational element of intercultural competence. There are a variety of areas of knowledge that scholars agree to be important to this development and five were found in the data collected for this study: *cultural self-awareness*, *host culture awareness*, *sociolinguistic awareness*, *Spanish university system*, and *understanding others' worldviews*. Each will be explained in detail and representative responses from interviewees will be examined.

6.3.1 Cultural Self-Awareness

In this study, *cultural self-awareness* refers to students' knowledge of their cultural values, beliefs, and perceptions. This entails understanding why they do things the way they do, how they see the world, shaped by their cultural positioning, and why they react to certain things the way they do. Students were asked explicitly to compare US and Spanish culture, though most focused more on Spanish culture.

American program students tended to focus most heavily on the culture of their host society with little mention of their own cultural backgrounds. Just 4 referred to their own cultures and most did so at a superficial level, remarking on the prevailing Spanish stereotypes of relaxation and familial commitment in comparison with "over committed high strung" (American Participant 11) American culture.

An issue with cultural self-knowledge unique to American students studying abroad is navigating the stereotypes created by college movies and other facets of popular culture. A **Third Party** student mentioned a Spanish professor asking how US culture could be different from Spanish culture when they both have the same Coca-Cola, McDonalds, movies, etc. and described how she struggled to answer, but never doubted that they were distinctly different. Her reflections led her to think deeply about the cultures to find an eventual response, "the importance of social interaction is really [clear] to them and in the US a lot of times it is based on individual growth, individual success and here it's kind of, it seems like, the social aspect and your relationship with other people means more—it's not more important, but it's important in a different way" (Third

Party Participant 1). She talked about being able to come to this conclusion due to the course content of her program that detailed intercultural communication. Having that background enabled this student to interpret her own experiences in a more meaningful way than she would have been able to without that academic grounding to refer to or to spur her reflections.

Several students mentioned Greek affiliations, many for getting advice from older students on which program to choose, others in trying to explain the concept of fraternities or sororities to Spaniards. One woman described her experience with this as such, “I’m in a sorority and when I say that they’re all like ‘okay, she’s a slut’ so immediately I have to go and explain myself, kind of derailing myself from stereotypes” (Third Party Participant 8). This is another instance where Third Party students were willing and able to actively try to educate others, where students in American and Direct Enrollment programs tended to be more likely to accept negative beliefs of others and move on.

Students in **Direct Enrollment** programs commented on their own cultural knowledge more often, but generally in a slightly negative way. For example, “The US has an... interesting international image. I have seriously questioned the direction my own country is going but also I have learned to question my own habits” (Direct Participant 4). While posing these questions this student did not attempt to evaluate them further in the interview or identify which facets of society these concerns directly referred to.

Study abroad is dominated by White women of traditional college age (IIE, 2014). One Direct program interviewee discussed dealing with this in the largely homogenous Spanish society:

Making them aware that a US American can look like me...diversity in Spain is not as prominent as it is in the US so this is really... going out, especially with my friends who do have blonde hair and blue eyes and get all this attention for being American, whether positive or negative, and its like I can see the difference in how they’re treated and how I’m treated. (Direct Participant 1)

This shows an understanding of the prejudices prevalent in Spain but also of the unique make up of American culture in that it is common for Americans to look very different from one another. However, while this is an important insight into both her own culture and that of Spain, this student did not address this issue with Spaniards while abroad, though she did discuss it with her more stereotypically American friends.

6.3.2 Host Culture Awareness

The other side of cultural knowledge includes students’ *host culture awareness*. This includes information that shapes social behaviors, norms, expectations, and language usage, among others. This development shows students able to live in and experience culture, growing to know it on a deeper level than the stereotypes or superficialities they may have known upon arrival to Spain.

Students in **American** programs made many comments about Spanish culture, most on behaviors that were visible such as greetings, social hours, and food. Reflecting many students’ opinions of Spaniards, and even Europeans in general, one student described, “Spaniards just tend

to be better dressed, or at least they fit with my idea of what is better dressed...I actually think that some of that might have to do with the machismo aspect of Spanish culture..." (American Participant 13). While this was a description of a material observation she did conclude with a mention to a more deeply rooted aspect of Spanish culture in *machismo*, showing that while her examination of the culture may have been at a basic level there was a thoughtful and intellectual underpinning to it, possibly reflecting the cultural studies content of the American programs.

Many students mentioned the different regions of Spain and how they may have vastly different cultures, but this awareness was most prevalent in those in **Third Party** programs, though it is necessary to mention that many programs were based in Andalucía or Cataluña, two of the most regionally distinct areas in Spain. One student explained, "within Seville they are extremely open, extremely kind, [and] very excited to interact with new people but when I visited other parts of Spain it wasn't as warm and accepting" (Third Party Participant 8). Many comments were also simpler, ranging from food to family and more.

The difference in many of their comments when compared to other respondents was that they used real life examples to support their observations. For example, one student spoke of the importance of family to Spanish culture by explaining, "one of my friends has a host brother who works in Cadiz, which is an hour and a half away, but lives in Sevilla with his parents so he can be near them—I just can't ever see that happening in the US" (Third Party Participant 7). This demonstrates how these students were able to learn in their academic and culture courses but also through daily interactions with host families, meaning they were willing to exert extra effort to get to know them where students in American and Direct Enrollment programs reported a reluctance toward conversations which may have required effort for communicability. This is in contrast to a finding by Jackson (2005) that Direct Enrollment students were more likely to develop strong and lasting relationships with host country nationals when compared to students in Third Party programs, though it is very important to note that the Direct students in her study were in a native English speaking host culture while her Third Party students were not. Alternatively, it supports Cadd (2012) and Norris and Dwyer's (2005) findings that culture courses empower students to engage more confidently with their hosts.

Students in **Direct Enrollment** programs often made statements passing judgment on their host culture, often perpetuating commonly held stereotypes as suggested possible in cross-cultural encounters by Allport (1979). Showing an understanding of the regional differences but lack of acceptance of the nuances of the culture one remarked that the "Basque [people] seem a lot more conservative and 'behind the times' about 15-20 years" (Direct Participant 3). They also commented on greetings, in a similar way to the American program participants, "At home if you see a stranger its normal to make eye contact and say hello but here it's a little different where you don't really acknowledge the other person; that's awkward for me when I make eye contact because I'm not sure if I should smile" (Direct Participant 1). This statement was made at the end of a nearly 5 month stay in Spain with a host family, showing this student had not learned to approach a common social phenomenon, again presenting a lack of meaningful relationships with

members of the host culture who may have explained or demonstrated the culturally appropriate behaviors. This could be seen as a more specific example of one of the missed opportunities these students had while abroad; they arrived in Spain eager to experience the culture but were hindered by their other responsibilities and experiential immersion, when compared to American and Third Party program students.

6.3.3 Sociolinguistic Awareness

Sociolinguistic awareness refers to one's ability to recognize connections between language and culture. In Spain, this means students would be able to use their Spanish language skills accurately, not only according to the rules of grammar but also appropriately in different social and academic contexts with different types of individuals (Deardorff, 2006; Jackson, 2005; Meyerhoff, 2011).

Many **American** program participants were strong students and entered their programs seeming to believe that by the end of their time abroad they would be able to achieve at least a basic level of fluency in the Spanish language. Almost all, however, reported a quick realization of the intricacies of second language learning and an appreciation of the additional complexities of using appropriate language in daily social contexts. One student reported growing her understanding of this through her coursework,

...taking my translation class I've learned what fluency means so when my parents are like 'oh, are you going to be fluent?' I'm like heck no. That would take like 6 more years and a masters to actually do. I've changed my perspective of how advanced I am in my Spanish. I'm lower than what I thought I was but I'm still getting better." (American Participant 14)

This demonstrates a growing sense of realism but also a positive attitude that encouraged her to keep trying, even though her original expectations would not be met. This was a common refrain from American program students, depicting a resilient and dedicated student body. It also demonstrates their experiences and perceptions of education as being something that occurs within the classroom environment; they are not yet aware of the learning that can happen through everyday life, especially during a period abroad.

Besides traditional classroom language learning, American program students also reported a growing understanding of the working language. One explained how a small bit of additional information about Spanish society made some aspects of the way the language was used make much more sense, "I thought that the waiters were rude for taking so long and not being super outgoing" (American Participant 7) but she soon realized that as tipping is not part of Spanish culture there was no expectation for such gregarious behavior.

Participants in **Third Party** programs made many similar observations. They wished they had stronger language skills but seemed to make a more concerted effort with the skills they did have. Many reported feeling almost like a different person when speaking in Spanish.

...its that cultural difference or the way they grew up or even just language—the way that things are said can be so different and it took me a lot longer to realize that—I think it

made me a little bit more aware of the way language can affect how things are said and how you can interpret things, too. (Third Party Participant 4)

This shows meaningful reflection on how language abilities can shape relationships and interactions with the realization that meaning may change when they do not express themselves properly. In addition, it demonstrates a growing awareness of how language use may shape their own worldview.

Similarly to previous categories, these students discussed language in greater depth than the other two groups, both in reference to actual Spanish language knowledge but also in the role English plays in their lives and the world as a whole. Several Third Party participants were heritage speakers and discussed what they came to know from that perspective,

I know Spanish because of my parents but its very Latin American Spanish and I didn't practice before, so its like its hard to get into and also just understanding Sevillan—Andalucían Spanish is harder. The accent is difficult at first. (Third Party Participant 9)

Demonstrating their sociolinguistic awareness (Meyerhoff, 2011), again these students showed a more reflective mindset in relating Spanish to their own language, “I get a greater appreciation for the fact that I can speak English because it is such an important language in the world and I'm fortunate that it's my native language” (Third Party Participant 6). This shows an ability to place their study abroad experience into the wider picture of internationalization and the realization that, as Americans, they are privileged in not having major obstacles to accessing different parts of the world but are still willing to make an effort to do so and, as such, are likely to appreciate it more than they would otherwise.

Many of the **Direct Enrollment** program options did not have advanced language requirements, making it a daunting task for students to matriculate and study at local universities. The challenges in understanding that arose from this were quite clear in student comments relating to language awareness. It was difficult for them to break into the pre-existing groups of Spanish friends without knowing the cultural uses of the different forms of language, “many of the students I would see at school that appeared to be local were often in groups and speaking a level of Spanish that I couldn't keep up with, I felt out of place introducing myself and speaking English” (Direct Participant 2). They felt that if they had a stronger grasp of the language they would have been more able to try to enter these groups and have meaningful conversations. For most, Spanish classes were quite formal and provided little opportunity to practice in an authentic manner, especially when compared with the *intercambios* and other language exchanges that were more easily available through the American and Third Party programs.

6.3.4 Spanish University System

Knowledge of the *Spanish university system* refers to students' understanding of how these institutions operate, encompassing a range of information from university administration to class sizes, grading schemes to building facilities. Examining growth in this area is important as it provides insight into the context of their study abroad. For university students, developing

understanding of the host university culture is especially important, as a large number of locals they come into contact with would be students or graduates of these universities. This category came wholly from the interview data as opposed to from Deardorff's (2006) framework.

Predictably, students in **American** programs did not have much experience with the Spanish university system while abroad. A small number of students were able to audit one medical course at a local university, though with a low language requirement they felt the language in the classroom was significantly difficult for them to navigate. They described the classroom layout, "...it's a big classroom, so we get lost and if we make a confused face he doesn't notice it and it's hard to speak in front of a bunch of native speakers when you're the only exchange students" (American Participant 12). This same student said that she considered asking the professor to repeat something but her American classmate stopped her, as she said it would be embarrassing, demonstrating that they were not confident enough in their host surroundings to push to ensure they received the highest possible education or understanding.

As many students in **Third Party** programs were able to choose one or two local university courses they were aware of the system. Many spoke of confusion regarding finding which readings or assignments were necessary, "...they gave us the syllabus and there were two lists of books—I was like which do I have to read? I asked the girl next to me—she gave me this look of disdain like 'you don't know?'" (Third Party Participant 2). They also talked about the actual classroom experience, often in comparison with their home universities, where most were accustomed to much smaller class sizes. One student summarized, "...that's a bit stressful—not having any sense of how it's going to turn out in the end..." (Third Party Participant 1). It was clear that they understood the differences in the systems as at the time of interview many were preparing for final exams or papers, which would comprise their entire course grade, in contrast to the multitude of smaller coursework assignments and exams their American grades typically reflect.

Third Party students also discussed navigating the physical spaces of their Spanish universities. Being familiar with large campuses with intentionally designed spaces for specific uses they struggled to find equivalents in Spain. Describing working on a group assignment one said, "there aren't many collaborative spaces so I didn't know if she wanted to meet on campus or if we should meet somewhere else" (Third Party Participant 4), showing difficulty in approaching situations created by the Spanish universities but also willingness and ability to face them successfully.

Surprising was the lack of commentary on the university system by **Directly Enrolled** students. There was just one specific mention of the system where a student described difficulty he had in determining what his class assignment was. His focus was on how this directly influenced his performance, instead of on the actual construction of the system, "This was never explained in the theory classes—the professor must have assumed everyone knew how the system worked. I did not. That was a little stressful" (Direct Participant 4). The absence of insight into the local system from those who were directly experiencing it may show the difficulty some had with it. This is

first visible in the smaller numbers of participants from Direct Enrollment programs in this study but also in the responses that were gathered where students described minimal interactions with Spaniards and frustrations with the matriculation process. Taking the program design into consideration, the differences in university systems must be felt most by these students, however it is interesting that this did not automatically lead to deeper reflection or noted awareness from them. Again, this may be due to the more typical place the university had in these students' lives; they attended classes there most days so it may have become their new norm, not standing out as something different for them to discuss.

6.3.5 Understanding Others' Worldviews

To *understand others' worldviews* means that one is able to make sense of why a person from one culture may act or think in a certain way, as supported by the environment in which they developed. This is arguably one of the most important abilities in our continuously globalizing world as without this ability sustained peace and cooperation would not be possible (Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006; Jackson, 2005).

One of the most common comments from students in **American** programs referenced *siesta* with emphasis on how difficult it was to maneuver in the afternoon hours when they are used to being most active but, in Spain, had to wait for stores, restaurants, and the like to reopen for business. They reported instances where they wanted batteries or a soda and were frustrated because they had to wait 3 or 4 hours to be able to purchase them. There were, however, a few students who explained, "Now I understand that there is a time most shops are closed. They don't eat a big dinner or big breakfast but they have a huge lunch. That's why they have the time off. Now I understand that" (American Participant 2). This is a surface level explanation but shows students were starting to understand how things have a deeper meaning than the explanations they provided in their pre-questionnaires saying Spaniards were lazy or unconcerned with time.

Several students in **Third Party** programs reported having this sort of conversation on topics ranging from war and political parties to grief practices and stereotypes of the different autonomous communities, or *comunidades autónomas de España*. As one student explained, "With my host mom we talked because she always wanted to know about differences and things and I did too," she recognized that certain subjects were more difficult to approach than others but still tried to do so tactfully, "I mean its kind of wording it the right way" (Third Party Participant 1). Many of these students used one another to help understand the different aspects that caught their interest. They were living similar experiences and were able to come together to discuss them, reflect, and share the different explanations they received from their host families or Spanish friends. While in some instances these peer groups can encourage isolationist behavior, cutting the students off from opportunities for experiences with locals, they can also help them to process their experiences or find necessary emotional support, as the respondents in Alred and Byram's (2002) study did with their peer 'family' abroad. Learning from one another in informal and collaborative ways is possible due to the trust Lutterman-Aguilar and Gingerich (2002) say can develop through

educators', and in this instance administrators', intentional emphasis on creating experiential learning communities.

I think just studying abroad in general makes you more aware of kind of the differences between countries and cultures...it has given me more of an open mind and a different perspective in general because it kind of helped me understand that people's situations make them have different perspectives in different countries and stuff. (Third Party Participant 9)

Third Party students were, again, more likely to relate this experience to the US. Before even leaving Spain several imagined an altered relationship with international students on their own campuses. "One of my best friends at my university is an international student—I thought I could understand before but now I feel like I really can understand" (Third Party Participant 4). While many observations were about society on a large scale, realizations such as this show students were also thinking on a more local level, an important aspect of their development and one which demonstrated that they will continue to grow because of their period abroad, even back in their 'normal' environment.

Students in **Direct Enrollment** programs made scarce mention of developing greater understanding of others' worldviews. In the other two program types these responses were gathered from a range of questions but most clearly from the question asking if their values had been questioned in Spain. Direct Enrollment participants' hesitance or lack of opportunity to interact with locals, which will be covered in more detail later, may have limited the opportunity for many such situations. One student described the way that those who she considered to be Rastafarians were viewed negatively in Basque society and said that she felt victimized by that but mentioned no effort to understand where that perspective may have originated. Her host family were among those who she felt prejudged her yet she did not broach the subject with them, supporting the trend for students in Direct Enrollment programs to adopt a sort of 'grin and bear it' mentality in many situations where other students were willing to address similar concerns with locals.

6.3.6 Summary

As study abroad, in this study, is an aspect of higher education, knowledge is a vital part of development during the sojourn. Where **American** program participants were primarily focused inwardly in terms of attitude their reported knowledge was solely focused outwardly, primarily on visible aspects of Spanish culture. Again their unrealistic expectations were prevalent in their initial expectation of gaining fluency while abroad though, in most instances, their inexperience did not prevent them from reassessment, creating more appropriate goals, as suggested necessary by Marginson (2014). While **Third Party** students also reported significant gains in their cultural knowledge they were more likely to cite conversations with natives that helped them develop this as well as a tendency to compare and contrast that culture with their own. This demonstrates their reflection-in-action during their time abroad. Sociolinguistic awareness is an important aspect of

study abroad in a non-English speaking country as the ability to make connections between culture and the appropriate use of communication strategies is vital to developing intercultural relationships. Those in Third Party programs spoke of the cultural influences of language, recognizing differences between usage in Spain and Spanish language usage in the US. **Direct Enrollment** students also spoke of knowledge gains, though often in a negative light, for example in their criticisms of US culture or different regions in Spain. Considering their program structures they also had surprisingly small gains in knowledge about the Spanish language and university system.

6.4 Skill

Multiple intercultural development models include long lists of skills thought to be vital to this type of growth (Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006; Immetman & Schneider, 1998). As discussed in detail (see section 3.2.1.3) some of the most commonly mentioned skills include observation, listening, evaluating, analyzing, interpreting, and relating. Several of these were found in the present study but have been included within broader categories that more clearly match the skills presented by participants. The skills specifically covered in the following section are *communication*—incorporating listening and interpreting; *navigating the unknown*—including elements of evaluating and analyzing; *mindful observation*—including a specific technique of active observation and relating; and *operationalized travel competence* which includes the skills necessary to actually travel throughout a host city and beyond.

6.4.1 Communication

In this context, the communication examined is that between the study abroad participants and Spanish natives or others they encountered while abroad. For many, developing Spanish language skills was the most basic reference to communication but several also reported a greater understanding of the importance of more general communicative abilities. This is not a category explicitly laid out in Deardorff's framework, but it is an overarching theme of it. Communication was chosen as a category for this study, instead of specific Spanish language proficiency, as the ability to transmit information is of the utmost importance in developing intercultural relationships yet, as seen by the low language requirements of many of the programs studied, competence in a foreign language is not necessarily a fundamental aspect of this.

For **American** program participants, comments on communication were almost completely regarding basic Spanish language acquisition. The structure of these programs meant that most participants had very little interaction with Spaniards in their everyday lives other than with their professors in courses held at the centers. They spent most of their time in very supportive language environments, so that interactions with native speakers in real life situations were rare; meaning the students probably felt a greater sense of pressure or apprehension. While they may not have had regular deep conversations with locals they did have enough interaction to feel tested. One student described it as follows, "...while the language barrier is definitely a problem it doesn't make- any

interaction so far, for me, is possible” (American Participant 13). This demonstrates that despite the sometimes infrequent use of the Spanish language these students were able to overcome everyday obstacles. It also explains why these students tended to view Spanish as a subject only learned within the classroom, as will be seen again later in this research.

In general, comments on communication from **Third Party** program participants were more optimistic. They had similar struggles to those experienced by those in other program types, such as basic language knowledge, but often discussed them in the context of deeper conversations with native speakers. For example, one student talked about her struggle to feel like an active listener, “filler words—I don’t know them in Spanish so if someone would be telling me a story and I wanted to show I was interested I didn’t know what to say in the middle of their story” (Third Party Participant 7). This demonstrates a micro level concern about appropriate language use in real life situations, signifying this was a regular occurrence for these students—not a rare or one-off experience—while also serving as an example of the deeper level of reflection that seems to be typical of many Third Party students. Here language seems to be more of a real world tool than an academic discipline.

However, the distinction between classroom and applied Spanish was still relevant for Third Party students. A student brought up an issue arising from their American Spanish language courses and the appropriate use of language in Spain. In the US the Spanish taught generally emphasizes the use of the formal *usted* when referring to elders or people in positions of authority. In Spain, however, conversation is less formal and the *tu* form is preferred in almost all circumstances, certainly in a host family environment. This student’s host brought this to her attention but it was a big adjustment for her to make in her regular communication, “It still feels weird every time I do it. Like, am I a brat? Am I not showing respect? I have so much respect for her but I try using *tu* and it still kind of feels odd” (Third Party Participant 8). We can see a struggle between using the language as it was originally learned and altering its usage to fit the expectations of the society in which she was living, which is in line with Jackson’s (2005) data which found study abroad students to be stilted in their informal communication when they first arrived abroad, due to the formal usage they were accustomed to in the classroom. The awareness to recognize and reflect on this conflict shows that this student was learning to accommodate new cultural influences as well as further demonstrating their sociolinguistic awareness (see more on sociolinguistic awareness in section 6.3.3).

