

HANGING UP AND HANGING OUT: A
QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF COLLEGE MEN
IMAGINEERING A SHORT-TERM STUDY ABROAD
ENGINEERING COURSE IN SPAIN

By

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Onward and Upward!

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Abstract:

This naturalistic inquiry case study examined the experiences of five college men participating in a two-week, summer study abroad course administered by a Midwestern, public land-grant university. The short-term program model is popular with students and universities in the United States as an affordable and convenient way to increase the number of students participating in education abroad. However, there is limited research examining the phenomenon, especially qualitative research on men's participation. My study is the only known naturalistic inquiry qualitative case study to include participant observation in situ focused specifically on U.S. college men's short-term program experiences. I use the term *imagineer* to convey the process of imagining a future participation in study abroad then carrying those imaginings into the construction of the experience.

My study design used participant observations, including travel with the men abroad, and interviews before, during and after the trip as well as photographs, drawings and participant interactions with those artifacts. My experience as director of a study abroad office and my travel background as a participant on multiple study abroad programs augmented my findings. The participants in my study were traditional-aged, emerging adults actively constructing identities and focused on self, happiness, instant gratification and consumption (Arnett, 2000; Nelson, 2003). They relied on multiple imaginaries (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015, 2016) to imagineer their study abroad experiences. Doing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987) emerged as salient as the men constructed gender roles and sought social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) through masculine performances abroad. As participants in a course compressed into two weeks, the men experienced time as limited and responded accordingly by intensifying the pace of their actions and engaging in riskier behaviors, like the consumption of alcohol, designed to meet lightly crafted expectations for having fun and making friends.

Through ongoing analysis, I arrived at four primary themes with multiple subthemes related to my research questions. As a part of my analysis, I explored the men's interpersonal relationships, their responses to perceptions of time, their anticipation of fun adventure and their gendered behaviors and vulnerability as they imagineered their experiences in the study abroad space. My findings enhance the depth of understanding of the short-term study abroad phenomenon, contribute new perspectives on men's participation and inform implications for research and practice in the field of education abroad.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overall, the trip was truly an amazing and unique experience. Not very often do people have the opportunity to travel to such an amazing place together with over twenty people, many of whom they may not even know. However, being immersed in such a different world together affords the opportunity to form bonds and friendships that will last for an extremely long time.

Lee (study participant)

As I boarded the Pan Am jet that hot summer afternoon in 1991, my year abroad began with Dad and Mom standing at the end of the jet bridge apprehensively half-waving goodbye as their baby walked through one of the few departure gates of a small regional airport on the first leg of his journey to Finland. I forced my body to take each step down the bridge and further away from the safety of home. With an overconfidence only a 23-year-old college student could muster, I left home not knowing one word of Finnish, clueless about my host culture and lacking any awareness that such knowledge mattered. What I did have was naïve arrogance of my competencies, a generally well-disguised fear of exposing my insecurities and a small seed of adventurous curiosity waiting to germinate.

The early 1990s were a confusing time to be a man on the verge of adulthood in the United States. Gender insecurities abounded as men's popular culture toyed with complex and unsettling new masculinities. Model and rapper Marky Mark, and men like him, ripped apart our understanding of what it meant to be a man when they battled out

gender performances on the pages of our magazines wearing nothing but skin, muscles and tight, white Calvin Klein briefs. Stumbling through the new masculinities of my own pending adulthood, I was equipped with a more modest uniform of Ocean Pacific t-shirt, Converse Chuck Taylors, baseball cap and CD Walkman. I headed abroad tip-toeing across the thin ice of my emerging sexual maturity with ample supply of repressed emotions and gender conflict neatly folded in my baggage.

And yet somehow I survived. I discovered I could make new friends who spoke in thick accents, viewed our world from a different plateau and in many cases were just as confused about manhood. I could enjoy music with lyrics I didn't understand and eat foods with names I could not pronounce. Perhaps most importantly, time seemed unending and free. With only a faint connection to home, I was left alone to figure out who I was as a man and a young adult. On one predetermined Sunday each month my parents and I would talk for 15 expensive and static-filled minutes via clunky, wall-wired, immobile phones. Air Mail between Finland and the U.S. allowed us each to receive one letter or postcard a month updating the details of our lives we deemed worthy of sharing. The long days in between were filled with my own personal adventures rarely recorded or candidly reported. I had a world of time ahead for discovery and exploration.

When I boarded that jet at the dawn of the 1990s, I arrived at the cusp of my independence as a young man in a rapidly changing world. College men studying abroad today also enter a world of rapid change, but how they do it is often a far different journey from my experience. The year-long, self-imposed European isolation from family and friends has faded as a dominant model of study abroad, replaced with cosmopolitan jaunts over a few brief weeks to countless global destinations. Why wait

on monthly air mail when technology dumps unending texts and email into our palms at all hours of the day and night? Compelled to update mom or dad on the latest events? No expensive calls, just free Facetime, Skype or WhatsApp. Worried about leaving behind family and friends to travel alone? Pairing up with a group of buddies to “do London or Paris” for academic credit during the summer is easy with ample time to squeeze in a summer job or internship. Although our shared ambitions to make new friends, explore new places and challenge ourselves may be similar, men studying abroad today place all new meaning on “seizing the day” where experiences on short-term programs are compressed by academic design and time races by at a dizzying velocity.

This chapter began with a personal reflection from long ago. Similar moments of personal narrative appear throughout this document as I position myself in this study and explore my construction of the world and others in it (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Richardson, 2000). Nostalgia for my own experiences as an emerging adult abroad, simmering under a professional curiosity and passion for helping college students create lives abroad, led me to this research. Directing a university study abroad office, I often joke that my job is simply making magic and crushing dreams, as I balance students’ high-flying imaginaries of study abroad with the grounded realities of life in today’s universities and the world. I am compelled by the dreams of the young people with whom I work, on the cusp of their own adulthoods, to join others in higher education contributing in meaningful ways toward a positive future for education abroad.

By locating men within the study abroad phenomenon and briefly exploring the expansion of study abroad in the United States, this chapter introduces the specific problem to which I turn my critical lens, my research questions, and the significance of

my research within the larger discussion of men's participation in study abroad. This chapter includes an overview of my methodology, and the assumptions, delimitations and limitations of my study. Finally, this chapter defines terminology appearing in this research necessary or helpful for understanding men's study abroad experiences.

Locating Men in U.S. Study Abroad

With over 325,000 U.S. students engaged in study abroad in 2015-2016, programs under eight weeks in length dominate as the most common program model chosen by participants (Institute of International Education, 2017). The trend toward shorter duration programs has been consistent for over a decade as universities strive to provide less expensive study options to attract increasing numbers of students. While total U.S. student participation in study abroad is growing at a rate of just over 3% annually (approximately 12,000 additional students in 2015-2016), the percentage of total participants identifying as men has been on a steady decline since its high of 36.5% in 2009-2010. In 2015-2016 men's participation was 33.5% of total participants, increasing for the first time in five years by .30%. As in recent years, women's participation made up the majority of the 3% annual increase. This trend is notable given significant efforts within the education abroad profession to increase men's participation. I am curious about men's continued slow response to participation in study abroad but have found few answers and little research focused specifically on men's participation.

With consistent participation by women in study abroad at a time when women are enrolling in college at rates greater than men, it is becoming normative in education abroad professional circles to cast men as one of several disadvantaged populations. Although the profession espouses a need to increase men's participation, and has spent

years striving to adapt marketing and programming to attract more college men, decreasing participation speaks to the complexity of understanding gender construction and behavior within higher education. College men do not lead single identity lives but perform a range of intersecting masculinities that, when viewed institutionally in the context of study abroad, simultaneously frame men as both powerfully hegemonic (Connell, 2005) and a powerless population in decline (Garcia, 2008).

The national participation data summarized above suggests a need for further research into college men's experiences in study abroad. Many students perceive the experience as closed to them, for reasons of gender, skin color, socioeconomic status, sexuality, academic performance, physical ability, life stage or some complex web of identity constructs positioning certain students outside the global learning space. Given the complex construction of college men as simultaneously powerful and powerless and indications in quantitative research that men participate in study abroad differently than other student populations, I believe we need more qualitative research looking at men's experiences to cultivate effective, long-term institutional and phenomenological changes.

Doubling student numbers is a popular vision as the first step toward a goal of creating a generation of study abroad participants in the 21st century (Institute of International Education, n.d.). Although powerful segments of society view it as critical for students to graduate with the skills needed to succeed in the current global job market, and young people enter college with the intent to study abroad, the majority of college students graduate without participating in study abroad or other internationally-focused, experiential learning programs. Academe's knowledge of students' participation behaviors, and what they experience and gain from participation, is still in its infancy.

My naturalistic case study critically explores a small tip of this phenomenological iceberg via glimpses into the lived experiences of one group of men participating in a single short-term, summer study abroad program.

Historical Background of the Study Abroad Phenomenon

If globalization is our present, understanding students' experiences within this globalized environment is worthwhile. Global interdependence for resources and rapidly developing technology links more countries and the citizens of those countries together like no other time in history. People once far removed from each other are closer and more dependent on the Other than ever before. Information, no matter how verifiable or sound, is shared at the speed of social media. Users form virtual relationships and develop semi-empathetic networks of likeminded individuals far beyond the confines of their geographic spaces. Visual sensations reign supreme in a world of screens. Traditional boundaries fall by the wayside as people engage both meaningfully and superficially with each other across countless platforms, reframing understanding of geographically-situated socialization and identity performance. As Kimmel (2008) contemplates contemporary men's lives in *Guyland*, "The dramatic increase in alternatives is accompanied by an equally dramatic cultural homogenization, a flattening of regional and local differences with a single mainstream dominant culture prevailing" (p. 16). Although not absolute, the closing of the social and cultural spectrum that separates individuals also allows conflict and contradistinction to thrive. At a time of greater closeness to and awareness of the Other, there remains an ever increasing fear of the social and political changes brought about by the act of knowing and engaging.

Gender, race and class play significant roles in society's response to these fears and universities are not immune to the social issues surrounding the paradigmatic changes.

Today's emerging adult men are entering a world in which globalization is possibly the dominating change agent of the 21st century (Friedman, 2006). The traditional four-year higher education model struggles to adapt to the 'learn and earn' lifestyle among many of today's college men who face social pressures to graduate and enter productive working careers as responsible, masculine men (Selingo, 2016). Failure to accomplish many of the traditional touchstones of adulthood (e.g. job, family, careers) has led to emerging new masculinities intersecting in complex ways across men's lives (Connell, 2005; Selingo, 2016). Many of these new masculinities emerge in young men's college experiences. The increase in high-impact learning opportunities outside the boundaries of traditional college spaces and curriculum illustrates a shift in how today's college students go to college and define learning.

As the United States faces both social pressure and political disruption in response to the challenges of a globalized, 21st century world, many stakeholders look to higher education for solutions. Institutions are called upon to provide access to ever more diverse student populations and contribute in meaningful ways to accomplishing many of the heroic tasks required to solve messy and complicated global problems such as economic disparity, food security, climate change, issues of human rights and social equality. With renewed focus on higher education as both birthplace of and the site of preparation for the rapidly changing and unpredictable world, universities in the United States face significant challenges as they adapt traditional education models to meet the

contemporary expectations of students and society within an expanding international knowledge economy.

Politicians, universities and the public regard study abroad as one component of the educational response to globalization because they view student participation as an achievable and intuitively effective way of preparing future college graduates for meaningful engagement in the expanding global economic and multicultural environment (Dolby, 2007; Van Damme, 2001; Vincenti, 2001). Rhetoric and discourse on the issue in both media and governmental sectors frequently encompass views that the nation must identify ways to increase student participation in study abroad if it hopes to remain globally competitive in the coming decades (CNN, 2014; Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, 2005; Institute of International Education, n.d.; Nolan, 2009; Obama, B., 2012; Obama, M., 2011; Steves, 2012; Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut, & Klute, 2012; Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Even with little research on efficacious outcomes, short-term study abroad is considered a convenient and relatively painless institutional response to the challenge. Understanding the historical underpinnings of contemporary study abroad helps conceptualize this rhetoric and informs how higher education is expanding study abroad programming.

The exploration of study abroad as a component of international education requires some basic historical knowledge of the phenomenon. Understanding how study abroad has reached its status as a factor in defining the *educated person* (Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996) while functioning along a parallel track with popular, middle-class tourism is significant to my study because the men in my case view participation in

highly touristic ways. The history of study abroad also illuminates possible factors influencing or discouraging contemporary men's participation.

The role of global study and exploration reaches back to the earliest emergence of what might be considered higher education. The vision quest, seeking to bring home personal enlightenment for the benefit of self and the clan, was likely the first example of what we now think of as international education (Hoffa, 2007). By 500 B.C intellectuals were travelling to Athens for educational experiences as evidenced by documented study abroad in the late second century B.C. with Roman men travelling to Greece for the purpose of philosophy and rhetoric training (Daly, 1950; Fry, 1984). Learning away from home is prevalent throughout the history of many civilizations. With growth in conceptualizing humanity as universal learners, the understanding of an educated person evolved and greatly influenced Western thinking on higher education (Cohen & Kisker, 2009). The earliest organized institutions of learning were often founded on the concept that bringing diverse (exclusively male) students together would be more significant in scope than the sum of an individual's knowledge. The understanding of a universal knowledge gained through diversity beyond individual culture continues to influence international education today.

As early as the 13th century, groups of local and foreign men began to organize themselves into guilds of learners. The term *university* was used originally to designate these traveling groups of universal knowledge seekers more so than to refer to any specific institution of higher learning (Hoffa, 2007). In the late Middle Ages and onward from the Renaissance, an understanding of the merits of living and learning in other countries fostered the emergence of the grand tour phenomenon which consummated the

marriage of education and travel (Perkin, 1997). A revival of the grand tour in the 19th century among the newly rich British middle-class and American industrialists served as an acceptable way for young women to gain access finally to the opportunity for travel-enhanced cultural understanding and sophistication under the guise of education. This opportunity opened the door to an eventually normative and now dominant practice of women traveling abroad for educational purposes. The feminization of the grand tour phenomenon marked the beginning of contemporary international education as well as the mass tourism industry for the middle classes (Brodsky-Porges, 1981).

Initiatives such as the Fulbright Act (1946) and the National Defense Education Act (1958) focused attention on the importance of a national skill set beyond military might, setting in motion the federal government's direct support of international education initiatives and the growth of study abroad programming (Keller & Frain, 2010). In part because of this increased attention on the importance of international education and federal government funding, men's participation remained strong for a time. Primed by these national initiatives and ready to take off with the arrival of the jet age, the 1960s ushered in the first era of significant, global student mobility (Hoffa, 2007).

Although the Vietnam War, the economic and oil crisis across the country, and the political strife throughout Latin America all played a role in limiting U.S. student participation in study abroad at the beginning of the 1970s, especially for men whose international travel was again more military than academic in nature, awareness began to spread across the nation that the economy was in fact linked to other economies around the globe (Keller & Frain, 2010). The world was experiencing the first glimmers of what

is known today as globalization. As the 20th century came to a close and women's enrollment in colleges and universities began to increase, participation in global education programs fully matured in the country's psyche with over sixteen governmental agencies supporting study abroad programs for students from across the country (Keller & Frain, 2010).

With the number of students participating in study abroad more than doubling between 1990 and 2000 (Institute of International Education, 2005), September 11, 2001 created yet another paradigm shift for study abroad within higher education. Instead of pulling back on their international efforts, universities and corporations began to realize the political value of social capital for students, employees and the nation gained through programs like study abroad. In 2004 Congress created the Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program to examine the geopolitical issues surrounding study abroad and to recommend new national initiatives for the 21st century. The commission identified key elements for U.S. higher education in hopes of sending more than one million students abroad annually, among them the need to improve the quality and academic rigor of programs abroad while enhancing the learning outcomes of a more diversified group of participants. Clear in the final report is the link between the need to create a diverse, globally informed citizenry and the demand for including international components as a cornerstone for undergraduate curriculum (Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, 2005). This vision of international education as a beacon for higher education in a contemporary, neoliberal political environment continues to shape study abroad efforts today.

Universities across the country and the world now tout study abroad as a critical component in the education of globally prepared students. At the same time women have surpassed men in obtaining higher education degrees in the U.S., study abroad participation is predominantly White, middle to upper class women. Curriculum integration and shorter program duration are program developments designed to open the experience to a growing diversity of college students, including men. Although the need to seek knowledge and opportunity beyond the confines of home is visible across recorded human history, the social and political catalysts are continuously changing. Beyond seeking knowledge for personal enlightenment found in the earliest forms of educational travel, today study abroad is grounded in a very different understanding of the world and what it means to be a global citizen. As the perceived value of study abroad within higher education contributes to increasing numbers of students choosing to participate, this understanding or at least the ways this understanding is communicated at the local, university level seems to resonate more strongly, based on participation numbers, with college women. With men's declining participation in study abroad, shifts in the gender composition of university populations and the re-emergence of nationalistic ethnocentrism in the U.S. and other countries, study abroad in the 21st century exists in a rapidly shifting social and political landscape and represents an emerging phenomenon that is far different from the male-dominated educational travel of earlier generations.

Problem Statement

Driven by many factors of globalization, including continued reports from international agencies demonstrating fundamental changes in the world economic models and misalignment of college graduates' skills with emerging demands of the global

workplace, employers, universities and international education professional organizations increasingly consider study abroad programming a key component of educating globally competent citizens and employees (British Council, 2015; Stewart, 2012; Trooboff, Vande Berg & Rayman, 2007; World Economic Forum, 2016). Universities across the U.S. market participation in study abroad as beneficial for all students, leading to the dedication of significant resources from a wide range of stakeholders including governmental agencies and universities. These investments have led to the development of new program models, including internships, service learning programs and short-term study courses, as a way to attract and provide access for more diverse student populations.

However, most college graduates have not participated in a study abroad experience and those who do are predominantly middle to upper class, White women. In an effort to drastically shift the level of college student engagement within study abroad, over 700 universities and organizations have joined in the Institute of International Education's Generation Study Abroadtm initiative to increase student participation, with special focus on student populations less likely to participate including men, racial and ethnic minority groups and those facing financial or physical access barriers. National organizations such as the Diversity Abroad Network and Mobility International have emerged to assist in the effort. The past decade has seen modest growth in the ethnic and racial diversity of participants, but the percentage of men participating, when compared to overall numbers, has steadily declined since 2009-2010 (Institute of International Education, 2016). These outcomes lead to questions of why, after significant resource investment and effort, greater participation by men remains an elusive goal.

Social construction of identity and masculinity in the United States can pressure college men to uphold the appearance of masculine social norms that may conflict with efforts to engage men in high impact learning experiences such as study abroad (Kimmel, 2008). Understanding how men encounter masculine social pressures in study abroad is one important step if universities want to increase the level of men's participation. With increasing reliance on consumption and visual-sensory behaviors in emerging adults' identity formation, and with research suggesting current efforts to promote international travel may reinforce White, middle-class, Western-centric views, stereotypes and metanarratives students have internalized about culture, gender, identity and place in the world, the need for more information about students' participation is compelling (Caton & Santos, 2009; Sirakaya & Sonmez, 2000; Woolf, 2006). This need is noteworthy particularly when considering the emerging adult study abroad participant who, at a time of significant identity exploration and development, exists in what Jay (1993) considers the occularcentricity of Western life and is technologically more reliant on visual media than ever before in imagining the possible experiences available to them. This seems especially relevant at a time when the majority of students participating in study abroad are doing so on programs lasting less than eight weeks (Institute of International Education, 2015). These brief programs have limited time to address the complex intersections of gender, race and class in an international environment that may be new and unfamiliar to most participants.

For emerging adult men facing powerful social messaging and expectations of masculine behavior, the study abroad experience is a relatively under-explored phenomenon. Within higher education campus engagement, men appear to be

disengaging from institutional learning activities (T. Davis & Laker, 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2002; Kellom, 2004; Kellom & Groth, 2010). Higher education professionals falsely assume, because of the historically privileged positionality of men in higher education, they understand men and the issues affecting them in college (T. Davis & Laker, 2004). However, universities and entities investing significant resources to increase the participation of men in study abroad need more knowledge on men's experiences and their gender identity development process (Harris, 2010). Until we better understand the men who are participating we will continue to struggle in addressing issues facing the men who are not engaging in the experience. An examination of how individual men construct the study abroad experience is important for professionals in higher education working with men to help navigate the complex educational and life decisions faced while in college, including the decision to participate in study abroad.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of my naturalistic case study was to gain understanding of the experiences of a specific group of college men enrolled at a university in the central region of the United States as they imagineered a short-term study abroad course. *Imagineering* represents a process in which people employ imagination and creativity toward shaping individual experiences (Kuiper & Smit, 2014). For the men in my study imagineering included how they came to the opportunity to participate in a short-term, faculty-led course to Spain, imagined themselves as participants, enacted the experience as men abroad, and ascribed significance to the experience upon re-entry into their home culture. By accompanying and engaging these men during their program, I observed in situ how they made meaning of the experience and constructed masculine performances

within it. As detailed in later sections and chapters, my naturalistic case study incorporated observations, interviews, artifact collection and analysis designed to contribute to future research on men's engagement in study abroad and to inform study abroad programs and professionals seeking to better serve college men.

Research Questions

This naturalistic case study focused on five college men bound by their enrollment at a Midwestern, public land-grant university and their shared participation in a short-term, faculty-led engineering summer study abroad course to Spain. The research questions for this case study were:

1. How do college men imagine a short-term, summer study abroad experience?
 - a. How do men come to view the short-term study abroad course as a worthwhile collegiate activity in which they would participate?
 - b. How do men who have chosen to participate in a short-term study abroad course imagine their upcoming experience?
 - c. How do men participating in a short-term study abroad course enact the experience as men?
 - d. How do men participating in a short-term study abroad course make meaning of the experience after returning home?
2. How do college men's experiences align with and diverge from institutional goals for a short-term study abroad course?

Significance of the Study

As education abroad matures within higher education and short-term course models gain prominence in the international programming of universities and colleges, a

continuing, critical look at the phenomenon is warranted. National data suggests that men's participation may be on the decline at a time when overall participation is on the rise. Current efforts to diversify participation seem antithetical to engaging men in the process. Multiple researchers have observed the need for further study into college men's experiences and construction of identities, including those experiences associated with participation in study abroad programming (Geiser, 2015; Jessup-Anger, 2008; Lucas, 2009; Salisbury, Paulsen, & Pascarella, 2010a; Yankey, 2014). Education leaders, students and other stakeholders need a better understanding of men's study abroad decision-making process, their experiences while engaged in the activity and the outcomes of short-term program participation.

For those concerned with the forces at play in discouraging men's participation in learning opportunities like study abroad, more information on men's unique experiences is needed. Absent in the literature beyond a few initial studies is compelling, qualitative research on men's involvement in study abroad and most notably naturalistic case studies in which the researcher accompanies students abroad as participant observer. Not only will continued critical examination of and reflection on the topic serve to inform those researching the phenomenon, studies like this one also carry practical implications for professionals in the field of education abroad seeking to better serve college men and other populations currently under-participating in study abroad.

Theoretical Foundations

Because my qualitative case study was exploratory in nature and sought to observe and reflect on men's experiences as gendered beings throughout their short-term study course, my work relied on several theories, examined more fully in Chapter II. One

key concept informing my work was the “doing of gender” outlined by West and Zimmerman (1987) as an “understanding of gender as a routine, methodical and recurring accomplishment” (p. 126). This understanding rejects the concept of gender as biological or essential. By viewing gender as a situational, social accomplishment in conduct, rewarded as gender competency when aligned with social expectations at the site of construction, it allowed me to focus on men’s individual and interactional performance rather than relying on a notion of gender as biologically-based, internal, fixed and static.

“Doing gender” is a socially guided and complex process. As this naturalistic case study sought to observe the gender dynamics in an interactional site, the concept of doing gender provided me the flexibility I needed to observe masculinity in whatever forms emerged as salient for the men in my study. Recognizing masculinity relied on my shared identity as a man, signifiers, cues and explanations provided by the men during our interactions and my observations, and the common or familiar understandings we brought from home into the study abroad space. The men’s gender process during the experience included perceptual, interactional and micropolitical activities (West & Zimmerman, 1987). For example, the prominence of alcohol consumption and employing alcohol as a cultural tool demonstrates one situational doing of gender in my study, as Capraro (2007) concluded when observing that college men’s drinking is them “simply *being* men” (p. 192). Of benefit to my study is the effort of West and Zimmerman (1987) to move beyond what they describe as Goffman’s (1973) *gender role* and *gender performance* concepts, which they believe limit the ability to understand the everyday production of gender and situate gender at the margins of human interaction. The men in my study brought gender behaviors from home, organized their “various and

manifold activities to reflect or express gender” and were “disposed to perceive the behavior of others in a similar light” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127). The broad openness to the doing of gender allowed me to call upon concepts of intersecting masculinity and other constructs as relevant in analyzing the emergence of masculinity and gender within my study.

The developmental theory of emerging adulthood informed my work as well. Arnett’s (2000) theory conceptualizes a normative opportunity in affluent societies for the independent exploration of adulthood during the late teens and twenties. In many ways, study abroad relies on an emerging adulthood phase for its existence in higher education in the United States. Unlike citizens in less affluent nations, students in the U.S. are not driven by necessity to pursue educational opportunities outside their home country. Without time dedicated by society to individual identity exploration through experiential consumption, the drive to participate in study abroad would be reduced. Arnett’s theory locates emerging adulthood as a distinct period of identity construction that is highly dependent on tendencies for greater risk taking and repeated exploration of identity shaping experiences. As I observed the experiences of these men across the span of their 14-day program, constructs of emerging adulthood such as achievement, affiliation, focus on self, happiness, instant gratification and consumption were all useful for understanding my data and making sense of the men’s experiences.

Finally, the work of Härkönen and Dervin (2015) provided a lens through which I could begin to observe how the men imagined the study abroad experience. Härkönen and Dervin observe that student mobility is largely reliant on the development and recycling of metanarrative imaginaries translated into four primary themes: (1) a dream

place, (2) a new me and life, (3) a career boost and (4) a *must* (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015; Härkönen & Dervin, 2016). Discussed in more detail in Chapter II, these imaginaries are often structured around unrealistic, unattainable transformations for the students, especially given the limited nature and structure of any single short-term course. The methodology of my study was designed to collect and analyze data with doing gender, emerging adulthood and metanarrative imaginaries in mind.

Methodology Overview

This qualitative naturalistic case study relied on participant observation (Denzin, 1978; Patton, 2002) and multiple interviews with five men across a 14-day engineering course to Spain to explore men's experiences in short-term study abroad. This case study is one of the few qualitative case studies that has examined short-term study abroad and the only known naturalistic inquiry qualitative case study to include participant observation in situ focused specifically on U.S. college men's short-term program experiences. Observing consistently lower rates of participation over time, I am drawn to explore men's positionality within the study abroad phenomenon. Though several studies have examined underrepresented student participation and study abroad (such as Bryant & Soria, 2015; McLellan, 2011; Penn & Tanner, 2009; Salisbury, Paulsen & Pascarella, 2010b; Sweeney, 2013; Thirolf, 2014), more qualitative examination of men's study abroad experiences is needed.

The duality of masculine privilege and men's underrepresentation called me to explore the complexity of this phenomenon in hopes that eventually, across a broad spectrum of research, scholars and staff can address larger questions of participation for all students. This desire comes in great part from my understanding that interventions

eliciting change without understanding the full scope of a phenomenon are likely to be limited in their capacity. As a White, middle-aged man who grew up in a rural, predominantly White community, attended a predominantly White, land-grant university as an undergraduate, studied abroad in Europe and views that academic experience as instrumental in my construction of self, I believe it is my obligation as an education abroad professional to examine critically the phenomenon of study abroad.

This naturalistic qualitative study focused on men's experiences across the time and space of a specific, short-term program. In addition to observations, semi-formal and informal interviews before, during and after the time abroad as well as the use of documents, photographs and other secondary data sources enhanced data collection. Analysis of my data was multifaceted and evolved as themes became visible and new questions emerged. I spent a great deal of time reflecting on and revisiting my data as well as discussing my thoughts and observations with peers in the field and my committee members. These discussions provided opportunities for making sense of my data and grasping significance in the emerging themes. Chapter III provides a more thorough detailing of my study design and analysis process.

Assumptions, Delimitations and Limitations

This study is grounded in my belief that study abroad has the capacity to foster positive change for students. With critical research designed to gain understanding of men's experiences across the full arc of their participation in study abroad, programming and interventions can be developed to welcome more men as participants and foster positive outcomes that meet the goals of students, institutions and society. As a proponent for increasing student participation in study abroad, I am obligated as a

researcher to view my work critically, question my thinking and continually look for areas where assumptions and positionality influence my work. I view those moments as opportunities for deeper reflection, examination and learning.

At the same time, familiarity with a phenomenon is a strength for qualitative researchers (Kacem & Chaitin, 2006; Padgett, 2008). As a participant on multiple education abroad experiences, and now as director of a university's study abroad office, I possess experience and knowledge advantageous in studying the phenomenon. My own study abroad experiences remain meaningful in my life, carry significant weight in the construction of my identities as an adult man and frame how I view other's participation. With over 25 years of international travel experience, my ability to grasp nuances in the men's behavior across the arc of the experience was meaningful to my research and informed my analysis. For this specific study, I believe that my familiarity with college student development, my comfort with international travel along with my previous study abroad participation and professional knowledge of the phenomenon after years working in the field allowed me to gain meaningful insight into the men's experiences and to more easily adapt to the fast-paced, time-compressed space of the 14-day course. Also, my similar educational and cultural background and my ability to communicate effectively and comprehend subtleties in my participant's stories and performances allowed me to form deep and meaningful connections and gain a level of trust with each man that expanded my data collection and analysis capabilities.

Although one study cannot fully explore the complicated constructs and intersections of identities within study abroad, my work contributes to the larger conversation on emerging adult men participating in this unique college experience. I

assume that study abroad is a site of gender performance and construction, even if my participants did not articulate it as such. Examining masculinity and gender in the study abroad setting was complicated because we absorb, deflect, condense and distribute gendered messages often with no conscious awareness of participating in this intricate social dance. Observing and making sense of gendered behavior in the study abroad setting was no easier or less exhausting for me as researcher than it is for anyone living their daily lives. The men in my study, like many White college men, may have given little to no thought on their gender, race, performing gender, or being men prior to this study.

The ability to perform gender is a mark of social competency involving complex and socially guided activities cast as expressions of masculine or feminine (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The men who participated in my study are complex individuals. Their identities are woven with threads of experiences collected prior to and during college forming a web that continues to expand throughout emerging adulthood. Issues of gender, sexuality, faith, worldview and others advance and retreat across time and space. As such, none of my participants are static beings but actors in a production far larger than our few weeks in Spain. Because study abroad is a highly individualized and situational experience, the time I shared with the men in which particular relations were created and sustained represent moments that contain critical details needed to better understand men's experiences in study abroad. Those moments cannot fully represent the men's complete selves, their unique construction of identity nor their entire study abroad experience but expose only the minimal impressions the men chose to share with me and of which I was equipped to observe in a constantly spiraling, flexuous race

compressed into a 14-day period of time. Although I participated with the men in their public daytime and nighttime activities, there were limitations as I could not accompany all five men as they split up to engage in different activities nor did I spend any significant time in their hotel rooms or private moments they created for themselves. I also recognized that I could not engage in the same level of physical activity as the 20-something aged men. These inevitable gaps provided the men time to share moments with each other and engage in behaviors outside of my ability to observe that limit my research.

Nonetheless, this case represents a productive site of naturalistic inquiry (Guba, 1978; Patton 2002) for understanding men's experiences within the study abroad phenomenon. The participants attend a predominantly White institution in a region of the United States where complex images of faith, politics, and freedom surround them, yet the university currently performs above the national average for men's participation in study abroad with just over 40% of participants identifying as men during the 2015-2016 academic year. Although any qualitative study is limited to the bounded time and space it occupies, my intent with the design of this naturalistic case study was to gain understanding of men's experiences in this unique setting in sufficient depth and detail to provide findings transferable and useful to other work (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993) examining the intrinsic and instrumental value of education abroad. Without intimate, deep examination of men's individual experiences during their active engagement in study abroad, we cannot begin to truly understand the men who participate. Without that knowledge, I cannot see a clear way forward in advancing men's participation in this educational opportunity. It is impossible to qualitatively study

every man participating in study abroad, but by understanding the lived experience of these few, specific participants, perhaps others will consider new and different ways of engaging the uniquely individual participants in their own studies and programs.

Although the results of this study are specific to this case, limited by researcher positionality and by the boundaries of this study, professionals in the field of education abroad will gain understanding from my findings that informs how they develop future research studies and engage their own program participants.

Definition of Terms

A key concept within my work is *study abroad* and its placement alongside *education abroad*, where the former suggests specific academic work abroad with the latter encompassing a wide range of programs including internships, service learning and similar programs. I interchange these terms throughout this document as I understand them as synonymous for the larger program in which my participants are engaged.

However, there are subtle distinctions in how international education defines these terms.

As *study abroad* is the term used most commonly at MidSouth University [pseudonym for this case study site] for short-term, faculty-led academic travel programs, and the term students in my study frequently use to describe their experiences, I generally rely on this term to refer to the academic travel experience of this case.

Following are terms used frequently within this study that may have different meanings across the field. For the purpose of my study, the definitions are pulled from the Forum on Education Abroad (2016) *Standards of Good Practice* where relevant or the theoretical/research foundations on which they are situated. As MidSouth University is a member of the Forum on Education Abroad, and attempts to follow to a substantial

degree the organization's ethical and professional standards, these definitions align with general understanding of terminology at the site of my study.

Competency: “The cluster of skills, abilities, habits, character traits, and knowledge a person must have in order to perform effectively within a certain environment. Competencies are demonstrated through behaviors and can be developed through training and individual effort” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=C,” para. 8).

Consumption: A social behavior of interaction with time and space that relies on the full spectrum of all human senses to compare, evaluate, purchase and use goods and services (Urry, 1995). In understanding the study abroad travel experience, places are consumed and the significant icons (such as history, architecture, technology, art, environment) are “depleted, devoured and exhausted” (Urry, 1995, p. 2) as acts of cultural consumption linked with individual identity (both of traveler and local).

Cultural Immersion: “A sojourner's engagement with and interaction in a host culture, with the goal of extensive involvement with host culture members” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=C,” para. 16).

Education Abroad: “Education that occurs outside the participant's home country. Besides study abroad, examples include such international experiences as work, volunteering, non-credit internships, and directed travel, as long as these programs are driven to a significant degree by learning goals” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=E,” para. 1).

Emerging Adulthood: A development theory conceptualizing the phenomenon in affluent societies like the United States between the late teens and twenties during which society provides a normative opportunity for independent, adult role exploration (Arnett, 2000). This distinct period of identity exploration can include a tendency toward greater risk taking and exploration.

Experiential Learning: “Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience.” (Kolb, 1984, p. 38). “This term, which traces its origins to the works of John Dewey, encompasses a vast array of approaches to learning inside and outside the classroom that complement more conventional instruction. Methods may include research, field trips or seminars, laboratory work, fieldwork or observation, as well as immersion in workplace settings, such as internships, volunteering, teaching, and paid jobs. Giving structure to the learning experience through observation, reflection and analysis is often seen as an essential element of experiential education. Experiential education may be curricular (for credit) or co-curricular (not for credit)” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=E,” para. 14).

Faculty-Led Program: “A study abroad program directed by a faculty member (or members) from the home campus who accompanies students abroad. Usually, though not always, brief in duration” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=F,” para. 3). At MidSouth University, program leadership also includes staff and graduate assistants for larger programs.

Gender: A fundamental division of society in which expressions of masculinity and femininity are constructed through complex, socially guided perceptual, interactional and micropolitical activities carried out in the presence of others oriented to its production (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Although often interchanged with the term sex, which is an assigned biological property of the individual, gender is the performance of an identity emerging within social situations and the reception of that performance by others. As such I refer to the participants in my study as men rather than males since their inclusion in my study is based upon their self-identified gender rather than the biological assignment of sex.

Gender Performance: The recurrent cultural display of gender under infinitely diverse social situations and the variety of expectations for masculinity and femininity representations those situations routinely display and celebrate (Elliott, 2014; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Gender Role Conflict: The occasions when individuals of a specific sex category perceive their gender performance is out of place with stereotypical expectations in a given social situation, leading to anxiety and views of the self as less masculine or feminine (Goffman, 1977; O'Neil, 1981). The perception of conflict can lead to suppression of authentic selves or the adjustment of performances in how one does gender during interaction with others.

Global Competency: “The acquisition of in-depth knowledge and understanding of international issues, an appreciation of and ability to learn and work with

people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, proficiency in a foreign language, and skills to function productively in an interdependent world community” (National Education Association, 2010, p. 1).

Globalization: A process of international interdependent integration of economic, political and cultural activities (Albrow & King, 1990). As technology expands the global connections between people, these linkages bring about systemic change in how processes in areas like higher education are standardized globally.

High-Impact Learning: Teaching and learning practices, dependent on learner characteristics, institutional priorities and contexts, shown to be beneficial for college students from many backgrounds. These include but are not limited to such activities as first-year experiences, learning communities, collaborative projects, undergraduate research, global learning and internships (Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2008).

Identity: Based on House’s (1977) Personality and Social Structure Perspective (PSSP) Model for understanding human behavior in which social structure, interaction and personality are interrelated, taxonomies of identity are recognized including *social identity* (individual positioning within social structures), *personal identity* (individual experiences rooted in interactions), and *ego identity* (subjective sense of continuity within the individual personality) (Côté & Levine, 2002). Individuals construct a range of identities and perform those situationally based on the audience at the time of interaction.

Imagineering: a portmanteau word derived from imagination and engineering representing a process in which imagination and creativity are employed toward “shaping a physical experience world” (Kuiper & Smit, 2014, p. 10). Often applied in marketing and business spheres, the concept also applies to the individual and their imagination and creation in forming life experiences.

Intercultural Competency: “The ability to relate and communicate effectively when individuals involved in the interaction do not share the same culture, ethnicity, language, or other common experiences” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=I,” para. 10).

Internationalization: The institutional, strategic response to globalization through which universities integrate “an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of postsecondary education” (Knight, 2003, p. 2).

Othering: The process by which a person or a group of people are considered outside of the norm, based on imagined differences or the expectations of difference (Mountz, 2009).

Short-Term Study Abroad: Education that occurs outside the participants home country, “lasting eight weeks or less; may include summer, January, or other terms of eight weeks or less” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=S,” para. 6).

Study Abroad: “A subtype of Education Abroad that results in progress toward an academic degree at a student’s home institution...which has become standard

among international educators in the U.S., excludes the pursuit of a full academic degree at a foreign institution” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=S,” para. 13).

Study Away: “Study that takes students entirely away from the home campus for a period of time, whether to a destination within or outside the U.S. The term tends to be used most often at campuses where the same office is responsible for both study abroad and domestic off-campus study” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=S,” para. 16).

Underrepresented Groups: “Categories of students who study abroad in fewer numbers than they represent in a larger population, such as the U.S., their home state, or their home institution (Forum on Education Abroad, 2016, “letter=CU,” para. 4). At MidSouth University, underrepresentation may be based on ethnicity/race, gender, sexual orientation, discipline of study, first-generation status, veteran status, or some combination of identity factors.

Summary

This chapter introduced my case study using a brief historical review of study abroad followed by the problem statement, purpose statement, research questions, significance of the study, methodology overview, assumptions, delimitations, limitations and definitions relevant to this research. Understanding men’s experiences as men within study abroad participation is complex. Based on the duality of men viewed in study abroad as both privileged and under-represented, my study explored the experiences of men in a specific short-term, faculty-led engineering program in Spain. With continuing,

troubling evidence that men participate at rates below their overall enrollment in higher education, this study contributes to research on men's participation in study abroad.

Chapter II delves more deeply into the phenomenon of study abroad as a high-impact learning activity within an internationalizing higher education system in the United States. One feature of this document is capturing experiences in narrative detail. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, because of the opportunity I had to share personally meaningful, notable moments with the men in this study, and as a tool for providing those reading my work insight into my experiences as researcher and instrument (Patton, 2002), I pause between chapters with brief narrative reflections from my own experiences and in most cases shared with my participants abroad. These interludes, which I title *Momentos* (a tribute to the words moments and mementos and recognizing in a small way our travel to Spain as a Spanish speaking country), are intended to highlight my experience as researcher and the men's interactions with me and with each other during our shared time in Spain. Following Momento Uno, Chapter II will explore prior research on the topic of study abroad as well as literature on emerging adulthood, gender, travel, consumption, and unique aspects of men as study abroad participants. In doing so, the intent is to ground this study within the larger research on study abroad and better articulate the research approaches presented in Chapter III.

MOMENTO UNO: WHERE ARE THE MEN?

I mean that's just kind of who I am. If I want something, you know I go after it. I am not a traditional guy. I am better equipped to handle challenges than most college guys and I seek out new challenges.

Personal discussion with a MidSouth study abroad participant while planning my study

Early in my mid-life career shift to education abroad leadership, I found myself sitting with a colleague in an education abroad professional conference workshop critiquing images in study abroad marketing materials targeting college students. During the open discussion period a woman at our table commented on a particular image of a study abroad participant playing drums with some men from a host culture. The jubilant group was seated outdoors in a sunny, pastoral setting with the local men all wearing non-western clothing. The student in the photo was wearing a designer scarf and the woman at our table commented, "I would not be able to afford a Burberry scarf, therefore this image clearly says that study abroad is not for people like me." My brain froze in its tracks. First, I had not even noticed the student was wearing a designer scarf let alone thinking to assign meaning to one item of clothing. Second, I was faced with the sudden awareness of the power one image can have influencing another person. The cognitive disruption I experienced at that moment began a journey into critically examining how my institution represented participants in study abroad images and eventually led me to this study on men's participation experiences.

My work with photography from marketing materials across the field of study abroad raised questions about men's recruitment and participation. I found in my review of study abroad imagery that men were harder to locate and when visible were shown in stereotypical gendered performances playing sports, rough-housing with children in the host community or participating in adventure activities like parasailing and white water rafting. Unbelievably, in one case that remains permanently etched in my mind a man was shown posed with hunting rifle and his big-game kill, something I personally struggle with in connecting to the learning outcomes I typically associate with study abroad. In images where men and women posed together the group was often on a beach or other exotic looking locale with multiple women leaning or literally clinging to a single man positioned front and center in the group. In contrast, women were far more prevalent but often no less gender stereotyped. They were shown hugging or cradling children, posing in cultural dress, dancing or jumping joyfully, participating in cooking classes, eating local foods, visiting tourist sites, listening attentively to male professors or other, older men and many times clad in bikinis at the beach. Frequently, men as study abroad participants were absent entirely with a large number of photos prevalent across the promotional materials showing beautiful scenery or iconic sites devoid of humans.

As a man working in a study abroad office, I had never stopped to notice a lack of men as participants. Suddenly, all I saw was an absence of men in our outbound orientation sessions, the men missing in our marketing materials and the gaps in men's enrollment in our courses. Along with many of my peers across the profession, I intentionally began to focus on how we represented participants in our institution's study abroad marketing and social media campaigns. Open discussions at national professional

conferences and in local study abroad offices led to noticeable shifts in representation of different student identities across the field of study abroad marketing. We reached a point where discussions at our national and regional conferences turned to new concerns that the images in many marketing pieces had gone too far in portraying highly staged, aspirational worlds rather than reflecting current participation realities. A shared fear emerged as I discussed the issue with colleagues from around the country that students expecting highly diverse peer groups joining them abroad would feel disappointed, finding instead they represented a token identity construct on their course.

These discussions and others across the profession returned many of us to our marketing materials yet again, this time in search of a balance between the existing, student-produced images frequently used to communicate some version of reality with a nod to our aspirations for more diverse gender, racial, ethnic and class diversity in our programs. Continuing to glance over the new marketing images that arrive in our office each year, men and other student identities appear more frequently than they used to with White women remaining a dominant representation in the images, reflecting their continued standing as the primary participants in study abroad. As the profession designed materials specifically targeting men and adopted masculinized language describing the experience as a career builder, what stuck with me throughout the national response was men continued to stay away in fairly large numbers. I began to reflect on what we were missing in our outreach to men. Clear to me was that the decision to participate was far more complex than seeing representations of self in marketing materials and encountering masculinized metanarratives. Exploring existing research, many new questions emerged beyond simply “where are the men in these images?” I

began to ponder why men were not participating at the same rate as women and wondered what unique characteristics the men who are participating possess that differentiates them from those men not participating. As more questions materialized, I concluded as a profession we still know very little about the experiences of men in our programs. This awareness prompted me to more deeply reflect on my own experiences as a college student abroad and open new, purposeful discussions with many young men on campus about their lives.

Historically, study abroad was designed to last for months if not years and, like most academic pursuits, was dominated by men. Changes to tertiary education, the emergence of a leisure-time mindset within the middle classes, perceptions of a shrinking world and many other social and technological factors brought about paradigmatic shifts in how contemporary study abroad is situated within higher education. Short-term programs have emerged in the 21st century as the predominant program model, disrupting the expected outcomes of study abroad as time compression alters the student experience. As study abroad matures pedagogically, I celebrate the profession's accomplishments in raising the quality and accessibility of programming in the United States. I am compelled through my research and professional work to participate in continuing the improvements across the field of international education. The following chapter represents much of the work conducted prior to and as a part of this study in pursuing research literature on the study abroad phenomenon and ultimately men's positionality within it.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Promoted on campuses across the U.S. as an academic panacea for addressing the challenge of creating a generation of global citizens, study abroad is emerging as a primary, high-impact experiential learning opportunity designed to provide meaningful international experiences for students. Public and political support for study abroad remains high with calls to double participation in the U.S. over the coming decade as a response to perceptions of increased global competition and uncertainty felt across personal, business and political sectors of society (CNN, 2014; Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, 2005; Institute of International Education, n.d.; Nolan, 2009; Obama, B., 2012; Obama, M., 2011; Steves, 2012; Twombly, et al., 2012; Zemach-Bersin, 2009). General interest among college students is high, with large numbers of incoming freshmen expressing interest or intention to participate in a study abroad program (Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Rust, Dhanatya, Furuto, & Kheiltash, 2007). However, most college students complete their degrees without participating and the numbers of men participating in recent years is in decline (American Council on Education, Art and Science Group LLC, & College Board, 2008; Institute of International Education, 2014; Institute of International Education, 2016; R. Lewin, 2009). Reasons for this lack of participation continue to emerge, are

regularly debated across the profession and illustrate the complexity of individual decision making when it comes to student behavior in college. Because significant numbers of university leaders view study abroad as meaningful in preparing students for success in the 21st century, exploring the phenomenon at a time when most students and the majority of college men still choose not to participate is essential for gaining understanding of the student experience within the phenomenon and the context of higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Brustein, 2007; Nolan, 2009).

Building upon the historical background provided in Chapter I, this literature review examines the internationalization of higher education, the emergence of study abroad as one response to educating global citizens of the future and the focus on increasing participation of men. Globalization and internationalization are briefly examined and critiqued for their complex meanings in terms of U.S. higher education. Understanding globalization is important because gender in U.S. culture is constructed within a social environment that includes society's view of the world and the nation's place in it. Through a lens of emerging adulthood, college student decision making as related to the consumptive behaviors of study abroad participation is also explored. This includes considering the imagineering process students enact during the experience and critiques of study abroad messaging within higher education, leading to unrealistic expectations and problematic learning outcomes. Finally, research on gender, travel and study abroad marketing rhetoric provides critical insight relevant to examining my study abroad as a consumptive, meaningful practice for emerging adult college men.

Search Process

My review of literature is grounded in several years of personal research examining the study abroad phenomenon within higher education in the United States. For the purpose of my study, the search process built upon earlier work utilizing a multi-step process. Because research on study abroad is still emerging and generally aligns with significant increases in student participation over the past ten to fifteen years, the focus of this search was for research conducted since 2000. I include some earlier research in this review and subsequent chapters to provide a foundation for this field of study. Using a range of Boolean phrases, I paid particular attention in online databases to the use of ERIC, WorldCat, JSTOR, and Academic Search Premier through EBSCO. With the connection of study abroad to travel and tourism, I conducted a separate search including leisure studies topics to identify links between these two areas of research. Example Boolean phrases included study abroad, education abroad, study abroad experience, global competency, internationalization, globalization, higher education, study abroad marketing, emerging adulthood, culture, diversity, immersion, colonialism, gender, masculinity, identity, imagineering and tourism. Following the collection of research from these databases, I read articles and books as well as reviewed each reference list or bibliography for additional supporting research. I then collected those documents and reviewed them as well.

Following this initial search, I recognized that supporting seminal research from psychology, anthropology and sociology would be helpful to my study. PsychINFO and Sociological Abstracts databases were searched using a range of Boolean phrases. GoogleScholar was used to cross check for any research that had not appeared using

traditional databases. I then searched ProQuest Digital Dissertations Global for prior dissertations and thesis researching similar international education, student development and study abroad topics.

Finally, I delved into specific journals emerging from my initial searches for any additional articles. The targeted journals for this search were *Journal of Studies in International Education* and *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* supported by secondary journal searches of *Higher Education: The International Journal of Higher Education and Education Planning*, *Research in Higher Education Journal* and *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*. As my study progressed, I continued to conduct searches for research and theoretical work to assist my analysis process.

Globalization, Internationalization and the Educated Citizen

Emerging technologies of the 21st century increase society's demand for speed. Time seems to fly by and days are compressed into fleeting moments. As paradigmatic shifts in communication styles, knowledge dissemination, and construction of the educated body emerge, reliance on consumption serves a multitude of individual and social ends (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000). Each nation experiences these shifts differently based on unique history, culture and priorities, but the cross-border flow of information, technology, money, behaviors and people seems to increase with each passing day (Knight & de Wit, 1997). Considering the United States specifically, the unprecedented and nearly universal access to new technologies plays a critical role in forming the positive and negative worldview individuals hold concerning other cultures and their own. Nightly news programs, political campaigns and office water cooler discussions center on the role of the United States within a world in flux. One central

response to the social discomfort during this time of global change is to seek uniform stabilization. Often expressed with nationalistic themes, witnessed at the time of this study through political protests and demonstrations around the United States, uniformity is projected across cultures by standardizing systems and procedures in areas like education and the economy. The resulting transformation of the structure of higher education is visible both in the United States and around the globe (Aguirre Jr. & Martinez, 2007; Bond, Qian, & Huang, 2003; Scott, 2006). Hser (2005) observes an active desire within higher education to participate in the larger, national response to these global and local social, economic and cultural shifts. This *internationalization* of higher education pushes institutions to not just matriculate *globally competent* graduates but to view participation in internationalization as critical to remain relevant and viable as modern institutions of higher learning within the emergent, globally competitive environment (J. Edwards, 2007; Hser, 2005).

However, the increase of international activity at universities, often linked to tangible local, national and global economic motivators, contributes to a growing view of knowledge as not only a service to the public good but a profitable commodity for the open market (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Lee, 2008). As universities strive to compete in the global economy and shift to traditional business models of operation, situating students as consumers, money and profit motivate many institutions to consider internationalization efforts as a competitive advantage (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Côté & Levine, 2002; J. Edwards, 2007). With continuing and often drastic reductions in state financial support for higher education, students and donors play a key role in the overall financial health of U.S. universities and colleges. These institutions may look to

meaningful international experiences within the curriculum not only as one way to better compete for the ever more critical tuition dollar but also to produce the vital, successful alumni donors of the future. Whatever the unique institutional motivations, universities are actively exploring the international education services and opportunities available to their students, faculty and staff as they bridge the goal of developing the educated leaders of tomorrow with the economic pressures of a commodified knowledge economy.

Understanding the internationalization of higher education is critical in comprehending why and how study abroad has emerged as a prevailing initiative to meet both educational and economic pressures across so many U.S. universities.

Internationalization within the Context of Higher Education

Over recent decades, study abroad has been woven ever more deeply into the internationalized fabric of U.S. higher education. As Altbach (1998) observes in foundational work on the phenomenon, increased student diversity, competition for resources and the corporatization of higher education have collectively altered the educational setting. This paradigm shift brings many unique challenges to higher education, including internal and external pressures for universities to produce students with greater international experience, which in turn creates advantages that support the interests of the university and the nation as a whole (Hser, 2005). College students are viewed as both consumers and products in this complex environment. Universities compete in the educational marketplace for tuition paying students and in turn are expected to produce *globally competent citizens* as graduates (Hunter, 2004; Nussbaum, 1997; Picard, Bernardino, & Ehigiator, 2009). This approach to educational and political

thinking plays an important role in the increasing presence of study abroad programming within higher education.

Internationalizing the university.

As evidenced by the inclusion in many university mission statements of themes that express in some way *internationalizing the campus* or *service to the world*, institutions often find it socially and politically beneficial to present their institution as globally situated. MidSouth University, the site of my study, is no exception. The institution recently undertook an effort to raise the visibility and international ranking of the institution as a way to, among other goals, attract more tuition paying international students. Increasing internationalization activities at a university contributes to the growth of an international knowledge economy which in turn serves as a component of the very globalization processes that encouraged the initial internationalization (J. Edwards, 2007; Lee, 2008; Powell & Snellman, 2004). This perpetuation of the global knowledge economy helps commodify education as both private benefit and public service (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Although some leaders consider this commodification of higher education harmful to the overall U.S. education system, others consider it as the best way to prepare U.S. citizens for the increasing global competition affecting most sectors of the national economy (Lee, 2008).

One factor that has helped some institutions centralize thinking on international efforts is institutional diversity. As universities find themselves competing in an ever more socially diversified environment, they look for meaningful and effective ways to increase diversity and cultural understanding across the institution. Crosling, Edwards, and Schroder (2008) observe that universities consider global competency to be a key

diversity attribute of their graduates. MidSouth University holds to long-standing academic traditions requiring students to pursue both domestic and international diversity study prior to graduation. Their outcomes assessment of the domestic and international curriculum leads MidSouth to articulate global awareness as a part of diversity programming, proposing study abroad as an ideal route for exposing more students to issues of diversity, both at home and abroad.

Globalization and diversity in the university.

As more traditional forms of diversifying campus populations and programs face continued judicial scrutiny (*Fisher v. University of Texas* (2016), *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2000), *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2001) and *Hopwood v. State of Texas* (1994) as examples), NAFSA: Association of International Educators (2006, 2011) finds that a majority of U.S. citizens believe it is critical for future generations to be prepared to succeed in a globally-interconnected world and that study abroad is vital in preparing students to succeed in the diversified global workplace. Supporting an earlier study by the Ford Foundation (1998), these NAFSA studies identify generally positive and consistent public views concerning universities responsibilities in leading global diversity initiatives as part of their larger contribution to society. These views include perceptions of the need for improved levels of teaching students foreign languages and about the world's other cultures if the U.S. hopes to compete in a global economy. This positive public perception of international diversity education, global skills and contemporary knowledge influences how many universities address organizational culture with globalization serving as one catalyst for diversity efforts on campuses across the United States (Chun & Evans, 2009). Because higher education controls the key systems for imparting

advanced knowledge in the United States, society looks to universities to foster the change needed to successfully meet the demand for diversity training resulting from various paradigms, including globalization (Barnett, 2005).

Study Abroad and the Educated Citizen

Promoted on campuses across the United States as an academic remedy for creating a more diverse generation of *globally competent citizens*, study abroad encompasses a wide range of experiential learning opportunities including student exchanges, internships, service learning, teaching and work placements. These high-impact learning activities are not without critique. Higher education in the United States faces systemic conflict between puritan ethic, a foundational cornerstone of U.S. culture, and capitalist opportunities in an industrialized and economically powerful nation (Spindler, 1959/2000). Levinson and Holland (1996) note the expression of this conflict between puritan ethic and abundance in U.S. education systems potentially binds students to existing structures of class, gender, and race inequalities projected as the dominant, nation-centric paradigm. This paradigm relies on formulations of social duality in which people view their world in terms of the self and others. This othering of people, where some individuals are seen as objects, is deeply connected to issues of power (Sartre, 1947). For example, conceptualizing women as the Other because they are not men is a form of oppression that allows men as empowered and agentic individuals to define women's existence in relation to men's (de Beauvoir, 1952). As understanding of the Other (capitalized here as a recognized subversion of the power of linguistics and grammar in perpetuating sexism and racism) expands beyond and within U.S. borders, the cultural production of the educated person as a whole is reimagined. The very terms

global citizen and *globally competent* suggest a knowingness and prestige from travel across borders. In contrast, refugees and immigrants are rarely described as global citizens in the same context of mobility, illustrating one way the concept of study abroad potentially reinforces existing structures of power and privilege across socioeconomic, gender, racial and ethnic boundaries (Doerr, 2013).

Although universities may intend to open study abroad to more students as one part of their institutional diversity efforts, the institutional construction of the Other and students' perceptions of some identities as more rewarded than others encourages students to mimic more powerful identities. This behavior helps retain existing power structures and maintain the status quo while assuming participants will assimilate to the dominant, White standards of the institution (Thomas, 2011). For example, the men in my study all self-identified as White, including one who mentioned he could identify either as Native American or White if he wanted but chooses to identify as White, illustrating how perceptions of racial and ethnic power at a predominantly White institution affects student behavior. As Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) observe, the distribution of symbolic capital allows dominant groups to retain their advantages and receive greater institutional validation and legitimacy. At an institution where study abroad is perceived as an opportunity for dominant White, middle-class identities and those students who seek to model their own identities after the dominant White majority, this distribution of capital is key in understanding the predominance of White, middle-class student participation in study abroad, an advantage of society's overall dissemination of knowledge and critiques of *global competency*, *global citizenship* and *cultural immersion* within the phenomenon (Doerr, 2013).

Socially constructing the educated person.

All societies, at different levels of formal structure and scale, provide some training designed to create the educated person (Levinson & Holland, 1996). In addition to the formal school environment, educated persons are culturally produced in both the home and public venues allowing individuals to contribute to their own education and the larger production of accepted cultural norms. As Levinson and Holland (1996) observe, this process is not a linear, generational transmission of knowledge but a multifaceted process in which the response to learning, including individual subjectivities and development of agency, is as significant as the formal process of transmitting knowledge.