Third Party students also offered several general observations of their communication while in Spain. “It’s really enjoyable when you’re actually practicing your Spanish because that’s what you came here for and you’re surrounded by people who speak Spanish and are fluent in Spanish” (Third Party Participant 9). This statement does not reveal apprehension or fear of facing the challenges communicating in a second language may bring. This group of students was confident enough in their abilities to face a situation secure in the belief that they would be able to accomplish their goals. Despite this, there were some aspects that they felt unable to conquer completely in the short time they spent in Spain, “your personality changes...it’s a different

personality than in English so being funny or sarcastic—it’s a weird concept to try to translate” (Third Party Participant 4). Again, this signifies that these students had enough regular interaction in Spanish to be concerned about things such as expressing their personality instead of focusing on necessities. These are the “authentic linguistic encounters” Chieffo and Griffiths (2004, p. 171) suggested exist for study abroad students. The Third Party students interviewed regularly referred to them, whether to highlight the struggle in them or the successes, while American program participants, though also abroad in many of the same cities, did not have the same level of interaction. This shows that despite the intentional programming designed to provide opportunities for culture-specific learning and interaction in these two program types American program participants were still unable to forge meaningful relationships with locals during one semester abroad.

Those who were **Directly Enrolled** did not mention communication often. The one instance where there was clear discussion on this topic was when a student reflected on her host family and the influences they had on her communication. “It was hard for me to go home and not be able to talk about my frustration as my host family doesn’t really speak any English” (Direct Participant 1). The lack of regular interaction with home country peers meant that many directly enrolled students had no opportunity to discuss their experiences in Spain, except in calls home where the other party would not have firsthand knowledge in the way another student studying abroad would. The same student continued, “my experience has been a different kind of culture shock in figuring out essentially how to communicate, how to make my way from point A to point B and the communication that involves” (Direct Participant 1). This might signify that instead of being able to delve deeply into her host culture this student spent her time learning to do simple things such as sharing meal time conversation with her host family or maneuvering through the Spanish university. This is in firm contrast to Jackson’s (2005) findings and provides further support against traditional literature suggesting living with a host family automatically brings every day interactions that require the use of the target language (Rivers, 1998).

6.4.2 Navigating the Unknown

This next category is another that did not come from Deardorff’s (2006) existing intercultural competence framework but, instead, from the data collected during this study. However, *Navigating the unknown* may be considered a combination of three skills identified by Deardorff, namely the ability to analyze, evaluate, and relate. The sojourn abroad is when students experience new things and must evaluate and process them to make meaning of them within their existing framework or perception, or to reevaluate that framework accordingly.

For students in **American** programs, the unknown encompassed many things, from traveling to socializing and from schoolwork to cooking. Several spoke of their literal experiences learning how new systems function, specifically in traveling Europe (see section 6.4.4 for more on specific travel skill development). For example, “I learned time management a bit, just deciphering okay my flight is here at this time but I have to get this train--do I have time to get to

the airport? Security? That has made me more comfortable” (American Participant 8). There were also many comments from those who were completing their first year abroad relating to the adjustment typical when first beginning university, without taking into consideration the fact that they were abroad. Many had to do with coursework and learning how to manage their own time, “I have so much time I don’t even know what to do with myself...that was stressful because my main goal here is to get into the culture and doing *intercambio* and trying to balance that with schoolwork [was difficult]” (American Participant 1). This desire to learn about a new culture on top of typical adjustment issues may speak to the necessity for having the highly structured American program type available for such students. If not given this level of direction and clearly delineated support, they may not be able to cope with such an intense start to university.

Other students in American programs, importantly upper year students—not first years—seemed more secure in being in a new place and embraced it. Socially, one student described how she found her footing in her new city, “I’ve made my friends by meeting somebody at the bar and them being like ‘hey we’re going salsa dancing in 5 minutes, want to go?’ If I said ‘no’ I wouldn’t be friends with them” (American Participant 5). Another student spoke of his coping technique for dealing with new things, “I’m the guy with the plan [but] when something isn’t working out you have to be a lot more resourceful because it’s in Spanish—you have to really use your entire brain” (American Participant 11). These comments both point to a confidence in facing new things that again may have been possible because of the strong support system these students knew they would find from their program provider.

Third Party participants mentioned items with relevance to this category in many ways. Several were comments on typical concerns of being in an unfamiliar place, being pickpocketed for example, where students were not sure how to respond but said they would not have known how to deal with such an occurrence in their hometowns either. Some comments on adjusting to their courses also fit within this category, as they discussed having to come to terms with studying in a different system, having to ask questions, and paying attention to their peers to determine how they were expected to behave and revise for their courses.

Third Party students also spoke about their social lives in Spain; many of them having significantly more free time than they were accustomed to at home. As such, many offered comments such as “I think I’ve learned to enjoy my own company and to kind of go out and explore by myself” (Third Party Participant 1). Such statements show that the students did not necessarily see their increased free time as a negative aspect of life in Spain but used those moments to get out and learn about their host city—they did not feel as if they always had to wait for other American students to be free or for a local friend to invite them, but would take the initiative to entertain themselves. This was also seen in Alred and Byram’s (2002) study when participants spoke of being able to use their times of loneliness to get to know themselves better. However, this is not to say that they did not have to navigate new social situations with Spaniards. One student detailed her processes of growing used to her new friends,

It was awkward the first few times because you don't know if you're part of the group, you don't now if you're in or out and when you realize that you're getting several invitations to do things with them you're in the group and you're invited to birthday parties. You're not the American that they're trying to drag around but they actually like you. When that happens you really feel like you belong. (Third Party Participant 3)

This, again, speaks to Third Party students' unique opportunity and ability to create significant friendships with local students during their time abroad, when compared with reflections from students in the other two program types.

There was no mention of topics that fit within the category navigating the unknown from students in **Direct Enrollment** programs. This may be due to the fact that the differences they experienced, often living just as a typical Spanish student would, were so far removed from their usual circumstances that they could not point to any commonalities between them from which to make comparisons with how they would normally behave and how they behaved while in Spain.

6.4.3 Mindful Observation

The ability to observe one's surroundings and adjust appropriately is one of the key skills identified by Deardorff (2006) and while she does not provide her own definition of observation Ting-Toomey describes it as a process; *mindful observation*, or observation that goes beyond the act of seeing and "involves an O-D-I-S (observe-describe-interpret-suspend evaluation) analysis" (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p. 269). This means that one with this skill would be able to observe verbal and non-verbal surroundings and make sense of them. In a study abroad context this involves students developing multiple scenarios for the meaning of what they are witnessing and putting them into the correct cultural context to determine the actual meaning in that moment. To be able to do this, a person must be aware of their own culture and tendencies as well as those of their host culture.

Few **American** program students referred to their observation, either directly or indirectly. One who did spoke of a local café she would often stop in during the day. "I always go up to the display window to see what pastries they have...the employees look at me really funny because you're supposed to sit down and they come to you and ask what you want" (American Participant 13). She made it clear that she had been able to observe and determine the expected course of action—customers were expected to enter, take a seat, and wait for a server to come to them, however, she did otherwise, an example of a situation seen as "unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable" (Hofstede, 1986, p. 308). She continued, "there is no menu of what they have on a day-to-day basis so you have to get up and look—it confuses me how people know what they want without looking at the display case" (American Participant 13). She was willing to reflect on her observation but, as she was unable to make sense of it and put it into the correct cultural context, continued in the manner she would typically in more familiar surroundings, ignoring the questioning looks she received from the staff each time. This matches Jackson's (2005) finding that students who were not sensitive to cultural nuances experienced more barriers in interactions

with locals, though it may also be a demonstration of this student facing a problem and finding her own solution to it, having not fully understood the accepted practices of her host culture.

Responses from **Third Party** participants showed an increased level of reflection on their experiences involving observation, though only slightly. At a surface level, a few reported being able to clearly identify who were local students and who were international. One said, “it’s really easy to distinguish Americans and Spaniards, even just walking around—just by the way they dress or the way we talk or the way we’re in big groups” (Third Party Participant 9). While she has not mentioned exploring this further or altering behavior to avoid being picked out as American she has noticed that it was possible for that to be done.

Most other comments on observation had to do with these students observing how their host families went about their daily lives and taking cues from that on what was appropriate or expected of them,

With my family this unspoken thing was going on the first couple of days, so I just followed their lead and didn’t talk very much to see how their family worked. I didn’t know how to go about their style or their routine but they’re so laid back that I picked it up.
(Third Party Participant 2)

For those in such a living environment, this may have been a necessary skill to develop to maintain a harmonious environment. Most hosts had little, if any, knowledge of English and these students were only required low levels of Spanish knowledge, meaning much of their communication would have been non-verbal, at least at the beginning of their stay. The ability to pay close attention to their hosts’ actions, interpret them, and behave accordingly would have been very useful in building those intercultural relationships.

While these students did report more experiences involving their skills of observation there were, overall, few comments on what would presumably be a major skill used in a term abroad where students were expected to use a second language that many had limited proficiency in. It may be that observation is a skill that students did not realize they were using while they were still in their host environment. Throughout the interviews many students made comments to the effect of “I’ll probably realize this more once I return to the US” and this skill development may be an example of this.

Again, in this category there were no fitting comments from students in **Direct Enrollment** programs emerging from any of the questions. Presumably, observation would have been an important part of their everyday lives attending classes intended for local, native Spanish speakers. As such, this could again point to them having been so deeply immersed that they were unable to recognize specific instances where they had to stop, look, and evaluate a situation.

6.4.4 Operationalized Travel Competence

Operationalized travel competence is another category that did not emerge from Deardorff’s framework but the extreme regularity of it in almost every interview necessitated it as a distinct category. For this purpose travel competence refers to students’ reflections on their time abroad

and on real world application of the skills key to travel, both in and around their host cities, but also farther around Spain and Europe and even to Northern Africa in a few instances.

As one might assume due to their young ages and from the data presented in the previous chapter, most students enrolled in **American** programs did not have much previous travel experience. Many expressed that they felt lucky to have an opportunity to travel at such a young age. They also discussed basic, but specific examples of when their travel plans had gone awry. The following quotes are reflective of many of the sentiments expressed;

“One time I got stuck at the train station in Madrid because I had a ticket but it was canceled and they didn’t tell me. So I cried. That was my resourcefulness.” (American Participant 14)

“The tram! It’s so confusing.” (American Participant 2)

“I’ve definitely made some mistakes traveling, some great encounters. I’ve made memories, made friendships on those trips. I guess I learned time management a bit.” (American Participant 8)

For most of these students, in addition to being their first time traveling significantly, it was their first time living and traveling with other people their age. The major responsibilities they shared increased confidence in their own abilities but also brought realizations about what these responsibilities actually meant. “We had fun but it’s hard to travel with so many kids your age and we’re all kind of experiencing and all trying to figure it out at the same time and have different opinions” (American Participant 6). In general, most students seemed pleased with their travel and the lessons they learned, specifically map and bus or train schedule deciphering skills. This experience was the first time many of these students had a real world motivation to exercise travel skills, continuing the theme of American program students beginning to develop traits and experiences associated with their burgeoning adulthood (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004). It seems as though any hurdles they met were not so great that they were put off future travel. One student spoke at length about a bad experience she had renting a small apartment in the Spanish countryside for a weekend, but her emphasis was on the strong support she received from her program administrators and host mother upon her return. This is a clear example of how the support system for students in American programs encourages them when encountering difficult cross-cultural experiences.

Students in **Third Party** programs spoke of similar issues with learning to read a map and navigate but were more likely to speak of stopping and asking for directions or having Spaniards approach them and offer directions unprovoked. Some students even seemed to enjoy the process of learning how to get around, “I think navigating has been fun, I’ve definitely had to be resourceful...It’s just a huge process of figuring out what I’m doing” (Third Party Participant 2). Several reported using landmarks, such as local rivers or parks, as guideposts to help get around, which shows them operationalizing both skills of observation and travel. At the other end of the

spectrum, two of the ten Third Party students interviewed reported breaking down in tears when lost or confused in their cities, though each reported positive interactions with Spaniards as a result.

Those in **Direct Enrollment** programs had much more independent travel throughout their host cities due to their living situations and enrollment in universities that were often outside of the city center, requiring the use of public transportation on an almost daily basis. One student studying at a university that was 15 miles from the city center described the steep learning curve she met in using public transportation,

Transportation. That was a huge, huge frustration for me the first couple weeks because I'm used to having a car or walking just like 5 minutes to my classrooms...trying to find my way around the city, the bus system, it was hard for me to be dependent on a bus to get me places. I learned to be patient; I learned that I can navigate in a language that I'm not really proficient in. (Direct Participant 1)

For most American students such an experience is one they are only likely to gain while abroad. Public transportation in the US is rare and most university age students, especially those who are able to study abroad, have regular access to personal vehicles.

In addition to learning to rely on public transportation in Spain, Direct Enrollment students talked about having to be resourceful to get around in the other places they visited around Europe where language was a greater challenge to them. Despite those difficulties, a common refrain was, "I will continue to travel for the rest of my life, and this experience is just the start of a new journey for me" (Direct Participant 3). This shows the resilience necessary for visiting such diverse locations in such a short period of time and may have been built up as a result of the daily challenges met while studying in Spain.

6.4.5 Summary

There are a wide range of skills that can develop during study abroad but four were most prevalent in this study, communication, navigating the unknown, mindful observation, and operationalized travel competence. When **American** program students spoke of communication skills it was largely at a surface level, focused on basic language acquisition. Their low levels of observation and reluctance to change their behaviors accordingly are demonstrations of ethnocentrism in action (Samovar et al., 2009). Alternatively, **Third Party** students spoke of similar struggles with communication in a positive light, focusing instead on their subsequent learning. They were also able to clearly articulate how their observations led to changes in behavior, allowing them to live in host family context more harmoniously. **Direct Enrollment** students' experiences more closely mirrored those of American program students in that their difficulties in communication seemed to prevent them from forming relationships with host families or Spanish peers.

6.5 Internal Outcomes

Internal Outcomes is another category inspired by Deardorff's (2006) model and refers to those traits that, together, cause a shift in an individual's frame of reference or the way in which they see

things. Three of the five sub-categories of internal outcomes come directly from Deardorff's framework: *adaptability*, *ethnorelative perspective*, and *flexibility*. Two others have arisen from the data collected: *coping with living in a different culture* and *confidence*.

6.5.1 Adaptability

Adaptability is one of four key features included by Deardorff (2006) in the internal outcomes portion of her framework and refers to one's ability to adapt to different communication styles, behaviors, and cultural environments. In terms of intercultural competency Kim (1991) describes the important role of adaptability as "the individual's capacity to suspend or modify some of the old cultural ways, to learn and accommodate some of the new cultural ways, and to creatively find ways to manage the dynamics of cultural difference/unfamiliarity, intergroup posture, and the accompanying stress" (p. 268). Knowing when and how to adjust directly influences one's ability to develop cross-cultural relationships and understanding.

Again, many of the comments in this category from **American** program participants had more to do with adapting to dormitory living at university than to experiencing a host culture. Several found the greatest difficulty in adaptation to the social times common in Spain, though most upper year students were able to compromise on this; one student described that negotiation as such, "For me it's like I'm living here for 4 months, fighting this is not going to help...I need to just go with it...trying to fight the culture would be the hardest because it is so ingrained in their system" (American Participant 9). The inclusion of the length of her time in Spain may reflect an inability or unwillingness to fully adapt to her host environment and the adoption of an almost survival instinct to go accept what was expected and appropriate in the culture as necessary before she could return to her comfortable environment in the US.

Several students spoke of having to 'do without' while in Spain. "I've realized that when you are stripped of things you are dependent on you find your way...but I've also realized that as soon as you get them back you're like okay, that was easier" (American Participant 6). These would have been conveniences or people rather than necessities, as those were provided by either the program or host families. Still, for many of these students the experience in Spain was their first time without parents to take care of essential issues and their realization of their capacity to deal with that is very important.

Third Party students mentioned time as well, but not as often as the other two program types. Instead of focusing on eating schedules or shop hours their complaints had more to do with the general Spanish concept of time,

If you need something you sort of have to ask outright but then you have to wait, there is a lot of waiting that goes on in Spain. It drives. Me. Out. Of. My. Mind. They do not care about time here. There is a lot of up and down and roundabout ways to do things. I just sort of accustomed myself to it. (Third Party Participant 3)

This comment refers more to perceptions of society's productivity than to a desire for convenience as most in the other two program types wanted. Recognizing the different expectations for the

system and adjusting behavior to fit appropriately is a valuable skill in being able to operate in different societies.

Many Third Party students also spoke of growth in their ability to function appropriately on their own and to successfully pass time independently. They reported finding it difficult to meet people their age in their first several weeks in Spain, which left them time to spend alone. None reported feeling sorry for themselves or depressed but, instead, used the time to get to know themselves better and become more comfortable on their own, the same way they were able to use their free time to reflect (see section 6.2.2). This shows their acceptance of the need to adapt to a new situation without their pre-formed social groups and of their responsibility to make the most of these situations. As one student explained, "...for example with making friends at the university I kind of learned not to wait for them to ask me to do something after class and I have, instead, asked them myself" (Third Party Participant 1). This student is describing how they were able to shift from a space where their friendships came to them easily, as a product of their residential US university, to one where they had to push themselves to be outgoing in a second language to have the opportunity to form new friendships.

Participants in **Direct Enrollment** programs also spoke of difficulties in adjusting to the schedule in Spain, specifically meal times, influential to their time abroad as they were often living, and eating, with host families during their stay. On a more general level these students were very confident in their adaptability and had even surprised themselves with how capable they were, showing that, despite the many hurdles Direct students had to face, their confidence was not fragile enough to break when they were stretched to make major changes.

6.5.2 Ethnorelative Perspective

An *ethnorelative perspective* is a requirement directly resultant from Deardorff's (2006) model as an important internal outcome. Ethnorelativism proposes that "cultures can only be understood relative to one another, and that particular behavior can only be understood within a cultural context" (Bennett, 1993, p. 46). This outcome can be seen to build on the previous category of adaptability in that once one has facets of that, such as the ability to suspend old and learn new cultural ways, they can understand their own culture in comparison to their host culture. A student who is able to adopt an ethnorelative perspective recognized facets of their own culture and of their host culture and is able to view them from different standpoints, according to what is appropriate in the moment.

There was a wide range of development and recognition of perspective among **American** program participants. There were several minimizing comments, explaining how they realized everyone is the same. A representative example is the following, "I think that in my time abroad I learned a lot about the other cultures of the world but I also learned how everyone is basically the same no matter where you live" (American Participant 7). These statements, representing the minimization stage Bennett (1993) spoke of, came from students in their first or second year of

study, while upper year students were less likely to assume their experiences in Spain meant all people were the same.

Other students took an alternative view seeing, instead, a wide range of people and commenting on the differences in values and things seen as necessities, “Right now I live in a little apartment and back home I have a house—do I really need all that space? No one really has a lot here and they’re still perfectly content with what they have” (American Participant 1). This student was able to step back from her expectations and think about how her life was changed by her physical circumstances and accept that it was not detrimentally influenced by a change in space or number of possessions.

Several students spoke of feeling isolated or unaware prior to their time abroad. One participant explained, “I was very in my bubble, I never really expanded my mind to different areas and different cultures” however, she continued to discuss how her time in Spain changed this, “it’s helped me a lot to see that the different cultures have different lifestyles and they make do with the resources they have” (American Participant 1). This again touches on the less material lifestyle these students observed but also on the ability to shift perspectives and see this culture through an appropriate lens instead of through their own.

Several students alluded to being able to “see things from the inside” (American Participant 6) or to “see outside myself and look in” (American Participant 5) which they felt made them better able to understand their host culture while they also felt it made them better people. They recognized how this increased awareness could impact their ability to relate in varied situations, even after they returned to the US.

Participants enrolled in **Third Party** programs had a global view of their new perspectives developed in Spain. One student took the idea of everyone being similar, earlier expressed by students in American programs, a step further and discussed how that might influence them on the individual level, “it’s good to know that even if you feel like you’re the only one going through what you’re going through you’re definitely not” (Third Party Participant 2). Many viewed perspective taking as a conscious and active step and were able to recognize a situation where an alternative perspective is necessary to achieving understanding. For example, “Now I’m kind of getting into the habit of taking a step back and looking [from] a different mindset” (Third Party Participant 8).

These students also put these new perspective-taking abilities into cultural contexts when thinking about past travel or study experiences. One student who had completed a semester in France the Spring prior to her study in Spain said, “I guess I was expecting it to be more like France which was a stupid expectation but I was like Europe is Europe...And definitely Andalucía has a completely different culture from the north” (Third Party Participant 6). This is an active demonstration of her ability to recognize and see things in a variety of contexts.