Considering the enlightened competencies generally expressed as intended learning outcomes of study abroad, it is important to recognize that contradictions exist between the value-laden goals of participation and the lived experiences of student participants, providing opportunities for critical analysis of these culturally patterned contradictions (Spindler, 1959/2000). While participating in study abroad, students experience latent learning opportunities inspired by curiosity, sensuality and adventure well beyond the control of official institutional instruction (Ariyaratne, 1986; Miao & Harris, 2012). In many ways this engages the informal learning stressed by Levinson and Holland (1996) and plays into the culturally relevant independent, competency values critical in U.S. culture as summarized by Spindler and Spindler (1983/2000). Humans seek to gain perceptions of competency, including gender competencies, through social interaction, creating a drive for competency attainment as a stimulant for ego growth (Erikson, 1963, 1968). Study abroad participation bridges the formal and informal learning processes as emerging adults construct their own views of the educated person.

The success of a high-impact educational process like study abroad depends on the level of discrepancy identified between the intent of program administrators to transmit specific content and participant's actual learning while immersed in the other culture (Spindler, 1989/2000). Removed from the formal learning environment of the home campus, the knowledge gained abroad can be far more at the discretion of the study abroad participant and relies on the capital, intentionality and understanding of learning the student brings with them into the international space.

Reed-Danahay (1997) observes that the process of becoming formally educated in the United States generally though not universally encompasses a physical departure from the home to an articulated learning space. Though online education may shift this experience in many respects for increasing numbers of emerging adults, the prevalent view of higher education for the White, middle and upper classes at the beginning of the 21st century, and those who model after these dominant social groups, remains one in which students depart home, theoretically gain independence preparing for adulthood and become educated persons at a physical location designed for formal learning. This privileged, geographic mobility to a campus away from home is connected directly to class mobility where being estranged from the home culture is required to experience the assimilation process of becoming an educated person (Reed-Danahay, 1997).

Study abroad emerges as a natural extension of this approach to learning by expanding the geographic mobility globally while encouraging White, middle-class normative behaviors. The sense of self as an educated person allows for the creation of views on social difference resulting in new opportunities to differentiate the elevated social position of the schooled individual and retain the power position of the dominant

groups (Levinson, 1996). As higher education systems become more universal, and institutional success is measured in part by retention and the number of degrees granted annually, study abroad participation is one force differentiating the educated person from one holding a college degree, creating what Levinson (1996) notes as a set of social connections and status differences where none existed before. Globalization and the international knowledge economy, reliant on wealth disparity and regulated distribution of social capital, foster the creation of new social stratification in which the global experience is perceived as more valuable and elevated above the local (Gristwood & Woolf, 2013). Because knowledge is portable, it is fundamental to the actualization of globalization in contemporary, economically stratified societies (Carnoy, 2000). Engagement with other cultures abroad is viewed as more meaningful and relevant to student learning than are similar cultural engagement opportunities at home. The resulting identity label of *global citizen*, the perceived realization of a global competency within the individual, and the anticipated capital it provides becomes an identity marker for the educated body even where the individual does not articulate the identity marker directly.

Global citizenship.

Global citizenship, as a learning outcome of higher education, is viewed by many leaders as central to the organizational shifts emerging out of pressures for a multicultural and interdependent citizenry (Gacel-Ávila, 2005; Shattle, 2009). Contemporary, idealized global citizenship encompasses concepts of cross-cultural empathy, international mobility, self and external awareness and personal achievement (Schattle, 2009). Nussbaum (1997) frames global citizenship as a path to solving larger global

problems and addressing the moral obligations of wealthier nations. The global citizenship themes of self-awareness, responsibility and active participation in the betterment of self, nation and world resonate across the study abroad discourse (Nolan, 2009; Nussbaum, 1997; Schattle, 2009). A study abroad participant experiencing others living meaningful and happy lives in terms other than their home culture can in turn begin to imagine ways to live their own life differently (Nolan, 2009). In my study one student decided that Spaniards were “more welcoming” and friendly, after observing the positive response among many Spaniards to refugees that contradicted his negative experiences at home with the treatment of people seen as “different.” He ventured that one day he too could establish a new life in a more welcoming and friendly place.

Global citizenship is, like any social construct, not without its complications. As Doerr (2013) observes, to define a construct of citizenship as *global* requires acceptance of artificial and fluid national and cultural borders. The idea that a global citizenry can be defined and labeled as more competent or worldly than other members of society is complex and troubling. To express global citizenship as a universally-positive outcome from the study abroad experience places unrealistic expectations upon these brief encounters with other nations and peoples and erases the competency of subaltern (Spivak, 1988) immigrant and refugee migrating populations. Such individuals are likely, out of pure necessity and experience, far more globally competent than the typical study abroad participant. Yet their global competency is invisible or ignored in favor of the White, middle class competencies and citizenry associated with study abroad participation and international tourism. The power in labeling others is reflected in comparing the terms expatriate and immigrant. Both are citizens of other countries living

abroad, but each term is value laden with deeply seeded race and class cultural norms. Labeling someone as a global citizen also requires accepting of troubling borders, separation and difference that exist between cultures and individuals in a complex world. Defining someone as competent globally is in many ways focused on retaining the privilege and separation that exists to oppress others. *Competency* or *citizenship* is a superior positioning of some individuals over others within society which in turn sustains nationalism, hegemony and manifestations of privileged, cosmopolitan mindsets that exist in contemporary globalization. The men in my study are not immune to these privileging forces.

Cosmopolitanism, privilege and colonialist thinking.

As Urry (1995) observes, travel is now a popularized experience ingrained in the United States' consumer culture. Many perceive cultural space and authentic experiences abroad as commodities available for purchase and consumption. When students embark on the experience of academic travel, they do so upon the culturally embedded historical notions of colonialist expansion, national exceptionalism and mass tourism as a consumption activity of the middle classes. Even if unaware of these cultural constructs, such notions exist in their home environment and influence their imaginaries. To remain successful and achieve the desired participation increases, education abroad can be sophisticated in adapting consumer ideology, through a colonialist-tourist gaze, that relies on Western objectification of the Other (Sharpe, 2015). The nations of the world are situated simultaneously as mythologically complex and homogeneously simplified in their accessible otherness (Woolf, 2011). Students travel to new locations to experience a deeper diversity privileged above the diversity at home, yet return with laundry lists of

cities and sites consumed. Expressing their experiences in terms like having “done Rome,” “checked Barcelona off their bucket list” or somehow grasped the entirety of Peruvian culture by visiting Machu Picchu, this consumptive approach is troubling if students intend to view study abroad beyond concepts of tourism. Ogden (2007) defines this profile as the *colonial student*, open to the benefits of study abroad while resisting the more challenging aspects of engaging the Other. These students embody a sense of American entitlement situating the world as one in which the Other is to be discovered, fetishized and documented on social media. Culture is theirs for the taking as privileged, mobile, global citizens (Breen, 2012).

This privilege is particularly noteworthy as students spend significant time exploring options for their study abroad destination only to in turn use the destination as a home base from which they make regular site seeing jaunts across a region (Ogden, 2007). Such is the luxury of the short-term guest. When told they can engage in a culturally immersive experiences to become globally competent they often instead seek out tourist-like experiences that in many ways adhere to the familiar, home-culture, Western lifestyle. These tourist experiences are only magnified during a short-term program where cultural encounters can be minimal without great intentionality and effort. As a result, the student interested in social engagement with locals enters these encounters on their own terms, above the Other and quite possibly ill prepared to develop meaningful relationships (Ogden, 2007). The very act of creating a home abroad, full of privileged engagement with the foreign, sustains Western affluence and middle-class consumptive values within academe (Breen, 2012). This is why it is difficult and complex, no matter how earnestly Woolf (2006) and others critique the comparison of

study abroad to tourism, to disengage the two phenomena, especially within the short-term program model.

With increasing numbers of participants paying for the academic experience, the exoticizing language of tourism is bound to seep into study abroad metanarratives (Shubert, 2007). Although many study abroad professionals may wish to view the learning experience abroad as on a higher plane than tourism, participating in study abroad exists in an upwardly mobile, middle-class, aspirational consumer market in which the ability to pay depends on the individual's economic privilege and capital access (Breen, 2012). When students pursue locations regarded as fun and have personal motivations for participation well beyond any academic goal, the experience is at risk of being perceived as a vacation more than a course (Shubert, 2007; Woolf, 2006). For students in states like the home of MidSouth University, academic travel can often take on a missionary-like aura seeking out the poor, the non-Christian or those perceived as tragically uneducated in the exceptionalism of the United States. The host culture is conceived prior to departure as a site for expanding and reinforcing students existing perceptions with rarely any exploration beyond self-interests (Woolf, 2006). In the worst case, participation is motivated by voyeuristic desires to observe the Other from the elevated and privileged American standpoint. Such academic tourism experiences place the student on a metaphorical colonial veranda, surveying the Other while obstructed from potential learning possible in the host culture (Ogden, 2007). This elevated view cannot help but influence how students imagineer their experience.

This obstruction of learning is not entirely of the student's making. The field of study abroad professionals contributes by continuing to promote sites abroad as more

complex and historically more significant than what is available at home (Woolf, 2011). Institutions create narratives designed to sell students and their parents on the study abroad experience (Beaudin, 2013). Ogden (2007) observes that many study abroad programs by their very design deliberately place students in positions from which they can view culture without the discomfort of immersion in it. As pressures to continually increase university participation numbers grow, the mythology of globalization leads to unrealistic expectations for students, study abroad professionals, and university administrators (Woolf, 2006). The resulting mythic narratives toss and twist concepts of authenticity leading to metanarratives suggesting that to be whole as an educated person the individual must get out of their culturally binding comfort zone. In actualizing these sentiments within study abroad, the comfort zone is many times simply carried abroad, resulting in illusionary perceptions of immersion by placing the body in a new space while avoiding the physical discomfort of action (Ogden, 2007). Ogden's colonial student seeks the excitement, wonderment and once in a lifetime experiences of the middle-class emerging adult. The result is a complex stew simmered in views of the United States, for all its power and influence, as infantile, culturally impoverished and requiring immersion in some greater, global, authentic experience (Woolf, 2006). Such concepts of authenticity and transposing of comfort zones provides a unique lens to critique how definitions of the educated person require engaging the Other while briefly and usually superficially immersed in their culture, to gain the elusive competencies of global citizenship. The social burden from such discourse is a cosmopolitan mythologizing of the Other, providing study abroad participants a culture that feels both liberating and conventional (Woolf, 2011).

One area in which this dissonance of cosmopolitanism can be found is in the contrasting efforts within study abroad to develop global citizens who possess critical thinking skills required of an educated body in contrast to the highly commercialized and consumptive delivery models of the study abroad program. If study abroad is considered critical for the educated person, the student's future employability depends on their ability in a classed society to engage in the affluent behaviors of the privileged (Breen, 2012). The depth of the experience is secondary to the repositioning of the body in both temporary geographic space and longer lasting social caste. The social presumption that enlightenment is to be found abroad sets up expectations that the life changing experience of study abroad is primarily due to placement of the body in a specific geographic space rather than through personal introspection, reflection or social interaction (Woolf, 2011).

To explore men's participation in study abroad, a fundamental understanding of emerging adulthood and the college student decision making process is needed. If study abroad participation is in fact critical to the full actualization of the educated male body, and programming is driven by nationalistic, hegemonic, privileged constructs that favor historically masculine advantages, it is compelling to understand the experiences of men since participation numbers suggest a decrease in interest at the very time participation should resonate as valuable within the corridors of masculine gender construction.

Emerging Adulthood and Men's Study Abroad Participation

In the United States and becoming common in more affluent countries and developed urban areas around the world, the *emerging adulthood* phase provides time for independent role exploration falling somewhere between the late teens and late twenties (Arnett, 2000, 2015). Achievement, affiliation and identity are primary developmental

constructs in this stage (Schulenberg, Bryan, & O'Malley, 2004). In recent decades, the cultural and social expectations during the time between adolescence and young adulthood have shifted. As more people pursue college after high school and delay marriage or childbirth, opportunities and experiences shift. Although many young people still follow a traditional trajectory initiating careers and families in their late teens or early 20's, it is normative in many contemporary cultures and under specific circumstances, especially for the White, middle and upper classes, to enter long-term adult roles later in life (Arnett, 2015). Compared to past signs of adulthood that included roles of provider, protector and procreator, today's emerging adult man also encounters the self-sufficiency and self-reliance of a contemporary, postmodern adulthood that includes focus on self, happiness, instant gratification and consumption (Arnett, 2000; Nelson, 2003).

Emerging adult men are afforded unprecedented options and opportunities to individualize and experiment with psychosocial identity formation (Arnett, 2015; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Côté & Levine, 2002; Josselson & Harway, 2012). As such, they face unique psychological tasks aimed at constructing identity to guide their future decisions and commitments. This time allows them to establish the core, stable identities needed to sustain them as they define/redefine manhood and the signs that adulthood has been achieved (Schwartz, Côté, & Arnett, 2005). This process is uniquely personal for each individual, has agentic implications for success, and results in distinct and sometimes conflicting multiple identities, communal affiliations and loyalties (Arnett, 2015; Josselson & Harway, 2012). During emerging adulthood, and especially for those engaged in tertiary educational pursuits, individuals become aware that although they

have neither left adolescent nor entered adulthood they possess a degree of choice beyond any other period of life (Arnett, 2000, 2001, 2015).

Study abroad relies on an emerging adulthood cultural norm to achieve desired growth in participation since the experiential learning and exploration of self that occurs during study abroad is closely aligned with the presence and functions of an emerging adulthood phase. Considering students colonial and consumptive positionality and perceptions as they enact study abroad, the emerging adulthood stage is almost perfectly suited for constructing and reproducing such student identities. Study abroad participation, a consumptive behavior in which participants can purchase identity-constructing experiences, increases during times of affluence and national prosperity where young people, free from war and other national crises, are able to remain relatively self-focused and independent. A time of low social and normative role expectations, emerging adulthood provides opportunities to explore a full range of life directions across areas like love, work and worldview (Arnett, 2000). This includes opportunities for reflecting on positive tendencies, values and beliefs but also reinforcing existing social structures and reinforcing privilege (Padilla-Walker, Barry, Carroll, Madsen, & Nelson, 2008).

A period of greater risk taking, emerging adulthood provides students the encouragement and support to participate in uncertain and risk-perceived activities such as study abroad. It is an ideal time for college students to remove themselves from home environments they may experience as hectic, stress-filled or boring. Ravert (2009) finds travel and exploring new places as the most common behavior category articulated by emerging adults experiencing a strong sense of pending adulthood and the perceived

restrictions that come with it. With a lower level of commitment than longer programs, short-term study abroad is an attractive option for emerging adults seeking to explore life's possibilities independently in a semi-controlled environment.

Arnett's (2000) understanding of an emerging adulthood phase aligns with the concept of study abroad as it provides a lens for examining the psychological and sociological conditioning participants experience as they shift their orientation to new environments. A time when parent-regulation is replaced with self-regulation, emerging adulthood encompasses significant re-centering of self with shifts in power, agency, responsibility, and social contexts. Study abroad can challenge expectations and worldviews, which may explain why some students describe their participation as life changing. Urry (1995) notes that travel offers the opportunity to relax life's rules and restrictions to allow for alternate behaviors. Students may perceive these norms abroad as more sociable and playful than those at home which can influence how they perform abroad.

Although study broad is typically viewed as a culturally immersive experience, the construct of immersion is complicated and questionable in how truly immersed, if at all, any short-term study abroad participant is able to be in a host culture (Doerr, 2013). This is further complicated by the understanding that borders are artificial, man-made constructions that will not always indicate difference or similarity (Arnett & Galambos, 2003). None the less, this liminal space between home and host culture is ideally suited for the exploration of emerging adulthood. The study abroad experience, just as much of the college environment, can expand students' capacity in ways that foster deeper soul-searching and optimism about one's perceived potential to make meaningful change in

the world (Arnett & Tanner, 2006). This sense of life potential is deeply connected with individual decisions to participate.

Men's Inclination to Study Abroad and the Decision to Participate

As the United States faces the shared challenge of responding to an increasingly interconnected global world, an editorial in *USA Today* notes that if the country hopes to remain competitive globally it must reverse the trend of minimal student participation and invest in more study abroad opportunities for all college students (Steves, 2012). Such observations highlight the struggle universities face in guiding students from initial interest to participating in a program abroad. Perna's (2006a) theoretical Model of Student College Behavior is built upon the assumption that student decisions in college occur within a situational context of the individual's full life experiences. The behavior model situates college-related decisions in the context of socially constructed attitudes developed in both school and community. This is significant because the decision to study abroad consists of many complex factors, including the use of social and cultural capital acquired before attending and during the first years of college (Salisbury, et al., 2010a). Privilege, power, oppression, opportunities, values, beliefs, norms, and other constraints all factor into the diversity of student choice (Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999; Toncar, Reid, & Anderson, 2005; Twombly, et al., 2012; Whitt, Pascarella, Nesheim, Marth, & Pierson, 2003). Emerging adult men must balance times of great opportunity with high levels of uncertainty as they engage in identity formation.

Bourdieu's and Passeron's (1977) theory on the formation of capital (human, financial, social, and cultural) relates to students' decisions and educational choices in these situations. Emerging adult men are intensely attuned to not only the benefits of

capital but the opportunities consumption provides for identity formation and capital acquisition. U.S. study abroad remains a predominantly White, middle-class activity for women with the majority of students still choosing the traditional locations of Western Europe as preferred destinations. Although the decision to participate is individual, it relies upon a complex set of cultural influences and considerations. Socioeconomic status, peer and relational influence and personal motivations merge with constructs of gender, race and class to affect both intent and actualized participation (Twombly, et al., 2012; Whitt, et al., 2003). Scholarship suggests that men and women learn and develop differently during college and that they make decisions within a gender normative structure that includes social expectations, gender roles, class, and racial privilege.

Habitus, the formation of inherent daily practices through repetitively learned behaviors and tendencies that are passed on generationally (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), is an important lens for understanding research showing that although 48 percent of university-bound students express an intention to study abroad less than 10 percent of college students actually participate in study abroad programs during their undergraduate degree program (Institution of International Education, 2014; Stohl, 2007). Even those men who enter college intending to participate in study abroad may not actually invest the time and energy needed to complete the process because their habitus does not encompass study abroad as a realistic option. How and if men become aware of study abroad, inform themselves on their learning opportunities, imagine themselves within the experience and decide if they will actually participate are each related to social context. Family resources, peer influence, the level of power and agency they perceive and the degree to which they understand participation as a possibility in their lives all complicate

the decision making process of an emerging adult. Predicting men's behavior in this complicated process is difficult and complex.

Public policy can reinforce the social and economic contextual elements by providing potential disconnect between the availability of information related to study abroad programs and students' actual knowledge (Perna, 2006b). National, state, and local policies are communicated in a variety of ways toward students and their families. Programs such as President Obama's *100,000 Strong: U.S.-China Strong Foundation* initiative (U. S. Department of State, 2012) represent public policy on study abroad issues and are presented in many different formats to the general public but may still not be familiar to students and their parents. The complexity of information on the many study abroad programs and initiatives, the differing opinions across the university and society concerning participation and the high levels of unmet need within higher education can all reduce men's motivation to explore study abroad as a component of their educational experience (Perna, 2006b). Emerging adults face many influences, interests and pressures to participate in the wide range of opportunities and experiences during college. Students, like any member of society, must pick and choose the activities they value, in which they are engaged and to which they fully commit.

Predicting Men's Participation in Study Abroad

Individual capital may reinforce decisions to participate but can also deter participation, depending on student's lived experiences before and during college. For example, Sanchez, Fornerino, and Zhang (2006) observe while comparing French, Chinese, and U.S. students' decisions to participate in study abroad that because students in Western cultures like the United States perceive they have adequate opportunities to

improve their social capital and professional status without going abroad, they are more likely to view study abroad as an opportunity within the emerging adulthood phase for exploring personal pleasure and adventure rather than social advancement. Therefore, marketing materials that frame the experience as an adventure are anticipated to speak more directly to prospective men in the U.S. with this orientation. However, Schroth and McCormack (2000) find men more drawn to experiences that demonstrate opportunity for mental challenge. This is especially true for men who pursue traditional masculine constructs, placing career success as central to their lives (Lucas, 2009).

Although discussions on participation can group students into a few seemingly homogeneous populations, the decision to participate is in reality complex and unique for each individual. Emerging adults are inundated with behavior and affiliation choices, with many decisions closely associated with prevalent feelings of losing the opportunities available to them (Ravert, 2009). Experiencing a pressing awareness that the future is fast approaching, and facing a series of complex decisions regarding participation, many men focused on personal growth as a motivating factor in the decision to consider study abroad (Elder, Smith, & Pitts, 2010; Pimpa, 2005; Pope, Sánchez, Lehnert, & Schmid, 2014; Ravert, 2009). Participation is highly personal and situational with decisions shaped by a wide range of interrelated factors (Hackney, Boggs, & Borozan, 2012; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015). Students' who opt for study abroad as one of many choices made in this race to the future will have interests in participation that can vary widely with different participants seeking experiences that are familiar, controlled, spontaneous or quite dissimilar from their daily lives (Cardon, Marshall, & Poddar, 2011).

After participation, the outcomes and experiences expressed about study abroad are similar for both men and women (Van Hoof & Verbeeten, 2005). These include greater understanding of cultures, greater appreciation for the home culture and learning more about themselves as individuals constructing emerging adult identities. However, the motivations and influences leading to a decision to participate differ for men and women prior to departure (Lucas, 2009; Salisbury, et al., 2010a). For example, Lucas (2009) identifies four key motivators for men considering study abroad participation: fun, cultural learning, resume building and academic/career benefits. A growing body of research has examined the complex set of predictors suggesting the likelihood a student will participate in study abroad; yet, as evidenced by the relatively static participation rates, these studies only scratch the surface in understanding the phenomenon.

Paus and Robinson (2008) identify foreign language study, academic achievement demonstrated by GPA score, and participation in extracurricular activities as predictors of study abroad participation, with influence by faculty and parents especially significant for students from marginalized socioeconomic and minority populations. This is supported by Shirley (2006) who went further with comparisons by gender and finds women more likely to be influenced by parents and other family members while faculty, peers, and others remain consistent influencers for women and men. Shirley also observes that women tend to consider more than men the financial ramifications of participation and may be more likely to opt against participation for financial reasons. He proposes that concern for funding and influence by parents are linked in the women's decision making process. However, in some contradiction to Shirley, Lucas (2009) observed that men were deeply affected by a sense of obligation to family and the protection of the family's

financial resources. Yankey (2014) furthers this understanding by observing men's feelings of academic accountability to family influences their participation. This sense of obligation can lead men to avoid even asking parents about the possibility of participation in study abroad. Although men and women may view cost and financial ramifications differently, it plays a significant role in how students perceive participation. Across each of these studies, the influence of others (whether peers, family or faculty) upon the student decision making process is significant.

For men with close knit peer groups, the likelihood of participation in study abroad is reduced (Lucas, 2009). This is significant when considering participation and gender identity because it helps illuminate the pressure men may feel to fit a norm as college students. Participating in activities encouraged by one's peers may take precedence over personal interests. Personal values, experiences and peer influence shape men's intentions to study abroad far more than educational contexts or authority figures (Salisbury, et al., 2010a). Although there is potential for study abroad to be encouraged as a peer group activity, the reality is that men's peer groups may value other campus activities such as attending football games, joining a fraternity, partying or similar masculine activities.

Understanding the decision to participate is further complicated by research suggesting participation in some extracurricular activities such as expectations of fraternity or sorority membership positively affects participation while others like student government or performance group membership negatively affect participation (Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015). This places increasing responsibility on parents, families, peers and universities for mentoring students on college related decisions, a process often

hindered by the mentors' own economic, social, and psychological barriers (Perna, 2004). The student decision making process is therefore dependent on how the student constructs their decision making experience, the benefits they perceive from participation and the complex array of individuals influencing the process. Understanding these influences is significant to this study because participation in study abroad is an acutely individualized social experience within a larger identity development undertaking.

Men carry with them a full range of identity inputs grounded in their socioeconomic, ethnic and gender backgrounds. If they already possess international awareness as part of their lived experiences, international involvement as an identity pull will facilitate greater participation (Mazon, 2009). The blending of academic resources in high school and college with the role of social expectations provided by family, peers, advisors, and faculty appear to aid students through their decision making process and play a direct role influencing the decision to participate, or not, in a study abroad experience.

Study Abroad Influences and Obstacles

Faculty play a significant role in internationalizing the university and any universal approach to internationalization cannot occur until faculty view the importance of a global mindset (Schoorman, 2000). Auster and MacRone (1994) identify the influence faculty can have on student participation in the classroom, suggesting that developing faculty engagement as a way to influence men's decisions to study abroad is significant (Paus & Robinson, 2008; Salisbury, Umbach, Paulsen, & Pascarella, 2009). The men in my study all referenced the role of the faculty to some degree in their decision to participation. Students rely more on the opinions and suggestions of faculty,

family, and friends than they do on their own experiences and knowledge when making personal, academic choices (Asaoka & Yano, 2009). This suggests a willingness to relinquish some power during the decision making process based on the significance of the students' interpersonal relationships, providing another complex layer to the already complicated emerging adulthood decision making process.

When faculty actively discourage participation in study abroad the decision making process can be disrupted, especially for young men highly attuned to social pressures for expected performances of masculinity. Overcoming this pressure to conform forces students with active intentions to participate to rely more heavily on personal capital which they may or may not have at their disposal (Hser, 2005; Paus & Robinson, 2008; Stohl, 2007). The family and peer relationships of the emerging adult man play a significant role in attaining personal capital and the ability to overcome obstacles. Parent's previous experiences, family socio-economic status, and the established patterns for encouraging family members to explore educational opportunities can all play a role in the student decision making process (Perna, 2006b). Without the help of peers, family members, teachers, and advisors, translating their intention into reality becomes a significant obstacle to participation in study abroad.

Men seem motivated to participate in study abroad when it is perceived to integrate knowledge, information and ideas relevant to the men's values and beliefs (Salisbury, et al., 2010a). However, men tend to focus more on barriers and obstacles over benefits and opportunities when considering study abroad participation, with the most significant obstacle for men being the risk of delayed graduation, and therefore delayed entry into a successful career (a key signifier of normative masculine identity)

(Lucas, 2009). Multiple men in this study articulated the importance of a short-term study abroad program as their “only option” if they wanted to graduate “on time.” For men with undecided majors, intent to participate in study abroad is far more likely (Salisbury, et al., 2010a). Yankey (2014) considers that undecided major status suggests a lesser immediate focus on future career, a break from traditional concepts of college masculinity, and therefore an openness to learning opportunities like study abroad.

Other obstacles men perceive include belief in misalignment between study abroad and academic and personal goals as well as costs and the level of application requirements needed to participate. The time required to research and apply for a program is not appealing to men and serves as a mental barrier in pursuing participation (Lucas, 2009). Peer exposure to students with previous study abroad experience appears effective for encouraging more students, especially men, to study abroad because they can hear from other men how they overcame the perceived barriers and obstacles like those above (Doyle, Gendall, Meyer, Hoek, Tait, McKenzie, & Loorparg, 2010; Salisbury, et al., 2010a).

Social environment seems to affect men’s participation to a larger degree in both negative and positive ways (Salisbury, et al., 2010a; Shirley, 2006). Men who gain significant social capital through extracurricular activities are less likely to participate in study abroad, a factor with seemingly little to no effect on women. The importance of group belonging for men may increase connection to place at the university while simultaneously reducing interest in other positive experiential learning opportunities, including study abroad. However, when men perceive study abroad as a potential vehicle to enhance a sense of belonging, as several of my participants mention, men’s

participation may increase. Research continues to suggest that for still emerging reasons, but highly relevant when examining men's participation in study abroad, men express higher prosocial tendencies, ethnocentrism and achievement motivation with lower altruism and language learning interests than women (Goldstein & Kim, 2005; Kim & Goldstein, 2005; Li, Olson, & Frieze, 2013; Padilla-Walker et al., 2008). How this emerges and is reinforced within cultural development and in turn may influence gender difference in participation remains in question, but prior exposure to diversity rich experiences does appear to make men more likely to pursue educational experiences abroad (Salisbury, et al., 2010a).

What seems clear, and is highly relevant to arguments for increasing qualitative study of the phenomenon, is that each student comes to the decision to participate in study abroad with social and cultural experiences before and during college that influences their identity and worldview. The predictors of participation remain unique for each participant, meaning that although we can locate common themes in the literature there is likely no single answer for why some men choose to study abroad and others do not.

Gender, Masculinity and Imagineering Study Abroad

With women's participation remaining consistently dominant as participation numbers increase (Institute of International Education, 2017), many continue to view study abroad as a feminine activity (Fischer, 2012). College men, already facing powerful campus social pressures around gender identity development, may need to imagine themselves as study abroad participants within an environment that has the potential to represent participation as something for women. Because these views of

study abroad are based on society's understanding of feminine and masculine, and because this study examines men's experiences within a study abroad program, a basic understanding of gender, masculine ideology and men's identity performances as masculine bodies is important.

Kimmel and Messner (2007) note that "Rarely, if ever, are men understood through the prism of gender" (p. xv). Conceptualizing gender and articulating its presence is a complex undertaking. Construction of gender is like the air around us. We know it is there, yet it is at times difficult for some of us to see, particularly men whose privilege often affords them the permission to not see (Johnson, 2006). We accept its presence as essential to our existence and well-being. We unconsciously take on, reject and project various socialized messages in an elaborate dance with constructs of gender. Study abroad is inherently gendered, just as are all social interactions.