Many students also imagined how this new or enhanced ability to take multiple perspectives would influence their future lives. Several echoed sentiments similar to the following, “I’m better at interacting with different types of people, in approaching relationships that will

definitely be a big factor” (Third Party Participant 8). Another student combined a discussion she had with a friend prior to her study abroad with how she would approach her return to her home campus,

My international friend always used to say she would love when American students would go abroad because it made them little international students. I didn’t really understand the concept until I got here and started to go through some experiences myself and I guess that’s true. (Third Party Participant 4)

Having this realization should help her become an active part of her university’s global environment upon her return. Even if she does not consciously engage in internationalization activities her thought processes and knowledge will be broader than before her time in Spain. This is supported by Chieffo and Griffith’s (2004) finding that students who studied abroad considered themselves to be more empathetic and patient when interacting with non-native English speakers upon their return to the US.

There was not as much clear reflection on cultural understanding from **Direct Enrollment** participants. Instead of learning to recognize key features of their own culture and their host culture, statements from these students seem to imply that they worked to remove themselves from their own culture, possibly believing it would allow them to be better accepted in Spanish culture. One student said, “I felt a strange need to differentiate myself from the typical American who was often characterized by entitlement and cockiness” (Direct Participant 2). This statement shows this participant’s underlying perception of his own culture but does not provide insight into how he chose to behave as an alternative. This lack of commentary may reflect that directly enrolled students were more likely to put their own culture to the side and adopt what they believed to be the local culture more fully than students in other program types, whether this was as a coping mechanism or a sincere desire to be a part of the host culture, however, cannot be determined.

6.5.3 Flexibility

Flexibility, as described by Deardorff (2006), is the ability to choose and utilize appropriate communication strategies and cognitive flexibility and also includes behavioral flexibility, as the adjustment of actions was a common theme in participant interviews. Study abroad places students in new situations on an almost daily basis and often aspects of their typical routine will not fit within them. Developing flexibility means these students would be able to evaluate the situation, determine what was appropriate, and act accordingly.

Many of the previous categories brought out areas of difficulty for students in **American** programs and several required a degree of flexibility in maneuvering around them. Upon arrival in Spain, students in these programs felt as though they had trouble changing their typical behaviors to fit their new environment. One comment expressing this was, “I feel like I had such a hard time at the beginning of the semester and because of that I feel like I can’t really begrudge other people having a hard time” (American Participant 13). This shows a realization of how circumstances can make things more challenging and an acceptance of the difficulty of putting flexibility into

practice. While students in these programs may not have developed extensively in terms of their personal flexibility, it seems as though they may have grown more accepting of this lack of flexibility in others.

The majority of students enrolled in **Third Party** programs reported being comfortable with the level of flexibility required of them while in Spain. There was an element of adaptation to the degree of flexibility necessary but they felt able to cope with it. A student provided a specific example of an everyday need for flexibility, “like walking speeds—Spaniards walk much, much slower than we tend to as Americans. We’ll be walking and realize they’re like two blocks behind us so we kind of have to slow down a little bit” (Third Party Participant 7).

Some students, however, were slightly less confident in their flexibility, using hedging language when talking about their development in this area. One such response was, “I guess maybe I’m a little more flexible and okay with going into a situation not knowing how it’s going to turn out a little bit” (Third Party Participant 1). The ‘I guess,’ and ‘a little bit’ show that this student was not fully confident of her ability to alter her behavior as necessary, but that she did recognize the importance and need to at least attempt this. Other students struggled with the high degree of flexibility they felt necessary to cope with their host culture, commenting on the lack of structure within it, especially when compared to that of their American universities.

This learning was very similar to the flexibility discussed by participants in **Direct Enrollment** programs. They spoke of having to be flexible on an almost minute-by-minute basis, “I typically get anxious and like to have things planned, but now my planning is minimal and I handle every minute of the day as it comes” (Direct Participant 3). Despite her anxiety, she recognized the situation and made the necessary changes to her behavior showing that, regardless of the discomfort being culturally appropriate may have caused her, she saw the importance of being flexible.

6.5.4 Coping with Living in a Different Culture

The category *coping with living in a different culture* can refer to a wide range of things, though it mostly relates to managing every day life and the extent to which one is able to cope with the range of reactions experienced (Byram, 1997). This includes homesickness, happiness, and mental strain among many other things. The ability to transition and cope with living in an unfamiliar context is a key element of intercultural competency as if one is uncomfortable with such adaptation they are unlikely to be able to move beyond the basic stages to develop meaningful relationships or have successful communicative experiences.

The most common topic when discussing the ability to cope with living in Spain from **American** program participants was the *siesta* and daily opening hours of local businesses. For these students, coming from a largely 24-hour culture, this was a major shift in both convenience and planning. In addition to this adaptation to delayed gratification they also had to adjust their expectations for local businesses, “I don’t understand their business model, like going to ice cream shops and they run out of ice cream—that’s never happened in the States” (American Participant

12). These comments were overwhelmingly critical, as these students seemed to have a difficult time understanding how locals could be happy with living in a place where such things were common. There was a degree of longing for a return to what they were accustomed to, which demonstrated that they had not grown to understand the Spanish system, though that could be partially explained by the relatively short period of their stay abroad. Despite this, many of these students did not report behaviors that would support them having been able to effectively cope with these differences in a meaningful way but, instead, actually begrudgingly accepted them for the short time they were abroad. This is in contrast to the students in Jackson's (2005) study who, in the initial stages of their time abroad, had similar negative reactions but by the end of their stay were sincerely invested in making a greater effort to understand daily life in their host culture.

Because such a large portion of participants in American programs were first year students a number of their comments pertaining to this topic again had to do with typical adjustments one must make when beginning their studies. For those living in dormitories many focused heavily on the challenges and rewards innate in such housing and what that helped them realize about themselves, "So far [I have realized] that I like peace and quiet more than I thought. When you're with 80 18-year olds it can get pretty loud pretty often" (American Participant 3). This shows that they were able to have a variation of the typical freshman experience, adapting to dorm life, while still living a much more unique experience in Spain.

A couple students voiced negative feelings toward living abroad, either due to what they felt to be inadequate preparation, a poor host family or other living situations, distance from their normal support system, or a dislike of the culture, or aspects of it, that they found in Spain. This played an important role in where they felt they would go later, either in school or after graduation, "I'm never going to do it [move across the world] unless it's with someone that I love. It is just one of those things where I think I could very easily do it if I had a support system" (American Participant 14). Others said they had reconsidered how long they wished to live abroad later in life, in one instance going from a plan of 5-10 years down to 2-3. These reflections show the difficulty American program participants found in coming to terms with a culture different from their own.

In addition to the adjustment to *siesta*, **Third Party** participants spoke of the direct manner of Spanish culture, both verbally and non-verbally. They reported that they were asked questions that they felt would have been intrusive or personal in US contexts. Many reported receiving questions about how they interact with their family and loved ones still in the US while they were in Spain. Participants said that reduced interaction with them was an intentional choice to allow them to get the most out of their time in Spain but their host families questioned why they would not want to speak with their family regularly. A student explained, "it has been a big surprise to my host mom—she's like why don't you talk to them every day?" (Third Party Participant 5). The regularity of comments on learning to interpret host family actions and priorities demonstrates how deeply many of the Third Party students were able to delve into the culture and reflect on that learning by comparing those situations with their own, often through conversation with host

parents. These students recognized the importance of gaining this knowledge to be able to handle living actively as a part of their host culture, likely a result of their greater previous international experiences.

Alternatively, a few students felt that they were personally less direct while in Spain. Some attributed that to a lack of confidence in their language abilities, but others explained that it was in reaction to some of the behaviors they witnessed from locals. “I tend to be very outspoken about things, so there were some things that I would normally comment on but here I’m being a little bit more lenient because I know that their intention isn’t negative” (Third Party Participant 4). This shows that instead of jumping to their usual conclusions these students recognized the necessity of taking the cultural context into consideration when responding to other people’s actions to be able to effectively manage life as a part of it, reflecting a mature response to their likely mental or emotional discomfort with the situation and more similarities with Jackson’s (2005) findings.

Participants in **Direct Enrollment** programs made many fewer references to living within a new culture and that may reflect the unintentional isolation it seems many of them experienced. Though they were often living among non-American peers or host families and taking courses directly alongside local students they did not report much social interaction or integration in the culture, leaving them unable to participate in situations which would have tested their ability to cope with Spanish culture. However, one comment that could relate to this was quite positive,

I grew as much in three months as in my three years in college. Instead of stepping out of my comfort zone, I flew across the world and my comfort zone was completely out of sight. Being apart from everything that had become so familiar helped me put a lot of things in (*sic*) perspective—what kind of person I strived to be, the friendships that really mattered, and what I wanted out of life. (Direct Participant 2)

The fact that this student chose to enroll in a Direct Enrollment program with no obvious support from home country peers may show that she was already mentally prepared for experiencing life in a new culture. This positive reflection at the end of the period abroad shows that this mindset was retained, despite the struggles that came with leaving her ‘comfort zone.’ For these students it appears that the structure of their programs and living environments may not have allowed them to try to actually cope with living in a different culture—they were often removed from the culture, viewing it from the outside rather than learning to manage living within it.

6.5.5 Confidence

The category of *confidence* arose entirely out of the data collected. While it was not mentioned, in detail, in existing frameworks of intercultural development it became very clear in interviews with students even though it was not intentionally addressed through the interview schedule. In this study, confidence refers to the individual’s belief in themselves and their own abilities, particularly in dealing with people from diverse backgrounds and in situations unfamiliar to them, whether in the US or abroad. An increase in confidence means students would be more likely to engage in

intercultural interactions, providing them more opportunity to actually develop and strengthen their intercultural competencies. The concept of increases in confidence does, to an extent, overlap with many other categories included.

Students in **American** programs showed significant development in terms of their confidence, which may be reflective of their young ages and inexperience in university environments prior to their time in Spain. Broadly, many of them felt more capable of handling everyday tasks that were new to them,

I've definitely grown a lot faster here than I would have at home. I'm definitely a lot more independent and more knowledgeable on how to go about things. But while my mom is not here it's like 'okay I'll have to figure it out on my own' and it's a little bit harder but I'm going to end up figuring it out. (American Participant 6)

This illustrates an American program student who has not fully developed into adulthood but has the confidence required to be able to achieve what is necessary, which is further supported by the trained staff present on-site in their schools. Supporting this, another student gave a concrete example of how this confidence manifested itself in everyday life, "I can think back to these situations like, well, I mailed a huge package back to the US from Spain—I can't even do that in the US—I can probably do harder things in English and Spanish" (American Participant 13). These students also reported an ability to opt out of group plans or decisions which shows developed self-confidence in no longer feeling the need to follow, especially in new or unfamiliar surroundings.

Third Party program participants had similar development in self-confidence in being able to say 'no' to group outings, especially with other American study abroad students. They were able to use their previous international experiences to build their confidence as well, "the things I learned in France have definitely aided in my confidence and experience here" (Third Party Participant 6). In addition to confidence, this also shows skill and the ability to take experiences and put them into action in real life situations, which would have the result of improving their confidence further. Third Party students were also more likely to report increases in their confidence when it came to communication with native Spanish speakers. One student's commentary on this also demonstrated self-knowledge and familiarity with her new context, "when I don't get it its okay to ask questions, I know that nobody is judging me, it feels like it but nobody actually is because they all know where I'm coming from—I'm from Pennsylvania, not Spain" (Third Party Participant 3).

Many of these students seemed to take their experience in Spain as an opportunity to get to know themselves better and almost reinvent themselves in a manner they were happier with. One student talked about a large increase in her confidence as a result of her being a unique outsider in Spain, "it's a really good feeling to have everyone in a room see you as a person who has something to offer and something new to give" (Third Party Participant 8). This shows an increase in confidence based on the reception she received that appeared to have made a lasting impact on her general confidence.

Again, students in **Direct Enrollment** programs did not directly or indirectly allude to their development of confidence, as those in other program types did frequently. This may be reflective of the high confidence most students would have had to elect to participate in a Direct Enrollment program, knowing that they would not have the strong support systems they were accustomed to. One student however, said the following, “I’m really glad I went to a place where I didn’t have anyone because it allowed me to just like step out of my comfort zone and just talk to everybody and experience the city” (Direct Participant 1), demonstrating increased confidence in her personal ability to function independently, though she did not explicitly label it as such.

6.5.6 Summary

Internal outcomes are the first stage in Deardorff’s model where the foundational attributes begin to come together to shape the development of the individual. More than in any other category here **American** program students spoke largely of internal changes typical to beginning university study, regardless of the location. They grew in confidence and to be more tolerant of different types of people, both American and Spanish. Possibly because of this growth these students also demonstrated minimization, as highlighted in Bennett’s (1993) work; they were less intimidated by differences and, as a result, discounted them as being insignificant. **Third Party** students also grew more confident, specifically in their ability to spend time independently. Again remarking on a specific observation, the directness of Spanish culture, they indicated a sustained effort to ensure they accommodate others’ expectations and norms in their thoughts to be culturally appropriate, similar to those students in Gonyea’s (2008) study who were found to be more engaged than students who did not study abroad. **Direct Enrollment** students displayed some instances of favoring their host culture over their own, almost viewing the US negatively and wanting to be disconnected from it instead of working to enhance understanding of themselves as Americans, as those students in Dolby’s (2004) study were able. They did, however, try to be flexible in their thoughts and expectations, though sometimes they struggled with that, possibly do to their seemingly stronger starting points in confidence and feeling agency themselves.

6.6 External Outcome

The category of *external outcomes* is the final stage of Deardorff’s (2006) model. It is at this stage where the individual begins to change their observable behaviors to fit better with what is expected in the environment in which they are acting to help them achieve their intended goals. Three external outcomes were prevalent in the interviews conducted for this study. *Interaction with host country nationals* draws on the communication included by Deardorff, which focused on the act performed appropriately and effectively within the cultural context, while the concepts of *American peer groups* and *dependency on host family* were not included in her framework but are common themes in research on study abroad.

6.6.1 Interaction with Host Country Nationals

In order to develop intercultural competence in study abroad *interaction with host country nationals* is necessary. Despite this generally accepted fact, many study abroad programs are not structured to fully ensure students engage with their host culture to a meaningful extent. Because of this, the present study could not assume that such opportunities would be readily available to all participants. Previous studies have suggested that intercultural development can occur simply due to being abroad but all have agreed that this development is more significant with intentional reflection and intervention (Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006; Williams, 2005).

Students in **American** programs generally reported low levels of communication with Spaniards while abroad, often citing their living situations as the cause. Those interactions that they did have were thought to be minimal. One student described this situation quite clearly,

What I've talked about with my friends is when you talk to someone on the street you can communicate well because we're learning to communicate but it's tough to become good friends because you can—when I say communicate I mean transfer information from me to you and back—but it's hard to make jokes and be funny if you don't know their culture quite as well so I think as far as depth of relationships, it is hard to make deeper friendships without knowledge of Spanish and with our situation. (American Participant 11)

This casual conversation allowed these students to practice using their language skills in authentic contexts but did not necessarily help them to know the culture. In social situations, such as their *intercambios*, students felt that Spaniards were very patient and willing to help them but also felt that their partners' English skills were often stronger than their Spanish, causing the study abroad students to lapse into their first language regularly. Within these interactions, several students also commented on the direct nature of their Spanish peers. "I've had some trouble interacting with Spaniards just because Spain is a more open and direct culture, this made me realize how much Americans tend to beat around the bush and not say exactly what they mean" (American Participant 13). Such a change in behavior would take time to become accustomed to, which may have made these students' adaptation to it in the short time they were abroad extremely challenging.

Participants in **Third Party** programs spoke much more extensively of their interactions with Spaniards. In their experiences, their host peers were outgoing and welcoming, making sure to involve the Americans in anything they thought they may find fun or useful, something that several students compared to their own behavior with exchange students at their home universities in the US,

I know at home when we have foreign exchange students I don't approach them or try to be friends with them because we're in two different spheres and here they go out of their way to be friends with you and to talk to you and to help you practice your Spanish. (Third Party Participant 9)

This is yet another example of these students taking their Spanish experiences and comparing them with their typical lives in the US, reflecting on how they could or would act in each situation,

which may demonstrate development and suggest changes in their future behavior. Related to this, they also referred to cultural learning through their interactions, similar to the students in Ife's (2000) study, "to be able to practice Spanish and learn from the colloquial ways of saying things and also the cultural aspect—if I don't exactly know why something happened I can ask and they are good at explaining things" (Third Party Participant 1). This is not to say that all Third Party students had significant relationships with locals, as many reported the same feeling of superficiality in their interactions as the other two program groups did.

Direct Enrollment program participants also referred to very casual interactions with Spaniards while abroad, showing that they were unable to form many meaningful connections in the short time period. While many of the American program participants felt that Spaniards were almost universally supportive and helpful with language, Direct students had more mixed experiences. They saw a difference in the behavior of their peers and those who were older than them, especially the elderly. In their interactions, the older the Spaniard the more likely they were to be patient, friendly, and helpful, "they always stop what they're doing to point out the best route, or sometimes they even walk you all the way there" (Direct Participant 3). At the other extreme, the younger Spaniards often seemed too busy or involved in their own tasks to offer such assistance, which led to these students not being able to make many meaningful peer connections. This difference is surprising and likely influenced the study abroad participants' perception of their peers, as many of them would have had years of study of Spanish while it is unlikely older Spaniards had any formal study of the language, making their helpfulness even more of a challenge for them versus their younger compatriots.

6.6.2 American Peer Groups

In research on study abroad the *American peer group* is a constantly recurring theme, in all contexts. There are many elements that feed into the creation of these 'bubbles' that unintentionally lead to isolation for study abroad students. This is a very important element for the present study as program design plays a significant role in determining what social interaction or integration participants may have and programs have traditionally placed this responsibility on the individual participants, failing to fully acknowledge their role in the process (Wilkinson, 1998b).

American program participants spoke at great length of the feeling of living in an American peer group bubble. Participants in this study were enrolled in a range of different American programs and had wide potential for different living situations, from American student dormitories to shared flats with local students, to living with host families. Despite this, their feelings of segregation were quite similar throughout. Those students who were living in American student dormitories almost universally felt they would have been better integrated and immersed in the Spanish language if they lived with host families. Several even suggested ways in which their program could be altered to better support this integration, "I would like more mandatory interaction—if they're not mandatory nobody goes. If they're mandatory I go and I learn things and enjoy myself but if they're not mandatory I don't want to go" (American

Participant 2). These students also reported only speaking English whenever possible with American friends, despite the fact that they also said they chose to study in Spain to improve their language skills, similar to the Japanese language school students in Tanaka's (2007) research who also ended up largely remaining within their peer group bubble, because of limited communicability, despite initial goals to improve language skills. .

Socially, students in American programs were both appreciative and critical of the peer group bubble construct. Several were glad to have that inbuilt social circle when they arrived in Spain, finding it easier to plan trips or organize days out with people who were in the same situation, as international students with no friends or family present. This helped them develop greater willingness to experience their host culture than they would have had individually, "when we go with the group more of us are comfortable with going out and meeting more people" (American Participant 8). This is supported by Wilkinson's finding that "peer groups cliques seemed to represent a concerted effort on the part of the students to process collectively the barrage of cultural and linguistic differences" (1998b, p. 30). It also links to the collaborative learning seen in section # where students in Third Party programs were able to help one another process the worldviews of their Spanish hosts and make sense of them in relation to their own.

Others, however, felt almost disappointed by the default groups that seemed to form, "I just thought I was going to be more immersed in the culture and I feel like here we're in a bubble. Everyone talks about the bubble but it's real. It's hard to get out of." (American Participant 4). The recognition of the 'bubble' combined with the lack of action taken to try to counteract it by these students may show their relatively limited experience and lack of confidence to take personal responsibility.

Where students in American or Direct Enrollment programs regretted their infrequent use of Spanish within their American peer groups several of those in **Third Party** programs took action to try to counteract that disappointment. A number of students decided, themselves, to spend an entire week speaking only in Spanish, even including phone calls to family and friends at home. This initiative shows the thought and care put into making the most out of their time abroad—when faced with a situation that was not ideal for their language learning goals they constructed a new context to try to meet them without explicit requirement from their program or other external forces. Several students appreciated the potential to spend time with their American peer groups but also reflected upon the differences when mixing with local peers, "with Americans here...you still kind of feel like you're a little bit foreign. But then when you're with other university friends who are all Spanish it's like you're like delved into the culture more" (Third Party Participant 1).

Third Party students also showed an increased understanding of why they may have had such difficulty meeting and forming friendships with Spaniards. Several mentioned how, due to the structure of Spanish higher education, many of their classmates had studied with the same group for years, growing very familiar with each other while reducing their own desire to meet new people, especially people who would be leaving shortly. They also recognized how spending time

with home country peers was the easier option, "...being surrounded by Americans all the time...you are in the new city with the new language and you're still hanging out with them. The most challenging thing is just getting out there and meeting people" (Third Party Participant 9). This shows a degree of self-awareness and a similar appreciation of the benefits of peers in interpreting and understanding the new things they found while abroad.

Students in **Direct Enrollment** programs also spoke of regrets concerning their integration into their host culture. A common reason for opting to enroll in a direct program versus the other options was, as one participant explained, "a desire not to waste a year abroad hanging out with Americans or English speakers" (Direct Participant 4). Despite this, participants felt that they had not developed their Spanish skills as much as they wanted or expected because of the American bubble they still found themselves in. For example, "I do wish I stepped out of my comfort zone more and made even more of an effort to interact with Spaniards as it was often easy to stay with the California friends on my program" (Direct Participant 2). This sentiment echoes that of the American program students in recognizing a problem with peer groups but not taking action to change it. The additional life and travel experience directly enrolled students had would make it unlikely that they could not imagine ways to counteract this default segregation but may, instead, reflect a dearth of extra time to devote to altering their social situation because of the extra course and bureaucratic requirements they faced.

6.6.3 Dependency on Host Family

In study abroad, especially in non-English speaking countries, *host families* are often seen as an easy way to provide students with a realistic picture of what life is like, as well as to help them gain experience with everyday language usage (Norris & Dwyer, 2005). In the current study participants had a range of options for living circumstances, though some programs required certain housing. Students were asked to reflect upon their living situation and imagine whether any other arrangements may have influenced their time in Spain differently, specifically with regard to their interaction with Spaniards.

A large proportion of those in **American** programs were required to live in a student dormitory with other American students, which many of them appreciated due to the inbuilt support unit and friendship groups. For those in homestays feelings were mixed, as shown by the following two excerpts,

"I feel like here you're learning 24/7 because when I go home they don't know any English." (American Participant 10)

"I think that I have benefitted more from the homestay experience but I think I would negate that option for the comfort of having my own place." (American Participant 12)

These show both the value of constant interaction with locals and negatives for students who have to readjust to living with a family when they had already been living independently for a year or two. Many of these students had only a rudimentary knowledge of the Spanish language upon

arrival, which made adjusting to their new homestay more difficult. When undertaking that adjustment they discussed having to find a balance between being a guest and making their own temporary home, “I don’t want to feel like I’m a guest but I don’t want to feel like—I know I’m not part of the family, but I don’t want to feel like I’m a guest” (American Participant 10). Once they navigated this adaptation many students found their homestays to be invaluable for them in helping to ensure the Spanish they were using was, in fact, Spanish. For example, “you can say ‘pretender’ which doesn’t mean to pretend, it means to try but you can say those types of things to get your point across in a way that wouldn’t work at home” (American Participant 11).

Students in **Third Party** programs overwhelmingly lived in homestays while abroad. There were a few instances where students were not completely satisfied with their host families due to the level of interaction they had,

I think a lot of us students think like ‘oh, we’re going to be talking to our host families all the time’ but I know for me and for other friends we haven’t talked to our host families as much as we thought we would and we’re not around our host families as much as we thought we would be. (Third Party Participant 9)

They describe most host families as having young children and fulltime jobs to occupy their time, in addition to the basic chores they were responsible for, such as doing the study abroad students’ laundry and cooking. For those with older host families interactions were more regular and were highly regarded by the students. One student explained a typical day with her host mother, “we watch the news or game shows and it always initiates conversations about what is going on in Spain and it’ll spark conversations on fashion or food or she’ll come up with ideas of places I can visit” (Third Party Participant 5). Several others detailed how their hosts would help them with travel plans or suggest events around the city that they should attend to learn about the culture.

For students **Directly Enrolled** living with a host family seemed to provide positive reinforcement for language learning once the students had progressed to a certain level of ability and comfort in the situations. However, because many of these Direct Enrollment programs had fairly low-level language requirement for participation difficulties were encountered. For instance, one student thought she would be living with an English speaking family and had an unpleasant surprise when she arrived, “the first week...it was difficult to talk to her and I didn’t realize it would be so difficult. It was really hard to have that connection at first to learn about her culture and way of life” (Direct Participant 1). This student persevered and made a conscious effort to improve her Spanish to begin to form that connection but other students actually decreased their desire to get to know their host family when faced with similar situations (Tanaka, 2007). The norms of socialization in Spain were also reflected in their host families and led to students spending little time at home. As one student explained, “My family was not welcoming of having friends over so if I had chosen an apartment I would have been able to spend more down-time with my friends instead of always having to meet out at cafes or clubs” (Direct Participant 3). The phrasing of this suggests this participant felt this was something unique to her host family when, in reality, it is uncommon for people in Spain to have people over to their homes socially, as they

prefer to meet in the streets and local bars with friends and family. In this instance she may have spent so little time talking with her hosts that she was unable to recognize this norm, showing a missed opportunity for the cultural learning homestays are reported to provide.

6.6.4 Summary

The external outcomes discussed with participants in the interviews for this study showed varying degrees of success. Students in each of the three cohorts met the existence of American peer group bubbles with different reactions. **American** program students felt isolated from locals and instead of accepting responsibility for that placed fault with their programs, one even suggesting the program should make events mandatory to force him to participate. **Third Party** participants felt similar isolation but did take responsibility for it, often pushing themselves to break out of the bubble to engage Spaniards in conversation and build relationships. Their behavior is an example of that suggested by Wilkinson (1998b) who proposed that US students would use their peer group bubbles to share the burden of investigating their new culture between them, assisting them in making appropriate adaptations. **Direct Enrollment** students also felt regret over their isolation and small social networks and though they did not overwhelmingly take action to change this they did accept personal responsibility for it, showing a more advanced maturity than American program students.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced one-to-one interview data from student participants in each of the three main study abroad program types, American, Third Party, and Direct, to answer the second research question, *How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?* This qualitative data may be interpreted in several ways, though taking it in conjunction with the background information detailed in the previous chapter several key conclusions can begin to be drawn.

Importantly, the external outcomes explicitly discussed by participants did not include a large number of those traditionally espoused as benefits of international experiences by study abroad researchers and program administrators. Despite this, a preponderance of the data examined here supports Social Learning Theory (McLeod & Wainwright, 2009) as those students who were able to engage meaningfully with the culture, whether through culture courses, host families, or peer relationships, provided the most positive reflections on intercultural development (Lutterman-Aguilar & Gingerich, 2002). Many interviewees mentioned a belief that they would have a greater understanding of their development that occurred while in Spain once they went back to their lives in the US and could notice how things were different, and it is very plausible that those more traditional outcomes would be revealed at that time.

Many **American** program participants' responses appear to support a relativist paradigm, with many instances of students being 'immersed' in the culture, however the programs left the responsibility for taking advantage of this with the students themselves, not acting to ensure they

had a truly immersive experience. As externally controlled students, they would have likely seen greater success with even more structure, such as through mandatory interaction with Spaniards (McLeod & Wainwright, 2009). Because these students tended to be younger than those in the other two cohorts and, as in Jackson's (2005) study, most were experiencing their first time away from their family, many found it difficult to adjust to a new lifestyle. Their struggles, such as difficulty integrating with the host culture or living with peers, seem to have been exacerbated by the overriding concerns they had to navigate in developing a more realistic sense of what could be possible in such situations or in university in general.

Third Party respondents clearly spoke of program structures that align with a constructivist viewpoint. The intentional intervention from their programs, through administrative actions, program structures, and expectations, allowed these students to create their own learning through their lived experiences with scaffolding as appropriate, potentially placing these students as more internally controlled than their American program peers (McLeod & Wainwright, 2009). This is the same type of support Wilkinson (1998a) identified as necessary to prevent students from disconnecting when met with challenges abroad. Their high levels of reflection in interviews provide evidence of this type of thought being a regular occurrence throughout their time in Spain. Chieffo and Griffiths (2004) reported that students studying abroad had more to discuss in reflections on intercultural attitudes than students who had studied similar courses in the US; abroad students spoke about increased appreciation of culture, tolerance, understanding, and communication skills, while domestic students spoke of classroom life and general knowledge acquisition. In the present study, the former echoes the responses from Third Party students while the latter is reminiscent of those from American program students. This may suggest that students in Third Party programs had an experience that was somehow 'more meaningfully abroad' than the others, giving them a greater variety of experiences and observations to reflect upon. The ability to have this more in depth experience would have been possible because of their realistic expectations upon beginning their sojourn, as a result of their previous international experiences and relevant studies.

In examining **Direct Enrollment** participant responses it is clear a positivist paradigm fits these program structures, however, the flaws in these structures are also clear. The idea that sending students abroad and immersing them in the culture would allow them to experience a range of people, events, and cultural traits may hold true; however, as shown in McKeown's (2009) study where there was no significant difference in the cultural immersion of Direct Enrollment and Island (American) program students, those in Direct Enrollment programs are often unable to have such immersive experiences due to their isolation in living environments and limited communicative skills, in contrast to the opinion of host families, as reported by Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart (2002), that language ability was not an important predictor of the success of host relationships. According to Kinginger (2011) if a willing student does not develop their language abilities abroad it is because they have been unable to meaningfully engage in their host community and due to a lack of guidance in interpreting their experiences and observations. Considering the previous

experience and initial goals of many of the Direct Enrollment students this would seem to explain their experiences, as found in this data.

7 Research Question 3: How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?

7.1 Introduction

The third research question in this study addresses perceptions of program design elements of study abroad programs in Spain, held by both student participants and, importantly, the administrators working in these programs. Specifically, it asks, *How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?* The main focus is on data collected from administrators, which brings a vital and supplementary perspective to balance that of the students' perception of their actual individual development discussed in the previous two chapters. The administrator interview questions were designed, again with reference to Deardorff's (2006) Model of Intercultural Competence, to address the research question, "How do program language, living, and classroom contexts influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?" Where appropriate, student comments collected via the questionnaires and interviews already discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6 will be included as additional background to provide a cohesive picture of program structure and its influence.

Within the US model of higher education, administrators are fundamental to the university organizational structure, holding vital student-facing roles necessary to run each department (see section 2.1.1 for more detail on the role of the administrator in the US context). Administrators, in the context of the current study, are responsible for student advising through orientation, course registration, housing, acculturation, volunteering, and more. The degree to which they are held responsible for each of these areas varies according to which program type they work in.

7.2 American

7.2.1 Background of Administrators

From American programs, 3 administrators participated in this study, 1 through interview and 2 via the online written interview. Administrators who identified as working in American or Island programs had significant experience working in study abroad, particularly in providing support to students, as common in student affairs positions that exist domestically in the US.

The interview participant had over 30 years experience working in one American program in a mid-sized Spanish city and described study abroad as "something that really enthuses me" (American Administrator 1I). The first online respondent worked in international education for over 12 years, beginning their career teaching at a local Spanish university and then shifting to focus on teaching international students. Their duties included teaching students enrolled in an American program with occasional pastoral duties. The second questionnaire respondent had the

least experience in international education but had been working in study abroad for three years, with 6 months at the American program they reported on.

7.2.2 Program Design

The American programs are highly structured, programming the majority of participants' daily lives and study. They are staffed by fulltime professionals and often have courses taught by professors from, or familiar with, American universities and teaching styles. Data collected in this study seems to signify that these characteristics attract young students with little previous international or intercultural experience. Students interviewed spoke in depth about the different facets of their program's design that influenced their time in Spain, often referring to specific staff members who assisted them.

7.2.2.1 Structural Goals

The interviewed American administrator did not report many ways in which her program was specifically structured to meet goals beyond traditional academic components of coursework. While the majority of the course offerings are connected to the Spanish language or culture, this program emphasizes the transferability of its courses and the similarities they have with similar courses offered on the US campus. She discussed the program as an intermediary for students, connecting them with events throughout the city but leaving it to the individual students to take the initiative to attend. Several students, however, expressed a wish that their program made more of these activities mandatory to force them to participate. This links to McLeod and Wainwright's (2009) Social Learning Theory and locus of control where younger students, often more externally controlled, do best in situations where they are told exactly what is expected of them. This program also connects students with Spanish volunteers for language exchange, though it was described as "loose-knit" (American Administrator I1) and optional, meaning many students may not have any such interaction. Student responses again indicated they were unlikely to take such initiative on their own (see section 6.6.1). This supports Ife's (2000) findings that study abroad students often do not know how to make the most of such situations and, as Rivers (1998) suggested, often give up on these interactions.

From the questionnaire responses, one program administrator reported that their offices in the US were solely responsible for pre-departure preparations and the program was not intentionally structured to assist students in developing interculturally. The second questionnaire response also reported pre-departure services from US based partners but detailed on-site orientation for students in Spain while stating that development of intercultural knowledge and skills are seen as fundamental aspects of their academic courses, with attitudes and behavior supplemental.

7.2.2.2 Location

When asked to describe the benefits her city offered study abroad students the interview respondent explained that the city hosted less than 500 American students a year, a low number in her opinion,

allowing students to become more immersed in the culture, “in many cities there are lots and lots of programs and if they go into a store they are spoken to in English and that doesn’t happen here” (American Administrator 1I). The first questionnaire respondent also spoke of the size of the city as a benefit, “it is not a difficult to manage city, but [there is] enough to provide lots of activities in any area of interest” (American Administrator 1Q). The second questionnaire respondent simply mentioned that the program was in a Spanish-speaking city.

7.2.2.3 Living Situation

The administrator interviewed spoke extensively of the living situation of participants, seeing it as a major aspect of study abroad and the main outlet for students to gain valuable experience, “...because we are almost an Island program, the homestay and *intercambios* help students to integrate” (American Administrator 1I). This is in contrast to many responses from students in this program who, as discussed in the previous chapter (section 6.6.3), felt that their homestays were a hindrance to their independence or difficult to adjust to due to unfamiliar or uncomfortable home dynamics. It may also reveal a further difference in perceptions of program design; where students often reported these programs as feeling isolated this administrator described it as “almost an Island program” suggesting she felt there was actually a greater degree of interaction than this program model implies.

One questionnaire response echoed a similar perception of the value of the homestay, though in the context of a program that offered more choice to students. In their program homestay was the best reviewed option, possibly revealing aspects of the students’ personalities where if they were given options, as with this program and in the research showing increases in global-mindedness and curiosity by Hadis (2005), they appreciated the opportunity to be immersed in the culture, but without option, as with the previous program, they were resentful and did not immediately recognize value in the experience. From this, it is possible to infer that compulsory program features are less conducive to the promotion of specific learning outcomes than these same features when presented as individual student selections.

Another program that required students to live in their on-site dormitory received some criticism from student participants, “it made me a lot closer with other [study abroad] students, which was a good thing, but I also think that prevented me from meeting as many locals as I could have” (American Participant 7). Another student from the same program spoke of their appreciation of the residential structure of their program, yet another example of these students still coming to terms with traditional university life while abroad, as Resident Advisors are a common feature of dormitory living.

7.2.3 The Student Experience

7.2.3.1 Motivation

While the American program administrator interviewed was unable to provide indication of motivation for students in her program, those who completed the online written interview were.

They both emphasized the importance their students placed on language acquisition. However, in either questionnaires or interviews, students in American programs did not place major emphasis on their desire to improve their Spanish, showing a disconnect between them and their program administrators. The second questionnaire response mentioned students' desire to learn about Spain and language, which is more in line with motivations reported by students. The inclusion of the importance of transfer credit by one administrator is very reflective of comments made by students in American programs who cited the ease with which they would be able to complete courses toward their major or minor as an important factor in their decision (Praetzel, Curcio, & Dilorenzo, 1996; Salisbury et al., 2010; Trilokekar & Rasmi, 2011)

7.2.3.2 Opportunity for Interaction with Spaniards

The interviewed administrator felt students in her program were exposed to significant opportunities for interaction with locals, both peers and families, through living arrangements. As described, she felt the program location provided benefits to participants through regular exposure to locals, however, within that group there were varying levels of acceptance and willingness to communicate. The first questionnaire also spoke of the demographics of the host city playing an important role in students' interaction, "There are not so many international students or tourists, so students have many opportunities to meet local people and they will need to use the local language to interact with them" (American Administrator Q1). However, because of the typical housing arrangements, students from these programs reported feeling as though they were still unable to meet many locals as they were surrounded by other Americans. In these situations, while the wider demographics of a city may point to low numbers of Americans, the manufactured social structures led to a homogenous daily life for participants, one in which they did not have the cultural experience to be able to utilize positively, as proposed by Wilkinson (1998b), or to avoid as occasionally demonstrated by Third Party students.

Just one of the three respondents stated evaluation of interaction between students and Spaniards was important, while stating the majority of responsibility for the interaction lies with the participant (see section 6.6.3 for student perceptions). This apparent separation from the evaluation of interactions may explain why these administrators seemed confident homestays provided students with significant interactions, while students reported feeling they were lacking, even while living in homestays (Wilkinson, 1998b). A student echoed this belief, "it tends to be the people who really just threw themselves into the Spanish culture to almost an uncomfortable level [who had meaningful relationships with locals]" (American Participant 14). This same student called her program "a compound full of Americans" (American Participant 14) and lamented that despite close proximity to the local university and living with a host family she still felt unable to access those social networks. One administrator explained their program's view toward the homestay, "It's encouraged that students make themselves part of the family" (American Administrator Q2). Many students found it difficult to build enough comfort with their host families to feel this way, which, according to student interview data, made it more difficult for

them to engage in meaningful conversations (Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004; Wilkinson, 1998b).

7.2.3.3 Student Struggles

All American program administrators spoke of some level of struggle by their students. The interviewed administrator gave the following analogy, “I would say we’re Dumbo’s feather, right? They can fly, it’s just they don’t realize it until they start working on it” (American Administrator 1I). She sees herself and the program, as support mechanisms, however, this implies support is constant, both in presence and degree, throughout the students’ stay in Spain, potentially meaning there are limited opportunities for students to be pushed or tested (Vande Berg, 2007) which violates Kolb’s (1983) Experiential Learning Theory, which states learning requires the resolution of conflict between opposing worldviews.

The same administrator noted most students spend their semester traveling throughout Europe, again limiting opportunities to be tested in the host environment and echoing students who reported a strong desire to travel while in Spain. The time students would have had free to explore their host cultures and develop relationships with hosts and Spanish peers was actually spent traveling with other American study abroad students. In their travels, students likely developed in many ways, including travel skills, teamwork, and more, but at the same time they neglected developing Spanish skills or cultural knowledge, as Schmidt-Rinehart and Knight (2004) found in their study of homestay effectiveness, which gathered information from both students and administrators responsible for managing homestays.

A questionnaire response identified some areas of challenge and explained the more distant approach their program took in helping students, “We acknowledge the differences and let them know shock is normal, it just takes time to adjust” (American Administrator Q2). This represents how, even within similar program types, there is a wide range of attitudes from administration on how involved they should be in student lives. The number of students who mentioned challenges in adaptation means they were not isolated incidents but were indicative of situations students experienced. The above administrator statement points to reticence when student issues may call for them “to intervene actively in their learning throughout the program” (Vande Berg, 2007, p. 397). Instead, these administrators focused on academic and welfare support, leaving cultural development to happen independently, if at all.

7.2.4 Administrators’ Perception of Students

While hesitant to make generalizations of study abroad participants the interview respondent made several observations,

They’re always enthusiastic. They try to hide it or disguise it but they’re all super scared the first couple of days until they realize it’s really not as hard as they think it will be. They all want to learn. They all want to take charge of their lives. (American Administrator 1I)

These descriptions, though vague, are reflective of responses from student interviews, especially in discussions of growth in their feelings of self-confidence. Other studies, such as Rivers (1998), Cadd (2012), and Vande Berg (2007) have suggested it would be beneficial to student learning to push them to take responsibility for their sojourns, however they must have support from administrators to set appropriate expectations to do so successfully (Martin, Bradford, & Rohrlich, 1995; Pellegrino, 1998).

A questionnaire respondent provided the following description of their perception, “Some students grow more flexible and value new aspects of life and human relations that they had not taken into account before their study abroad, they also grow more self-critical” (American Administrator Q1). Many students interviewed described growing more flexible while abroad, though often in specific instances and contexts, such as in food or business operating hours, that may not have been long lasting developments. However, students in this study actually reported being less self-critical after their period abroad, becoming more comfortable with accepting they may not always be successful and knowing when it was okay to ask for assistance.

7.2.5 Summary

Administrators in American programs had significant experience working in international education as well as in student affairs positions. Their responses indicated many similar perceptions as data collected from students, such as a desire to learn more about Spanish culture and language and the opportunity to transfer credits back to their degree program. They also showed an understanding of their students’ strong desire to travel while abroad, sometimes missing out on out-of-class opportunities to immerse themselves in their host culture.

Despite these similarities there were, however, many notable instances where administrators expressed different views or observations than student participants. Administrators described location as beneficial with small populations of Americans, a trait they felt enabled their students to meet and form relationships with locals. Very few students reported these connections, describing how parts of the program structures, such as dorm housing or classes with only American students, isolated them from native speakers. The administrators also felt homestays were an important opportunity to integrate and learn practical language skills where students often reported feeling like guests in these houses and finding it difficult to have meaningful interactions (Tanaka, 2007; Wilkinson, 1998b).

The similarities and differences between responses from students and administrators are interesting to examine. Much of the agreement came in the positive aspects of American program study abroad, the differences tended to be more negative, such as the student opinion that they were unable to meaningfully interact with their hosts. This may reflect American program administrator’s feelings of ownership over their centers. Because of their experiences and presumed understanding of the nature of student affairs in US higher education they may see their roles as important professional positions and their programs as traditional education providers, as evidenced through the typical course offerings that are almost identical to those offered on US

campuses. This would make academic issues their priority, implying that a failure of additional program aspects to provide exceptional experiences to their students would not be a typical active focus for improvement. In general, student responses were quite positive, though relatively weak in terms of developing intercultural abilities, meaning there is no overwhelming mandate for these programs to alter non-academic features without wider evaluation of study abroad programs as a whole and a clearly stated goal of developing participants' intercultural competence.