Gender is a fundamental division of society in which expressions of masculinity and femininity are constructed through socially guided perceptual, interactional and micropolitical activities carried out in complex ways through interacting with others similarly oriented to its production (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Although often interchanged with the term sex, an assigned biological property of the individual, gender is the performance of identities which emerges within diverse social situations and includes others' responses to these performances. The ability to perform the act of "doing gender" is a mark of social competency involving complex and socially guided displays (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). These displays are unique to the time and place of their construction which makes the exploration of gender within study abroad participation a dynamic area of focus. Neither fixed nor static, gender is constantly

evolving and shifting. As individuals encounter endless social situations and the celebration of gender expectations within them they adapt, suggesting how conceptions of gender ideology shift well beyond social and historical traditions (Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

For masculine ideology, understanding how individual men internalize the cultural norms of masculinity, social expectations of men's behavior, norms and expectations are critical. Physicality, sexuality, power and anti-femininity all help situate the masculine as hegemonic. However, masculinity is not experienced the same by all men nor is it performed uniformly in all social settings. Some men are perceived as having more power than others in the system of masculinities. Socially constructed through interaction, concepts of gender and masculinity are dependent on the settings in which men function and can shift based on the social setting in which men find themselves and the gender behaviors within that setting (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Multiple masculinities are socially constructed, malleable and intersect across the full spectrum of men's experiences (Kimmel & Messner, 2007).

For college men, masculine ideology is most readily observed through such behavior as peer pressure obedience, expressions of homophobia, misogyny, restrictions of emotions, risk taking and competitive power manipulation (Connell, 2005; Kimmel, 1994; O'Neil & Roberts Carroll, 1988). Participation in study abroad can challenge many of these masculine ideology behaviors and expectations, leading to gender role strain (Barron, 2009) and gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981). Such strain can lead to exaggerated expressions of masculinity, such as excessive alcohol consumption, to counter peer perceptions of behavior perceived as out of the norm (O'Neil & Crapser,

2011). Gender role conflict emerges as men sacrifice authenticity to meet the social expectations of their assigned gender role (K. E. Edwards, 2007). Gender role conflict can potentially lead men to choose not to participate in study abroad, removing the conflict and reducing the gender strain they experience. This disengagement allows them to fit their behavior to their perceptions of gender stereotype (Kimmel, 2008). For men who push through or function outside the boundaries of gender role conflict, social and economic context may help explain how men navigate the decision making process and gain information useful in their decision. Key to this concept is understanding that men need not conform to hegemonic masculinity norms to gain benefits from the hegemony (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Messner (1993) identifies three categories of masculinity: hegemonic, stigmatized and marginalized. Hegemonic masculinity represents the socially dominant gender ideology for men. Stigmatized masculinity exists as an opposition to hegemonic masculinity, often articulated as feminine and thus clearly not masculine, such as gay or trans men. Marginalized masculinity is the existence of men outside the hegemonic, but not functioning in opposition to it, such as economically disadvantaged men or men of color. Any one of these masculinities can potentially appear and even shift within men's study abroad experience. With little research on men's experiences in study abroad, more study is needed on how different men imagine the experience and where notions of gender emerge as salient within the phenomenon.

Imagineering the Future

A portmanteau combination of imagination and engineering, *imagineering* is probably most associated with companies like Disney or Alcoa who are famous for

pursuing highly imaginative thinking then applying it to real-world applications. The term also applies to the individual, who imagines an experience then sets about creating that experience in practical form. Kuiper and Smit (2014) conceptualize this process as a shaping of the physical experience world in which the shared social moments of our lives stimulate our senses and lead to concepts of experience. Study abroad is a social activity and is deeply embedded with concepts of the 21st century experience economy. For men participating in study abroad, metanarrative imaginaries of study abroad create a foundation upon which they can imagine themselves abroad and engineer an experience applicable to their lives. For some men, the imaginaries of study abroad do not resonate and they in turn imagineer academic experiences that do not include study abroad.

Härkönen and Dervin (2015) observe that student mobility relies on developing and recycling of metanarrative imaginaries. As translated in Härkönen and Dervin, Dervin (2008) identifies several imaginaries of the individual (micro-imaginaries) that relate to student discourse on study abroad, including the idea that participation allows students to reduce stereotypical thinking about the Other and find their own identity. For students, these translate into four primary themes: (1) a dream place, (2) a new me and life, (3) a career boost and (4) a *must* (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015, 2016). The dream place imaginary is the escapist conception that life on study abroad is time away from the mundane. The new me and life imaginary is the belief that participation in study abroad is primarily for personal transformation, especially in the area of future career potential. The career boost imaginary is the idea that simply participating in study abroad advantages students in future career opportunities. Finally the ‘must’ imaginary establishes the study abroad experience as a once-in-a-lifetime requirement for anyone

truly living life to its full potential. As Härkönen and Dervin observe, these imaginaries are full of often unrealistic, unattainable transformations for the students, given the limited nature and structure of any one study abroad program.

The prevalent marketing of study abroad with such grand themes of transformation not only influences but creates identity (Beaudin, 2013). These imaginaries are grounded in the work of Erikson (1963, 1968), where psychosocial identity formation occurs at the intersection between self and society in which the desire for competency drives the ego to interact with society in ways that build perceptions of mastery. Identity is not only based on how individuals view themselves or wish to be viewed by others but also in how they are seen by others and in turn view themselves. They imagine an experience then construct performance from that imagined self, in turn adjusting the performance as they receive audience feedback. More than ever before, men encounter increased paths to new identities, the process is chaotic, and each person individualizes the experience based on conflict and resources, or lack of same, they encounter during the process (Côté & Levine, 2002). The struggle to define self is further complicated by a limited range in which society categorizes individuals. The continuum of sexuality is expressed as gay or straight. Political views are either liberal or conservative. The study abroad student is global citizen while the refugee is illegal immigrant. This complexity of categorization leads men to perform various roles as constructed by the culturally situated audience present in any given circumstance. Their definition of masculinity is prone to shifts based on their physical environment and is even further complicated by men's lack of reflection on themselves as men in relation to a multicultural world (T. L. Davis, 2002; Kimmel, 1994). Multiple imagined selves

navigate the world in concert with each other, shifting as the body moves through space and interacts with other complex individuals (J. Bruner, 1990; Hermans, 2001; Josselson & Harway, 2012). As individual roles are performed, the body imagines and constructs new positionality based on identification with those roles.

Critical to the postmodern emerging adult is the role of imagery influencing role performances. People desire to situate themselves in relation to others and understand others and their own placement within society (Josselson & Harway, 2012). Study abroad, like tourism, is social in nature. The work of immersing in another culture involves social experiences and an understanding that satisfaction from the experience is derived not only from the act of participating in travel abroad but from the social capital and identity ego gained as a result of key others participating in the experience as well (Urry, 1995). Socializing technologies like Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat and Instagram mediate relationships with others and encourage favoring superficiality over substance (Gergen, 1991). Such technology reinforces normative behaviors but also allows users to imagine themselves in environments and situations different from their lived experiences. Thus, the postmodern self exists in relation to the external images to which they are exposed, with the imaginings of the interior-self populated by others and their images (Côté & Levine, 2002). For the study abroad participant, this reliance on visual consumption is deeply connected to the metanarrative imaginary, perceptions of positionality within society and the sense of oneself as a globally competent, educated individual moving into the future.

Labouvie-Vief (2006) notes that the period of emerging adulthood, facilitating increased maturity and capacity for complex thinking, appears to be a stage during which

individual life structures are launched but are not necessarily fully realized. This period is however a time of significant transformation. This conceptualization of launching an individual's future helps foster perceptions of study abroad as a consumptive practice that provides immediate personal enjoyment and contributes social capital to the formation of an educated, global citizen identity.

Travel Metanarratives and Imagined Transformation

At this time of fewer restrictions on normative adulthood for college students, mass culture promotes technological and experiential consumption as the new default in identity formation. This not only prolongs emerging adulthood but also encourages the view of student as consumer within a commodified higher education system. Study abroad is now a highly-commercialized and heavily-surveilled practice in the United States (Evans, 2004; Shubert, 2007). As short-term programs compress time in the host country to a few days or weeks, knowledge is consumed in fleeting fashion with students often limited in their ability to engage in deeper cultural learning experiences in favor of surface level, touristic leisure activities. As a result, study abroad is often designed to provide sanitized, packaged learning experiences that are accessible to increased numbers of students. However, as the low level of student participation indicates, participation is neither mandatory nor a foregone conclusion for college graduates. As outlined above, the individual student decision to participate in study abroad, and the perceived value such participation brings, goes well beyond the emerging adult man's consumption of identity signifiers and the expectations of exploration and independence generally associated with study abroad participation.

Tourism has created one of the largest population movements in recorded history with international arrivals well over one billion in 2013 (E. M. Bruner, 2005; UNWTO, 2014). This temporary global mobility of predominantly middle-class travelers encourages adaptation of master narratives regarding the Other and understanding of self within the global context across a full range of competing voices and group interests (MacClancy, 2002). One criticism of study abroad is that it shares with tourism an often brief and relatively managed encounter with other cultures yet carries high and possibly unrealistic expectations for developing global citizens.

Understanding the intersection of tourism and study abroad helps frame the overall practice of cultural consumption and the resulting metanarrative imaginaries that influence men's experiences. E. M. Bruner (2005) summarizes tourism as a three-staged, rite of passage process in which the traveler departs the familiar everyday world for a different location, resides temporarily in a place viewed as non-ordinary and thus liberating, with a return home transformed by the experience. Often these staged experiences are grounded in an imagined past fostered by continuing, archaic anthropological views of the world, resulting in unrealistic yet nearly universally accepted imaginaries (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015; Salazar, 2013). Shared views of liberation and transformation conceptualize study abroad and emerging adulthood within a tourist frame. However, as noted above this transformation begins well before travel commences in the decision making phase when the student imagines and constructs their individual expectations of the experience. The degree to which a student traveler experiences being away as transformative or educational depends in part on their decisions and imaginings experienced beforehand. Each participant faces the conflict

of seeking experiences that seem familiar with those that are uncomfortably alien while at the same time relying on illusions of immersion and cultural difference to define themselves with a globally competent view of the world (Doerr, 2013). Under such circumstances the traveler is never fully away but existing in a state between two worlds in which comforts of home are balanced with unique opportunities found abroad (Price & Price, 1992). This borderzone between home and host culture positions the study abroad participant in an imagined, temporary cultural space the student and their hosts create in tandem (E. M. Bruner, 2005). Critical to the study of men participating in study abroad is determining the emergent environment in such borderzones and how the experience is translated by those living it.

Travel metanarratives play a significant role in translating these experiences, structuring an understanding of both meaning and power within the constructed space where traveler and host culture meet (E. M. Bruner, 2005). Subsequent representations of these imaginary metanarratives in photographs, on social media, and across program marketing literature inform future travelers who engage these metanarratives in the decision making process (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Stanley (1998) considers this the “spectacularization of culture” (p. 17). The stories told and the experiences essentialized as culturally authentic are as much retellings of previous representations of the host culture as they are about lived experience of the individual (Barnes & Duncan, 1992). These images are absorbed inadvertently through movies, television, and social media (Jenkins, 2003). Men carry those imaginaries into their own experiences and subsequent narratives.

Within this process several challenges emerge including an understanding of authenticity, risk and the context in which students perceive value (anticipated benefits versus expected costs) in participation (Relyea, Cocchiara, & Studdard, 2008; Shubert, 2007; Thirolf, 2014). Understanding that individuals reframe, narrate and perform the role of study abroad participant differently based on their audience, much can be learned by exploring how participants imagine study abroad and how they express and perform the experience (MacCannell, 2013).

Transformation through Consumption

As Foucault (1988) observes, individuals possess the ability to transform themselves through various interventions on their own body, soul, thought and conduct. Within study abroad, the performance of transformation is instructed by expectations within the home culture, anticipated changes to the body while away from home, and the influence of those promoting participation in study abroad both at home and abroad. Men studying abroad, like those in other educational environments, experience pressure to perform in ways that reflect the accepted behaviors within the spaces they inhabit. Participants and society often view study abroad as exotic and romantic. The risk of cultural consumption is high (Stanley, 1998). For the emerging adult, the link between consumption and time is crucial. Society has given the emerging adult the ability to delay adulthood (time), replacing it with leisure or other types of experiences (consumption) (Arnett, 2015; Urry, 1995). For the emerging adult man, this translates into an ability to convert time into experiences and experiences into identity.

As men carry consumption practices into the study abroad experience, including the perception they will gain personal benefits from purchasing experiences, they face

both opportunities and challenges in processing their experiences in meaningful ways. When participants find themselves at cross-cultural intersections, their identities and group belonging may trigger emphasis on the social identification that does not necessarily appear at the forefront in other social situations (Frey & Tropp, 2006; Savicki & Cooley, 2011). These identities, such as nationality, sexuality, and spirituality, affect the men's performances abroad and demonstrate why observing performance in situ is critical to understanding the full study abroad experience.

In anticipation of some level of cultural immersion, men are asked to perform roles that possibly conflict with their own identities to meet the gender, race, and class expectations of highly diversified audiences both at home and abroad. Under the coordination of study abroad professionals, universities often design outbound orientations to provide students with the expectations of performance while in the host culture. This preparation instructs and reinforces ways in which the individual men engage the local culture and adapt body performances. For example, the students in this study received instructions on appropriate attire based on the leader's interest in not standing out as tourist targets for ill-intended locals. Although study abroad is imagined as a time of individual transition, it is still a socially constructed, normalized and guided transformation.

The study abroad experience is ultimately communal in nature, in the company of others both at home and abroad. As individuals travel beyond their familiar geography they may encounter entirely different understandings of identity constructs than those within their home culture. Prospective study abroad participants, bringing a variety of identities and abilities to the international experience, encounter the educated body as

socially constructed and historically situated. Study abroad participants balance the role of globally competent citizen with historically-situated views of the American college student. Although each student individually constructs identity, forces beyond the students' bodies influence how those identities are enacted on the public stage.

Study abroad becomes a commodity in this circumstance, useful to the consumptive practices of emerging adults seeking to buy and spend their way to a potentially better adulthood. As dominant White culture favors a higher level of individualism in the U.S. than do many other cultures, the emerging adult man is faced with a study abroad learning experience that is grounded in White cultural norms and he must respond accordingly if he wishes to participate (Arnett & Galambos, 2003). As Roshanravan (2012) observes, study abroad often relies on a “modernist paradigm that centers normative Euro-American ‘local’ as the seat of modernity against which the culturally different and geographically distant realm of the ‘global’ becomes legible” (p. 1). To study abroad, and thus actualize an emerging adult lifestyle, is characterized as the normative experience of the modern college student (Urry, 1995). Such an identity is presently White/Anglo, feminine and upper middle class centric in its construction, and therefore potentially troubling for many college men. As such, research on the experiences of men participating in study abroad is relevant and valid at this stage in the emergence of the phenomenon within higher education, especially with little qualitative case study research conducted to date in this area.

Summary

Short-term study abroad has emerged in recent decades as the primary model for colleges and universities striving to provide meaningful international experiences for

their students. Building on the social perception of global leisure travel as a worthwhile pastime of the affluent and middle classes, short-term study abroad is often considered by university stakeholders as a convenient and affordable path to accomplishing goals of preparing globally competent citizens and exposing undergraduates to cultural diversity. Short-term study abroad provides college students the potential to satisfy relatively easily their need for risk and adventure as a part of the identity construction through consumption behaviors of emerging adults (Arnett, 2000). However, if global citizenship in all its complexity is critical to the construction of the educated body, and universities are relying on study abroad as a part of larger institutional diversity efforts to provide the global competencies required of productive, educated citizens (Levinson & Holland, 1996), current data on men's participation (Institute of International Education, 2017) raises troubling questions on program participation.

Modern technology, transportation and sociopolitical/economic factors have altered the perception of time and space in study abroad. Considering that study abroad programs may foster by design colonialist views and behaviors (Ogden, 2007) while reinforcing White, middle class gender, race and class social norms, there is a need to better understand how emerging adults imagineer their study abroad experiences. This includes attention to areas in which gender emerges as salient across the experience. Study abroad is a gendered experience and given men's declining participation it is worthwhile to observe men doing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987) as they construct the experience abroad in hopes of gaining a deeper understanding of their experiences and the role gender plays in those experiences. Research into cultural hybridity and the transnational flow of people, ideas, and resources has generally neglected temporary

forms of cultural engagement such as study abroad participation (E. M. Bruner, 2005), especially in examining men as a unique population within the phenomenon. Multiple researchers have observed the need for further study into college men's experiences and their participation in study abroad (Geiser, 2015; Jessup-Anger, 2008; Lucas, 2009; Salisbury, et al., 2010a; Yankey, 2014).

Because limited qualitative research on men in study abroad exists, and because men continue to participate in smaller numbers even after a decade of significant national attention on increasing their participation, this naturalistic case study looks at how men imagineer their study abroad experience and construct meaning of it in their lives. Critical examination of and reflection on the topic will inform others researching the phenomenon and professionals in the field of education abroad serving college men and other populations currently under-participating in study abroad. Following Momento Dos, Chapter III introduces the methodology designed to examine this phenomenon among men participating in a short-term study abroad program.

MOMENTO DOS: FROCKETING

It was going to be a long train ride... Jeff knew it but he did not let that phase him. Nothing could phase Jeff. The other, more primitive prime apes questioned him and his activities. This was a common occurrence and he was used to it. His only mission was to study. That's why he was sent here. To learn. To observe. The giant mechanical beast beeped at every stop. It signaled that our destination was closer, but for Jeff, it meant safety and peace to look over his notes. He is very skilled when it comes to blending in with those around him. He laughs at their jokes and makes them feel more comfortable, but deep down, he knows this is just more information for his database.

Stan (as "Participant 4" in course GroupMe app)

Their sheepish grins gave them away. I was not sure at first what was up but when I realized four sets of mischievous eyes were all looking at me my imagination raced. I braced for whatever trickery was headed my way. On day 10, in the last city of the trip, I had long ago learned to recognize the signs of pending ruckus. The men were standing clustered in a tight group by the doors to the subway car. I was sitting down near the next set of exit doors, backpack on my lap, exhausted from our late afternoon brewery visit. I had my journal in hand jotting a few quick notes on the group getting lost on the way to the brewery when I sensed boyish trouble to my left. It was just one of those days when exhaustion and group boredom leads to the kind of silliness from which young men's deepest bonds of friendship are sown.

The four had their smartphones in hand and were staring at me intently. They would then in turn tap on their phones as if also jotting notes. One called out across the car asking if I "was getting good data" on them. My stomach sank a little as I worried

about becoming the center of my own study. The nagging fears of a novice observer as participant researcher had been with me the duration of the trip and this moment played into those fears.

The guys had started joking with each other about my research earlier in the day when I observed the dawn of an activity known as *frocketing*. We were lost and standing under a tree on a quiet Barcelona street as the faculty leaders did some navigational research. Bored, the men started tormenting one of the women by trying to throw small twigs into an outside pocket on her backpack. Shut down from that game by the woman's friend, the men observed we all had on t-shirts with front pockets that day and one of them started trying to see if he could throw the small twigs into anyone's shirt pocket. This led to them trying to sneak a reach into the front pockets of the others' shirts on the sly as if picking someone's pocket. In an a-ha moment for the men, front pocket pick pocketing in Spain, or *frocketing*, was born. Right in the middle of this game genesis, one man suddenly turned to me as I leaned against a tree trunk and asked, "What exactly is the purpose of your study?" to which I replied in sardonic tone, "Clearly it is a psychiatric piece." Egged on with gales of laughter, they began to mimic and observe me as I supposedly observed them.

Minute 4 – the other males are getting angered about [another male student] joining Jeff. I don't blame him. Jeff holds all the cards.

As the subway train rumbled through the underground tunnel, they continued to observe my every movement including their colleague now sitting next to me on the train. Stan took to calling himself Participant 4, in a play on being a research participant and based on a story I had told the men days earlier about a previous trip to China when

student number 4 (we were all assigned numbers by that faculty leader) was always getting lost or arriving late for group activities. Stan goes so far as to change his name on the class GroupMe page to Participant 4 though he often refers to himself eerily as test subject, or subject 4 sounding more all the time like a character from *Stranger Things*, a Netflix show featuring a girl named 11 popular with the men. As the train nears a transfer station, Lee strolls by, pauses briefly in front of me and gesturing downward asking, “What are you doing?” As I look down, his hand slips into my front shirt pocket. I have been frocketed. This induction into their private game is invigorating and my exhaustion vanishes. I am still laughing at Lee’s successful sleight of hand as we exit onto the platform.

Minute 27 – Jeff challenged another in the primal tradition of frocketing. He succeeded flawlessly and was immediately cheered by those around. Jeff has fully acclimated to this new culture but stays strong in his studies. He must stay strong but to further the knowledge of the university.

Though the others’ interest has waned, Stan continues to document in real time on GroupMe my behaviors on the train. We have transferred to a new subway line and I am now standing near the other men at the car doors. I casually ask Lee what spilled on his shirt, providing me the perfect opportunity for frocketing revenge as my hand slips into his shirt pocket. As Lee groans in disbelief at being so easily hoodwinked, the other men laugh at my sly entrance into the ring. As the train nears our final destination discussions move on to evening plans and other activities. As the moment passes and we make our way up the escalators to the surface, Stan posts one last observation.

Jeff has broken off from the group to explore this beautiful city. It hinders him from research but the test subjects are still giving him good research through the app "GroupMe." Even when he is not around, he learns more and more about us.

As I reflect on our day, I think not only of a fun moment with the men but also how subtly what seem like innocent games allow men to bond across their different masculine identities in deep and gendered ways. I am transported back to the playgrounds of Thorne (1993) and the gender play found in elementary school emerging with us on a subway train in Spain. Although insider, I am unable to separate myself entirely from the roles I bring to the moment. As participant observer, I represent to the men on some level, even though they may not know my exact role, the institutional authority figure as evidenced in Stan's GroupMe comments above. The men know I work in the field of study abroad. I am older than they are. I am not an engineering student. I cannot escape the men's impression management (Goffman, 1973) as they choose what to reveal to me, when to reveal it and how it will be transmitted.

As I discuss in Chapter III, the men's openness abroad and their shifting representations of performances abroad after we return home makes my limited time with them in Spain critically important. Living in the moment, pressed to make the most of every day, there is little time for the men to worry about what I as observer note and think. The compression of time on a short-term course affords some benefits to me as researcher. Although this moment on the train provides a glimpse into the awareness the men ultimately have positioning themselves in my work, knowing they are being observed and evaluated, it is only upon return to our home culture when time has slowed again to a familiar pace that they reflect more deeply on how to best present themselves. Knowing as Stan so cleverly notes, I hold "all the cards" in terms of how they will be

documented and appear in my textual analysis as men, students and participants, their efforts at impression management emerges as far more visible in our final interview than in the rush of the precious and limited moments abroad.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this case study was to explore the experiences of college men during a short-term, faculty-led study abroad program. With significant attention paid to increasing student participation in study abroad over recent decades, the shorter-term, one to eight week course has emerged as a dominant program model for U.S. college students seeking a study abroad experience. However, even with programming modifications designed to provide access to a wider range of students, men's participation in study abroad is on the decline as women continue to embrace the opportunity in growing numbers. Although a few studies, mostly quantitative in design, have provided some surface level illumination of men's study abroad participation, many lack the depth of inquiry possible from qualitative research methods. Given the highly individualized nature of participation in study abroad programming and the construction and performance of gender in these complex sites, more information is needed on men's experiences within study abroad. This chapter presents my general perspective on this study and details my positionality as an instrument of qualitative research. My conception of the research problem, epistemological view, theoretical perspective, research context, research questions, data collection and analysis are all reviewed, along with my decision making processes, as explanation of my research design.

General Perspective

Inspired in part by the social, cultural and political pressures to make fairly rapid and transformative changes in college student participation in study abroad, there is a wide range of quantitative research attuned to exploration of the phenomenon. Much of this research focuses on the factors associated with participation (Doyle, et al., 2010; Elder, et al., 2010; Li, et al., 2013), student choice, intentionality and participation predictors (Goldstein & Kim, 2005; Kim & Goldstein, 2005; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Rust, et al., 2007; Salisbury, et al., 2009; Stroud, 2010), student attitudes, identity, perceptions and motivations (Hackney, et al., 2012; Relyea, et al., 2008; Sanchez, et al., 2006; Savicki & Cooley, 2011; Toncar, et al., 2005), participation outcomes (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Clarke, Flaherty, Wright, & McMillen, 2009; Hadis, 2005; Lumkes Jr., Hallett, & Vallade, 2012; Murphy, Sahakyan, Yong-di & Magnan, 2014; Sutton & Rubin, 2004; Xu, de Silva, Neufeldt, & Dane, 2013; Younes & Asay, 2003), intercultural competency and cultural learning (Janes, 2008; Rexeisen, Anderson, Lawton, & Hubbard, 2008; Salisbury, et al., 2010b), career outcomes (Norris & Gillespie, 2009), and gender or race/ethnicity (Bryant & Soria, 2015; Penn & Tanner, 2009; Salisbury, et al., 2010a, 2010b; Shirley, 2006). A smaller body of work approaches the phenomenon qualitatively with studies examining identity formation and behavior (Geiser, 2015; Prins & Webster, 2010; Schroth & McCormack, 2000; Wright & Larsen, 2012; Young, Natrajan-Tyagi, & Platt, 2015), motivation and opinions (Allen, 2010; Van Hoof & Verbeeten, 2005), global citizenship (Dolby, 2008), intercultural competency (Covert, 2014), outcomes (Lee, 2014; Younes & Asay, 2003) and race/ethnicity and gender (Cheppel, 2012; Jessup-Anger, 2008; Perkins, 2017; Squire, Williams, Cartwright,

Journian, Monter, & Weatherford, 2015; Twombly, 1995; Willis, 2012). An even smaller body of primarily thesis and dissertation work has attempted to explore men's experiences specifically, using qualitative or mixed research methods, within study abroad programming (Gutierrez, 2015; Lucas, 2009; Thirolf, 2014; Yankey, 2014). With short-term study abroad situated as the dominant program model for participants from the United States and indications that the design of these programs affects participants' perceptions about the experience and their behaviors abroad, as study abroad evolves into a mature learning activity in higher education, additional quantitative and qualitative research is needed to deepen the understanding of the phenomenon and participants' experiences.

As an education abroad professional I regularly observe in students with whom I work complex expressions, performances, and narratives of what it means to them to participate in study abroad. This study was designed to examine how a specific group of five men participating in a single study abroad course imagineered their experience including how they came to participate in the course, imagined themselves as participants, and enacted the experience. It also examines how the men's experiences fit with the institutional goals of participation. Study abroad participants are gender performing individuals and as such the study abroad space is a site among many in which notions of gender and masculinity are located. For this reason, the study was also designed to observe the ways the men imagined and enacted the study abroad experience as men. The participants in my study brought uniquely individual histories to the study abroad course and imagineered their experiences across complex and conflicting

internationalized, ideological programming spaces. Their personal experiences are worthy of study.

Although there are many underrepresented groups in study abroad, each valid on its own as worthy of examination and understanding, my study is motivated by personal experiences as a man within the field of study abroad and an awareness that, after years of significant resource investment across the United States, the desired increase in men's participation has been non-existent. As a study abroad participant while an undergraduate student I acquired personal understanding of a man's experience abroad that today fosters my curiosity of gendered behavior in the phenomenon. This study grows out of my own questions and critical reflection on the representation of study abroad on college campuses, the ways in which students make sense of these messages and how they enact and make meaning of the experience. To approach this issue in a methodologically-sound manner, it is helpful to first understand my positionality as a qualitative researcher.

Reflecting on My Role as Instrument

As a senior in college in 1991, I journeyed from the University of Arkansas to Finland intent on spending a year on exchange completing my undergraduate capstone research on the urban design aesthetic of Helsinki. That year of wandering the streets, sketching and photographing architectural design elements, studying the work of Aalto, Saarinen, and Engel, and on a lighter side discovering what can only be described as a unique side trip into the world of Finnish Rock and Roll, opened a portion of the world that I had not known growing up in rural Nebraska and attending college in Arkansas. As a rather naïve and culturally insulated Midwesterner in the United States, my worldview shifted as I encountered people different from myself, my family and friends. I

developed friendships still active today with not only local Finns but students from around the globe advantaging themselves of access to the high quality education of northernmost Europe. Once I experienced this immersive transition in worldview, it was difficult if not impossible to return to the old me. I carried my new appreciation for cultural difference into nearly two decades of rewarding work in design and architecture before facing the realities of the 2008 economic downturn and pursuing a mid-career shift into international education.

As director of a study abroad program at a large, public, land-grant institution, it would be accurate to assume that I view collegiate study abroad as a potentially positive, high-impact learning activity. I have invested a great deal of time and energy encouraging students to participate in some form of meaningful international experience. Although I cannot say that every college student is at a place in life where they can gain the most from living and studying abroad, in general I encourage all students I meet to consider the opportunity to participate. I see value in participation whether the time abroad is lengthy or brief or experienced in positive or negative ways. However, even with my positive disposition toward participation I struggle with a need to critically reflect on this phenomenon in which I am invested. As a professional, I can fall prey to many of the imaginary metanarratives constructing a romantic notion of study abroad as life changing and that the international academe has room for improvement in how it understands study abroad. Motivated by the need for qualitative research examining men's experiences in study abroad established in Chapter II, this study is inspired by my desire to participate in the change that shapes education abroad for 21st century students.

Conceptualizing My View of the Research Problem

With multiple decades of national effort focused on diversifying U.S. student participation in study abroad, it is remarkable to me that participation growth remains relatively slow and participant demographics homogeneous. As neoliberal arguments such as economic competitiveness, national security and professional competency infuse the discourse on study abroad with messages of American exceptionalism (messages that I would expect to resonate with more men), national data shows men's participation in study abroad continues to struggle even as overall participation numbers increase. Several quantitative research studies exist on which understanding of this phenomenon can be grounded but the purpose of my case study is to gain deeper insight into individual men's experiences within study abroad. In my professional work, I observe that no two students have the same study abroad experience. Each student is unique just as is their time abroad. Although there is benefit in understanding general behavior trends and other factors identifiable through quantitative study, doing so also silences much of what makes study abroad a truly personal experience for those who participate. College men are encountering sophisticated marketing materials and positive public discourse encouraging participation, yet nearly a decade into the effort such arguments have yet to bear significant fruit. What do those men who choose to participate imagine when they consider study abroad as worthwhile and how do they making meaning of the experience? I am hopeful that research on these phenomenological questions will provide knowledge useful for encouraging diversification of student participation.

Even as I desire greater participation, I am concerned that in the midst of significant focus and public discourse on positive outcomes of study abroad, such as

global competency and virtuous, educated citizenship, we may unknowingly or unintentionally perpetuate behaviors that reinforce existing class, race and gender ideologies. I fear enthusiasm for outcomes that support popular views in the field of study abroad as empowering and deeply transformative may have restricted critical views of the phenomenon. Despite efforts to diversify and expand equitable access and opportunities for all students, are higher education professionals fostering the reproduction of colonialist bodies and sending them out into the world to consume culture and craft identities that deepen existing power disparities and the oppression of Others? One way to begin to explore these questions and my own concerns with the outcomes of participation is to go to the students as they experience study abroad. I consider how the experience can better align with the positive outcomes to which those of us working in higher education leadership aspire.

In this qualitative case study, I am the interpretive instrument of data collection and analysis. My impressions and reflections on the data, as I simultaneously gathered and analyzed, serve as key sense-making points within my study (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yazan, 2015). My own background as a rurally situated, middle-aged White man working at a university not only guides me to this specific case but also influences how my participants interact with me and how I interpret the data. As such, my own worldview and positionality within the topic affects the product of my analysis and is bound by my epistemological view.

Epistemological View and Theoretical Perspective

As Stake (1995, 2006) observes, the view that multiple perspectives exist for any given case is woven across the fabric of qualitative research. Grounded in life

experiences and observations as a professional in the field, my view of men's study abroad participation is uniquely mine and is neither the best or only view of this topic but when examined with other views helps express the complexity and richness of the phenomenon. Epistemologically, I am situated as a researcher within the paradigm of *constructionism* that posits individuals construct internal models of reality. These constructs interact across social engagement with others and are contingent on the representations of culture and human practices within society (Crotty, 1998). For me, this makes the potential experiences from high-impact learning opportunities like study abroad so meaningful because they not only challenge internally constructed models but introduce disruptions and new interactions for these internal conversations. For example, students frequently share comments on the increased presence of international students on our campus when they return from study abroad. What has shifted is not the number or diversity of students on campus but the student's view of their world and the individuals occupying the spaces they also inhabit. They are socially constructing their reality from a new positionality.

Although we individually engage with the larger world and make sense of that world internally, this interaction must be set within larger historical and social perspectives (Crotty, 1998). Although not central to my observational analysis in this study's design, because the men's interaction with objects in their environment are glimpsed throughout my data, *symbolic interactionism* is a useful concept to recognize as meaningful in the way emerging adult men engage life and the world. A form of Crotty's (1998) philosophical stance *interpretivism*, symbolic interactionism is grounded in the understanding that humans engage in social interaction across multiple, intersecting lines

of action. Objects within this social environment hold different meanings for different persons, but shared meanings emerge as social interaction occurs (Blumer, 1969). The men in this study brought their own constructs to the experience and identified with the ideological symbols present during the course, such as photographic images, architectural monuments, travel journals, bottles of local spirits and other items, in ways that reflect their positionality and culturally situated sense of the world. This is why attempting to generalize study abroad behaviors is complex and why deeper, qualitative study may help better understand the uniquely individual experience of participants.

Keenly attuned to the visual, emerging adults are influenced by the images they encounter across a variety of media and social platforms. They interact with increasing intensity totally constructed visual experiences (Rose, 2012). The men in this study articulate ways in which their expectations for the course are grounded in visual representations of Spain at home. They speak of epistemological knowingness in terms of the visual. For example, “seeing” architecture in person is proof of history. Capturing photographs of scenic views validates their adventurous experiences. Photographs taken abroad document the immediacy of the moments abroad and serve as memory keepers to revisit in the future when personal memory has faded. The men represent the experience to family and friends at home via text messages and social media through the use of selected and purposefully-curated images and stories. Symbolic images and the men’s interaction with those images is important to this study.

The visual saturates life for many emerging adults, be it the representation of physical attractiveness, engagement with video games and other entertainment or sharing personal images on social media as an act of impression management (Brown, 2006;

Goffman, 1973). In this view, the outcomes and observations I express are also shaped by my own social and symbolic interaction with the data, including my own visual experiences. What emerges will be my own construction of reality. As Yazan (2015) notes, there are different views of qualitative research and case study. My own positionality relies upon the work of Stake (1995) and Merriam (1998) and as such the methodological elements in this study follow the vein of their interpretist approaches to qualitative, case study research.

Research Context and Setting

Data collection for this case study began in the spring 2017 academic semester at MidSouth University running through summer 2017. This timing was set around the need to observe and collect before, during and after data for the specific study abroad program. This was a notable time to collect data as the aftermath of the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election and the first few months of a Donald Trump Presidency weighed heavily on student and faculty leader perceptions of the world and the place of the United States in it. Several of the participants mentioned expectations of questions concerning the President while abroad and observed evidence of the current refugee crisis and other global, political issues during their time in Spain. Of note, several of the participants in the course shared perceptions of Spain, and Europe in general, as a safer course destination than other areas of the world. The course was underway during the bombing at an Ariana Grande concert in Manchester, U.K. and within a period of time during which terrorist incidents both abroad and in the United States were discussed frequently in the news and in social conversations. These incidents undoubtedly influenced the

participants in this study and focused greater attention on other cultures, cultural diversity and the place of the United States in the world.

To understand the foundation upon which the men construct their masculinities and imagineer the study abroad experience, it is important to understand the environment of their home university. The bounded site for this case study was a summer, faculty-led, short-term engineering course titled *Technology and Culture of Spain* offered by an academic college at MidSouth University. The course traveled to Spain between May 17, 2017 and June 1, 2017. However, weekly class meetings began in April and continued until departure for Europe. There were no official class meetings upon return from Spain, but students remained engaged in the course with various assignments due throughout the summer. Although I joined the course with the students on the first meeting in April, a great deal of work had been completed by the faculty leaders prior to that day. Courses are proposed approximately one year in advance and once approved by the department, college and university, are organized in collaboration between the faculty leaders and a coordinator in the college Dean's office. The programs are marketed for enrollment starting with a Study Abroad Fair in September and logistical details arranged across the academic year, intensifying as the departure date approaches.

MidSouth University is located in a politically and socially conservative region of the United States. It is home to six primary academic colleges offering undergraduate and graduate degrees, with several additional professional programs and schools focused primarily on post graduate degree work. In the fall of 2016 the university had a total student enrollment over 25,000 across three campuses, with nearly 67% identified as in-state residents. The student body is predominantly White (66%), with other primary,

self-identified student ethnicities including Hispanic (6%), African American (5%), Native American (4%), and Asian (2%). Over 8% of the student body identifies as multiracial and nearly the same number as international students. The academic college providing this specific engineering course is made up of students with disclosed ethnic identities similar to the larger university, with a slightly lower White population (62%) and a higher international student population (13%). Although no international students participated in this specific course to Spain, they regularly participate in the University's study abroad programs. More than 51% of the University's student population identifies as male. However, within the college sponsoring the course for this study over 80% of the students identify as male. These demographics help situate the five men participating in this course, all of whom self-identified as White with four of the five being in-state residents.

Of the nearly 1200 students traveling abroad through MidSouth University in 2016-2017, the majority were from arts, sciences and business degree programs. However, over 150 were enrolled in an engineering college degree program. This equates to 22% of the undergraduates receiving an engineering, technology or architecture degree from the college in 2016-2017. The engineering college has a long history of offering programs abroad, though has only in the last decade seen a significant increase in the number of students participating in their programs. Each year the college offers several courses taught by different faculty over winter break, spring break and summer to a variety of global destinations. The 2017 summer course to Spain had a final enrollment of 19 undergraduate engineering students and 1 graduate engineering student (the graduate assistant for one of the faculty leaders), of which 5 identified as men and 15

identified as women. This is significantly out of proportion to the ratio of men to women in the college's overall student population and, although my study was organized prior to final enrollment for the course such that I could not anticipate its final gender ratio, provided a unique case in which to examine men's experiences abroad.

Given highly publicized incidents of recent sexual assault at universities across the United States, and with the perception of risk of opposite-sex sexual harassment and assault during study abroad participation, MidSouth University has a policy of no mixed gender rooms during travel course participation. For this course the students chose roommates prior to departure for each hotel (assigned to twin-bed rooms of 2 to 4 people) with women and men rooming separately. The men in this study had roommate changes as the course traveled to each location with the exception that two of the men who identified themselves as best friends always shared a room that sometimes included a third student. This proved significant as the men formed friendships and adjusted to different roommate configurations at each location. The faculty leaders and I had private rooms, for our personal well-being and per standard University practice.

The students enrolled in the course ranged in ages from 20 to 32 though the majority were younger than 24. The fact that many students were not yet 21 was relevant in Spain as the group sought out social opportunities that included alcohol not legally available in the United States to those under 21 years old. The students came from a mix of degree majors in aerospace, architectural, chemical, civil, electrical, industrial and mechanical engineering. All five men enrolled in the course agreed to participate in my study and will be introduced in greater detail later in this chapter and in Chapter IV.

There were 2 faculty leaders for the course, one man and one woman, with backgrounds in architecture and architectural engineering. MidSouth University encourages programs with men and women students to have both men and women leading the course as a best practice in responding while abroad to a variety of potential student issues and needs. Although marketed as a general engineering course, the leaders' academic backgrounds and appreciation for architecture set a contextual theme to the course; several of the men referred to the course as an architectural course even though architecture students generally travel on courses developed within that specific department. The primary course leader was a woman. She has traveled to Europe many times, studied abroad in Europe as a student, and led a similar engineering course to Germany the previous year. Several of the students participating on this course, both men and women, also traveled with her to Germany. This was the first time leading a study abroad course for the other faculty leader and his first time traveling off the North American Continent. One year out from retirement, he was older than the primary leader and was her professor when she was an undergraduate student. This difference of travel experience, age and gender affected how each leader approached the students and each other throughout the course with the primary leader, holding more experience in this type of academic experience, bearing the bulk of the organizational workload abroad. Both leaders demonstrated clear fondness and a high esteem for the other with a relationship that appeared beyond that of colleagues to one of mutual mentorship. Near the end of the time in Spain the primary leader's husband and the secondary leader's grown daughter travelled as guests with the group, shifting the group dynamics slightly as the new personalities merged into the established course cohort.

Course Structure

Technology and Culture of Spain was an upper division, 14-day travel course visiting Madrid, Segovia, Valencia, Toledo and Barcelona. The course had a 2.5 GPA minimum requirement for enrollment and although students from other colleges were permitted to enroll if interested only engineering students participated in the final course.

The objectives of the course, as stated in the syllabus, were to:

- Develop a familiarity with the history, culture, and technology of Spain
- Understand the critical cultural aspects and key indicators associated with a society
- Utilize empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop a body of knowledge
- Employ cultural mapping to identify social differences and similarities
- Understand how the culture within the society influences the use and development of technology
- Develop the competency to establish and maintain professional relationships within a different culture
- Become proficient in foreign travel skills

The syllabus referred to these course objectives as aligning with ABET program outcomes. ABET is the accreditation organization for the University's engineering academic programs. The syllabus covered academic integrity, special accommodations, advice on appropriate dress abroad and indicated that students were expected to learn basic language skills and words in Castilian Spanish and potentially Catalan. Although many students attempted to communicate with locals in shops and restaurants using basic

Spanish words, I did not observe instances where the faculty or students attempted to learn or use any Catalan. One student proficient in Spanish did spend a little time attempting to translate Catalan on street signs in Barcelona before giving up and relying entirely on his Spanish abilities.

Instruction and assessment methods included orientation lectures with class participation, online quizzes, student presentations, individual homework assignments, journals, cultural and engineering tours in Spain, and a final written report with editing and required rewriting at the conclusion of the course. The five orientation lectures were held at 7:30am each Tuesday and lasted approximately 60 minutes, though some students with other class conflicts were permitted to leave earlier. The lectures dealt primarily with cultural mapping, journaling practice, course logistical instructions, answering student's planning questions and student presentations. The early morning timing seemed to limit student participation in discussions but it was rare that a student did not attend at least some of all class meetings. Each student was required to research a preassigned site the group was scheduled to visit in Spain and prepare a 10-minute oral presentation for the class identifying the cultural, social, and technological importance of that site. All students presented prior to their departure for Spain.

For the time abroad, each student was required to provide at least one journal page per day as well as an additional page for each technological tour for review and grading. Students were provided with instructions on journal content prior to departure, including suggested topics such as observed technology, urban development, social and behavioral culture observations, influence of gender roles, social mobility, transportation and education. The syllabus outlined using the journal for more than recording facts but

for reflection on observations and experiences. This included comparison to previous experiences, comparison to US technology and culture, and changing viewpoints on the host or home culture. The students were also required to document the course in photos and submit at least 12 images to the faculty leaders after return from Spain. The syllabus noted these images would become the property of the University and could be used in future materials and for educational purposes. As a result, most of the men submitted general images showing natural vistas and iconic architecture with little presence of themselves, fellow classmates or any other persons.

Upon return, students were also required to submit a 10-page (minimum) report on the course. All reports were to be edited and returned to students for final revision prior to grading. The report was to focus on the cultural and social behavior within Spain and its influence on the use and development of technology. Based on content of their journals, students had to identify at least 10 similarities or differences between Spain and the USA and to discuss those using critical thinking (defined as identifying a question, presenting personal perspective, use of supporting evidence and discussion of conclusions). The report was required to have the following sections: Introduction, Thesis, Differences and Similarities, Technical Tour, Greatest Impact and Conclusions.

In addition to the syllabus, each student was provided a small guidebook outlining the daily agenda, flight arrival/departure information and emergency contacts. The students all arrived in Madrid across the span of two days from May 17 to May 18, 2017.

Following is a brief, planned itinerary for each day in Spain:

- May 18 – arrival, hotel check in and adjusting to the new time zone
- May 19 – Hop-on/Hop-off tour of Madrid, free afternoon and evening flamenco performance
- May 20 – Day trip to Segovia with a tour of the Alcazar de Segovia

May 21 – Day trip to el Escorial and Valley of the Fallen with group dinner in Madrid’s Plaza Mayor.
May 22 – Tour of a high-speed train manufacturer with a market food challenge in the evening
May 23 – Day trip to Toledo with tour of Alcazar-Museo del Ejercito
May 24 – Free morning then travel via train to Valencia, hotel check in and free evening
May 25 – Free Day (optional Bullfighting Museum tour)
May 26 – Guided architectural tour of The City of Arts and Sciences with evening IMAX presentation
May 27 – Travel to Barcelona with late afternoon tour of a local brewery
May 28 – Gaudi Day with tours of Park Guell and Sagrada Familia
May 29 – Tour of Spanish car manufacturer’s factory and group dinner in evening
May 30 – Walk through Montjuic, tour of the Olympic Stadium and late afternoon tour of a Spanish winery
May 31 – Day trip to Montserrat, class ends

With the majority of the students returning to the United States after the official class ended, two of the men traveled on for several days in Rome and one man traveled to England for just over a week.

Research Questions

This naturalistic case study focused on five college men bound by their enrollment at a Midwestern, land-grant university and their shared participation in a short-term, faculty-led engineering summer study abroad course to Spain. Ongoing analysis and questioning as the men’s experiences unfolded across the span of my study provided understanding of the men’s perspectives and helped me refine my initial research questions (Agee, 2009; Stake, 1995). Through reflecting and interrogating my study and the developing themes, the research questions that emerged from this naturalistic process and shaped the direction of my case study were:

1. How do college men imagineer a short-term, summer study abroad experience?
 - a. How do men come to view the short-term study abroad course as a worthwhile collegiate activity in which they would participate?

- b. How do men who have chosen to participate in a short-term study abroad course imagine their upcoming experience?
 - c. How do men participating in a short-term study abroad course enact the experience as men?
 - d. How do men participating in a short-term study abroad course make meaning of the experience after returning home?
2. How do college men's experiences align with and diverge from institutional goals for a short-term study abroad course?

Data Collection

My study focused on men's experiences as gendered beings during their participation in study abroad and the resources used in constructing the experience. Gender and masculinity are conceptualized and constructed through social interaction, dependent on the institutional and environmental settings in which men engage (Connell, 2005). Gender weaves in and out of the institutionalized lives in which men's bodies exist and all men participate, often obliviously, in its construction. Contrary to cultural messaging of gender and masculinity as singular, fixed and unchanging, masculinity is in practice a vast network of masculinities highly dependent on the social practices and processes creating them. Masculinity also exists inherently relational to femininity (Connell, 2005). It is this concept of gender as situational, relational and changing, and the awareness that participation in study abroad is unique to each individual, that grounds my exploratory case study with a view toward the occurrences of naturalistic expression and glimpses the men in my study share during their experience.

This case study is bound by the time and space of a specific study abroad course and relies on data sources available within the boundaries of the case. Primary elements of data collection included a demographic questionnaire, pre-departure observations of course meetings and orientations, a pre-departure, semi-structured interview with each participant during the four weeks immediately preceding departure, onsite observations in Spain and informal interviews during the time abroad, and follow-up, semi-structured interviews with each participant within six weeks of returning home. Formal data collected lasted approximately 10 weeks, including the two weeks I traveled with the men for the duration of the course abroad. Field notes, course materials, photographic artifacts, public social media posts, student writings, case reports and personal memos were also relevant tools in my data analysis.

Recruitment, Consent and Participant Incentives

The selection of my study participants relied on purposeful, self-selection sampling in an effort to gain “information-rich cases” for a more in-depth study (Patton, 2002, p. 230). All students enrolled in the course who identified as men were invited to participate in this study via a brief presentation on my research to the full class and one follow-up email. All five men enrolled in the course chose to participate, providing me the ideal participation outcome given this specific case. Chapter IV will provide case representations of each participant and the group of men.

My participant consent document included specific information on the data collection and analysis process of my study, including the use of photographs and other artifacts (see Appendix A). The study received final IRB approval on April 6, 2017 (see Appendix B). Each participant was given an opportunity to participate in a member

check of their interview transcripts and the case representations I constructed from our interactions. None of the five men chose to member check their interview transcripts. All five men reviewed their case representations presented in Chapter IV.

Because the participants in this case were undergraduate students, and because primary data collection occurred at times during which the students were occupied with pressing academic and social activities (e.g. taking mid-term exams, sight-seeing while abroad, interning during the summer), a small incentive was offered to those who chose to participate in the study. There has been a great deal of research on incentives in research, with differing results on the effectiveness. Numerous studies indicate that for many populations an incentive increases response rates (Fox, Crask, & Kim, 1988; Furse & Stewart, 1982; Heberlein & Baumgartner, 1978; Hopkins & Gullickson, 1992; James & Bolstein, 1990; Singer, van Hoewyk, & Maher, 1998; Willimack, Schuman, Pennell, & Lepkowski, 1995; Zusman & Duby, 1987). Porter and Whitcomb (2003) found that postpaid incentives showed little effect on the decision to complete participation. However, Willimack, Schuman, Pennell and Lepkowski (1995) note significant increase in cooperation, with greater completion of responses, for participants receiving a nonmonetary incentive prior to the commencement of face-to-face surveying as opposed to relying only on interviewer persuasion for individuals to become participants. This consistency with the social norm of reciprocity (Groves, 2004) is supported by a number of other studies indicating positive completeness, with no response bias, and more developed responses on open-ended questioning when incentives are included in a study (Berk, Mathiowetz, Ward & White, 1987; Goetz, Tyler, & Cook, 1984; McDaniel & Rao, 1980). Finally, of particular note for this study is the work of Zusman and Duby (1987)

who find that incentives in postsecondary populations result in substantial improvement in participation at reasonable costs without affecting the representativeness of the respondent group.

Grounded on this research into participation incentives, the men participating in this study received an *International Student Identity Card (ISIC)* prior to departure for Spain. With a monetary value of \$25, this card provided 12 months of international travel insurance, offered discounts at participating student services and global cultural venues and served as a tangible memento of their travels. I believe the value of this card was sufficient to benefit the students during their course participation without undue influence. All five participants completed all portions of my data collection process.

Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire was used to collect data from the men participating in the study (see Appendix C). This questionnaire was designed to gain some basic understanding before departure of how the men identified themselves and their previous international travel experience, their background living in urban or rural areas, their academic majors and their initial thoughts, concerns and apprehensions on study abroad. For example, history, dancing, food and religion were common themes the men provided on the form representing their initial thoughts about Spain.

The questionnaire afforded the opportunity for the participants to select their pseudonym. This choice provided for better anonymity in the data collection, analysis and discussion phases of the study while still allowing the participants to personalize their case representation in some way. Participants chose pseudonyms; however, in

discussion with the participant I changed one participant's pseudonym to avoid confusion once another student with that chosen name elected to participate in the study.

The engineering programs at MidSouth University are predominantly five year programs with years three through five considered professional, undergraduate programs. The following table provides an overview of study participant demographics as provided on the questionnaire and from personal discussions.

Pseudonyms	Johnny Delaware, Lee, Patrick, Paul, Stan
Age	2 participants – 20 years old 2 participants – 21 years old 1 participant – 22 years old
Racial/Ethnic self-identifiers	All 5 men identified as White
Residency	4 participants – MidSouth in-state residents 1 participant – MidSouth neighboring, out-of-state resident
Community size	1 participant – grew up in a city well over 1,000,000 residents 1 participant – grew up in a city just over 500,000 residents 2 participants – grew up in cities well below 100,000 residents 1 participant – grew up in town with fewer than 10,000 residents
Academic Majors	3 participants – Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering 1 participant – Chemical Engineering 1 participant – Industrial Engineering
Degree classification during the study	4 participants – Professional Program (years 3-5) 1 participant – Year 2
Prior study abroad experience	1 participant – 3 programs (2 to 6 weeks in duration) 1 participant – 1 program (2 weeks in duration) 3 participants – no prior study abroad experience
Prior travel outside the United States	1 participant – 9 countries (1 to 8 weeks in duration) 1 participant – 3 countries (2 to 6 weeks in duration) 1 participant – 2 countries (2 weeks in duration) 1 participant – 1 country (2 days in duration) 1 participant – no international travel experience

Table 1: Participants' Demographic Information

Four of the five men had no concerns to share on the questionnaire about the upcoming time in Spain, with the fifth concerned about getting lost and not speaking the language. The men later in the study expressed concerns to me in person including fear

of not being liked by their fellow classmates, apprehension about terrorism, worry that the class would be boring because “engineers are known to be weird”, and anxiety about grades which suggests that sharing possible signs of weakness or fear was uncomfortable for the men in a written record or until we had a deeper rapport. The questionnaire was completed prior to the initial interview, after the students had confirmed willingness to participate and signed their consent form.

Interview 1: Pre-Departure

During the four weeks preceding our departure for Spain, each participant signed their consent form and I interviewed them following a semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix D). Interviews provide the “framework within which respondents can express *their own* understandings in their own terms” (Patton, 2002, p. 348). The initial, individual interview was designed to begin building rapport with each man and allow for reflecting on and discussing their imagined self as participant, to begin to learn their terminology, worldviews, and perceptions and to better understand the complexities of their individual experiences (Patton, 2002). I met with each participant for approximately one hour in private meeting rooms on campus available at the time most convenient for the participants. One student missed his initial interview and we rescheduled that to be held in my office since no other spaces were available on short notice.

Considering that asking participants for hypothetical information prior to participation can be problematic in that it requires individuals to guess at something they may not yet know or understand, a key element of the first interview was the use of photographs aimed at helping elicit projective reflection toward the men’s imagined-self as study abroad participant (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998). My intention was to provide a

task-based activity in which the men could formulate thoughts about their anticipation of the course on which they may not have reflected previously. I selected photographic images from the University's marketing materials and study abroad resources because the men were likely to have encountered these or similar images during their decision to participate. I removed source identification from the images to avoid unanticipated influence and all images were mounted on card stock and laminated for repeated use during multiple interviews. I selected images identified by their source as having been taken in Spain and representing the study abroad experience there. Understanding the intertextuality of images, their meaning as an image and their meaning in relation to other images, 53 images were selected to represent a spectrum of study abroad iconography and appropriateness to my research questions (Rose, 2012). In the pre-departure interview I prioritized photographs representing men as study abroad participants. However, I also included other images of geography, iconic architecture, women and social activities to provide the men a full range of options as they selected the images most salient to their expectations. During the interview the men were asked to describe how each image selected was meaningful to their expectations.

Following each interview, the images chosen by each man were copied and anonymously marked for his participant case record. The men chose a range of images to represent their expectations from as few as 3 to as many as many as 13. Although no single image was selected by all five men as representative of their expectations, one image of food displayed for purchase in a market was selected by four of the five men and an image of a flamenco music and dance performance was chosen by three of the men. The men identified multiple, different images of iconic Spanish architecture as

meaningful which may relate to the influence of class presentations underway by this time which focused on iconic sites in Spain. As well, each man chose multiple, different images of students engaged in activities such as eating in restaurants, listening to tour guides and posing for group photographs.

During the initial interview the participants were also asked to purposefully reflect on their imagined-self abroad and record their thoughts on paper. As with the photo activity above, I chose this participant-generated visual activity (Kearney, 2009; Kearney & Hyle, 2004) as a way to elicit from the men thoughts about the upcoming experience they may not otherwise reflect upon. This activity served both my desire for unique data artifacts that represent a visually-saturated, contemporary world, and that are associated with study abroad, but also as a way to provide the men what I hoped was a positive reflective experience as they prepared for departure.

Four of the men chose to record their imaginaries as a drawing. One man chose to write text on his paper, stating he “cannot draw.” Of the four men who created drawings, all mentioned feelings of inadequacy as artists with some labeling items in their drawings for clarification purposes. Three of the men drew themselves engaged in viewing or photographing specific sites in Spain, reinforcing importance of documenting the visual for emerging adults engaged in study abroad. One of the men drew himself with specific, identifiable students enrolled in the course while the other two drew themselves alone or among unidentified people which allowed me an initial glimpse into the relational expectations the men held for our time abroad. One of the men drew a lone, unidentified woman dancing the flamenco in a nightclub providing an entirely different glimpse into his expectations. The man who chose to write his imaginary as text

detailed a specific social experience in a brewery he anticipated and the friendships he expected to gain abroad, again articulating a relational aspect of program expectations. Both the photographs selected and the paper with the participant's imaginaries were revisited in the second interview as detailed below.

Participants described the tasks in the first interview in different ways. Johnny observed that he was “no artists so picking photos was a little easier for me than drawing things but...It gives a good opportunity to kinda be like, why did we choose these things [to represent our expectations]. Oh you know here, x, y, z reasons.” The structured tasks seemed to appeal to his logical, engineering mind, something I had not necessarily anticipated. Several of the men mentioned they had spent very little time thinking about the upcoming course beyond large, abstract views of Spain such as when Lee reflected on the interview, “It was helpful. It made me kinda think a little bit more about what we’re actually gonna be doing and seeing, I guess, than I have before. So yeah that was helpful in that aspect.” Paul shared similar feelings about the tasks, noting he “thought a little deeper” about the upcoming experience beyond “going there and hanging out”. The men’s feedback on the first interviews supported my hope they might experience a benefit from intentionally reflecting on their upcoming trip. Their feedback also reinforced my use of activity-based tasks when appropriate in interviews as one possible way to elicit participant imaginaries and projective responses for events not yet experienced (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998).

Pre-Departure, On-Site and Post-Travel Naturalistic Observations

Because situations are complex and individual’s statements or writings about those situations can be limited, participation and observation provides a comprehensive

way to understand a phenomenon (Patton, 2002). A critical design element of my study was observing the men as they experienced study abroad. This immersion into the men's daily lives allowed me to share in the moment the conditions the men faced and their responses to events during the course (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). For these reasons, I attended all pre-departure meetings and orientation lectures for the course and accompanied the course abroad as an *observer as participant* (Creswell, 2013). I was able to observe the men as they prepared to study abroad, in situ as they navigated the experience abroad, and after returning home. Observation is a key tool in the collection of rich qualitative data (Creswell, 2013). In collecting field notes and discussing the experience with the students, their classmates and the faculty leaders across the course, a rich set of data was gathered for comparison and contrast with the interview and artifact data collected prior to departure and upon return.