7.3 Third Party

7.3.1 Background of Administrators

There were 5 participants from Third Party programs; 2 in one-to-one interviews and 3 from the online written interview. As with those in American programs, all administrators had significant experience in international education and most held senior positions in their programs, such as Director, at the time of data collection.

The two administrators interviewed were from the same Third Party program in the south of Spain. The first interview subject had ten years experience in another international education organization before moving to this program, where he served for 5 years as a Spanish professor before moving into an administrative role as a program director as he had been the 7 years prior to this study. The other interview subject had 21 years experience in study abroad, almost all in Spain, and worked for over 13 years in this program as Director. The first online respondent from a Third Party program had 12 years experience in the program and was drawn to the career by a passion for international education. The second had 18 years experience in their program, 12 as an academic and 6 as Resident Director, while maintaining a faculty position at a local university. The last questionnaire respondent had 5 years experience as a Resident Director.

7.3.2 Program Design

As discussed, a majority of Third Party students had significant previous international experience, leading them to feel confident about their programs before going abroad. Many evaluated their provider as very efficient in the information they sent pre-departure, "...I was really impressed that they sent [my mom] emails about what she should expect. As much as this is my study abroad experience it does affect my parents as well, so it was really great that they did that" (Third Party Participant 6). Such communication with parents shows a keen awareness of the expectations of the modern American university student.

7.3.2.1 Structural Goals

Administrators from Third Party programs reported significant detail about intentional structures designed to facilitate an intercultural experience for their students. As one interviewee put it, "The overall mission of [our program] is to create interculturally competent young people" (Third Party Administrator I2). She described, in depth, encouraging that goal while working with sending institutions in the US to ensure academic expectations are met and that suitable courses are

available. “We have programs that have a focus because that's also a trend in study abroad...programs have adapted to the demands from the market in the US for what they want when they study abroad” (Third Party Administrator I2). As discussed in section 2.3, these focuses are specifically designed in programs to reflect certain degrees or issues, such as business administration or public health, with a curriculum including core academic courses and, typically, experiential learning through work experience, internships, study trips, or service-learning (Lutterman-Aguilar & Gingerich, 2002; Norris & Dwyer, 2005).

Another program administrator explained a focus on helping students grow “personally, culturally, and academically,” (Third Party Administrator Q2) which they felt led to the development of intercultural attitudes and skills. The first questionnaire respondent stated that their program was designed to facilitate development of intercultural attitudes, knowledge, skills, “and more” but did not specify exactly how. Despite the lack of detail, this sentiment, along with the others, shows that Third Party program administrators were more focused on these extra- or co-curricular aims than those from American programs who pointed directly to academics.

Another growing focus in study abroad programs is service-learning. The program in which the two interview participants work has several such options, regardless of which program ‘focus’ students are enrolled in; “we think it is mandatory for us to do something for the people of the city because the situation, the monetary, social situation is very difficult” (Third Party Administrator I1). He also explained how this community involvement helps students experience and learn about the Spanish economy, which has influence on their social interaction with Spaniards, especially peers who are often seen to be the most affected by the current economy. As one student said, “if I didn’t have the *intercambio* program and volunteering I definitely wouldn’t be as integrated in the culture” (Third Party Participant 5). This is in line with the literature suggesting that students in Third Party or Hybrid programs were more than 9 times more likely to participate in internships abroad when compared with Direct Enrollment students (Norris & Dwyer, 2005). One program offered a monetary reimbursement, *reimburso*, for students who visited local cultural and historic sites, which many cited as a major reason for their visiting such locations, as well as culturally themed events and programs of their own that the students used regularly. Such experiential learning opportunities may help to explain the reflective comments gathered, as discussed in the previous chapter (Canfield, Low, & Hovestadt, 2009; Lutterman-Aguilar & Gingerich, 2002). Almost every Third Party participant referred to their program as a ‘facilitator,’ often connected to in depth discussion of sociopolitical issues such as differences in regional economies and parent-child relationships, showing their lived experiences allowed them to more deeply understand the environment in which they were living and learning.

One program makes an effort to ensure all interested students enroll in a seminar on living and learning in Spain, helping them learn about the specific cultural context, which provides a more nuanced introduction to the site than an orientation program conducted on US soil. This course comes after a 3-day on-site orientation that includes programming to encourage students to identify their personal aims for their period abroad,

We take very seriously student goals. In orientation students write down their goals, [we have them give them] to us in an envelope and then midway through the semester resident staff meet one-on-one with each of our students and say so, how are you doing with that goal? (Third Party Administrator I2)

Again, this reflects a high level of responsibility entrusted to students, visible similarly in other programs. High-level program structures that emphasize the individuality of each study abroad experience seem to make students take the initiative to make their time abroad successful, fostering internally focused development (Engle & Engle, 2012; McLeod & Wainwright, 2009; Vande Berg, 2007). Many comments from American program administrators emphasized how outcomes were largely based on the individual students' personalities without having these same reflective structures to make students actually take this active role. This is also highlighted by Third Party students' comments on how well prepared they felt upon beginning their programs, as they detailed in discussion on pre-departure information sent to them and their parents, and the structured orientation on-site.

7.3.2.2 Location

As with American programs, Third Party administrators described their host cities as relatively small with low English speaking and international student populations. Their locations were seen to benefit from not being major tourist attractions, such as cities like Madrid and Barcelona. One interview respondent was quite passionate in his explanation of the benefits of his city,

The historical city center is incredible. I think it is a real, an actual immersion in the language and the culture. It is a very traditional city. For example, Barcelona is a nice place—I love Barcelona—But other people speak English. If you go to Madrid your life is in the underground. Another, Salamanca is a nice place but there are a lot of American and European students in Salamanca. There wasn't immersion. There wasn't Spanish *en vivo*. (Third Party Administrator I1)

Wilkinson (1998a) also noted the importance of location, citing that “the potential for acclimation problems varies according to the nature of anticipated and unanticipated differences between home and host cultures” (1998a, p. 122). Students from Third Party programs often cited this as their motivation for selecting the program they studied through. As will be discussed in the following section, most Direct Enrollment programs were located in the larger cities, so students intentionally looking for what they felt to be authentic opportunities for cultural immersion would likely select either an American or a Third Party program.

Another administrator highlighted regional distinctions, “Culturally, this region is well differentiated from others, which makes the experience very enriching for the students” (Third Party Administrator Q2). This belief was echoed in many student questionnaires and interviews when they spoke of feeling well informed about specific regional cultures such as those of Andalucía or Cataluña (see section 6.3.2). The smaller cities also tended to be seen as more traditional where, “Families eat lunch together...families all live together...children live at home

until they get married. There [are] a lot of the stereotypical Spanish cultural things that are very reflective of the city but are actually quite real” (Third Party Administrator I2). Such a home dynamic provides students with easier access to cultural norms than they would have in major international cities. Schmidt-Rinehart and Knight (2004) found, in their study on Spanish and Mexican host families, that nuclear families, where the mother was responsible for domestic matters, tended to provide better opportunities for student integration and learning than those with two working parents or single parent homes.

7.3.2.3 Living Situation

Third Party administrators mentioned a range of potential living choices for participants, again reflecting a greater degree of personal responsibility than that afforded to students in American programs. The three main choices were homestay, dormitories with other program participants, or apartments or dormitories with Spanish or other international students. Despite the added options, they still reported that most participants live with host families. As one described it,

As a general rule, students willing to do a homestay are more concerned about the learning aspect of their experience. However, there are a percentage of students who want to live with local students pursuing a more ‘authentic’ experience abroad. (Third Party Administrator Q2)

Echoing this, and previous research by Pellegrino (1998) and Wilkinson (1998b), Third Party students spoke of selecting homestay as they thought they would have regular and in depth interactions with families. While most reported this interaction being as anticipated, resulting in them watching the news and discussing current events with hosts to learn about situations from a local perspective, others found that they did not have much interaction with their hosts, often only seeing them at meal times.

Third Party administrators spoke of the selection process for host families where American administrators did not. Possibly because of the different locations of the programs, these administrators spoke of the economic motivation of some hosts. Many will apply to host multiple students each term but often programs have strict policies not permitting more than one student in each house, allowing students to “see what Spanish family values are, understand what family is, understand food better, they understand relationships, they speak a lot better” (Third Party Administrator I2). This idea of family values was found in research on host parents by Schmidt-Rinehart and Knight: “the *señoras* saw themselves in the role of surrogate mothers, offering personal advice: ‘We try to help them as much as we can, just like we do with our own kids.’” (2004, p. 259). In describing challenges she believes come from living with host families, one administrator spoke about the independence many American students have prior to study abroad,

It’s always been a challenging thing for American students because they leave home so early, so coming back in (*sic*) a family situation, especially a Spanish family with protective mothers, a little over protective, over bearing for some types of personalities [is challenging]. (Third Party Administrator I2)

This is a sentiment expressed by several students interviewed, however they tended to be in either American or Direct Enrollment programs, not the Third Party programs this administrator has experience with.

7.3.3 The Student Experience

7.3.3.1 Motivation

Administrators who completed the online written interview all included language as a major motivation for students in Third Party programs, as the American program administrators did, but also cited many additional reasons. Living in and learning about another culture was the most reported motivation from all Third Party administrators. One representative response is, “To improve language abilities, to live in a different environment, to learn more about Spain and Spanish culture” (Third Party Administrator Q3). An interviewed administrator expanded this to include opportunities for travel throughout Europe, echoing the sentiments of many participants from the previous chapter. “There is a very important motivation, the travel...I think it’s the motivation...it’s the European experience” (Third Party Administrator I1). This emphasis on European travel is actually more similar to motivations reported by students in American programs than in Third Party, though they did report a strong desire to learn more about Spanish culture specifically.

Another administrator said their participants commonly want to “improve their personal skills and acquire international maturity” (Third Party Administrator Q2), in conjunction with a major focus on improving their employability. Many students alluded to this desire in interviews, through discussion of how the experience abroad would help them in their future careers in relation to working or studying internationally or to communication and language abilities. The second Third Party administrator interviewed expanded on this aspect of motivation,

Remember, not a whole lot of Americans study abroad—just the fact that you have a personality to want to study abroad you're probably already more employable than the other 90% of kids in your class...They will definitely have on their radar the fact that ‘I need to distinguish myself from other people.’ ... for a lot of kids the academics aren't important. They don't get credit; they just want to have another tool to make them better. (Third Party Administrator I2)

This comment, along with earlier reflections on the development of specific program content, shows these administrators are aware of the changing goals and perspectives of student participants (Carpenter & Stimpson, 2007; Vande Berg, 2007). These Third Party programs are actively allowing students to exercise agency in study abroad in a way not seen in American or Direct programs in this study. This stance helps to explain the highly reflective comments gathered from students and explored in the previous chapter; they are given more options to direct their own experience beginning even before their arrival in Spain, encouraging them to think more strategically about their learning abroad.

7.3.3.2 Opportunity for Interaction with Spaniards

Again, all Third Party administrators discussed a variety of opportunities their programs support to enable students to have interactions with Spaniards, the majority of them optional. They reported less reliance on the living situation as the main source of interaction with locals than American administrators,

We have several programs that enable that type of interaction: language exchange partners, internships, volunteering, teaching assistantships, homestay, living with locals, local students participating in some of our classes. This level of immersion of the students depends on what they are looking for. We try to make all of these opportunities appealing for them but we never force them to do any of them. (Third Party Administrator Q2)

This array of opportunities to get involved caters to more diverse student types than the typical language exchange partnerships discussed by American program administrators.

Slightly different from the *intercambios* most American and Direct Enrollment administrators cited as the key opportunity to interact with local peers, one Third Party administrator discussed the group of Spanish students they employ to be present in their study center lobby each day,

They're called the *Equipo ñ*. There are, at all times, two Spaniards in the morning, two Spaniards in the afternoon, and they are there to get kids to not speak in English, because that is one of our rules here but difficult to enforce. Usually they're collaborators, we have Spanish kids who also run our orientation. (Third Party Administrator I2)

These students were also invited, free of charge, on cultural trips offered to participants, meaning Americans are able to spend non-academic time with local peers on a regular basis, often for extended periods of time. The success of these initiatives can be seen in student interviews where they spoke more enthusiastically about interactions with host country peers than either of the other two cohorts (see section 6.6.1).

7.3.3.3 Student Struggles

Many of the struggles Third Party administrators reported in their students were connected to the students' academics, not the cultural or confidence challenges seen by administrators in American programs. This, again, aligns with the information obtained from student interviews as Third Party students tended to be older, with more international experience than American program students. One administrator described yet another opportunity for students' interaction with local students in managing these challenges, "We have tutors, local graduate students, available morning and afternoon daily to help students with their class work" (Third Party Administrator Q3). Many students reported using these and other Spanish tutors to help them with academics and said they did not believe they would have been able to excel without them. Students also mentioned utilizing the student support services available through their programs, which many administrators also identified as the most important facet for addressing student challenges. The attention to mental wellbeing offered by these programs is often missing in traditional Direct Enrollment. One

student spoke of facing depression while in Spain, detailing a strong support system that was made clearly and freely accessible, crucially as student awareness of this support is key.

The profile of the typical Third Party participant, as developed through the data discussed in the previous two chapters, is that of a student with a firm idea of their academic and career goals, sometimes facing difficulties in participating in all of the cultural activities they would like while maintaining high personal academic standards,

In my opinion what is more challenging for students is to reconcile these two concepts: learn and enjoy. Some are too focused on learning, missing part of what the new environment is offering to them, others forget that they are still in college and find it difficult to keep up with their obligations. (Third Party Administrator Q2)

Several Third Party students mentioned frustration at not having been fully prepared for the exam structure in their Spanish courses prior to their arrival, though they felt able to investigate this early and easily enough to feel as though they could deal appropriately. As such, this administrators' observation fits with these student descriptions, which led them to feel that they developed flexibility, patience, and perspective while negotiating this challenge.

7.3.4 Administrators' Perception of Students

Administrators from Third Party programs were more willing to offer their general perception of students than American program administrators. Though one questionnaire respondent said they had not been able to see any development in their students and, unfortunately, did not elaborate on why they believed this to be, the others all cited growth in areas such as "maturity, cultur[al] awareness, respect, [and] language" (Third Party Administrator Q1). Several administrators spoke of their students coming to a realization that they must be flexible in order to adapt to different environments, which they saw as a valuable life lesson;

Our students are able to grow personally that they become a little bit more flexible with themselves and with others...they also learn to be a little bit more tolerant with themselves. I can give you an example ...missing a flight. They beat themselves to death over that. It's like, you're not dead, it is a mistake. You lose you're little 20 euro flight but it's called life, what are you going to do? We try to also put it in perspective. (Third Party Administrator I2)

Similar experiences were often mentioned by students as major events in their time abroad that caused them to stop and reflect upon their actions and priorities. From this, "they are more relax[ed] at the end of the semester, they know that they can't control the situation" (Third Party Administrator I1).

Interestingly, several Third Party administrators spoke of students becoming more open minded in Spain where no student interviewed expressed this. One administrator said, "They want to be very, very open minded, very flexible adaptive. Sometimes its no, no, no, no. Sometimes they're yes, oh the Spanish people!" (Third Part Administrator I1), describing the process the students undergo when learning about their host culture, sometimes understanding and appreciating

the differences and other times being unable or unwilling to do so. The same administrator identified American students as “very *comprometido* [translation: politically or social engaged] with volunteering [and] community service” (Third Party Administrator I1). Possibly, because of this civic mindset these students see themselves as already being very open minded and using their period abroad to explore those interests.

Another common description of students growing more curious fits with this perspective, “I think out of that experience they get a lot of intellectual curiosities. They’re much more curious, they’re much more inquisitive. They’re more open. They know what kind of questions to ask. And they can reflect upon them” (Third Part Administrator I2). Many Third Party students spoke of previous international experiences and how they inspired their semester abroad. Those initial experiences may have ignited their curiosity, which the Third Party programs, with high levels of potential individualization, supported (Dwyer, 2004; Norris & Dwyer, 2005; Rivers, 1998; Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004).

7.3.5 Summary

As with the American program administrators, Third Party administrators had significant experience in study abroad, with many holding leadership positions. Their interview and questionnaire responses indicated a much stronger focus on design elements of their programs. Aspects of their programs, such as the intentional focuses and experiential learning opportunities, were seen to help students grow personally and culturally. Third Party administrators emphasized their many optional offerings, such as seminars on living and learning in Spain, which students reported helped them feel well prepared upon beginning their study while the elective nature of these features enabled them to feel a sense of individuality or ownership of their time in Spain.

Third Party administrators also cited their locations as having small American populations, similar to American administrators, though their students agreed on this benefit where American program students disagreed. The additional international experiences of Third Party students, as well as their optional programming on Spanish culture, seemed to have been necessary for these students to leave the American bubble that students in the previous program experienced, despite the largely Spanish communities they lived in. Their other support services, such as local tutors and fully staffed offices, were also seen as successful by both administrators and students in helping participants cope with challenges abroad as they were available to students who felt they needed them but they were not forced.

The motivations Third Party administrators saw in students were focusing on how the experience could develop cultural and other skills that would help them develop more broadly and improve future employment prospects. Generally, these goals aligned with those of the students but there was one noticeable difference in that administrators felt their students were also motivated by opportunities for further international travel, where student responses indicated they were more interested in spending time in their host culture, immersing themselves more fully.

Data collected from Third Party administrators shows they observed their students developing maturity, awareness, adaptability, and increased flexibility. This is very much in line with student beliefs about themselves as they demonstrated a great deal of reflection on their experiences and a willingness to accept responsibility for their period abroad through adjusting their actions to improve their experience.

7.4 Direct Enrollment

7.4.1 Background of Administrators

There were no interviews conducted with administrators in Direct Enrollment programs, largely due to the smaller number of office staff dedicated to visiting US students as most of their offices were responsible for all of the university's international experiences, including sending and receiving students and staff from all over the world. This may be an early indication of a distance between these administrators and their students, something that the data to be discussed in the following sections seems to support. There were, however, 5 responses to the online written interview from administrators in these programs.

Again, many of these administrators had significant experience working in international education, though less than those working in Third Party programs and much less specifically with American students. The first respondent had 4 years of experience and was drawn to the field by their own study abroad experiences. The second had 10 years of experience, though just two in the program they reported on. A third administrator had been in their program for 3 years, coming to the field from experience working in managing international meetings. The fourth respondent had the most experience from all Direct Enrollment responses with 17 years total in study abroad and 13 at their current program, inspired to work in the field by their personal international experiences. The last respondent had 10 years experience in their program and had begun working in the field as a student assistant while completing their own education.

7.4.2 Program Design

As program elements for students in Direct Enrollment programs were less intentional, and in some instances barely in existence. Commentary on the organization was much less detailed and reflective than that offered by American and Third Party program interviewees, both administrators and students.

7.4.2.1 Structural Goals

Direct Enrollment program administrators who responded had a range of different entry requirements, though only one specified a specific level of 5 semesters of college level Spanish, or equivalency to the B2 level (Direct Administrator Q2). Most administrators focused on what their programs offered students once accepted. Four administrators described a combination of pre-departure orientation delivered by sending institutions, sometimes using feedback from past participants to ensure necessary issues were addressed, and short information sessions upon arrival

“...to introduce them to the university, the campus, the city and the country” (Direct Administrator Q3). Just one administrator detailed a more intentional approach to their orientation procedure, using local “student interns who speak English and organize activities for the international students to help integrate them into the university environment. Academic courses also help students learn about Spanish culture, history, language etc.” (Direct Administrator Q4). This program also highlighted the fact that their international office was open each work day, with no closing for *siesta*, meaning their students have a more American experience in being able to find administrative support more easily (Vande Berg, 2007).

These administrators were also notably uniform in responses to whether their programs were intentionally designed to target student development, specifically interculturality. Two administrators said their program was designed as such but provided no detail as to how. Another provided slightly more information on promoting Spanish and other academic skills and student self-sufficiency, with no further elaboration. The next respondent also highlighted the importance of academic development; “our aim is more academic so our focus is language learning, although we also offer courses in many areas that aid in understanding attitudes, customs and behaviors of people from other cultures” (Direct Administrator Q4). This course detail suggests this administrator held the traditional idea that living and studying abroad is in itself sufficient to aid students in developing intercultural skills, not requiring the intentional programming offered through many American and Third Party programs (Ife, 2000; Martinsen et al., 2010; Rivers, 1998). The final administrator offered a similar response, stating that their program was not structured to develop specific intercultural competencies but that many skills were integrated into the curriculum, which would assist students in developing in these ways as a byproduct of their study. Extracurricularly, one student commented on offerings where the participant was quite happy with the social events put on by the university but felt many of them were difficult to fit into her schedule, a possible reflection of the increased workload for these students in studying for courses designed for native speakers.

7.4.2.2 Location

In contrast to many of the American and Third Party programs, several Direct Enrollment programs were in large cities, such as Madrid and Barcelona. Where many administrators, in all three program types, tended to emphasize the small and traditionally Spanish aspects of their cities one Direct administrator described Madrid as follows, “Its location in the center of the country makes Madrid the best place to live, as it allows to travel around the country during the students’ stay in Spain. Its modern public transportation infrastructure is also a plus” (Direct Administrator Q3). This shows an awareness of the desire of many students to travel and the advantages a developed infrastructure plays in that, something echoed in student interviews (see section 5.4.1.1) and can be seen to downplay the importance of the specifically Spanish environment.