The art of writing fieldnotes is an interpretive process that allows researchers to textualize “a world on a page and, ultimately, shapes the final ethnographic, published text” (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 20). My fieldnotes included hand-written, fieldnote journals kept across the full span of the study, a small journal identical to those the students used and the course leader provided for my use while in Spain. I also recorded notes in a personal journal I keep in my daily life that included only my experiences as a traveler abroad without references to my specific research work.

During and after this observational process, I became acutely aware that had I not traveled with the men abroad my understanding of their experiences would have been very different. The ways in which the men portrayed their expectations prior to departure and their experiences abroad upon return were not sufficient to understanding their full

experience. In some instances, the men seemed keenly aware of being evaluated by me upon return to the U.S. and described their behavior in very different ways at home during our interviews than when I observed and interacted with them while abroad. By engaging with the men and their classmates in person while abroad, I was able to gain a much deeper sense of their experience, including how they choose to represent themselves and their experiences, using what Goffman (1973) theorized as the presentation of self through impression management, afterwards to faculty, family, friends and me. Although my analysis of the data remains my own interpretation and understanding of the information they chose to share, the ability to observe and interact with the participants abroad provided me with critical information needed to understand the men's experiences in depth and detail.

Interview 2: Post-travel

Primary data collection concluded with a final, semi-structured interview with each participant after returning home (see Appendix E). The second interviews lasted approximately one hour and were all conducted within six weeks of the last day abroad, allowing time for both post-course, independent travel for some participants and some reflection on the time abroad. I intentionally chose this timing for the second, follow-up interviews to capture the men's recollections of their experiences abroad before becoming faded memories but also to provide me time for analysis of prior data to better inform the follow-up interview as a way to strengthen my qualitative research validity. Anticipating the men would share different perspectives based on their prior experience traveling internationally, the three men with no study abroad experience were interviewed first since their reflections would be based solely upon this one course rather than in

comparison with other study abroad experiences. Because only one of the men returned to the University for the summer, two of the five post-travel interviews were conducted via Skype but still recorded for transcription. The three face-to-face interviews were conducted in private meeting rooms on campus available at the time most convenient for the participants. Two of the face-to-face interviews were conducted as the men happened to be passing through my area, with one held at 7:30am on a Sunday in my university office as no other private rooms were accessible to us at that time of day.

The semi-structured, post-travel interview was designed to discuss the men's experiences abroad, to encourage them to reflect on having participated in the course and to explore any thoughts they may have looking toward their future. Each was asked to bring with them to the interview at least one photograph taken during the course (either by them or a fellow student) that they felt best represented the experience abroad. Given the exploratory nature of my research questions, I intentionally asked for naturally occurring photos after the course was completed rather than preparing the men prior to departure with instructions on capturing their experience in a photograph while abroad. I believed naturally-occurring images would better represent their experiences than images I created intentionally for the study.

There were several key ways I elicited reflections and observations from the men during the final interview. First, I asked each participant to share with me what he thought about the study abroad experience in Spain. This question in some cases led to deeper discussions on the experience and in others provided only superficial statements that the trip was "amazing", "fun" or "interesting." Such minimal responses were not entirely unexpected since I have observed in my professional work that many students

struggle to reflect and make meaning of their time abroad without some guided opportunity to delve deeper into the experiences. The remainder of the interview attempted to guide this deeper reflection.

One participant emailed me several images he took abroad for us to discuss during the interview. Three participants showed me images on their phones during the interview that were taken or shared by others abroad and we discussed how they represented the experience for each participant. The fifth participant did not have any photographs he wished to share but did describe a few to me in words and then relied on the images he originally chose during his first interview to reinforce his observations. The photographs shared by the men were a mix of images that included more visually-passive scenes with no people visible (for example, a photo of a building detail or landscape scenery) and more active photos of class participants or the men themselves engaged in some activity. The activities pictured included eating meals together, posing for group photos at iconic sites, gathered in a nightclub or bar, and in one instance sleeping in a bus station.

After we discussed the images taken abroad, each participant was provided with the representational photographs he chose during the pre-departure interview. I asked the men to reflect on their imagined self with what they experienced on the course. We then revisited the imaginary document created during the first interview and discussed the collective materials as a way to gain some perspective on the experience. My goal in revisiting the artifacts from interview one was to see if the men formed any reflections on their expectations and contrasting those with their actual experiences abroad. Some of the men expressed satisfaction that the experience had been what they imagined before

departure and two of the men expressed some disappointment in the experience versus what they had anticipated. By having the men reflect on these images, I gained useful insight for my analytical work into how each participant imagined his experience.

Finally, I prompted each man to reflect on the time abroad and think about gender in terms of his experience. I intentionally did not define gender to allow the participants to define it in terms relevant to their understanding though all participants were aware I was looking specifically at men's experiences. Several of the men were hesitant to discuss gender and mentioned they really had not "noticed" anything. Johnny said that he "kinda just rolled with a lot of it" and "wasn't hyper aware of anything like that." Others had clear ideas or thoughts on both why men may participate in smaller numbers than women but also the gendered roles performed by both the men and women during the course. This prompting allowed me to hear from the men their thoughts on key events I had observed as well as gain their perspectives on notions of gender that I had not observed or grasped as an area where gender was salient to the men. I will discuss these notions of gender and masculinity further in the following chapters.

Because the second interview included discussion of the future, several of the men asked questions about future study abroad opportunities, living abroad and my research in relation to my work in a study abroad office. After the interviews, I shared information on programs and opportunities that might interest them as well as responded to any personal questions they had. I found during these post-interview discussions they also frequently told stories outside the scope of this study about their current lives and activities since our return from Spain. That each of the men, including those meeting with me via Skype, chose to remain after the official interview for informal discussions

about their present life gave me a sense of confidence in the relationships we had established and the likelihood that the information they shared during the formal interviews, though presented while practicing various levels of impression management, was provided in an open, genuine and sincere manner and a desire to meaningfully contribute to my research for which I am exceedingly grateful.

Additional Data Collection

In addition to the primary data collection methods outlined above, secondary data collection assisted with deepening my understanding of the phenomenon, and thus triangulating my data. Documents provide rich information about programs and can stimulate ideas for further inquiry during interviews and observations (Patton, 2002). The course-specific materials for this study included the syllabus, University marketing materials, student-learning resource materials such as recorded lectures provided via an online classroom platform used for the course, a text book on culture mapping, a culture mapping and journaling class assignment provided by the students prior to departure, individual student power point discussions presented during pre-departure class meetings, group emails relating to the course sent by the faculty leaders and students, group texts and GroupMe app messages used for disseminating class information throughout the course, including our time abroad, and drafts of the men's final reflection papers. The variety and depth of these documents and artifacts strengthened my data analysis process.

Data Analysis

For my study I relied on the theoretical framework of Arnett's (2000,2015) Theory of Emerging Adulthood, West's and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of doing gender and Härkönen's and Dervin's (2015) work on study abroad metanarrative

imaginaries [see Chapter II for full description of these theories] for analysis of the data collected. Additional theoretical concepts emerged as I immersed in the data and are presented in later chapters as relevant. The focus of my analysis was the men's experiences and moments where gender and masculinity emerged as salient anywhere within the case. The data included text in the demographic questionnaire content, photographic images collected across the study, interview transcripts, participant's imagined-self abroad documents, my fieldnotes and memos and artifacts collected from within the case. As aligned with a naturalistic inquiry of the men's experiences, analysis occurred throughout the data collection process and beyond (Erlandson, et al., 1993).

Transcript Analysis

All interviews were transcribed manually by me and involved multiple reviews of the recordings. The repeated review of each interview provided me the opportunity to note, beyond words communicated by the men, deeper meanings within silence, tone of voice, unspoken sounds and non-verbal cues that express social norms and patterns (Patton, 2002). Prior to analysis, participants were provided the opportunity to member check their relevant transcripts. None of the men chose to check their transcripts from either interview, however informal member checks occurred and are discussed below. Transcripts were analyzed by hand and reviewed several times to gain a detailed understanding of my case and as a way to capture the depth of critical incidents and reflect on emerging themes. Hand-coding also sharpened my focus on the intent of each participant and the subtle themes and distinctions emerging as related to my specific research questions (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002).

Data was first analyzed by individual case (each participant) and then intertextually between the group of participants to gather observations across the men's written texts, transcripts and photographs. This helped deepen my understanding of each student's experience as well as the men's collective experiences related to my research questions. Emergent themes from my analysis were discussed with outside peer experts with experience in study abroad at peer institutions of MidSouth State and with faculty members at MidSouth University with experience in gender or men's college experiences to provide observations and thoughts on the emerging themes. This helped with deepening my analysis. After repeatedly reviewing my themes and discussions with peers, I revisited the transcripts multiple times prompted by queries from the experts and others that further challenged my thinking on my data.

Analysis of Photographs and Drawings

Because photographic images were utilized as key reflective tools in my interview protocols, I conducted some basic analysis on the images the men interpreted as relevant to their experience. I chose not to examine the images for hidden meanings or to make any grand claims about the content and its effect on the participants. I was primarily focused on the images as elicitation tools in contributing to understanding the men's stories and how the men used the images to represent their anticipations and experiences. As with the text data, the analysis of images included both individual case and collective interpretation looking for individual participant themes and group thematic contributions to my construction of meaning as related to my research questions. As noted by Rose (2012), content analysis of photographs includes four primary steps. I worked with these steps to guide my analysis and interaction with the images.

Finding images based on the research questions was my first step. In this case I relied on both iconic study abroad imagery and images participants provided as salient to their experience. For that reason, some images included geographic scenery, iconic symbols of local culture, exoticized content and hosts in a specific culture or location and images in which students were the primary focus and represented in a variety of ways. Content influenced my selection for interview reflective tools, as discussed above, as well as in my analysis work and meaning making.

Step two was devising a way of grouping images that was *exhaustive, exclusive* and *enlightening* to the analytic process (Rose, 2012). Focused on the men as participants, my use of and analysis of the photographs built upon factors these men expressed as relevant based on their unique experiences. This led to a cycle of regular content analysis and review as I revisited the various images as new themes emerged. Examples of categories that emerged as relevant to the men in the study included friend relationships or lack of any relationship with persons in the images, social actions such as posing for selfies or eating a meal together, the use of props (phones, clothing or hand gestures) or iconic objects (including local architecture). Of particular note was the quantity of images provided to me and for the class assignments that felt almost post-human and contained no people, showing only landscape sceneries or key architectural sites and details. In conversation with several of the men they expressed an awareness that there was a sense of safety in not having too many images officially submitted that contained people who could be judged for their behavior. In those instances they practiced both self-representation and an impression management on behalf of their peers appearing in shared images. However, in other less official platforms such as the class

GroupMe app, or in casual conversations during which men showed me images on their phones, the men shared a wide range of images that included classmates and themselves engaged in a full range of activities including drinking in nightclubs, goofing off, falling asleep in public spaces and other activities outside of the formal class. They captured a full range of images while abroad but chose specific times, places and audiences to share each as representative of their experience. The opportunity to hear the men's stories and see a spectrum of images during the informal moments spent traveling with the men was vital to my data collection and understanding of their experiences. Had I relied on images officially submitted to me before and after the time abroad or for class assignments, and without the bonding time traveling provided that led to deeper connections with the men, I would not have seen images representing both the public experiences and those shared in less formal settings.

The third step involved a light content analysis of the chosen images. As noted above, images were included in my study for elicitation purposes but understanding the content of the images was meaningful to my analysis as themes emerged. Because I revisited the images throughout the study, I kept a duplicate set of images in the student's case file for reference and for use during our final interview. The men assisted in my analysis by articulating meanings particular images held for them. I gave precedence to content the men identified as important over anything I personally noted. For example, one image represented a young man within a large group of tourists at an iconic travel destination. Although I viewed the man in the photograph as confused and trapped in a crowd, one of my participants viewed him as excited and joyfully experiencing the "real" moment as opposed to a similar image showing the location without crowds. My

understanding of that image, for the purpose of this study, relies on the meaning the participant assigned to the image rather than what I personally assigned as meaning while interacting with the artifact.

The final step in this process was a review of emerging themes within and between images to help inform and establish my evolving analysis and protocols as the study progressed. Revisiting images with the men from the initial interview during our final interview allowed me to confirm and probe for meanings the men placed on the images deepening my analysis. This process provided me the opportunity to compare and contrast emerging themes with other data sources to strengthen my observations and confidence in my findings.

Memoing and Case Reports

Creswell (2013) observes the memoing step is important for the theoretical emergence in processing data. My memoing process included notations on transcriptions, case reports and artifact development, reflections in my field journals, more formal memos on emerging themes, jottings on my positionality as researcher in this study, reflections on my own experiences during this study (many of which appear in part as *Momentos* in this document), and working with the men's stories as windows into specific moments and themes.

A key element of my analysis process was the development of memos and case records for each participant (Stake, 1995, 2006; Stenhouse, 1984; Patton, 2002). The individual participant case record reports included specific information on each individual including a summary of the man's experience in the course and in my study, participant background, his expectations, assumptions and motivations for participating

in study abroad, emerging themes across his data set, questions emerging as I analyzed his data, random thoughts to revisit later, and hand-written notes and coding as I revisited these case reports as a data source. Memos on my personal experiences as student, traveler and researcher informed my decision to include reflective interludes across this document as a way to paint a more comprehensive picture of this study and my qualitative research experience, along with my role as an instrument throughout data collection. These were supported by a final memoing project where I assembled thematic quotes from the data to include in this document to help guide readers through the men's experiences abroad, support emerging themes and contribute to the richness of my study's representation of my participants and my resulting assertions.

Validity and Credibility

As social constructionism views reality quite differently from a positivist perspective, concepts of validity within the contemporary qualitative research process typically reflect the paradigm in which the research is conducted (see Patton, 2014). My study examined a specific case, at a specific time and in a specific space, so my intention was never to generalize. However, through the use of rich, thick description and by selecting a fairly typical study abroad case at MidSouth University my aim was to provide useful findings others might consider for their own sites and contexts. Following are the strategies employed to address credibility during my data collection and analysis process.

Triangulation.

The purpose of triangulation is to deepen understanding of a phenomenon using diverse approaches including multiple data sources, multiple methods of investigation,

multiple analysts and multiple theoretical perspectives (Patton, 2002). My desire to deepen understanding informed my decision to include multiple individual cases within my study of a single program, my decision to employ a variety of data collection and analysis methods, my use of several theoretical perspectives and particularly my decision to participate in the 14-day trip. The richness gained from traveling abroad with the men in this study was instrumental in helping me triangulate my data.

Member checks.

Member checking provides participants with the opportunity to not only review data for accuracy but to also reflect on plausibility of the findings (Merriam, 1998). For my study, formal member checking was limited in that the men each declined to respond to various offers for member checking their interview transcripts. To compensate in some way for this, items from their initial interviews were revisited during their second interviews as a check process. I also found the participants highly responsive to specific, follow-up questions I had throughout the study. One element of member checking I had not anticipated is what I would call the unexpected, informal member check. I found that several of the men intentionally reached out to me after data collection had ended to inquire on how I was doing and check my progress, to report on their lives since returning from Spain, and to ask questions and advice on their academic lives and future international travel. These unanticipated conversations with participants allowed me to reflect in a collaborative way with them on several emerging themes with which I was grappling and receive their feedback and general thoughts. I recognized these moments represented far more than informal member checks but representations of the

relationships formed with the men that reached more deeply than the site and space of my specific study.

All participants were asked to member check their representations in Chapter IV. All five men replied that the texts represented them with two participants having no revisions. One man asked that I make a small change to the wording used to describe a previous trip abroad and another requested I de-emphasize two words in one of his quotations. The final participant to respond provided a brief text to insert for clarification on one of his statements. I made those changes in the texts. It is also important to note that two of the men commented on sharing their representation with others as they conducted their member checks, simultaneously representing their experience in my study to others and eliciting peer approval of their representation.

Long-term observation.

Observation over time provides the ability to discern what people do beyond what they say they do which increases the depth of understanding of the phenomenon and produces data useful in establishing case setting for those outside the study (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002). Locating patterns and themes in a case site requires time to determine the importance for the participants of the observed activities and the relevance of the observations to the study findings. The benefits of time in deepening understanding informed my decision to design this study using a before, during and after approach to data collection as a way to observe and engage with the men across the time and space of their study abroad experience. As an outside observer participating in the trip but somewhat removed from the experience of actual students enrolled in the class, including time in my study design for observation at home and in Spain was critical. The

knowledge I gained interacting with the men across time enhanced the content of my analysis and was invaluable in providing me confidence in asserting findings and implications of this study.

Peer examination.

Peer examination allows professional colleagues within study abroad the opportunity to comment on my findings through their expert lens (Merriam, 1998). As discussed above, peer discussions helped deepen and challenge my understanding of the phenomenon to enrich my findings. For this study, peer examination occurred as I reviewed my emerging themes as well as adapted my protocol as I interacted with and interpreted my data. Academic mentors were instrumental in discussing challenges and emerging themes I felt needed further scrutiny during analysis. Familiar with college men in the engineering disciplines, the faculty leaders for this course also provided insightful observations during the course and after our return that, although not specific to any one participant, influenced my approach to observation and my discussions with the men. Finally, personal conversations with colleagues in the field, my committee members, and college students of a similar age as my participants on my emerging thoughts provided new light on complicated themes and topics. These discussions contributed to a more robust analysis of my data and enhanced the process of crafting this document.

Participatory or collaborative modes of research.

Participatory/collaborative research modes were more difficult to locate in my research design since this was a dissertation study. However, I was able to analyze, evaluate and adapt my study as it progressed based on feedback from my participants.

This included re-conceptualizing themes and encouraging the men to contribute artifacts and data they found relevant to expressing how they understood the experience of study abroad. I also found the women in the course, who frequently served as casual informants and shared their own observations as students while abroad, were helpful in providing me with ideas and new ways of thinking about my data. Finally, as noted above, several of the men remained in unexpected contact with me after the formal data collection process had ended providing opportunities for informal, collaborative discussions on emerging themes and research challenges.

Researcher positionality.

As noted earlier, I found Merriam (1998) helpful as a novice research in approaching the original design of this study. Bias is one of Merriam's key strategies for establishing qualitative credibility. However, for the purpose of this study, which proceeds from constructionism, the concept of bias is not aligned with the epistemology governing my study. Reflecting on positionality, assumptions and investments are aligned and help explain why I included reflection on my positionality as researcher and the discussion of my epistemological view of social constructionism. I am fortunate to be in an academic program that provides a practicum course preparing students for dissertation work. This practicum course provided me time to reflect more deeply on my positionality and epistemological views prior to designing this study. My memoing process also provided opportunities to reflect on my positionality throughout the study and address assumptions, worldview and orientation within my findings and recommendations in later chapters. Finally, the reflective interludes in this document are

also designed to allow those examining my research to better understand my positionality and to illustrate the dynamics of the experience abroad.

Reliability

Merriam (1998) understands reliability as the extent to which another researcher can replicate my study. As she notes, this is problematic in most qualitative research because the human behavior under study is not static. Nor in the role of researcher as instrument is my thought process replicable (Patton, 2002). However, there are elements in my study designed to improve the *dependability* and *consistency* of my findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These include shared reflections in this dissertation on the social context of my study and my positionality against the case and individuals participating in the study (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). My implementation of approaches designed to enhance triangulation, discussed above, also helped in strengthening reliability (Merriam, 1998). Finally, detailing the steps I took in my research project will allow other researchers to use similar strategies and approaches where relevant in their own work.

Analysis and Decision Making

A feature of qualitative research clearly visible in my work is emergent design flexibility (Patton, 2002). The adaptation and decision making process during data collection and analysis influenced the direction of my study, interrupted and redirected my thought processes and required me to question my intentions and purpose. This included my interaction with my research questions. Qualitative research questions, particularly in case study, are evolving and highly dependent on emergent issues in the field (Agee, 2009; Creswell, 2013). As a dissertation, subject to a proposal defense, my

research required clear research questions prior to commencing my study. However, as I engaged with the men in my case and themes emerged I reflected upon and revisited my research questions settling into those appearing in this document which differ from those initially proposed.

Working through my data analysis also required ethical decisions including data to present as attributable to individual participants versus data to present in composite as a way to protect participant identity in areas like alcohol consumption, sexuality and romantic relationships. In some instances I worked with the men directly to review how sensitive information was presented in this document. I also thought deeply about the representations in Chapter IV, recognizing my words communicate a full range of meanings for those reading this document. For example, I chose to write of some past events within the representations in present tense because as individuals the men are more than a past moment in my life and our shared time abroad. I recognize that their lives extend beyond this study and representing them in the present tense is a small way for me to acknowledge and appreciate them as individuals engaged in active and meaningful lives.

Summary

This qualitative case study was designed around the use of observations and interviews to collect data that allowed me the opportunity to analyze and observe emerging themes in how these five men imagined their experience prior to departure, enacted their experience while abroad and made initial meaning of their experience upon return with a view to the salience of gender and masculinity. Study abroad photographic images, drawings and the interaction of participants with those artifacts supported my

primary data collection methods. Fieldnotes and memoing contributed to my data collection and analysis processes.

To strengthen the quality of my study, I used triangulation, member checks, long-term observation and collaborative approaches to research. Although my unique and high level of professional expertise in education abroad strengthened my results, I remained attuned to my positionality and how my lived experiences shaped the outcomes I constructed when engaged with the data. Reflection and open discussion throughout my research process provided an opportunity for me to address these issues further.

My goal for this case study is to contribute to the understanding of the under-examined study abroad experiences of college men. I have included a specific view toward the emergence of gender during study abroad within my research. Because gender construction is situational, time and site specific, I believe the study abroad space is an ideal site for exploring emerging adult men's experiences and notions of gender. After decades of effort nationwide to diversify study abroad, and with resources and energy spent on encouraging more men to participate, the limited results of those efforts seem to demand examination. My intent with the design of my study was to contribute to that effort and gain some understanding of this phenomenon so that future research can build upon and better address understanding men's experiences in study abroad participation. Chapter IV provides me the opportunity to introduce the five men who generously allowed me to step briefly into their lives.

MOMENTO TRES: “I BELIEVE IN US”

We have emerged.

-Patrick

On our first day in Spain, in an effort to stave off jetlag, we wandered the streets of Madrid gathering our bearings and soaking up vitamin D to force our bodies onto the local time. In a semi-zombie state walking around the grounds of the city’s main cathedral, I managed to get separated from the larger group among the crowds of tourists. Checking out the nearby plazas and parks, I knew they could not have made it too far but my searching was in vain. I slowly made my way back to the hotel to meet up with everyone there. By the time the group realized I was not with them, it was too late to find me so they began sending text messages - technology to the rescue as I let them know I was heading to the hotel. One of the men changed the name of the class GroupMe page from *Technology and Culture of Spain* to *I Believe in Jeff* to show he believed I was resourceful enough to find the group again. Although embarrassing to be so quickly cast in a central group role of lost participant, being separated set in motion the “I believe in _____” narrative that would travel with us across Spain and home to the United States. This simple use of technology was instrumental in efficiently and effectively defining group membership with these few, simple words establishing group belonging and situating membership in the group as central to facing and overcoming any challenge we might encounter over the coming weeks.

Because any member of a GroupMe app page can easily change the name of the group, the name quickly changed again and continued to change across our time in Spain anytime a course member faced a challenge or was missing from the group. Various student's names appeared but also places ("I believe in Starbucks), feelings ("I believe in delicious") and memorable cultural moments ("I believe in the *Hand of God*," a name which refers to a beverage). Participation in the "I believe" theme was universal. At one point the faculty leader changed the group name to "I believe in you" as the students worked on a class assignment.

The longest lasting title for the page appeared after the entire group was at the wrong train station trying to catch a bus for a day trip to Segovia. "I believe in us" first appeared as the GroupMe title and stuck as a symbol of the centrality of group belonging that emerged so quickly within the group's social dynamics. The "I believe in us" narrative appeared in student's journals and at least one man used it as the title for his reflective paper at the conclusion of the course. Months after returning from Spain, the group maintained use of the GroupMe app as a communication tool in connecting with the class and continued to change the name as significant milestones were reached, for example "I believe in rough drafts" as the final paper due date neared.

At first glance, these "I believe" statements seem relatively innocuous and simple, insignificant use of humor in the unfamiliar experience of study abroad in Spain. However, they carry a much deeper meaning in an environment where time is compressed and setting group norms and belonging must happen rapidly. Through the use of technology, the group was able to connect using their mobile devices to center around an equalizer in which every single member participated and belonged. When

Patrick later notes that “we have emerged” he speaks not only of himself but as the group. Yes, the individual students emerged in different ways changed by the experience but Patrick did not say “I have emerged.” The men and women emerged as a group, established group norms, formed group belonging and centered on a shared narrative of empowering, collective participation. I believed in them as participants and they believed in me as participant researcher. We believe in us.

CHAPTER IV

PARTICIPANT REPRESENTATIONS

Building upon the introduction to my study site in Chapter III, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the five college men participating in my study. Of particular note in understanding the men within my case are the glimpses of time, gender and technology that weave throughout their experiences and appear across this and following chapters. These three elements shift in salience over time and space but are ever present, lingering just behind the scenes within the data. The men participated in a 14-day, short-term course held during the summer at the end of a grueling academic term. They perceived options and opportunities as pressed by limited time abroad and responded accordingly with their expectations and social performances. The men brought to the course and enacted abroad constructed gender roles and expressions of masculinity deeply embedded in their daily lives. As engineering students, they possess highly sophisticated concepts of technology. Understood as extensions of their own bodies, technological tools were central to navigating life abroad and remaining tethered to home.

An additional consideration in reading this chapter is to recognize that the men did not express disruption from the dissonance between their beliefs, views and behaviors that resonated strongly with me as observer and may be visible to others reading this text.

For example, the men can, without pause, simultaneously view Spain as romantically provincial with little to offer the contemporary engineer and as an urban site in which are located valid representations of engineering worthy of time and study. They will opine disappointment at the lack of traditional Spanish music while sitting in a Taco Bell drinking beer and eating crispy tacos because “that is what Spaniards do.” Similar dissonance appears across this chapter but does not seem to trouble the men living the experience in Spain.

I found drafting this chapter mentally onerous. Because I worked with a small group of easily recognizable men, I grappled with concepts of ethical confidentiality, privacy and anonymity. My participants are well known on the MidSouth University campus and in their academic programs. They spoke freely with each other and fellow classmates in Spain about their participation in my study and relied on social media throughout our time abroad to document their experiences. I was challenged to retain what Baez (2002) describes as an accuracy in presenting my study results while conceptualizing confidentiality and privacy in new ways. In situ the men were open and transparent, living fully in the moments of the experience abroad and sharing highly personal feelings, perceptions, challenges, and insecurities. Upon our return to the United States and recognizing an institutional presence within my work the men relied on impression management techniques in describing their time in Spain. These men remain enrolled at MidSouth and they interact regularly with the faculty leaders and fellow students on this course. I have attempted in this chapter to navigate these challenges in representing the men respectfully without loss of fidelity.

As Gosse, Parr and Allison (2008) observe in their work with men in education training, although standard qualitative research often relies on excerpts linked with specific participants there is also benefit in embracing the subjectivity of research through composite impressions and themes related to the overall experience. Markham (2012) notes that composite accounts are a straightforward adaptation in representing events, people, and interactions, especially when the individuals involved are engaged in sensitive or risky behaviors, or, they want to maintain a semblance of privacy, to help combine multiple perspectives in various, similar moments into credible descriptions for readers. To successfully employ composite accounts “interpretive integrity is linked with the qualitative researcher’s in-depth connection to the phenomenon and/or the participants” (Markham, 2012, p. 344). Based on the time I spent with the men in this study, the depth of our shared experiences traveling together, and my knowledge and experience in the field of study abroad, I have chosen to share some excerpts from our time together as composite rather than individual, attributable moments. In doing so, I chose to remove identifying information not relevant to the theoretical perspective of this study and my research questions (Vainio, 2013). I believe this approach captures and represents the spirit of the men’s lived experiences in an ethical, respectful and confidential way while maintaining the knowledge to be gained from the qualitative research approach employed in this study.

Each of the men in my study represents an individual case but also a part of the larger, time and space bound study abroad program that is the site of my research. Guided by Stake (2006), each man’s case was analyzed individually prior to forming assertions across the five cases. The following profiles represent inductive work

analyzing my data in search of unique meanings for each man. The men's themes were recorded in their individual case reports and proved useful in identifying emerging categories and patterns for analysis across the group (Emerson et al., 2011; Patton, 2002). The most salient of these themes inform this and subsequent chapters.

For each representation below I attend to elements most relevant to the research questions for this study and the men's unique positionality within the group. Details are those shared by the men as meaningful to their personal story and for whom relevance was expressed at points during the study abroad experience. Although my data collection occurred in the past, I have represented intentionally the men in the present tense, respecting and recognizing they are engaged and thriving in vibrant, active lives beyond the boundaries of my study and our time together. My presence as researcher is most visible in the composite representation where I made decisions on which moments to share and how to represent them. These decisions are however still grounded in my personal relationships with the men and our discussions of privacy, relevance and positioning of self across the time and space of the study. I believe that our shared identities, in terms of college education, race and sex as discussed in Chapter III, strengthened my study and enhanced my ability to connect with and gain understanding of the men's experiences. However, our similarities did not mean we ascribed shared meanings to our experiences. This chapter attempts to portray the men's meanings as they understood this study abroad experience.

Throughout this document and the remaining chapters, individual excerpts include underlined words where the men accentuated or emphasized terms in their natural speech. Words are spelled as the men pronounced them to better aid in reading the spoken texts.

For example, the men regularly softened the word “for” into “fer” or “going to” into “gonna.” The excerpts retain “fer” and “gonna” without the use of [sic] (sicut) to avoid unnecessary interruptions to the flow of the men’s speech. Implied details not easily recognizable after removing the excerpt from the larger context in the transcript are included using brackets. Individual, non-spoken gestures or sounds are included in parenthesis. The following representations are presented in alphabetical order by the chosen pseudonym of each man, followed by the composite account.

Johnny Delaware

An affable, energetic student who regularly sports graphic t-shirts, this was Johnny’s first study abroad experience. He reads Machiavelli, loves learning just for the sake of knowing and when interacting with him you can almost see his brain working on overdrive making connections and solving problems in the moment. Johnny is a storyteller, relishing in the details of his narrations. He is passionate about mathematics and references numbers frequently. For example, when talking about music in Spain as a window into culture he relates to the mathematical structure of music observing, “you hand me a series of numbers and say this is, this is music and I can look at it and be like, ‘oh, yeah it is’ and understand what this would sound like.” A glimpse into his personality is found in his selection of a pseudonym for this study. First suggesting *Johnny Coyote* because he thought that sounded “cool,” he then concluded, since this was a piece of academic work, he should choose a more appropriate name and settled on Johnny Delaware. Johnny was the only participant who considered a last name for his pseudonym, demonstrating the detailed and thorough approach he takes with even the most mundane tasks.

Growing up across two Midwestern plains states with his parents and a younger sister, Johnny retains a close connection to his family while away at university. His mother also studied abroad in college which ultimately shaped his decision to participate. He shared that “she was excited just to kind of like see me going and doing something similar...’cause she really enjoyed it. And the rest of my family kind of felt the same way.” Being his first time out of the United States, Johnny imagined the opportunity to travel in Spain as a way to validate the truth of what he has learned in school about Europe by “kind of seeing like not just in words and, and small pictures in a book, you know you kinda see what’s going on with your own eyes.”

Johnny views himself as a man who “does not give up on people” but admits his desire to help those in need means he rarely shares his own problems with others and prides himself on his independence and inner strength to manage personal challenges. Known by his classmates and the faculty leaders for his frequent use of ear buds, Johnny at times appeared disconnected from the group which only magnified his independent reputation. Throughout the course Johnny was notorious within the group for his desire to “go out and walk around” alone in each city, sometimes late at night. Although this independent, lone wolf behavior created some concern on the part of the faculty leaders for what Johnny called “the whole safety thing,” exploring the city provided Johnny with time and space to observe and learn more about the “real Spain.” Knowledge of the area from his wandering and his ability to navigate and think quickly on his feet allowed Johnny to take the occasional leadership role with many of his peers looking to him for local information and directions.

In looking to his future, although he thinks living abroad will not be an option because of his personal career goals, after his first time traveling internationally Johnny wants to travel more and anticipates his next trip will be either to:

Japan (or something) where I know nothing where it's just like I'm pointing to things on the menu basically, I guess you know. Or I'd want to go something very familiar but still different maybe like England where it's like I speak the language I know enough about you guys. You know I just all I, all I'm doing here is enjoying the time that I have to, to see what's not in America.

Lee

Participating in his first study abroad course, Lee is actually the most experienced international traveler in the group of five men. Traveling with his parents and younger sister, a college student at a different university, Lee has visited multiple countries for several weeks at a time both on family vacations and a high school mission trip. This is however his first time in Spain and his first time traveling to Europe without his family which leads him to imagine that “going to a place on my own is nice. Helps ya grow up a little bit.” Lee regularly mentions valuing his emerging independence and striving to be a responsible adult.

While traveling in Spain, Lee maintained a neatly-groomed and well-dressed presence in Vineyard Vines sweatshirts, leather driving shoes and other smart attire. Growing up in a suburban community outside a large city where his family owns their own business, Lee's experience living in a large, metropolitan area and his international travel background represented a more cosmopolitan persona in comparison to the other

men in the course. His open, friendly attitude and his confidence in unfamiliar settings abroad was notable.

Lee is a highly-organized person and enjoys planning, logistics and details. He viewed study abroad as a good opportunity “to go with some friends instead of family for once” and as such was enrolled in the course with three women friends for whom he researched “like 13 different ways to get there [Spain] and finally found the cheapest one.” This passion for the details of travel mirrors a story Lee shared of organizing a golf trip to Scotland for his family the previous summer when he recognized, “I’m old enough now. I can plan a trip.” With Lee’s attention to detail and his international travel experience, I observed the other students on the course often deferred to his suggestions for where to go or what to do, especially in free-time, social activities. Lee’s access to unlimited data on his cell phone, and his open willingness to share his data access with others, also allowed him to serve as a group leader since most participants relied on Wi-Fi to access their technology. Lee actively sought out and thrived in this leadership role within the group. He imagined that a large part of studying abroad would be “about making friends” and connecting with other people, something his leadership position allowed to happen more easily. Looking to his future, travel will continue to play a significant role in his life and he wants to “show my kids the world the way my parents did for me.”

Patrick

A gentle spirit with soft blonde hair, a disarming smile peeking out from a neatly maintained beard and eyes that sparkle mischievously when he observes something humorous or ironic, Patrick is a master of subtlety in facial expressions and body

movements requiring a great deal of attention to determine what he may be trying to communicate non-verbally. When he speaks, his statements often sound like questions thanks to his soft, dulcet voice. Although a man of few words, Patrick is highly observant of the environment and people around him. His acute competency for and attention to details seem to be especially relevant to his interest in engineering and his ability to create stunning photography.

Patrick grew up in a smaller community (under 10,000 residents) than the other men in this study with his parents, older brother and younger sister. This was his first study abroad experience though he has been outside of the United States once for two days to Canada. His relationship with and admiration for the faculty leader was a key factor in Patrick's decision to participate in study abroad and specifically the course to Spain. When asked what his family thought about his travel abroad, Patrick noted "my immediate family were excited. Um, they've never, they've never been out of the country...Of course my grandma was very hesitant and then I get over there and there's all this stuff happening in England [referencing the bombing at an Ariana Grande concert in Manchester]." Given his unfamiliarity with international travel, this trip represents a significantly empowering and exciting experience for Patrick.

Patrick noted on his demographic questionnaire a desire to "not be stuck in [his home state] for the rest of my life without seeing and experiencing something different." This course provided not only an escape from home but also an opportunity to experience and share with his family a distant part of the world. As such, Patrick took advantage of opportunities in Spain to see new places and engage in new experiences beyond those of the other men. Highly independent in character, Patrick still participated in many social

activities with the other students as an aspect of his eagerness to experience all he could while in Spain. He seized opportunities to go, see and do everything from a 5:00am sunrise on the beach to trying strange, new foods not found at home. In the pre-departure class Patrick always sat in the front row, separated slightly from other students. However, in Spain he opened up slowly to his classmates and the faculty leaders, several of whom commented specifically on their enjoyment in getting to know him better on this trip than they had at home and now consider him a friend and not just a classmate or student.

Not compelled by the same need as many of his classmates to spend nightly free time visiting local bars and clubs, Patrick would some nights stay up late using Photoshop to manipulate the exquisite photographic images he had captured the previous day. Although he shared with the other men in this study the imaginary of building friendships with classmates, he held opportunities for new, personal experiences and learning opportunities above any calling to socialize. Of the five men in my study, Patrick appeared the most engaged in the engineering aspects of the trip, asking questions on factory tours and noting amazement at the "creativity," "details," and "overwhelming" presence of Spanish architecture and innovation.

Although he is a bit disappointed in the course abroad and wishes there had been more engineering "specific [learning] objectives," his anticipation that "it would take a lot more effort and it would be more trouble" and "not knowing Spanish would be much more of a problem" proved unfounded. After the course and our return home, Patrick expressed a desire to "push myself to travel more...throughout Europe and maybe Asia and everything." He observed in our final interview that although he would not

necessarily be interested in working or living abroad, after the two weeks in Spain “I definitely want to travel more.”

Paul

Paul, at 22, is the oldest of the five men in my study. His international travel experience includes a high school trip to Costa Rica and a previous study abroad course to Germany in summer 2016 with his close friend and fraternity brother Stan (also enrolled in this Spain course and participating in my study). Paul’s father worked for six months in Thailand when Paul was younger which he mentions several times as influencing his openness to “the adventure” of traveling abroad. Paul shared that his family is proud of him for “wanting to go” abroad. Stan recommended Paul enroll in the course to Germany the previous summer and that “amazing” experience led Paul to enroll for this second course abroad to Spain. Along with Stan, and in part because of their prior study abroad experience and ages, Paul served as someone to whom the other students looked for guidance in Spain.

Joking that he is an “aggressively average” student and still a “kid” at heart that is now just “5 feet 10 inches tall and can touch stuff,” Paul is youthfully energetic, adventurous and can talk a mile-a-minute. His outgoing, jovial personality and the particularly radiant smile flashing persistently across his face draws others to him. He jokes with anyone around him, including the faculty leaders who expressed genuine enjoyment from Paul’s participation in the course. Paul values his close friendship with Stan and places high importance on relationships. Always ready for new adventures, Paul imagined with great excitement meeting new people in Spain, a highlight of his time in Germany where he “became such great friends” with the people that he met there.

Paul worked long hours during the school year and summer, often 6 days a week and late into the night, to save money for this study abroad course. He proudly noted that he “worked my butt off to keep my debt as low as possible...I’ve definitely been taught the value of my dollar.” This hard work and sacrifice helps explain why Paul wanted to take full advantage of his time in Spain. His previous study abroad course to Germany informed his experience on the trip to Spain recognizing after our return that he “was comparing it to my previous study abroad which was just incredible.” Paul was “a little bit let down from the overall experience” in Spain because he had his “standards set to the highest” after his time in Germany. Even with some disappointment, overall Paul explained he was “super glad that I went and did everything that we did and saw everything that we saw.” Of all the men in my study and with his adventurous spirit, Paul is the most emphatic that if he has “the opportunity to go to Europe to work and live” after he graduates from college and “everything’s right” he is “not gonna say no.”

Stan

Stan is a tall, easy going student who, in addition to his engineering studies, is also pursuing a minor in Spanish. He is the most experienced study abroad participant in my research case having completed two previous short-term engineering courses in Ireland and Germany as well as a long-term summer language immersion program in Costa Rica. His older brother encouraged his first study abroad experience to Ireland:

Personally speaking for me, what got me into studying abroad was my brother. He had gone on a previous study abroad trip with a couple of his pledge brothers, and the exciting stories and experiences he told when he got back peaked my interest. I originally never thought about studying abroad because the thought of traveling

to another country on my own was intimidating, but my brother ended up going on another study abroad trip to Ireland and invited me and I had no reason or excuse to decline.

With several study abroad courses under his belt, Stan held expectations and thoughts about study abroad in Spain that were deeply influenced by these previous experiences. Of particular note are the times he spent in Costa Rica, where he studied Spanish for the summer, and in Germany traveling with the same faculty leader as the Spain course and his fraternity brother Paul (also enrolled in the Spain course and participating in my study). Stan and Paul appear to be close friends, always sitting together in class, rooming together in Spain and extending their time in Europe with extra days in Italy before returning home.

Stan expressed a passion for establishing new friendships abroad and seems to relish in having a good time with friends, telling jokes and laughing. A key outcome from his previous study abroad courses and a motivation for continuing to participate in additional programs is making some of his “best friends in college” because he loves to “meet these people who are in similar fields of study and also want to adventure and broaden their personal life experiences.” Because of his openness to and eagerness for new friendships, Stan usually welcomes everyone into his social activities, showing kindness to others and wanting people to like him. He credits study abroad for helping him grow into a more socially outgoing person, noting that at home he is far more willing to meet people and do things independently than he did before discovering study abroad.

Of the five men, Spain as a destination was most significant to Stan because of his previous work learning Spanish. He was eager to experience the language within its

country of origin. Stan's experience established him as the primary Spanish speaker in the course, even though other students also spoke some of the language. Stan observed that "a lot of people looked to me to like guide them sometimes in Spanish speaking areas and I was okay at it." Because of his Spanish language abilities, his previous experiences studying abroad, and how easily he engages in conversation, other members of the course seemed willing and happy for Stan to serve as a group leader, especially in the planning of group activities and, as he notes above, when they needed someone to speak Spanish to locals. Many classmates, especially the other men, looked to Stan to set the tone in Spain for both in-class and extracurricular activities, responding to his conduct and demeanor in kind.

Reflecting across his multiple study abroad courses, Stan expresses more thoughtfulness than the other men on how his time abroad will tie into his life and career. Studying abroad has caused Stan to think more deeply about his future. Always set on working in the oil and gas industry, seeing the expansion of alternative energy in other parts of the world has Stan rethinking his career across many options in the larger energy industry. He clearly would like to study abroad again, by first suggesting I should have asked him in our second interview, "If you were to study abroad again, where would you study?" so that he could reply, "My answer would be Japan." However, he later shared that "I doubt I'll go on another study abroad trip. I don't think my bank account can handle it." Either way, his previous study abroad travel experiences have opened Stan to a larger worldview and he hopes to include more travel in whatever he does next in life.

Composite Representation

Departing at the end of the academic year, two days past final exams, the course to Spain was situated in a time and space that for these five men represented summer break and freedom from the rigorous, engineering student's academic life. The men were anxious to get away and frequently viewed the course as "really my only opportunity to study abroad." As engineering students undertaking exacting degree programs, they expressed that "sometimes we need to take some time to slow down from our extremely hectic lives and just enjoy relaxing and not worrying about what is coming next." Viewing their time in college as finite, the men are pushed to create *must participate* imaginaries in which they view the opportunity to study abroad as something that if not done now will never happen (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015).

The men's pre-departure narratives were sprinkled with imagery of "escape" and liberation from the mundane. The opportunity to leave behind their ordinary lives and "get to enjoy ... a little bit of time away from the everyday life of [home]" is an important motivator in their decision to participate. They want to "go see something a little bit more exciting in the world's perspective" than the familiar and lackluster routine at home, including activities "we would probably never do here." This escapist, adventurist perspective creates a dream place imaginary in which the men are viewing the study abroad experience as a way to break from their banal, daily lives (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015). The imaginary requires the men conceptualize the world as a place in which the foreign is exotic, more exciting and elevated in cultural value over their familiar home environment. For these men living in a rural area of the United States, Europe and Spain fit well into this escapist, travel narrative.

Destination Fun

When the men thought about Spain as a destination for this short, summer course, expectations of “beach,” “sun” and “warm weather” prevailed. “I took it as vacation,” “you know you’re on vacation,” and “you forget like oh this is a class” illustrate the challenge the men faced in navigating the overlapping time constructs of summer holiday and academic class time. As the men create their imaginaries, fun, touristic views of the experience predominate. Time in Spain was to be filled with socializing, making new friends, drinking in breweries and pubs, and generally enjoying the “freedom” of being in Europe. Expectations that “Spain is warm and sunny with big blue skies” permeated the men’s imaginaries, establishing well before departure dream place behavior that had little to do with engineering or academics.

The course is also urban-centric which aligns easily with the men’s anticipation of Spain as a vibrant, energetic “party” destination. Planned visits to Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona led the men to anticipate these destinations as “the city that never sleeps” and “known for its nightlife”. The men’s comparisons to New York City and Chicago establish the experience as cosmopolitan, intercultural and energetic. Pressed to reflect on the time in Spain as an academic experience, the men situate the course in terms of their degree programs articulating engineering as something best observed in urban rather than rural environments. The men express views that one can learn engineering in a rural setting, but one practices and observes engineering in urban areas, further reinforcing the decision to participate in this specific course. A rural study abroad program seemed misaligned with their imaginaries of escape and fun.

Knowing that “we are gonna learn things while we are having fun on, on this trip” and motivated by the opportunity to “have fun” and still “get course credit for it,” the men defined fun as “seeing sights,” going to “the beach,” “making new friends,” “hanging out” and “going to bars and clubs.” On the flip side, they expressed not having fun in terms of inconvenience and boredom including “sitting in the hotel,” “having big groups” while eating in restaurants, “being yelled at” by annoyed bar staff, “waiting for the check” to pay for dinner, and having to talk about the U.S. “presidency and all that.” Although the “interesting” academic tours touched upon the men’s career imaginaries as a “major part of the experience”, the tourist and social aspects of the course, including the level at which they managed to form bonds of friendship with other participants, stood out to the men as strongly influencing their overall perceptions of the experience abroad.

Romanticizing Spain

Although the men’s expectation was a fun, urban experience, that did not always mean a modern, contemporary experience. Expressing notions of “an older style country” and a more “traditional” Spain, the men romanticized their destination as quaintly historic and provincial. Articulating “the purpose of this trip was to get a feel for the culture of Spain” and “to learn more about the culture,” *culture* was consistently conceptualized narrowly in terms of traditional music, food and art, even after attempts by the faculty in pre-departure classes to get the students thinking more deeply about culture and contemporary life in Spain. The men relied heavily on perceptions of Spain based on their home culture, media representations and other, more familiar Spanish speaking cultures as when one explains the influence of Cuba and Mexico on his expectations for Spain:

I feel like too you know maybe it's, it's the uh you see you know such a musical culture portrayed in like, uh like the Cuban uh and like the Mexican culture and things like that so it's like okay well you know they're from Spain so maybe it all ties back to, to Spain as well?

Cuisine was viewed culturally with similar expectations of Spain based on what the men had experienced at home:

I expected there to be maybe more um like I, I originally envisioned more of like a spiciness to the, to the food [like Mexican food]. Um, but uh I was pleasantly surprised it was all very good still even though it wasn't uh spicy really.

Finally, notions of history were also linked to culture and framed in a similar, romanticized fashion with the men making sense of Spain historically through a lens of the United States, conceptualizing Spain within their narrow educational experiences:

During high school and stuff I looked at a lot of like European history 'n stuff in my classes and so I kinda have an idea of the, the like way that Spain came to be kind of how it is now. Um, of course those things focused more on you know your, your France and your uh (pause) England because those are more dominant ... to the US and especially in like, like a global context. Because, you know they were much more important powers... With Spain it's, it's more of like uh you kind of see them up until uh the sinking of the Spanish armada because you know (pause) hurricanes are, are the worst (pause) then you got the Spanish Armada and then nothing and then you got a little bit of things that are happening like in the Philippines because of Spain and then they lose there too and they come home

and they're just kind of like 'well, we're here' ... So, it's a lot of you kinda see them in the background.

Conceptualizing Spain as historically unevolved and "in the background" led the men to perceive Spain's engineering as "kinda underwhelming." Viewing Spain "from outside I've never really heard of anything that Spain has created or anything being engineering," the men conceptualized other European countries as:

more engineering, technical than this one. Now Spain was very cool. I'm not (pause) putting down Spain but from an engineering standpoint it was kinda underwhelming. It wasn't too impressive. I'm not trying to diss on Spain too much, but....

As seen in these statements on engineering technology, to process the dissonance between the metanarrative of study abroad as a positive educational experience and urban areas as sites of engineering learning with their romanticized views of Spain as traditional and historic, the men hedge their statements in ways designed to validate their imaginaries and maintain consistency in portraying the experience as worthwhile and authentic.

Immersion and Authenticity

Cultural Immersion was an easily accessible metanarrative within study abroad marketing adapted and parroted by the men to explain their behaviors in Spain. For example, seeing people drinking in local café's translated into social drinking as a cultural norm, providing a convenient justification for nightly outings to bars and pubs in the spirit of cultural immersion:

There was a lot more drinking than I thought there was gonna be. Even just the local people drank a lot more than I, 'cause every meal you walked by people were drinking. Like at least just beer or wine. So, of course we had to partake in the local lifestyle (chuckling) a little bit.

Although the men expected to observe differences, be “challenged” and have a fun “adventure,” they actively sought out comfort and familiarity abroad in terms that they could still represent as authentic immersion. Physical positionality in Spain as participation in a “collective ritual” (MacCannell, 2013, p.137) of stepping into an experience was sufficient usually to link any activity the men experienced as authentically Spanish and culturally normative. They frequented McDonalds and Taco Bell and went out at night to expatriate bars and pubs while representing these activities as Spanish immersion since the physical presence of an Irish Pub or a McDonalds in Spain signified to the men an adequate representation of Spanish culture.

Although the body in Spain was at times sufficient for an activity to be described by the men as authentically Spanish, authenticity was also dependent on a romanticized imaginary of Spain’s “festive vibe.” This imaginary viewed locals as providing access to traditional culture for the men’s consumption through public displays and performances. These expectations of a traditional, musical atmosphere were especially prominent when anticipating the group’s nighttime experiences. The men “expected there to be a lot more of a musical atmosphere to it [Spain]. Um, especially like maybe in some of the later, like late-night kinda like plazas as you’re walking through it or something like that.” They envisioned a soundtrack of traditional Spanish music accompanying their travels through Spain and struggled to re-conceptualize authenticity when it was not present.

The Boy-Culture of Men

The men regularly described themselves as “boys out having fun” and engaging in playfulness that reinforced a boyhood culture during the course. They fought each other with fake swords in museum gift shops, stood in small clusters practicing their “frat snap” (a moving hand-gesture where fingers create a snapping sound while flicking the wrist downward) and if a sign said “do not take photographs” they immediately plotted how to sneak a photo. Although this behavior aligned with their expectations of the course as a site of fun and frolicking, the women in the class frequently described the men as boys. Referring to them as boys and criticizing their behavior as childish, the women seemed able to easily dismiss the men as bothersome boys to be tolerated. As one noted after the men had been acting up on a site visit, “you boys are nothing but birth control” for any woman thinking about getting involved with them sexually or having a baby.

In many ways the men embraced the identities of both *boy* and *man*, responding with delight when recognized as acting like children but also stepping up with pride when leadership opportunities arose. Experiences that made the men feel good about themselves as men, reinforced their behavior choices or validated their identities were comforting even when culturally unfamiliar, serving as touchstones for the men’s construction of their study abroad selves. For example, at Montserrat high above the monastery a few men took a risk and climbed off the beaten tourist path with several women classmates. The physical exertion of leading fellow students away from the main trail, over boulders and brambles, reaching the highest point from which to view the surrounding landscape rewarded the men who participated with the opportunity to reverse

the compression of time experienced up to this point on the course. They could slow down and enjoy the life atop the mountain, observing the world at their feet “for a good 30 minutes to an hour just entranced with it all.” Serving as a metaphor for the larger study abroad experience in Spain, their departure from the safety of the well-worn trail provided these men with pleasure and feelings of masculine accomplishment. Wishing that “more people would’ve joined us for that hike to the top of the mountain,” the men who took a risk and left the trail for an adventure constructed this moment as an elevated masculine experience of meaningfulness, a way to deepen their relationships and group connection with those who also participated and elevate their personal joy in the experience in contrast to those men left behind.

Shifting Masculinities

The men’s shared conceptualization of Spain as a destination should not suggest that the men had homogenous experiences. Articulated more thoroughly in Chapter II, Connell (2005) observes the intersection of multiple masculinities are dependent on and shift within any given setting. They experienced study abroad not only as men, but uniquely as White men from one specific engineering college located in the middle of the United States. Each man came to the experience with different imaginaries and identities framing his personal experience. The men identify along the continuum of sexuality experiencing Spain as both gay men and straight men in ways that not only reflect how they wish to be seen but in response to how they are seen by the other men (Erikson, 1968). Class, race and gender intertwined and emerged at times most salient in the setting with the men perceiving acceptable masculinities in each moment and adapting their behavior accordingly (Kimmel, 2008). How they expressed and performed

masculinities in the privacy of their hotel rooms and with friends differed from those in public with the class or in the presence of authority figures like the faculty leaders. With readily accessible technology, they were also able to represent themselves to family and friends at home in carefully-constructed ways.

Important to recognize across the men's masculinities and performances is that they were able to successfully adjust and intersect their individual identities as a group in ways that may not have been possible at home. This allowed all five diverse men to cohere as a masculine social group at key moments within the site of study abroad and carry those connections home. While the five men bonded as a group and shared a sense of having "to teamwork our way through" the study abroad experience as men, as the GroupMe "I believe in us" messages conveyed in representing group identity, feelings of exclusion between the men also emerged. Statements like "I thought there might be more group kind of things that we would like go out and do just to have fun," "There were a few nights where I just kinda wanted to sit inside," and "So like they were sitting around talking about girls. So. That really wasn't a good reason for me to be involved...I am gay. I have a boyfriend" highlight that the men did not always feel fully included in masculine group activities nor that they were even consistently interested in engaging with each other as men. Observing that at moments "everyone was just kind of separate doing their own thing," the men recognized separation as a valid experience. However, group belonging was of central importance to the men and separation generated well established fears brought from home that when "guys want to go do different things someone's gonna get left out." Within the short time window abroad, generally no one wanted to be the one "left out."

Never Skip Keg Day: Men's Belonging

Every short-term, study abroad experience is unique in as much as each course travels at a specific time, to constantly changing settings, with new participants constructing distinct group dynamics. The men in my study conceived their time in Spain as limited but also “different” than other study abroad courses available to them and did not view the experience in Spain as uniform to other programs. They expressed awareness that “another trip...during the summer” would be different and that in choosing Spain as a destination their overall experience and their behavior choices within the experience were reliant on and situated within “just this group of people that we had.” In recognizing the situational and time limitations of their experience, the men’s desire for group belonging became a central force in their performances abroad and they relied on a variety of tools at their disposal, including technology, financial resources, social capital and information, to locate themselves within the group.

Belonging was important to the men and they all spoke in terms of wanting to be included in group activities and “make new friends.” Socializing in bars was a highly structured, nightly routine that quickly established group belonging. The daytime was spent planning where to go, the evenings and early morning hours spent out on the town drinking and socializing, with the following morning spent in recovery and planning anew for the coming evening. The men viewed this process as gendered, with the men “responsible for evening activities and women for the daytime.” In the press of two short weeks and with the men’s overwhelming desire for friendship and belonging, alcohol and hanging out in bars and clubs was an efficient, enjoyable, familiar and comfortable way to quickly form and norm the participant group.

From the men's first moments in Spain, alcohol as a social and relational tool was readily apparent. Our first steps on Spanish soil foreshadowed the days to come when, gathering in baggage claim at the Madrid airport, one of the men sported a t-shirt that proclaimed "never skip keg day". Given many of the students enrolled in the course were under legal drinking age in the U.S., the push to take advantage of their limited time in Spain, a country perceived as a global party destination, was strong. As one of the men observed, "There is kind of, that little pressure for people. Go experience the bars for the first time and live it up." Another described the opportunities for visiting Spanish bars as "mini-21st birthdays." Checking into our hotel that first day, even in their jetlagged state, the men began planning their evening adventure. The abundant city of Madrid was at the ready and waiting with opportunities perched within reach for the men's taking.

These evenings out exploring the nearby watering holes emerged across our time in Spain as central to the group experience. A routine of shared drinking quickly established within the group of students, where the men orchestrated plans and the women eagerly participated. Most of the men engaged fully in each night's activities, dragging their weary bodies across the following mornings as they recovered from lack of sleep and liquid consumption. Their morning conditions did not reduce the social drive to repeat these nightly celebrations of youth, as evidenced by their planning for the upcoming night while simultaneously nursing the notable hangovers that left them feeling "w.r.e.k.t." at the start of our days. When on one critical occasion the women collectively elected to not participate in the planned evening activities, the men were left nearly helpless. They relied so deeply on the pattern of nightly social drinking to reproduce group dynamics and reinforce gender roles that the absence of the women completely

disrupted and disoriented the men. The operationalization of social drinking connected directly to the men's understanding of what it meant to perform as men on the course. Without the women's participation, and facing the pressure from the perceptions of time press prevalent in the short-term program, the men simply sat in their rooms in disbelief, unable to articulate a new plan, succumbing to the palliative of the TV set for the remainder of the night. The deep feelings of betrayal at being abandoned by the women and excluded from group activities lingered across the remaining days in Spain and returned home with them as a critical moment in their experience abroad.

Summary

The men in my study brought both commonalities and differences to the experience of studying abroad. They shared views of Spain as a destination and strong imaginaries around the act of building relationships with the people they were going to meet and with whom they were traveling. The men set modest expectations for assessing positive outcomes from the experience, with having fun and making friends as two of the most significant. In a situation where the act of traveling abroad is enough to gain credibility among peers, and where authenticity of experience can be as simple as documenting through technology one's body on site in a specific space, it was relatively simple for the men to frame the experience in the positive terms required to gain social capital from participation even if the time abroad did not, for some, entirely fulfill their expectations.

The men experienced the press of time while abroad and responded in ways that quickly established group norms and the men's individual positions within the larger group. While some men behaved consistent with established masculinity constructs

brought from home, such as the use of alcohol as a tool of influence and intergroup competition for establishing individual power, others orbited around these issues of masculinity expressing little concern for the gender work being done by the other men. Multiple masculinities intersected across time and place for the men in this course with each man contributing in their own way to the reproduction and establishment of masculine norms and the visible hegemonic or alternative gender roles within this case. My analysis discussed further in Chapter V delves more deeply into the doing of gender within this study abroad course.