Another Direct administrator spoke of the benefits of their location for travel but also spoke of its strengths regarding weather, promoting a visible culture, “People are very friendly, the

great weather fosters an active street life and it is close to both southern Portugal and North Africa” (Direct Administrator Q4). Other comments described locations as “not too big...and easy to get around” (Direct Administrator Q1), possibly showing awareness that many study abroad students are put off by very large international cities and often need assurances that they will be able to decipher and navigate the public transportation systems.

Interestingly, there was just one comment about language exposure and opportunities for cross-cultural interactions and no mention of the number of American students studying in the cities at any given time. This may show that such matters are not a concern of these administrators who, according to responses on program design detailed in the above section, are more focused on the academic offerings available. This is surprising when compared with the statements from several Direct Enrollment students who shared that they chose their program specifically to avoid spending their time with other Americans, but often ended up with them anyway as a result of the bureaucratic and communication challenges they faced (see section 6.6.2).

7.4.2.3 *Living Situation*

Most Direct Enrollment programs allowed their participants to select their own housing, though they highly recommended homestays, believing them to provide “better language acquisition” (Direct Administrator Q1). One administrator reported a vastly different view from almost every other administrator, regardless of his or her program type. They felt that homestay students “keep a bit more isolated from the social living, they spend a lot of time with families, so they do not take advantage of their stay in Madrid” (Direct Administrator Q3). This comment is actually much more reflective of the feelings many students, especially those in Direct Enrollment programs, expressed when they spoke of not being able to socialize with peers because of restrictions host families enforced with regard to having guests and has been suggested in several earlier studies (Martinsen et al., 2010; Rivers, 1998; Wilkinson, 1998a, 1998b) (see section 3.2.2.5).

Two other Direct administrators reflected on student motivation for their housing choices. One said most students prefer to find a flat to share with other students, allowing them “freedom, cheaper accommodation, [and] interaction with other students” (Direct Administrator Q5) while the other described the diverse mix of students in their program,

Those who look for housing on their own tend to be a bit more independent and usually stay for the whole year. Students who spend a year here tend to get more out of their experience as they have more time to become more integrated and greatly improve their Spanish language skills. However, there are also a number of very motivated students who come for a semester and thanks to a wonderful host family, are able to get a lot out of their 4 months here, culture wise and language wise. (Direct Administrator Q4)

This shows an understanding of the varied nature of US study abroad students and that no one housing type will be appropriate or most beneficial for all students (Norris & Dwyer, 2005) as well as an awareness of the differences between internally and externally controlled students (McLeod & Wainwright, 2009) and the fact that both types enroll in their program. Of the few program

comments received from students, the majority focused on potential living choices; many were to secure their own accommodation with minimal, if any, support from international offices. The lower economic investment required of Direct Enrollment programs when compared with American and Third Party programs allows them freedom in not having to require certain types of housing, letting students self-select the most appropriate type. However, because of the lower level of funding there are often fewer administrators available to help students determine which housing type they are actually best suited to.

7.4.3 The Student Experience

7.4.3.1 Motivation

The overwhelming response from Direct Enrollment program administrators about participant motivation for study abroad was language acquisition, interesting as this was not expressed by students in this study (see section 5.4.1.1 for Direct Enrollment Student motivation). Possibly related, they also spoke of students' wider academic requirements for their degrees, which does correspond with some information gathered from students who stated they could only study abroad at a location where they could take courses to specifically count toward their degree programs. These students were highly aware of the employability benefits of study abroad, which the administrators were also cognizant of, "most want the experience of living in a foreign country for personal growth (as well as for their CV) although the great majority also want to improve their Spanish language skills" (Direct Administrator Q4). This motivation is also in line with the older ages and significant previous international experience of most Direct Enrollment participants as they show a strong understanding of what is required after their degree (Paige, Fry, Stallman, Josić, & Jon, 2009; Trooboff et al., 2008).

In contrast to administrators from both American and Third Party programs, no Direct Enrollment administrator cited cultural or travel opportunities as a motivator, which also contradicts student responses which indicated travel as the primary motivation, with interest in culture as a close second (see section 5.4.1.1). This may reflect their often varied professional roles, providing support for all of their university's international endeavors in some instances, preventing them from placing a major focus on their American visiting students. This potential disconnect also helps explain why the majority of the few Direct Enrollment participants in this study reported little meaningful interaction with or understanding of the Spanish university system.

7.4.3.2 Opportunity for Interaction with Spaniards

'Reluctant' was the most commonly repeated term in Direct Enrollment administrator comments on student interaction with Spaniards, "Some of the international students ([e]specially some coming from the US) are reluctant to participate in local activities with local students" (Direct Administrator Q3). As with the Third Party program and their '*Equipo ñ*,' administrators in Direct programs found locals eager to interact with Americans, however they found less reciprocation from their American students, "Spaniards are very willing to participate and we usually end up

with more Spanish students than international students” (Direct Administrator Q4). This may be explained through student comments which indicated that they felt intimidated by the fluency and familiarity with which local students spoke with one another, finding it difficult to insert themselves into their conversations for a sustained period of time (Cadd, 2012; Ife, 2000; Rivers, 1998) (see section 6.3.3).

Other comments emphasized the importance of individual characteristics in students; just as administrators in both American and Third Party programs did, though they offered far fewer ways in which their programs act to encourage interaction. For example, “these [programs] are optional and if the person does not want to try to contact others, it is not so easy that they integrate ([e]specially if their language command is low and they stay with the same people of their same nationality)” (Direct Administrator Q5). Direct administrators often mentioned international students from places other than the US, emphasizing the wide variety of different cultures students could be exposed to at Spanish universities (see section 5.4.1.3 for more on students’ experiences with Erasmus students). Many students did mention interactions with other international students, usually those on Erasmus programs, but they were almost all in Third Party programs.

7.4.3.3 Student Struggles

Direct Enrollment administrators identified two main areas where their students struggle in Spain. The first is with culture shock and adapting to their new environment. One administrator described the mindset their students usually held upon arrival, “They think Spain will be more similar to the US in terms of stores being open 24/7, the customer-is-always-right mentality, same amount of personal space, similar food etc.” (Direct Administrator Q4). Students, to an extent, did support this belief in acknowledging times when they were surprised by aspects of Spanish culture, but they still tended to believe themselves to be open minded and accepting of difference.

The second main area was with their social lives, which includes both developing relationships with locals and using Spanish language skills in real life environments. Administrators saw their students struggle to start and maintain conversations with local students and, in response, offer help through *intercambios* and free Spanish language classes. Within these classes one administrator (Direct Administrator 4) said that professors also make an effort to incorporate relevant cultural themes into their lessons, to help US students recognize them and act appropriately when faced with those situations while interacting with Spanish peers. It does not seem that students interviewed had the option of such a course as they expressed doubt as to how to behave in certain situations due to cultural norms, such as the student who spoke of not knowing whether or not to make eye contact with locals (see section 6.3.2).

Just one administrator said they witnessed their students struggle with the challenges of actually enrolling in a foreign institution such as finding “accommodation, [completing] paperwork, [and their] academic performance” (Direct Administrator Q5). To cope with this, they said their office would “help them find their way” (Direct Administrator Q5) but did not provide detail as to what that entailed. Many study abroad students in Direct Enrollment programs cited

similar issues in adjustment to Spain but none detailed seeking assistance from program administrators, instead turning to other students for help. Wilkinson (1998a) found that the lack of an identifiable and program specific administrator to help guide students through such difficulties had a lasting impact on the overall success of a period abroad.

7.4.4 Administrators' Perception of Students

While just one administrator from another program type, Third Party, identified language gains as a major aspect of student development all Direct program administrators mentioned it. This is in contrast to information from students in these programs who made reference to feeling ostracized from Spanish peers because of their continued lower levels of Spanish proficiency (see sections 6.3.3 and 6.6.1).

These administrators also spoke generally about development of cultural “awareness” (Direct Administrator Q1) and “appreciation” (Direct Administrator Q2) though without elaboration it is difficult to identify what they meant by these terms. Data collected by students refutes these claims, as the few comments they made on Spanish culture were descriptive or judgmental in nature; examples can be found in their observations on regional differences in levels of development (see section 6.3.2) or on Rastafarians (see section 6.3.5).

In agreement with student data, a few administrators spoke of changes in viewpoints and ability to take different perspectives by the end of the period abroad. One administrator said, “students return to the US and then write to our economics or political science professors with [a] much more open-minded view of the world after semester here” (Direct Administrator Q4). In addition to supporting student self-perceptions of their development, this also demonstrates that Direct administrators have contact with faculty and the academic content of their programs, showing that while they may not focus on the development of broad competencies they do have a connection with their curricular strengths.

7.4.5 Summary

Administrators from Direct Enrollment programs had the least experience in international education, especially in terms of direct involvement with visiting US students. Descriptions they provided about the structure of their programs showed that academics were the primary concern and additional immersion or cultural experiences were a result of study, explaining the lack of much additional programming such as that found in Third Party programs. There was a notable difference in the types of reflections and insights collected from Direct administrators that revealed them as holding roles with less direct contact with study abroad students, it is important to keep this in mind when examining their responses and those of their students.

These administrators were different from those in both American and Third Party programs in not recognizing their students having a strong desire to travel when, according to Direct Enrollment students, this was a major motivator. These administrators also failed to mention

cultural learning as a goal, perhaps explaining why their programs did not offer support in this regard, despite their students' desire for it.

The most striking difference among all administrators was the lack of support one Direct administrator offered for the traditional homestay, describing it as isolating and restricting participants' opportunities to meet local students. An uncommon feeling among administrators but exactly the complaint many students, especially those in American and Direct Enrollment programs, cited for feeling homestays were not beneficial.

While these administrators also put the burden of creating relationships with native speakers on the students themselves, they seemed to have a more realistic impression of what that interaction actually manifests itself as. They observed Americans as reluctant to take initiative to attempt such communication. However, a discrepancy emerged as they felt that their students showed major development in their language skills, which would seem incompatible with these same students being hesitant to use Spanish. The idea of the reluctant student fits with information gathered from students, who felt unable to interact with Spanish peers because of their lower levels of fluency.

7.5 Conclusion

Through this analysis of administrator perceptions from all three program types it is clear that there are vast variations in the experiences and training these administrators bring into their roles. The data and discussion in this chapter have served to help us answer the third research question of, *How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?* **American** program administrators had significant experience in study abroad, specifically in the US higher education model while the **Third Party** administrators had even more experience, and many held high-ranking positions, such as program directorships, and **Direct Enrollment** administrators had much less experience, with what they did have being more managerial than educational. Importantly, this last group of administrators seemed to be more removed from the daily experiences of their students, having less direct experience of their students' goals and desires with a greater focus on the structure of the university program as designed by the broader institutional structure.

Another issue that has emerged is where the responsibility for access to and taking advantage of opportunities for intercultural interactions should be placed. Considering the comprehensive student affairs structures present in modern US higher education (see section 2.1 for more detail), it is not surprising that a number of students often spoke of their failure to participate in many optional cultural offerings. However, this data has revealed that the majority of administrators, especially, and quite contradictorily, those in American programs and those in Direct Enrollment insisted the burden is on the student to take the initiative to participate, instead of on the program to force them to do so. The attitudes displayed by Third Party administrators were more focused on the elements of program design intended to enhance their participants' intercultural experiences, seamlessly building in structures to promote the development of the

reflective abilities as seen in Third Party student responses and in Kauffman and Kuh's (1984) early study. This showed alignment with student impressions as they saw their programs as their facilitator, both culturally, with the *reimbursos*, and mentally, with the student affairs support available to them, and described a very experiential learning process (Kolb, 1983; Lutterman-Aguilar & Gingerich, 2002).

This divergence from the traditional hands-on design of US student affairs by many administrators in terms of promoting cultural exposure is further complicated by their adherence to the US norms in instances of academic or emotional stress or pressures where some administrators abroad alluded to supporting high levels of student support and strict demands for academic quality. While this level of support was not seen as necessary for cultural elements it was seen as a key part of the administrative role in other realms, highlighting the discrepancy between many aspects of program design and many overarching claims of study abroad which promote the development of a global citizenry. Further, this high level of support in academic and emotional issues violates one of the requirements of experiential learning as students are not often forced to solve problems themselves (Kolb, 1983).

All three administrator types contributed interesting data for the examination of the homestay, often in both agreement and disagreement with student responses. They ranged from seeing it as the primary outlet for integration and cultural learning to questioning it as being a useful element in any way, instead finding them to isolate their participants, supporting the assertion from McKeown (2009), Rivers (1998), and others that Direct Enrollment does not automatically lead to greater integration.

In general, the varied responses from administrators highlight a few important things. First, the disconnect between student and administrative perspectives in several instances shows that these administrators have often not received the training or time necessary to allow them to understand and apply Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977), as the external versus internal control aspect of it fits quite well in study abroad. The efforts made by Third Party programs to tailor the experience to the individual student, such as an intensive orientation program and solicitation of their goals, seem to have fostered student agency helping them to feel responsibility for their own success and act appropriately to achieve it. The failure to do this in American and Direct Enrollment programs leaves administrators unaware of what their students expect or are capable of, often sticking to outdated stereotypes of study abroad and students, such as the emphasis on academics and language where students are actually more focused on culture and travel. Considering the higher education system these American students are accustomed to (see section 2.1) administrators play a vital role in their education abroad experience and must be able to play an active role in supporting it.

8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to highlight the key findings of this comparison study of the three prevailing study abroad program structures, namely American or Island programs, Third Party or Hybrid programs, and Direct Enrollment in a foreign university, with regard to the potential for development in intercultural competence. Throughout this research several differences in the intercultural development students experience in the program types evaluated have been revealed, as well as differences in the perceptions of administrators responsible for working with these students while they are abroad. With respect to these findings and highlighting the unique elements of this study, this chapter will provide a comprehensive summary with discussion of implications for both intercultural competence development and study abroad theory and practice. Then, the limitations of the study will be included, covering areas that may have restricted the findings this study was able to support. Finally, several suggestions for further study will be included, offering ways in which this research may be used as a foundation for continued exploration of intercultural competence development through the range of study abroad program models that exist.

8.2 Summary of Study

Through review of the relevant literature it is clear that while some specific aspects of intercultural competence development during a study abroad, such as language instruction, are well researched investigations of differences in this development in different study abroad program types and, specifically, comparisons of these outcomes, are quite rare.

This study set out to investigate student perceptions of intercultural competence development in study abroad, specifically through a comparison of the three most common study abroad program models, American programs, Third Party programs, and Direct Enrollment. The specific research questions addressed were,

Do the structure and requirements of a specific study abroad program type (US Center, Third Party, or Direct Enrollment) in Spain, with regard to language, living, and classroom contexts, influence student participants' opportunity for intercultural development?

1. Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?
2. How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?
3. How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?

A mixed methods design, with an emphasis on qualitative data, was adopted through the use of pre and post questionnaires, one-to-one interviews with student participants, and one-to-one or written interviews with on-site program administrators. The student questionnaire instrument was partially

adapted from The Language Contact Profile (Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004) and included statements ranked on a likert scale that were designed with reference to Deardorff's (2006) Model of Intercultural Competence. While there exist a number of meaningful models of intercultural competence Deardorff's models and definition were selected for use in this study. Though a limitation of it is it's Western bent this is overcome for two reasons. First, the sample studied here are American undergraduates, meaning the problem of the Western bias is less pertinent. Secondly, Deardorff created her definition of intercultural competence through a Delphi study, soliciting opinions and insight from a variety of other researchers and administrators, many of whom had developed their own definitions of the term. As such, this definition was deemed appropriate and sufficient for this study and the subsequent framework was also used in the development of the student and administrator interview schedules.

8.3 Key Findings

This section will include a summary of the key findings of this research. Each of these key findings will be detailed with relation to the relevant theory and data collected. First a reminder of the students who tended to participate in each of the program types will be provided. American program participants were younger, many in their first year of university, with less previous travel or Spanish language experience. Third Party participants were about a year older than American program students with significant previous international travel experience, often in Spanish-speaking locations. Direct Enrollment students were similar in age to Third Party students but had slightly less international experience and generally lower self-rated Spanish language abilities.

Students in this study participated in study abroad for a range of reasons though there were a few key drivers prevalent; American program participants were excited to have a new experience and begin university, Third Party students had significant previous international experience and saw study abroad as an opportunity to continue that exploration, and Direct Enrollment students planned to study abroad before even beginning their university study and this longstanding desire is likely what led them to choose programs meant to offer complete immersion in the host culture.

In short, the answers to the stated research questions can be summarized as follows. With reference to the first research question, *Does student intercultural development, as self-reported via pre and post-study questionnaires, differ across program types?* yes, self-reported intercultural development does differ across program types. This was examined through four different categories, attitude, knowledge, behavior, and awareness. Each of the three cohorts (American, Third Party, and Direct) was examined pre and post-study abroad via questionnaire. Much of this development has been determined to be influenced by the students' international experiences and intercultural relationships prior to their study abroad, in addition to their ages and year of study. Much of the development found via questionnaire was not significant, however taken from a broad perspective American program students tended to start with the lowest levels of intercultural competence while Third Party students tended to start with the highest and maintained these strong scores at the end of their sojourn. American program students did show development over the

semester while Direct Enrollment students' scores started out fairly strong but did not increase much and even in many cases showed decreases. This provides further support to the idea that study abroad alone is not sufficient to develop intercultural competencies.

The findings for the second research question build off of the first; in response to the question, *How do students reflect on their intercultural development with regard to the different elements of the three program types?* students in each of the three program types tended to reflect differently on their intercultural development, with Third Party participants showing the greatest in one-to-one interviews students from each of the three program types again reflected differently. These data were found primarily through the likert scale questionnaire items based on Deardorff's ICC framework. American program students were found to be focused inwardly, showing some reflection on themselves but not connecting that to others or their personal role in intercultural interactions. In interviews they also tended to talk about unrealistic expectations for their period abroad. Third Party programs in this study seemed to promote the most intercultural competence development among participants. These students also appeared to be the most engaged; both in the actual study abroad experience and culture and wider to their academic programs, as supported by the fact that only students in these programs submitted photographs to the competition run for this study. As an outcome of this engagement, reflections from these students detailed their more internal focus, questioning their own cultures, beliefs, and orientations to be able to better accommodate those of their hosts and to act in culturally appropriate ways. Direct Enrollment students, alternatively, seemed to be isolated from the host culture, specifically their Spanish peers, and restrained by difficulties in their living environments and with the Spanish language.

In American programs peer group formation was found to have a negative impact, making students feel comfortable while abroad but not tested or challenged to grow. However, in Third Party and, to an extent, Direct Enrollment programs the peer groups in this study had many positive influences. These students were able to, at times, challenge one another to use Spanish more regularly (see section 6.6.2) and to discuss facets of Spanish life that confused or interested them in a safe space, using each other's knowledge and experiences to fill in any blanks and make meaning.

Host families were found to be beneficial for students' intercultural competence development, but not on their own. Many students in American and Direct Enrollment programs lived with host families but reported them as being one of their major challenges, either due to what they saw as unfriendly hosts or to communication barriers due to their limited language proficiency.

These varied levels of engagement and experience with hosts lead to a sense of differing levels of 'abroadness' in the three program types. Third Party students were able to experience a range of aspects of Spanish life, with the support and guidance of their program structures, while American students seemed to witness much of the culture from the outside and often discuss them in classroom environments and Direct Enrollment students lived within these cultural elements but

were unable to make meaning of them, missing a form of local guidance to help them place them into context.

The last research question, *How do program structure and requirements influence student development from the perspective of program administrators and student participants?* was assessed through student and administrator on-site or written interview data, provided an important insight into administrators' perceptions of their students. A vital yet often overlooked aspect of the study abroad experience is the administrators who work directly with the student participants. In this study, administrators on-site in Spain were included in data collection to supplement the student perspective of intercultural competence development with that of these more experienced authority figures. The American program administrators had significant experience in US higher education and student affairs while Third Party administrators had even more experience that was directly relevant to international education and Direct Enrollment administrators had much less experience that was more focused on managerial tasks than international education or student affairs. Possibly because of these variations in training and experience, each administrator group displayed different levels of understanding of their students' goals and experiences. American program participants and administrators agreed on the positive aspects of the experiences but administrators showed a lack of understanding or empathy toward the aspects their students experienced as negatives. Third Party participants and administrators showed much greater agreement and understanding of each other's perspectives. Direct Enrollment participants and administrators tended to disagree more than agree; administrators were predominantly focused on academic aspects while their students largely lamented the lack of intercultural experiences they had.

8.4 Contributions to the Field

Overall there are several important contributions of this dissertation to the field of study abroad research and intercultural competence. First is the addition of a comparative study of study abroad programs types without a sole focus on language acquisition. The two other main contributions pertain specifically to Deardorff's (2006) model. Though designed specifically for US higher education it was not necessarily geared toward study abroad. As such, this study has shown that the inclusion of awareness as a practical element of intercultural competence, and program design and motivation as study abroad specific attributes will serve to further strengthen the model.

8.4.1 Methodological Contribution: Comparison of Three Different Study Abroad Program Types

While many previous studies have focused on student development abroad, and a few have studied higher education administration, this study was unique and successful at incorporating perceptions of intercultural development and experiences in study abroad from both student participants and the administrators who work with them. This is especially important as participation numbers in study abroad continue to grow and the focus in the field will begin to shift from promoting such

experiences to more detailed investigations and evaluation to ensure these sojourns are of the highest quality and supporting the goals they claim to.

Important in this is the fact that this study was able to compare three of the main study abroad program models, as opposed to an abroad group and an at-home group. Another strength of this study is the collection of data from a number of sample sites in each of these three program models. This range of sites ensures that these findings may be cautiously generalized to similar program types, with reassurances that no one specific Third Party program or Spanish university, for example, is uniquely responsible for any highlighted aspect of the experience or development.

8.4.2 Theoretical Contribution: Awareness as an Element of the Intercultural Competence Process Model

As discussed earlier, Deardorff's (2006) Model of Intercultural Competence was chosen as the underlying framework for this study. Within this model, attitudes, knowledge, skills, internal outcomes, and external outcomes are the key areas of importance. While this was all retained in the present research the significance of intercultural awareness was enhanced. This was done for two main reasons. First, while it is agreed that, as Deardorff (2006) says, attitude is a foundational aspect of an individual's ability to develop interculturally, an element of awareness is necessary to make these attitudes, and subsequent knowledge and skills, meaningful. One must be cognizant of the fact that these elements may change within different cultural contexts; if they are unaware of the contexts or the influence of their own and other cultures within them they are unlikely to be able to understand the significance of their development, potentially then having ramifications for their outcome development. Secondly, the element of awareness has allowed the researcher to gain further insight into participant experiences abroad, directly asking how aware they are of cultural surroundings to find whether they have this deeper understanding at the beginning and end of their sojourn.

Relating this to other ICC theories, awareness in this sense is similar to Byram's (1997) concept of critical cultural awareness. He defines this as, "an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (1997, pp. 53). Students in this study, where awareness is noted, may not have always been as active as Byram's (1997) definition of critical cultural awareness suggests, which is the main reason this specific aspect was not adopted verbatim. Instead, in this study 'awareness' is students' realization of those criteria, perspectives, practices, and products and their potential for influencing the situation. It may be that the awareness in this study is at a lower end of the continuum on which critical cultural awareness is the extreme.

8.4.3 Theoretical Contribution: Addition of Program and Motivation as Elements of the Intercultural Competence Process Model

Again with reference to Deardorff's (2006) model, the present study has highlighted the importance of two specific aspects that were not originally included and that make it more suitable for application in a study abroad context. Program, meaning both the intentional design and

unintended outcomes of the design of a specific study abroad program provides insight into the degree of interaction with another culture study abroad participants are exposed to. While motivation speaks to the personal reasoning participants have for their specific study abroad, as that will likely have significant influences over the types of courses they enroll in, the extracurricular activities they engage in, and their willingness to communicate.

These two elements provide a more external dimension to Deardorff's existing model, which is focused on the individual developing intercultural competence. However, this is an important part of being able to engage in such development. The environment in which one is living has an indisputable influence over the extent to which one is pushed to evolve or engage with cultural others.

8.5 Implications

8.5.1 Study Abroad Program Design

Among the implications for practice is the relevance of these findings for study abroad program design. As stated previously, traditionally the focus of study abroad has been on whether or not students participate. With the increasing numbers of participation we are now able to shift focus to the types of programs they select, increasing the importance of these different program structures to effective study abroad advising. As discussed in the previous section, intentional elements to foster intercultural competence development can be very effective in any type of program design. An example of a program that is able to apply the strengths of the Third Party programs in this study in a different structure, specifically an American program, is Engle and Engle's AUCP program (see section 3.2.2.4 for more detail); this shows that program type does not necessarily restrict these models to offering certain types of experiences. With intentional efforts any of the three types investigated here can offer the structural support and challenge necessary to promote the development of intercultural competencies.

Another element of program design highlighted in this study is the type of accommodation offered or required. In this study students lived in either homestays, student dormitories, or in private accommodation, on occasion with Spanish or other international peers. Of these three, homestay received the most attention from participants who offered both positive and negative perceptions of it. Those who spoke of it positively tended to be in the Third Party programs and had higher levels of Spanish language confidence; they often spoke of using their American peers and programs to learn to better understand that which they experienced in their homestays. Those students who spoke negatively of them, generally in American and Direct Enrollment programs, reported lower levels of Spanish language confidence (see sections 5.2.1.3 and 5.4.1.3). There also seemed to be a level of misunderstanding between students and host families with regard to what the relationship was meant to look like; students often expected to be treated as members of the family but were met with hosts who had busy lives of their own that prevented this interaction. More clarity, on both sides, would help students to avoid disappointment through beginning the experience with more realistic expectations. This serves to support homestay as a housing choice

in non-English speaking locations for more proficient language users but suggests it may be a discouraging element for those with lower levels of proficiency. As such, program designers and advisors should ensure students are sufficiently competent in the host language before placing them in homestays to avoid creating an environment of isolation from the host culture.

In study abroad peer group formation does not have to be a negative. Administrators are often opposed to American students abroad staying together, often instituting policies that no more than one student can stay in a single host family or encouraging them not to travel with other Americans on the weekend. However, this study, along with a few others discussed earlier (see section 3.2.4.4), provides evidence that supports the formation of peer groups abroad, when done within a program structure that incorporates challenge as one of its basic premises. As seen with the Third Party students who challenged themselves to speak only Spanish (see section 6.6.2), peer groups can provide a more comfortable safety net that makes potential intercultural challenges less daunting to students.

8.5.2 Practice of International Education Administrators

As can be seen by their prominent inclusion in this research, the present study acknowledges and embraces the important role administrators play in the success of study abroad. They often help students decide whether and how to study abroad, receive them upon their arrival, guide their learning, and help them with any difficulties, alongside many other responsibilities. The findings of this study, that administrator involvement in a sojourn abroad is vital for American undergraduates, is most significant for administrators in Direct Enrollment programs.

Historically, the issue of choice in study abroad had been whether or not to participate. With the many governmental and non-governmental initiatives to increase participation the choice now shifts to selection between the increasing numbers of program structures. For administrators, those tasked with designing study abroad programs, and internationally minded academics understanding these meaningful and telling differences in student types will allow them to more effectively fulfill their duties. Currently, because of the available resources and heavy workloads of most study abroad professionals many students largely self-select into their different program types. While this works well for a number of students even more would likely have successful and effective experiences abroad if they knew specifics about which student types do best in which program type. Data collected in this study supports Engle and Engle's (2003) call for a clear classification of program types (see section 3.2.2.1). This system would allow students to more accurately self-select into a program that suits their needs (Dwyer, 2004) and ease the burden on administrators who would otherwise be fully responsible for advising students in their program choice.

With reference to Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977), the younger and externally controlled students, in this study those enrolled in American programs, did well with general development in programs with strong structures emphasizing academic quality while more externally controlled students, those several months or years older, did best in intercultural

competence development in programs that had the developed structures they were accustomed to in their US institutions but also allowed them more freedom and choice in the focuses of the programs and supported them actively in enabling intercultural interactions. The challenge innate in making such choices and having such ownership over an experience is what pushed these students to grow and learn new attitudes and behaviors that helped them to express culturally appropriate outcomes while abroad. It is this researchers suggestion that if American programs were to add more intentional intervention specifically targeted at culture their students would be able to develop in intercultural competencies to the same extent as those in Third Party programs.

8.5.3 Other Study Abroad Destinations

Though the present study includes only data collected from participants and programs located throughout Spain there are many aspects of it that may be very roughly applicable to other study abroad destinations. First, the three program types investigated, American, Third Party, and Direct Enrollment, exist in most potential host regions. These programs take on broadly similar forms, altered slightly for local issues such as the number of universities in the area, suitable local faculty or staff to be hired, ability and interest of the local community to host American students, and so on. However, it is the main elements, such as living or studying within a compound with other American students or guided reflection on experiences that tend to remain throughout the field. The students themselves are another area of relative consistency between this study and programs abroad outside of Spain. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, there are a few different types or stages of students who opt to study outside of the US. All of these different personality types and stages of student development are likely to be seen in programs around the world, and especially in other European locations, often considered to be similar to Spain in terms of educational development, infrastructure, and safety and ranking among the most popular hosting destinations.

What would not be appropriate would be to assume this study and these findings apply to non-US students. As discussed in Chapter 2, US higher education is unique in a variety of ways, notably in the level of support from student affairs practitioners. This expectation of a high level of support invariably influences student expectations when participating in a sojourn. These expectations likely vary greatly from those held by, for instance, Erasmus students participating in exchanges around Europe as these students will likely already have more experience directly navigating university bureaucracy in their home institutions.

There are also other popular study abroad program models, such as the week or two week long study trip or service-learning abroad, for which these findings may not be directly generalizable. The goals of these programs, often to investigate one specific area of knowledge or to perform a project with a clear outcome, such as building a water irrigation system, do not link with the broader assumed goals of programs in the other three program types, specifically academic attainment or global citizenship.

8.6 Limitations

The methodological limitations of this study have already been addressed in Chapter 4, though they will be restated in sum. The overriding limitation methodologically is the sample size of both student and administrator participants. Steps were taken to attempt to counter this limitation through a second wave of student data collection during the Spring term following the initial Fall data collection process and through the addition of an online written interview for program administrators. However, it is likely that a larger number of respondents may have either provided additional insight into the issues discussed or, possibly, revealed even more features that this data did not present. Still focused on the sample used, in the interview data participation was solicited from volunteers, meaning those who were interviewed were likely among the most engaged and enthusiastic of students. However, the quantity of interviews conducted, to a lesser extent with the lower number of interviews conducted with Direct Enrollment students when compared with both American and Third Party, was intended to combat this and the range of experiences and viewpoints expressed through them seems to support this. An additional limitation was the piloting of the data collection instruments used; due to the population on the researcher's campus, Asian study abroad students were used in most instances. To combat this verification was conducted with American students via distance. This, combined with the interview prompts developed and included after the pilot, was an attempt to lessen any potential difficulties arriving from that and, in practice, seemed to have been sufficient.

The student participants in this study were quite similar in many ways, generally native English-speaking White women aged 19-20, though they did vary widely in previous international experiences, program of study, and motivation for study abroad. However, this sample is actually fairly representative of those students who do participate in study abroad in general, making this data generally representative of a large portion of those students who do currently participate. If initiatives in place to diversify study abroad prove successful it would then be worthwhile to replicate a study such as this to see how changes in the student body may influence intercultural competence development in the various study abroad program types.

Again regarding the sample used, as seen through the solicitation of photographs, those students who did opt to participate may have been those already more interculturally competent. Their engagement demonstrated by opting to participate may signify they were already significantly different from their peers who did not opt to participate.

Beyond the methodology, there is an additional limitation of the study. Clearly, this research was conducted without any intentional measurement of language development during the students' period abroad. While this was done intentionally, because of the abundance of previous literature examining language development in a variety of study abroad contexts and the lack of literature focused on other aspects of development during sojourns in non-English speaking locales, an exploration of the language of participants both upon arrival and at the end of their study may have shed further light on the situation.

8.7 Suggestions for further study

Though it may be seen as a limitation, this conclusion holds that it was important and useful to exclude language acquisition as determined through traditional language assessment from this study. Instead, here language was examined in a more practical sense, relying on student self-reports of language use and importance. This allowed us to explore the idea and concept of intercultural competence without the requirement of fluency in a second language. However, to continue the development of this research it may be appropriate for future studies to supplement this dissertation with similar program evaluation that includes language growth, measured traditionally, as an additional component.

It may also be appropriate to begin comparison studies of like program types in different locations. This would allow us to confirm whether it is indeed the distinct program types and elements that lead to differences in opportunity for intercultural competence development or if in fact these differences are somewhat a product of the host environments. As this study was restricted to only the Spanish context these program types may interact differently with different types of host cultures. For example, an American program may provide greater opportunities for facilitated integration with host country nationals in an English speaking country.

Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Background information:

This research focuses on the development of intercultural competencies of U.S. college students during their semester abroad in Spain. I aim to compare a cohort of students directly enrolled in a Spanish institution with another cohort enrolled in a U.S. university satellite campus/study center, and a third cohort enrolled through a third party program.

Researcher:

Jayne Scally, a doctoral student in the Department of Education at the University of York, is conducting this study. Jayne will be the primary investigator, and will personally collect all data during this study.

Participant Procedures:

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to do one or more of the following:

- Pre-Study Language Contact Questionnaire prior to your semester in Spain
- Post-Study Language Contact Questionnaire at the end of your semester in Spain
- Photo submission depicting various aspects of your stay in Spain
- One on one interview, not to take more than 1 hour, addressing various intercultural aspects of your time abroad. This interview will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher

Risks of Participation in the Study:

There are no known risks associated with this research project other than possible discomfort with the following:

- You will be asked to be completely honest about yourself when completing the questionnaire and interviews
- You will be asked questions about personal experiences as a study abroad student

Benefits of Participation in the Study:

Possible benefits of participation in this project are:

- You will have an opportunity to reflect on your experiences
- You will contribute to knowledge about the impact of different structures of study abroad programs
- You may help to improve your program for future participants

I understand that I am being invited to participate in a research study conducted by Jayme Scally (University of York).

I understand that the purpose of this research study is to explore, identify, and compare the development of intercultural competencies in three program types during one semester study abroad in Spain.

I understand that I may decline to answer any questions and that I may withdraw my agreement to participate at any time during the interview or for up to seven days after completion of the interview. At that time, I know that I may indicate whether or not the data collected up to that point can be used in the study, and that any information I do not want used will be destroyed immediately.

I understand that the interview will be audio recorded, and this recording will later be transcribed. I understand that I will have an opportunity to comment on the written record once it has been produced, if I so desire. I understand that the data will be handled and stored in a manner which ensures that only the researcher can identify me as their source. I understand that I am being offered anonymity in any written report, article or oral presentation that draws upon data from this research study, and that none of my comments, opinions, or responses will be attributed to me.

I understand that this research study has been reviewed and received ethics approval following the procedures of the Department of Education, University of York.

Do you agree to participate in the study? Yes ___ No ___

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B: Letter Sent to Program Sites

Jayne Scally
University of York
Heslington, UK

June 13, 2013

XX

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Dear XX,

My name is Jayme Scally, and I am an Education PhD student at the University of York, England. As an American with an interest in international education, my degree research focuses on the development of intercultural competencies of U.S. college students during their semester abroad in Spain. I aim to compare a cohort of students directly enrolled in a Spanish institution with another cohort enrolled in a U.S. university satellite campus or Study Center.

I am therefore writing to ask your consent to include some of your students in this research. Upon completion of the study, I would be happy to provide your institution with my full findings as well as offer access to all anonymised raw data. The data obtained may be useful to you in a variety of ways including future advertising, orientation and program assessment. It will also provide quantitative and qualitative support of the value of study abroad. The questions asked may also encourage your students to think reflectively about their experiences.

My plan would be to distribute a questionnaire, either online or in person, to your students at the beginning and end of their program and, additionally, to individually interview between 5-8 volunteers on-site during their stay abroad. I am also interested in possibly interviewing your program administrators to investigate their perception of the students' development. This research will be kept completely anonymous, both for the student participants and the institutions themselves, and will comply fully with the British Educational Research Association Ethical guidelines as adopted by the University of York Education Department.

I have attached copies of my questionnaires for your examination. They may also be found online at:

Pre-Study:

<https://docs.google.com/a/york.ac.uk/spreadsheet/viewform?formkey=dDIFQkp rLXpmNWIDMGdRVWZRcE94amc6MQ#gid=0>

Post-Study:

<https://docs.google.com/a/york.ac.uk/spreadsheet/viewform?formkey=dHRJN3 pIU2FPUGpMY2JOVjItRmIzOHc6MQ#gid=0>

If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me at js1276@york.ac.uk or my supervisor Dr. Beatrice Szczepek Reed at beatrice.szczepek.reed@york.ac.uk. I would be extremely grateful if you could inform me of your ability to assist with this research. Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Jayne Scally
University of York

13. Do you currently have any significant intercultural relationships? (ex. Friends/family/coworkers from another country, religion or ethnic group)
- No
 - Yes: What is their connection to you?: _____
14. What is your primary motivation for participating in this study abroad program?
- Interest in Spanish culture
 - Fulfilling foreign language requirement
 - Opportunities to travel
 - Improve future employability
 - Other: _____
15. In the year prior to the start of this semester, on average, how often did you try to *communicate* with native or fluent Spanish speakers in Spanish:
- never a few times a year monthly weekly daily
16. In the year prior to the start of this semester, on average, how often did you try to speak Spanish to:
- a. instructor/ classmates outside of class

never a few times a year monthly weekly daily
 - b. friends who are native or fluent speakers of Spanish

never a few times a year monthly weekly daily
 - c. service personnel (e.g. bank clerk, cashier)

never a few times a year monthly weekly daily
17. In the year prior to the start of this semester, on average, how often do you estimate you did each of the following activities:
- a. watch Spanish language television or movies

never a few times a year monthly weekly daily
 - b. read Spanish language newspapers, magazines, or novels

never a few times a year monthly weekly daily
 - c. listen to songs in Spanish

never a few times a year monthly weekly daily
18. For each of the following groups of people you have had an intercultural experience with please rate those experiences as neutral, positive or negative:
- d. Friends: N/A Neutral PositiveNegative
 - e. Classmates: N/A Neutral PositiveNegative
 - f. Professors: N/A Neutral PositiveNegative
 - g. Other university members (ex. Administrators):

N/A Neutral PositiveNegative
 - h. Roommates: N/A Neutral PositiveNegative
 - i. Spaniards: N/A Neutral PositiveNegative

19. Please rank each of the following statements as they apply to you with 0 meaning it does not apply at all and 5 meaning it applies very closely:

a. It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures

0 1 2 3 4 5

b. I try to understand differences in behavior, values, and attitude between myself and others of different backgrounds

0 1 2 3 4 5

c. I enjoy interacting with individuals from a culture that is unfamiliar to me

0 1 2 3 4 5

d. I know the cultural values, norms, and taboos of the Spanish culture

0 1 2 3 4 5

e. I am able to contrast aspects of the Spanish language and culture with my own

0 1 2 3 4 5

f. I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds

0 1 2 3 4 5

g. I change my verbal (eg accent, tone) and non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural interaction requires it

0 1 2 3 4 5

h. I monitor my own behavior and its impact on my learning, growth and on others

0 1 2 3 4 5

i. I feel comfortable interacting in a variety of different social situations

0 1 2 3 4 5

j. I realize how varied situations require me to adapt my interactions with others

0 1 2 3 4 5

k. I feel differences and similarities in all languages and cultures are important

0 1 2 3 4 5

l. I want to become as bicultural as possible

0 1 2 3 4 5

m. I want to become as bilingual as possible

0 1 2 3 4 5

20. How do you define Spanish culture? How does it differ from American culture?

21. Please list all the Spanish courses you will be taking this semester (the semester you are abroad). (This includes Spanish language courses as well as content area courses).

Course name	Brief description	Language taught in
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Appendix D: Student Post-Study Questionnaire

Post-Study Language Contact Profile

The responses that you provide in this questionnaire will be kept confidential. The information you provide will help us to better understand the backgrounds of students who are studying Spanish in various contexts. Your honest and detailed responses will be greatly appreciated. Thank you for your cooperation.

Name: _____

Email: _____

2. Which situation best describes your living arrangements in Spain during the last semester? **Tick one box.**
- I lived in the home of a Spanish-speaking host family
 - a. List the members of the family (ex. Mother, father, brother etc.)
 - 1. _____ Did they speak English? Yes No
 - 2. _____ Did they speak English? Yes No
 - 3. _____ Did they speak English? Yes No
 - 4. _____ Did they speak English? Yes No
 - b. Were there other nonnative speakers of Spanish living with your host family?
(i.e. other study abroad students)
Circle one: Yes No
 - I lived in the student dormitory.
 - a. I had a private room.
 - b. I had a roommate who was a native or fluent Spanish speaker.
 - c. I lived with others who are NOT native or fluent Spanish speakers.
 - I lived in a room or an apartment.
 - a. Alone
 - b. With native or fluent Spanish speakers.
 - c. With others who are NOT native or fluent Spanish speakers.
 - Other. Please specify: _____

For the following items, please specify: How many days per week you typically used each language in the situation indicated. **Circle the appropriate number.**

3. This semester, outside of class, how often did you speak in **English**?
None Less than 1 hr/day 1 hr/day 2-3 hrs/day 3-4 hrs/day More than 4 hrs/day
4. This semester, outside of class, how often did you use **Spanish** for each of the following purposes?
- a. For superficial or brief exchanges e.g., greetings, directions, “What time is the train?”, “Please pass the salt,” “I’m leaving,” ordering in a restaurant
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
 - b. Extended conversations with my host family, Spanish roommate, friends, or native speakers of English with whom I speak Spanish.
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days

5. This semester, outside of class, how often did you try to speak **Spanish to**:
- Instructors
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
 - Friends/classmates who are native or fluent Spanish speakers
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
 - Friends/classmates who are native or fluent speakers of English
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
 - Host family, Spanish roommate, or other Spanish speakers in the dormitory
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
 - Service personnel (in stores, restaurants, bars, etc.)
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
6. This semester, outside of class, how much time did you spend doing each of the following activities in **Spanish**?
- Watching Spanish language television or movies
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
 - Reading Spanish language newspapers, magazines, or novels
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
 - Listening to songs in Spanish
Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days
7. Have you developed any significant intercultural relationships during your time in Spain? Do you expect to continue these relationships after your return to the U.S.?
- No
 - Yes, but I do not expect them to continue
 - Yes, I do expect them to continue
8. Please rate (neutral, positive or negative) the intercultural experiences you have had with the following groups of people while in Spain:
- Friends: N/A Neutral Positive Negative
 - Roommates: N/A Neutral Positive Negative
 - Host family: N/A Neutral Positive Negative
 - Classmates: N/A Neutral Positive Negative
 - Professors: N/A Neutral Positive Negative
 - Other university members (ex. Administrators):
N/A Neutral Positive Negative
 - Other Spaniards not directly related to program:
N/A Neutral Positive Negative

9. Please rank each of the following statements as they apply to you with 0 meaning it does not apply not at all and 5 meaning it applies very closely:
- a. It is important to me to be able to interact with and learn from different languages and cultures
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. I try to understand differences in behavior, values, and attitude between myself and Spanish culture
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. I enjoy interacting with locals from a culture that is unfamiliar to me
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - d. I know the cultural values, norms, and taboos of the Spanish culture
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - e. I am able to contrast important aspects of the Spanish language and culture with my own
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - f. I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - g. I change my verbal (eg accent, tone) and non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural interaction requires it
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - h. I monitor my own behavior and its impact on my learning, growth and on my hosts
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - i. I feel comfortable interacting in a variety of different social situations
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - j. I am conscious of the importance of adjusting my behavior to correspond with the expectations of varied cultural and social situations
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - k. I feel it is important to value the many differences and similarities in all languages and cultures
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - l. I want to become as bicultural as possible
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - m. I want to become as bilingual as possible
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - n. I often wanted to return home
0 1 2 3 4 5
 - o. I felt I was not learning much
0 1 2 3 4 5

10. How would you describe Spanish culture? Does it differ from American culture?

11. Please list all the courses you have taken this semester.
(This includes Spanish language courses as well as content area courses).

Course name

Language taught in

Appendix E: Student Interview Schedule

Interview Questions:

1. What originally led you to participate in a semester abroad? Why did you choose Spain?
2. Please think back on your whole experience since you arrived in Spain.
 - a. What was the most memorable experience you had while studying abroad? What did you learn from it?
 - b. What was the most challenging experience you had while studying abroad? What did you learn from it?
3. What aspects of the culture of Spain do you feel you understand better now than you did upon arrival? Ex. people, values, culture, economy, politics, society, environment etc.
4. Do you feel like you came into this program fully prepared for the experience? Was there anything you wish you had more information about before your arrival?
Ex. culture, language skills, academic system etc.
5. What was your living situation in Spain? Ex. Dormitory, host family, apartment.
 - a. Is that the situation you originally wanted?
 - b. Did this influence any aspects of your stay?
 - c. Would you pick the same living situation now if you could do it over?
6. Do you feel like you had the opportunity, if you wanted, to participate in a wide range of social situations while you were here?
 - a. If so, what were they?
 - b. How did you feel in these situations?
7. Was there ever a time where you did not know what to do in a certain situation?
Ex. In class, with host family, with roommates, with strangers, etc.
 - a. Can you please describe the situation?
 - b. How did you figure out what the appropriate response/solution was?
8. How would you describe your interaction with Spaniards during your time abroad?
 - a. Are you happy with this level of interaction?
 - b. What do you think influenced this level of interaction?
 - c. If you wanted to, in retrospect, how would you change this?
9. Was there any time where you were required to develop tolerance or flexibility in order to adapt to the situation? What did you learn?
Ex. Housing, diet, customs, transportation...
10. Was there any time where you believe your values were questioned?
Ex. Criticisms about the U.S., political issues, habits, norms, stereotypes.
 - a. How did you handle the situation?
 - b. Were you able to discuss this difference with the other person/people?

Appendix F: Administrator Interview Schedule

Standard Procedures:

The participant will be interviewed in a neutral, quiet place for approximately 45 minutes. The interviewer will give each participant an informed consent form, which is to be signed before any questions are asked. Once consent is given, the interviewer will turn on the digital voice recorder, and start the interview.

Questions may be asked in any sequence, and prompts may be added as they are needed. Upon completion of the interview, the interviewer will thank the participant for their contribution, and turn off the digital voice recorder. Finally, the interviewer will thank them for their time and contribution to the research project.

Interview Questions:

To be read to administrator: This research focuses on the development of intercultural competencies of U.S. college students during their semester abroad in Spain. I aim to compare a cohort of students directly enrolled in a Spanish institution with another cohort enrolled in a U.S. university satellite campus/study center. For these purposes, intercultural competence is defined as “knowledge of others; knowledge of self; skills to interpret and relate; skills to discover and/or interact; valuing others’ values, beliefs and behaviors; and revitalizing one’s self” (From Deardorff, 2006).

1. How long have you been working in study abroad? In this program specifically? What drew you to this career?
2. What do you think this location can do for students? Is there anything about Sevilla/Valencia specifically that makes it an ideal location for study abroad?
3. What does your program do to ensure students are fully prepared for participation and living in Spain? Ex. Pre-departure, onsite facilities, etc.
4. What motivation do you see most often for the participants in your program? Is there anything that tells you why they choose Spain specifically?
5. Are students able to select their housing option themselves? Have you noticed any differences between the students who choose to stay with host families and those who live in a student dormitory?
6. What attitudes do you see in students who participate in your program? Ex. Openness, curiosity, respect.
7. The next three questions address some of the major elements of intercultural competence and ask for your own observations of students’ development in these areas while participating in the program.
 - Other than classroom based learning what knowledge have you seen students gain? Such as cultural specific information or a greater ability to see the world from others’ perspectives.
 - Have you seen growth in any skills, such as listening, analyzing, relating to others etc.
 - How do their behaviors change? Are they more flexible, more adaptive, more empathic etc.?

8. Is your program structured to specifically address development of any of these themes? (Attitudes, skills, behaviors, knowledge.)
9. What degree of interaction with Spaniards is common in your program? Do you think this is adequate in terms of helping students develop intercultural communication? Are students ever reluctant to participate in these opportunities? How do you encourage them to join in?
10. What types of experiences do your students often cite as being the best of their time in Spain? The worst?
11. What kinds of experiences do students come to you with concerns about? How do you help them come to a resolution?
12. What is the biggest change you typically see in your students? Do you have any contact with alumni after they complete the program? Have any of them reported using what they learned during the experience after they have returned to the U.S.?

Thank you statement:

Thank you so much for sharing your experiences with me today. It has been very valuable in strengthening my understanding about the ways that the structure of a study abroad program can influence the participants' development of intercultural competencies. If you should later find that you would like to add something to our discussion that you may not have thought of today, please contact me. I would be glad to talk with you about your experiences further. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix G: Administrator Online Written Interview

Dear Study Abroad Administrator,

I would appreciate if you could take a few moments to answer the following 10 questions that pertain to your study abroad program and your personal experiences with student participants.

This research focuses on the development of intercultural competencies of U.S. college students during their semester abroad in Spain. I aim to compare a cohort of students directly enrolled in a Spanish institution with another cohort enrolled in a U.S. university satellite campus/study center.

For these purposes, intercultural competence is defined as “knowledge of others; knowledge of self; skills to interpret and relate; skills to discover and/or interact; valuing others’ values, beliefs and behaviors; and revitalizing one’s self” (From Deardorff, 2006).

Thank you!

Jayne Scally

jayne.scally@york.ac.uk

1. Which program category do you consider your program to fall under?
 - a. Direct Enrollment: Traditional Direct Enrollment into the local university or enrollment facilitated by the specific university.
 - b. U.S. Study Center: Include those sponsored by a U.S. college or university, or by a consortium of U.S. colleges or universities. Programs are designed to allow students to study in a foreign environment while remaining within a U.S. academic framework.
 - c. Third Party/Hybrid: Both for-profit and non-profit third-party providers that assist participants with logistics such as course registration and housing arrangements. Courses may be taken in study center or at local university.
 - d. Other
2. How long have you been working in study abroad? In this program specifically? What drew you to this career?
3. What do you think your location can do for students? Is there anything about the city that makes it an ideal location for study abroad?
4. What does your program do to ensure students are prepared for participation and living in Spain? Ex. Pre-departure, onsite facilities, etc.
5. What motivation do you see most often for participants in your program? Ex. To improve language abilities, fulfill a requirement, improve their employability, etc?
6. Are students able to select their housing option themselves? Have you noticed any differences between the students who choose to stay with host families and those who live in a student dormitory or those in apartments?
7. What type of evolution do you see in the attitudes, skills, knowledge, or behavior of your students? Ex. Curiosity, respect, cultural specific information, flexibility, empathy, listening, analyzing, relating to others etc.
8. Is your program structured to specifically address the development of any of these themes? Themes: Attitudes, Skills, Behaviors, Knowledge
9. What level of interaction with Spaniards is common in your program?
10. Are students ever reluctant to participate in these opportunities? (How) Do you encourage them to join in?

11. What aspects of study abroad do you see students struggle with most often?

12. (How) Do you help them come to a resolution?

Thank you so much for sharing your experiences with me today. It will be very valuable in strengthening my understanding about the ways that the structure of a study abroad program can influence the participants' development of intercultural competencies.

If you should later find that you would like to add something to our discussion that you may not have thought of today, please contact me at jayne.scally@york.ac.uk. I would be glad to talk with you about your experiences further.

PHOTO CONTEST

Look through the photos you've taken during your time in Spain. If you think any of them fit in either of the categories listed below please enter our Intercultural Photo Contest! You may submit multiple photographs as long as the category and rationale for that category choice is clear!

Submit photos to
interculturalfotos@gmail.com

1st Prize \$50
2nd Prize \$25
3rd Prize \$15

1. Cultura, costumbres, y tradiciones

What did you find intriguing, unexpected or even shocking about the people and their culture? What did you learn?

Ex. Ceremonies, markets, holidays, local festivals etc.

2. Explorando mi nuevo país

What was local life like? How did you adapt to be comfortable with the locals? How did seeing sites, taking excursions, and exploring the locale help you better understand the country's people, history, religion, politics, or culture?

Ex. Housing, shopping, cooking etc.

3. Como un español...

How did you behave differently in Spain than you would in the U.S.? What did you do to stretch yourself? What new skills and characteristics did you develop?

Ex. Using maps, new transportation, engaging with locals etc.

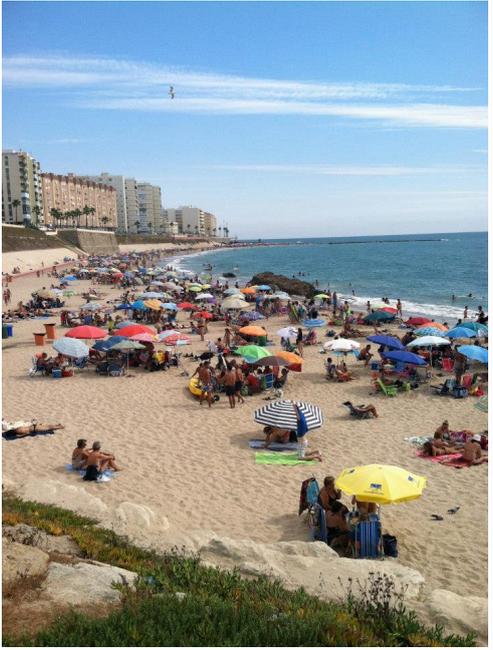
Deadline to submit is
February 28, 2014

Entry Guidelines

- All entries must be original photographs taken by or featuring you while participating in your study abroad program
- Photos should be representative of your *personal* study abroad experience and time in Spain
- Make sure to include a short description of why you feel it represents the theme you select (approx. 100 words)
- Please include a title and the location where the photo was taken

Appendix I: Photo Submissions

Participant	Category	Text	Photo
P1	Cultura, costumbres, y tradiciones:	I would name this photo "Passion." This photo was taken on the streets of Sevilla. For me this picture embodies the passion of the Spanish people. They have such a love of life that is difficult to capture in a photo but I feel that this woman's expression gets fairly close.	
P1	Explorando mi nuevo país:	This photo was taken on the streets of Sevilla. I would entitle it "Carriage in Sevilla". This photo captures a scene that is very common in Sevilla. This was a sight that I and many other study abroad students saw on a day to day basis. This photo is a reminder that I should not have taken that beauty for granted.	
P2	Explorando mi nuevo país	- Taken in Sevilla, España This photo was taken in the Plaza de España. Not only is this a tourist attraction, but also a place for locals to hang out. I met and talked to several locals and several tourists as well during my frequent trips to this beautiful plaza. I also took a trip to the plaza's museum and learned a lot about the history of the building and why it is shaped the way it is.	 Los abrazos de la plaza

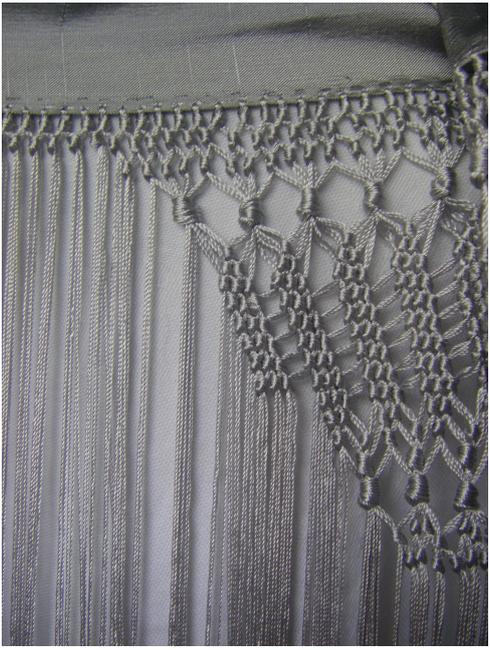
P2	Cultura, costumbres, y tradiciones	<p>- Taken in Cádiz, España</p> <p>This next photo doesn't actually capture the cultural difference that I want to talk about, because the major difference here is the nudity. I was shocked at the amount of people wearing significantly less clothing, smaller articles of clothing, or no clothing at La playa de Cortadura in Cádiz. It was one of the bigger cultural differences that stood out to me.</p> <p>Everyone seemed very carefree and unconcerned with how much skin was showing or how they looked in their bathing suit, which was actually refreshing in a way.</p>	 <p>Descubierto</p>
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P3	Explorando mi nuevo país	<p>Puente de la luna, Sevilla, Spain</p> <p>The first photo, the Triana Bridge in Sevilla, represents so much more than just a beautiful bridge. Firstly, it connects el barrio Triana with el centro de Sevilla. It is the bridge that my group of friends met at to talk and drink by the river on warm nights. It is also the bridge that I traveled across everyday to leave the rush of the city and train with my swim team that was located in Triana.</p>	
P3	Cultura, costumbres, y tradiciones	<p>Los Banos del Alcázar, Sevilla, Espana</p> <p>The second photo, los banos en el Alcázar de Sevilla, shows the intricacy and the beauty of something as simple as the bathrooms in this ancient palace. This is the oldest ancient palace still in use in Europe and is representative of the mezcla of old and new in Sevilla. The progression of the pools of water are representative of my time abroad as I was able to "bathe" deeper and deeper into the rich culture of this city.</p>	

P4	Cultura, costumbres, y tradiciones	<p>Photo taken in La Boqueria in Barcelona. This picture represents one of the most important parts of Spanish culture, jamon iberico. This incredibly delicious ham is everywhere throughout Spain. The pigs are bred in la dehesa, or the Mediterranean landscape also known for its abundance of olive trees. I feel that this picture is a good representation of Spain and the culture of Spain because it shows the ham legs that are oh so famous throughout the country.</p>	
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P5	Cultura, costumbres y tradiciones	<p>One evening I was walking near the Catedral de Sevilla and almost walked past this sign in front of a bar. "Life is Made of Little Moments, 0€" in my experience here, perfectly describes the mentality of the Sevillanos. The people don't wait for a reason to go out with friends, enjoy a drink or casually stroll among the streets of this enchanting city. They enjoy life on a daily basis, which is priceless.</p>	 <p>"Little Moments" ~Sevilla, España</p>
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P5	Cultura, costumbres y tradiciones	<p>"Olé!" ~Sevilla, España</p> <p>Despite all the controversy surrounding bullfighting, the sport still manages to fill the ring and provide entertainment for die-hard fans. I didn't particularly enjoy the bullfight, but it was a once-in-a-lifetime experience and I am glad I now have my own perspective from this first-hand experience.</p>	 <p>"Olé!" ~Sevilla, España</p>
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P5	Explorando mi nuevo país	<p>My host mom is very talented for a number of reasons including her abilities to knot mantones by hand. Often when I come home she will be sitting in the living room watching television and working on one of these beautiful shawls draped over the back of a chair. I am lucky to have one of her mantones to treasure forever. There is an incredible amount of work that goes into each piece and she sells them so fellow Sevillanos can wear them at Sevilla's biggest festival: La Feria.</p>	 <p>"Mantón" ~Sevilla, España</p>
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P5	Explorando mi nuevo país	<p>I've come across this painter a few times throughout my time so far in Sevilla and his paintings are my favorites out of all the street art I've seen here. He sits on the same corner every time near the Alcázar with a great view of La Giralda, orange trees and people walking by. He captures images of Sevilla with vibrant colors and beautiful technique.</p>	 <p>"El Pintor" ~Sevilla España</p>
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Appendix J: Questionnaire Free Response Analysis Codes

- Way of Life
 - Siesta
 - Laid back
 - Relax
 - Concept of Time
 - Enjoying Life

- Visual and Verbal Interactions
 - Social Interaction
 - Appearance
 - Family/Friends
 - Greetings
 - Activity
 - Language
 - Money/Material culture

- Substances
 - Alcohol/Cigarettes/Drugs
 - Food

- Traditional Aspects of Life
 - Tradition
 - Gender Roles
 - Religion

- Geographical and Political Culture
 - Regional
 - Pride
 - Patriotism/Politics
 - Political correctness

- Difficult to Define

Appendix K: Student Interview Analysis Codes

- Attitude (D), with the sub-codes of
 - Openness to New Things (D),
 - Discovery (D),
 - Interest in Another Culture (D—derived from Deardorff’s concept of ‘curiosity’);
- Knowledge (D), with the sub-codes of
 - Cultural Self-Awareness (D),
 - Host Culture Awareness (D—derived from Deardorff’s Culture-Specific Knowledge),
 - Sociolinguistic Awareness (D),
 - Spanish University System (O),
 - Understanding Others’ Worldviews (D);
- Skill (D), with the sub-codes of
 - Communication (O),
 - Navigating the Unknown (O),
 - Mindful Observation (D—‘Mindful’ has been added here to clarify this refers to an intentional and reflective version of observation),
 - Operationalized Travel Competence (O);
- Internal Outcomes (D), including the sub-codes of
 - Adaptability (D),
 - Coping with Living in a Different Culture (O),
 - Ethnorelative Perspective (D),
 - Flexibility (D),
 - Confidence (O);
- External Outcomes (D), with the sub-codes of
 - American Peer Groups (O),
 - Interaction with Host Country Nationals (D),
 - Dependency on Host Family (O).

Appendix L: Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test, American Programs

Pre and post questionnaire response for American program participants

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Post 1 and American Pre 1 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.625	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 2 and American Post 2 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.316	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 3 and American Post 3 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.690	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 4 and American Post 4 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.000	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

A Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-4.226$, $p < .000$.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 5 and American Post 5 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.092	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 6 and American Post 6 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.023	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

A Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.281$, $p < .023$.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 7 and American Post 7 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.018	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

A Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.374$, $p < .018$.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 8 and American Post 8 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.283	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 9 and American Post 9 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.370	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 10 and American Post 10 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.216	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 11 and American Post 11 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.466	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 12 and American Post 12 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.967	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between American Pre 13 and American Post 13 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.414	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Appendix M: Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test, Third Party Participants

Pre and post questionnaire response for third party program participants

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 1 and Third Party Post 1 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.419	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 2 and Third Party Post 2 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.660	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 3 and Third Party Post 3 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.648	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 4 and Third Party Post 4 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.000	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

A Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-3.858$, $p < .000$.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 5 and Third Party Post 5 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.001	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

A Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-3.402$, $p < .001$.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 6 and Third Party Post 6 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.019	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

A Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.351$, $p < .019$.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 7 and Third Party Post 7 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.211	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 8 and Third Party Post 8 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.615	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 9 and Third Party Post 9 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.581	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 10 and Third Party Post 10 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.728	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 11 and Third Party Post 11 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.599	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 12 and Third Party Post 12 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.766	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Third Party Pre 13 and Third Party Post 13 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.196	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Appendix N: Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test, Direct Enrollment Participants

Pre and post questionnaire response for Direct Enrollment participants

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 1 and Direct Post 1 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.634	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 2 and Direct Post 2 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.225	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 3 and Direct Post 3 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.842	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 4 and Direct Post 4 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.003	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

A Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks Test indicated that the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks $Z=-2.924$, $p < .003$.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 5 and Direct Post 5 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.685	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 6 and Direct Post 6 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.114	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 7 and Direct Post 7 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.237	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 8 and Direct Post 8 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.640	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 9 and Direct Post 9 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.709	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 10 and Direct Post 10 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.595	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 11 and Direct Post 11 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.144	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 12 and Direct Post 12 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.683	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Direct Pre 13 and Direct Post 13 equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.943	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

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