MOMENTO CUATRO: THE HAND OF GOD

Um, well there's the 'Hand of God' that's all, no one expects that.
-Johnny Delaware

He is standing there, head and shoulders thrown backwards, gaping mouth and kaleidoscopic eyes thrown heavenward, emitting gales of body shaking laughter that would reverberate off the walls if it weren't for the ear splitting rock music blasting over the heads of the teeming mass of 20-somethings. Filled with a collective youthful exuberance that seems too exhausting to muster for the few of us in the crowd showing the physical signs of life's more hardening tribulations, the small Spanish bar is brimming this warm and sticky Monday night with young tourists and energetic expatriates. Our companion has just experienced the Hand of God, a concoction of mysterious alcohols, set aflame, vapors inhaled through the nose with a straw then downed like a shot. He has been transported somewhere just out of reach to the rest of us. His unspeakable joy spreads in a rippling effect across the souls of those standing closest to him while our fellow travelers holding up the bar walls look on with curious laughter in their eyes. The moment is contagious and the volume of our discussion crescendos into a friendly screaming match as he calls out "one more?!" and I reply "no more!" Although he will certainly crash later, in this moment no cares or worries interrupt his angelic flight of the mind.

Eventually, the moment passes and the crowd moves on to other thoughts and new drinks with names like Sex on the Beach, the Pussy Licker, the Cock Sucker and an assortment of names that make my cheeks burn with anxious embarrassment. My gin and tonic seems virginal against these symbols of youthful sexuality. I am overcome with the sense I should be drinking water in the corner, except there is no room even in the farthest edges and water was long ago replaced in this bar by beer. I am transported back to my own undergraduate years, hitting local bars during study abroad. Was it this exciting? Did I seem to float slightly off the floor as do this young man and his classmates? Time fades such memories, replaced with perhaps a small pang of envy at the pure innocence pouring from these bodies and out into the streets of a city wide awake at 2:00 a.m.

Traveling with these students transported me into the lives of college men in ways I could not have imagined. Just as the men in my study anticipated their experience in Spain, I too had images in my mind about life abroad with them for two weeks. My imagination had not conceived of scouring the depths of Google looking for the “best” bars in town or walking for over an hour to find the cheapest lunch possible to save money for expensive drinks that night. I had no awareness what the compression of time in a short-term course could and would do to young bodies with seemingly unlimited energy for seizing the night.

Experiences like the Hand of God were repeated across our time in Spain. Although not all at the same fever pitch, such moments became almost common during our time together. Remarkable to me were the feelings of closeness these moments brought to the group. There I was a 49 year old man whooping it up in a bar with men

and women young enough to be my children. Accepting me so openly into their lives brought for me a convoluted emotional mix of thrill, shock, embarrassment, awkwardness and exhaustion. I have never felt my real age more while simultaneously feeling like a kid again. The study abroad professional in me struggled with how willingly as researcher I engaged in the very activities I warn against in pre-departure health and safety trainings. I lived in awe of the voracity with which these young adults lived each day and in my own capacity to throw my usually “safety first” caution to the prevailing winds. What emerged for me from our time together was an acute awareness that these moments, the adventures taunting fate with daring names like the Hand of God, provided perhaps the most influential, impactful and meaning-filled moments within our group. These are the moments that last. Stories of the adventures were and will be told and retold, each time more exciting and daring than the last. The sense of belonging, the bonding as friends and the deeply emotional displays of masculine bravado I observed in Spain linked the men in fellowship and friendship that at least in the moment seemed eternal.

The men in my study each expressed hopes and desires for developing meaningful friendships abroad. As one mentioned to me, he would have likely never met these people in his daily life on campus but after their time abroad together they are his close friends. Socializing around alcohol, both as a path to feelings of comfort and familiarity and as an expression of masculinity, played a significant role in the act of studying abroad for a majority of the men in this course. Study abroad was a site of visible relationship building with the sense of shared risk and adventure empowering an intimacy the men seemed to crave from their friendships. The press of time sent the group

bonding process into overdrive. Whether these friendships are fleeting or long-lasting I am not sure, but an implication clearly emerges. With a deep hope for friendship and lasting memories from their participation, the men on this course placed a great deal of importance on friendship development and desired close connections with others. Alcohol at time provided the catalyst for a highly masculinized form of bonding for which I cannot within the scope of this one study decipher the source, but Spain as a specific site of study was relatively meaningless in its realization. Fulfillment of the men's desired friendships came not from touring iconic Spanish sites or visiting engineering companies during the day but within the arms of these alcohol infused nighttime explorations that balanced perceptions of risk and adventure within the safety net of group membership (in a far away, and perhaps once-in-a-lifetime, place).

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

Building upon the data collection and analysis process detailed in Chapter III and the representations of my participants in Chapter IV, this chapter presents the key findings of my study. I engaged in ongoing analysis throughout data collection, inspiring emergent design decisions, which guided the evolution of my processes, research questions and post-collection analysis to arrive at these findings (Agee, 2009; Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002). Analysis included interrogation of both confirming as well as disconfirming evidence in making meaning of the men's full range of experiences abroad (Erickson, 1986). This chapter is organized around four primary themes with subthemes in each area. The following section briefly reviews the case study site succeeded by an overview of prior research helpful during analysis in conceptualizing the emergent themes and their subthemes that follow.

Technology and Culture in Spain as Naturalistic Case Study Site

The men in my study are all engineering students, a field viewed at MidSouth University as academically rigorous and known to “weed out weaker students” at critical moments across the program. Having just completed a battery of group projects and challenging final exams, the men were predisposed to view travel abroad in May as a reward for their hard work during the school year. Interpreting the men's experiences in

the space of a short-term, engineering course abroad required repeated reflection on the case site and context. The men relied on their notions of Spain as a host culture, interpretation of observed cultural behaviors and perceptions of what it means to be a man studying abroad on an engineering program to craft their experiences.

Participating in a course compressed into two weeks fomented a sense of urgency for the men that predisposed them to view their time in Spain as a series of fleeting moments to be seized. Documenting these brief moments on their phones as videos and photographs allowed the men to curate a library of memories. This use of technology as a memory tool provided an instant source of information on which the men relied to chronicle their experiences, as Lee recalled while explaining his use of images in trying to remember what happened each day to record in his class journal:

I have a decent memory so I can remember most of the things. And then if I didn't remember something I would go through my pictures. So I went through the schedule we had instead of taking notes and then was reminded 'oh, hey we did go here today. I forgot about that.' But then I would remember everything about it and then I'd look at the pictures. Okay, yeah, write that down [in my journal].

The men's perceptions of time compression and their responses to the fast-paced, 14-day program model were integral to my analysis process.

Finally, the men in this study lacked an articulate understanding of themselves as men and as a phenomenon worthy of study. None were aware that men were underrepresented in study abroad and remained relatively unconcerned after I described my research to their class. They did not see lack of participation as inherently harmful to

them or the larger population of men. The men spent little to no time reflecting on gender or race while in Spain and responded to my questions with statements like “I have never noticed a difference” or “we are all the same.” The privilege of positionality in the dominant, White, masculine culture of MidSouth University afforded the men little need in their daily lives to contemplate inequalities of gender, race or class (Johnson, 2006; Jones & McEwan, 2000). Given the focus of my research on men’s experiences in study abroad, my analysis process included regular reflection on my professional interest in men’s participation against the lack of a shared awareness or concern on the part of the men participating in my study.

Relevant Prior Research

The qualitative analysis process led me to regularly seek out and explore a diverse range of prior research helpful in making sense of my emerging themes. Many of these topics were not in the forefront of my thinking as I crafted the original study but surfaced thematically during analysis, including areas that retained significance to my study and others that slipped away as the following themes gained salience for this particular case. Building on Chapter II, prior research on time perception and time orientation was instrumental in helping make sense of the men’s behaviors during the course. *Time perception* is the subjective and often unconscious understanding of time in which individual experiences are grouped into categories and frames that provide order, meaning and coherence to events (Boyd & Zimbardo, 2005). For example, understanding time as moving forward in a consistent, linear pattern encouraged the men in my study to view each passing day as a lost opportunity in their quest to seize every

moment in Spain. This contributed to feelings of urgency as they imagineered the study abroad experience.

Time orientation relates to the influence thoughts and emotions have on individuals constructing specific time periods (Lasane & O'Donnell, 2005). For the men in this study the experience abroad brought attention to living in the moment and experiencing the “fun” and “adventure” to be had in Spain in what Boyd and Zimbardo (2005) describe as a Present-Hedonistic orientation to time. This factor:

reflects a hedonistic, risk-taking, “If it feels good do it” attitude toward time. It includes such diverse items as, “Taking risks keeps my life from being boring,” “I do things impulsively,” “I often follow my heart more than my head,” and, “When listening to my favorite music, I often lose track of time.” These items suggest an orientation toward present pleasure or immediate benefit with little concern for future consequences. (Boyd & Zimbardo, 2005, p. 90)

As emerging adults, the men in this study were ideally suited to embrace a present-hedonistic orientation to life in Spain. Tightly packed into 14 days, at a period in the men’s lives when acute focus on personal enjoyment is socially accepted, having fun in the moment was central to the men’s expectations and performances abroad.

The inherent nature of the short-term, study abroad programming model limited the men’s integration into the host culture and magnified their engagement with classmates from home (Jessup-Anger & Aragones, 2013). While attempting to “escape” and “hang up” on life in the U.S., the men remained tethered to home in ways that directed their behavior choices in Spain. This tethering to home and the men’s awareness of audience in a group of exclusively MidSouth students and staff encouraged the

reproduction of familiar gender norms and masculinities. Centering their views of gender on the home culture and lacking any intentional reflection, the men in my study missed gender role differences in Spain instead constructing gender in their host country as “the same as in the U.S.” (Talbert & Stewart, 1999).

Finally, social drinking and alcohol use is a normal aspect of the college experience for many men and has been investigated extensively in student development and gender research. Moderation is not a prevalent standard for emerging adult college students, with the “pursuit of excess” viewed by many as just living the “full college experience” (Arnett, 2015, p.148) and “simply being men” having fun (Capraro, 2007, p.192). Men’s alcohol use is closely associated with feelings of vulnerability within their friendships, setting their relationships apart from those of most women (Seidler, 1992). Men balance performances of masculinity on a razor’s edge, seeking social rewards for their expressions of masculine strength and independence while simultaneously desiring more intimate friendships that can carry greater social risk in being perceived as less masculine. They operationalize alcohol to enact male privilege while also negotiating the paradoxical feelings of power and powerlessness arising from their social relationship vulnerability (Capraro, 2007). Study abroad, a time of significant discomfort and potential gender role conflict, is a site well-suited for the use of alcohol to portray masculine strength and self-medicate feelings of vulnerability.

Thematic Findings

The themes presented in the remainder of this chapter emerged through continuous refinement and cultivation during my data collection and analytical process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study began as a motivation to answer the question of why

men do not go abroad as much as women, but through naturalistic, emergent design flexibility the exploration of men's experiences in the short-term study abroad space emerged as equally interesting, useful and unique. These themes represent pivotal elements of the men's short-term study abroad experience. Expanding on the participant profiles and composite representation shared in Chapter IV, these thematic findings provide a meaningful foundation for discussing my research questions and implications in Chapter VI.

Theme One: Prioritizing Interpersonal Relationships over Other Aspects of the Short-Term Study Abroad Experience and Expecting Participation to Provide Opportunities for Developing New Friendships with Institutional Peers

For the five men in my study, friends serve as key figures influencing the choices they make across all areas of their life including the decision to participate in study abroad. The men frequently prioritized social relationships over other aspects of their lives and relied on specific relationships to guide decisions. Paul illustrates this central focus on social relationships in the men's daily lives when sharing on multiple occasions that "Life in college is made up of three things: study, friends and sleep. However, you can only do two things well at any one time so I choose study and friends." The men also remained mindful of the future telling to others of their experience abroad and folding the experience into the creation of a future self as one who traveled abroad. This projective thinking influenced the men's expectations and their performances abroad as they crafted experiences they felt most representative of a rich and exciting experience to be told in future social interaction.

“Hey you should go with me”: Friends, family and faculty as cicerones encouraging men’s participation.

The men did not come to study abroad through happenstance but as a result of social interaction with key people in their lives encouraging, pushing, validating and supporting their participation. Johnny observed that “knowing the people that are going on this trip” and at his on-campus job spurred his interest in participating. Previous study abroad participants played a critical role influencing the men to participate. As presented in Chapter IV, Johnny’s mother shared her positive collegiate experiences abroad with her son, situating the experience as something from which he too could benefit. Stan’s brother believed Stan could also benefit from study abroad and encouraged him to travel to Ireland. Going together as brothers abroad helped Stan overcome his reservations about participating. Stan in turn counted on his positive experience in Ireland with his brother to convince his fraternity brother Paul to go to Germany the following year:

I talked to him [Paul] and it was like, he’s my pledge brother and the only other engineer [in my fraternity]. And I was like ‘I’d like to go. I went with my brother last year. I’d like to go with somebody who’s pretty close.’ And so I invited him. I was like ‘you should check it out.’

After a positive experience in Germany, Stan and Paul reinforced each other’s decision to participate in the Spain course when they signed up to return abroad together. All five men relied heavily on those within their family and friend circles to validate participation as a worthwhile and acceptable use of college men’s limited time and resources.

A charismatic faculty leader also guided the men to consider participating. Patrick explained, “I had her [the faculty leader] as a professor. And she was great. So I

thought, if I was going to go anywhere I should go on the trip with [her].” Paul expressed similar motivations:

We were close with [the faculty leader] and so um that was a big pushing factor for this trip as well. Um that we like, we know the professor. We know that she’s gonna be awesome. We know that she’s, you know, gonna be there for us and be there to do things with us. And not just you know be a professor and be um, ‘I’m a professor, you’re the students. That’s how this is gonna work.’ It’s more of like, we know that she is gonna be fun and we know that it’s gonna be a good trip and we know that we are gonna learn things while we are having fun on, on this trip. And so that was also a big driving factor for (pause) him [Stan] and I both on this trip.

Paul’s statement ties his positive feelings and experiences with the faculty leader to the men’s expectations (presented below) of participation as a “fun” yet safe adventure.

“Hey guys, hang up and hang out”: Looking to short-term study abroad as a site for advancing friendships.

Although the men parroted institutional metanarratives on participation as educationally rewarding, their participation was motivated primarily by existing personal relationships and a perception that participation would provide a fun opportunity to develop meaningful relationships with fellow MidSouth students. The men performed abroad in ways designed to best represent the attractive social capital each possessed to entice new friends from within the group, including their ability to purchase alcoholic beverages for other group members, proficiency with the Spanish language and knowledge about Spain, access to socially-valued technology like unlimited online data as well as leveraging

social cachet with faculty leaders. Their relationship aptitude was dependent on the men's capacity to participate in group social activities in ways valued by their peers. This was not a skill shared uniformly across all five men; for example, two students were regularly positioned outside the central core group of what I termed their aspirational peers, orbiting on paths that occasionally brought them into the central group then carried them into other social spheres with women classmates, faculty leaders and in some cases alone.

Although both women and men desire intimacy in their friendships, a desire to which Johnny alluded when noting he seeks out "close, long relationships" with people who "truly care about each other," men are drawn to activity-situated relationships with individuals who enjoy the same endeavors (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982; Nardi, 1992). As Stan noted when thinking about fellow study abroad participants, "They like to study abroad. I like to study abroad. We have something in common." The five men in my study value and crave deeper personal relationships in their lives and viewed study abroad as a potential, activity-based site for accomplishing that goal. When explaining why he continues to study abroad on engineering courses each summer Stan noted, "I've made some of my, yeah, I've made some of like one of my really good, best friends in college through study abroad so that's why I love to meet these new people in these groups." As engineering students, participation on a discipline-specific course was a safer option for providing the men access to potentially compatible peers.

When asked to select images representing study abroad in Spain during the first interview, all five men chose some images showing small groups engaged in social activities like eating meals and visiting iconic sites. The images captured people

positioned closely together with physical touch (e.g. holding hands, linking arms and reaching behind the back or draping across the shoulders of the next person) suggesting more intimate relationships. Participants presented similar photos after returning from Spain, showing them drinking in bars with classmates, eating meals together and posing with arms thrown over their classmate's shoulders.

When asked in the first interview to imagine themselves abroad, four of the men came with a vision of their body engaging socially with other people while one imagined himself alone. Curious to better understand why the one participant did not refer to other people, I probed further around the time of our second interview. He replied that I had asked him "to imagine himself" not imagine himself with others, framing his response to my original question as "being an engineer" and taking my words as literal instructions on what to envision. His response provided a helpful view into his thought process, useful as I adapted my design and analyzed unfolding data.

Of the four men who imagined themselves in social situations abroad, two imagined specific friends with them on the course, reinforcing the importance of key social relationships. Lee drew himself posing with classmates for a photo and followed up with those exact same friends while abroad to ensure he captured a photo as close to his drawing as possible to proudly show me "proof" he had experienced what he imagined. This was the most explicit example in my study of pre-departure reflection directly influencing constructed performance abroad.

At the end of our time abroad, two men expressed more disappointment in the overall experience than the others. I observed while abroad these two appeared the least successful in navigating new friendships with other men on the course. Although the

group included all classmates, these two men did not develop equally close friendships as did the others. One explained this outcome dismissively as him having “nothing in common” with the other men in the course but the second yearned for the elusive, close friendships he witnessed among his classmates. Reflecting on study abroad as an opportunity, both suggested that “probably not [going] alone” would have been the better option to avoid being “left out” and that it would be “really cool to have a, have like you know your best friend go with you or something like that.” Activity-based, social relationships were central in constructing a rewarding and convivial experience within the time and space of the short-term course.

Theme Two: Perceiving Time Before and During the Short-Term Study Abroad Experience in Multiple and Contrasting Ways, Orienting Behaviors and Performances Accordingly

The men’s perception of time as compressed and fleeting was a cornerstone in how they constructed the study abroad experience. They faced conflict between the pressure to seize the day in their limited time abroad and their imaginaries of Spain as a slower space in which they can hang out with new friends and escape a hectic life at home. This conflict led them to engage in fast-paced activities that also supported the relational expectations they brought into the experience. Relying on patterns of behavior familiar in the home environment, the group bonding process was extremely rapid with individual roles and expectations for social behavior set by the second day in Spain. From my experience with other study abroad cohorts, I believe the almost immediate group forming and norming process was possible in great part because of the member’s familiarity and shared institutional background prior to arrival in Spain. The “I believe in

us” phenomenon of *Momento Tres* best illustrates the rapidity and depth of group forming within the early moments in Spain. The students relied on shared experiences from MidSouth and familiar social cues to quickly establish unique roles that included leaders, followers and a few independent actors. The men almost immediately circumvented any experimentation with new gender roles or social identities. The one student who anticipated an opportunity to craft a new positionality within his peer group from traveling abroad was deftly relegated by his classmates into his familiar role from home orbiting around rather than intricately part of the aspirational social group.

Preoccupied with school life, restricted in academic options by their choice of major and pushed to graduate on time and get a job, perceptions of time as fleeting at home were only magnified within the 14-days abroad. The men set expectations and adjusted behaviors based on perceptions of time as ephemeral while simultaneously considering the course as an opportunity to stretch out time and engage in things they cannot do within their limited time at home, such as hanging out making new friends. The ability of the mind to formulate multiple time perspectives within the same moment permitted the men to adjust their performances in response to feelings of time as fleeting while still perceiving time in Spain as slower than in the United States.

Conceptualizing “Spanish time” as “slower than home” was a critical perception of time intersecting with the men’s desire for friendship development outlined in Theme One. Upon arrival, the men sought to quickly validate their perceptions that Spain is “slower” with a more “relaxed pace of life.” Observing phenomena like siestas and later meal times, Lee expressed that locals spent “much more time at meals than Americans ever would” and “the most drastic change in culture was the way in which the Spanish

treated their time. They were much more relaxed with their schedules than Americans would be.” The men needed Spain to be slower and relaxed to support their intentions to take “time to think” and “hang up and hang out” with classmates and local Spaniards. Several of the men were especially vigilant in reminding their peers to put down their cellphones and other devices to engage with each other face-to-face throughout the course, an essential behavior for creating deeper friendships abroad. The hope of slowing time to “hang out” appealed to the men before traveling to Spain and drove them to imagine free time spent lazily hanging out with local Spaniards drinking beer and sangria. As Paul expressed, “You just go and sit down [at a local bar] and you just hang out for a while.” Notable in this particular construction of slow, relaxed time in which to socialize with Spaniards is that it does not align with the men’s actual performances abroad.

Having only two weeks in Spain, the men frantically raced to accomplish and squeeze in as much as possible. Paul’s statement earlier on letting sleep go in favor of study and friends perfectly illustrates the balance the men attempted to create between daytime academic programming and nighttime socializing. Although speaking about “hanging out with locals” supported the institutionally-sanctioned narrative of cultural immersion, with the exception of one Irish bartender at a pub in Madrid frequented by the students that three men independently referred to as a “new friend,” the men spent little if any time “hanging out” with anyone outside their peer group. Socializing with campus peers, and the time to do so with great frequency, was essential for developing the personal relationships and friendships introduced in Theme One and took precedence over spending significant quality time with locals. Making friends with classmates was a stronger long-term proposition since those relationships could be carried home and

served as a potential source of social capital on the home campus. This peer friendship paradigm contributes to the touristic behaviors examined later in Theme Three.

“I just plan to go with the flow”: Anticipating and adapting behaviors abroad in concert with perceptions of time.

The men’s belief that time is slower in Spain is a categorical perception of time as malleable and a recognition that different forms of time exist concurrently. This concept is based on K. Lewin’s (1942) understanding of past and future time constructs existing in the mind simultaneously during present moment decision making. The concept helps explain how the men came to view time in Spain as slow while also experiencing pressure to act quickly as a response to feelings of time as meteoric. The men perceived the future as quickly approaching and adjusted their performances accordingly, even when their perception of cultural time in Spain was one of slowness.

Conceptualizing simultaneous past and future time constructs was instrumental in crafting the decision to participate. As outlined in Chapter IV, Johnny relied on his mother’s past experiences studying abroad as he contemplated what study abroad outcomes exist in his own future. This allowed him to anticipate how his decisions and experiences compare and contrast with those of his mother’s. The idea that both past and future time can exist in the present is also closely aligned with the men’s perceptions that behavior is time sensitive and that different behaviors are performed at different times. An example of assigning time as a relevant factor in events and individual behavior emerged when Paul reflected on the group’s behavior in the early morning class meetings before departure, “you’re definitely a different person than at um you know 7:30 in the morning on a Tuesday than I am at, in Spain and over the summer.” In this observation

Paul articulates that he and his classmates act differently at a specific time associated with a specific place, highlighting the men's construction of the course in Spain as a summer experience and therefore different than a class taken during the academic time of a regular school year.

Time perceptions are also visible in my data when the men anticipate and look for familiar ordering of activities abroad to decrease discomfort and make meaning of their experiences, as when Paul observed the similar timing of a Catholic mass he attended in Spain:

You go there and you still, it's the same set up everywhere you go. Like whether you know the language or not you know what part of mass you're in if you know the order of mass. So, that was cool to see that's ju-, it's still the same set up wherever you go. Just different language.

The men's perceptions of time as linear and measurable allowed them to seek out similarities between home and abroad, ignoring differences in some cases, as a way to reduce their feelings of discomfort in the unfamiliar Spanish environment. However, they also recognized that perceptions of time may differ between cultures. Before departure Lee expressed a desire to "go with the flow" in Spain, demonstrating his perception of time as culturally situated. The men anticipated a different time-environment in Spain and intended to adapt to that culture. However, they brought with them deeply held constructions of time that emerged almost instantaneously when faced with moments where the pace of dinner service, a delay entering a museum, or other local circumstance disrupted familiar patterns. For example, Lee's intention to "go with the

flow” was discarded soon after arrival in Spain when he encountered the local time culture:

We went to try and go get food and no one was open at 11:45. Like come on we eat lunch like an hour earlier in America. Why are you guys not open? And then we go and sit down at noon when they open and they are like ‘why are you here?’

On the surface statements like these could be construed as entitlement, but they also demonstrate the depth at which the men’s perceptions of time are culturally embedded and difficult to alter in a compressed study abroad environment. The men expressed genuine intentions before departure to adapt their performances to the local culture abroad but found it difficult given their perception of time as limited and the tether to home they relied on to frame their fleeting moments abroad.

Time perception is also visible as the men adjusted behavior abroad in anticipation of future events. For example, Lee’s observation that because “I have to write a paper about it [the course]. I paid a lot more attention” recognizes future consequences of present behavior and the need to adapt. Stan had a similar moment of realization while reflecting on a late night out with the group, when he noted:

There were points in it where I was treating it like a vacation and not really a class. Then it, I don’t think there’s, I know there was that one moment when I realized I needed to start paying attention more.

Although these examples relate to an awareness of the time abroad as a class experience, one man observed in thinking to the future that even though he would like to spend some quiet time at the hotel he really needed to take full advantage of the bars and clubs because when he returned home his friends would ask him about the nightlife and “I’ll

hear it from my friends who'll, I mean they'll be like 'oh, you didn't go party? What are you doing blah, blah?' ” His perception of compressed time and decisions abroad are linked to anticipated peer pressure and an imagined future in which he is accountable to peers, pushing him engage in activities abroad even when he would prefer not to do so. Another student was “compelled” to photograph an object during a museum site visit even though photography was not permitted because he “had to show” his parents a specific object he had seen when he got home. These examples demonstrate how the men imagine their time in Spain based on predicted, future interactions with people at home and how those imagined futures were compartmentalized based on the perceived future audience, be they faculty awarding a grade, friends with set expectations for college men's behaviors abroad or family members supporting participation in the program.

The men extended their perceptions of time in discipline-specific ways by situating the United States as advancing (fast) and Spain retreating (slow) when contemplating the field of engineering. Although they parroted institutionally-sanctioned messaging before departure and after return to “experience engineering in the ‘global community of engineering’ ” and “recognize the impacts of this culture on the engineering fields and technologies of the country,” their engagement abroad and the way they spoke of Spain did not reflect these lofty outcomes. The men were more likely to express feelings “that there's engineering there but at the same time you can't really take it as, as much of a learning thing” since” it wasn't too impressive.” The one student who did express great appreciation for the engineering visible in Spain was on his first study abroad course. His lack of prior international travel or study abroad experience might

have allowed him to more easily embrace the “wonderment” and “amazing” accomplishments of Spanish engineering. Even though there are advantages for students engaging in multiple international experiences to build more comprehensive knowledge of culture and differences, encountering other cultures for the first time can affect individual interpretation of the experience (see also Theme Three).

Constantly imagining and moving forward to the next activity, the men generally compartmentalized conflicting experiences with local time constructs into single moments. This compartmentalization freed them from having to reflect deeply on the discomfort these moments might have created. Examining the men’s orientation to time helps illuminate their tendency to remain in the moment and to rely on familiar home culture time perceptions without reflecting more deeply on their experiences.

“There’s definitely some vacationing in there”: Constructing an orientation to Spain as a relaxing, summertime escape from home.

Time orientation relates to how individuals are influenced by their thoughts and emotions about a distinct stage of time (Lasane & O’Donnell, 2005). For example, the men’s orientation to *summer* as a specific time period influenced their perceptions of the course as a relaxing time for vacation, especially when vacation is understood in terms of a life calendar still set by school start and end dates. This orientation to summer also guided them to craft imaginaries of Spain as “warm and sunny” with images of “beaches” and “big blue skies.” Lee noted before departure that since his “schedule is too heavy to take an entire semester” abroad, going to Spain during the first two weeks of summer break and his observation that “it’s summer, I have nothing to do” helped him construct the experience differently as manageable.

This sense that the opportunity to study abroad is restricted by the hectic life of engineering students during the school year carried across my interaction with the men and illustrates Härkönen's and Dervin's (2015,2016) observations on the *must* imaginary in which students perceive study abroad as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. Johnny reinforced Lee's thinking on an engineering student's busy life, noting a key factor in his decision to participate was the summer timing of the course "which was kind of the time frame I was looking at." Paul shared, "to me the opportunity to do this only comes around like once in your lifetime," to which he did not mean literally "once" since this is his second study abroad program but the idea that study abroad is a uniquely collegiate experience. International travel after college is not study abroad, nor is it supported with scholarships and other institutional resources that Paul relies on to participate.

Orienting to summer as a specific time period, the men expected the course abroad to provide freedom from daily, campus life. One man noted:

Yeah, it's, I mean it's a two week summer study abroad trip. Like, it's not all gonna be serious you know we have to do this and we have to learn this. I mean if it is people wouldn't want to go.

The men's orientation to summer as fun experiences and non-academic behaviors favored a positioning of themselves in the present moment. The perception of time as limited and an orientation to the present moment meant that delays in experiencing all they could of Spain led to frustration and irritation. Comments of "What's going on?" and "What are we doing?" prevailed when events seemed to derail efforts to seize the day and keep on track with their highly regulated and tightly planned programming. This included both class and free time activities. Faced with what the men perceived as the "pace of life" in

Spain, such as dining in restaurants where a meal would last over two hours and where “getting the check” or “asking for refills” on drinks were difficult because the waiters were “ignoring us,” perception of and limits on time created conflict for the men living a present-time orientation. The in-the-moment focus, a signifier of living an emerging adult lifestyle, flourished in the compression of time inherent in the two-week, summer study abroad program model. Boyd and Zimbardo (2005) note this *time press* can cause people to behave in ways that bring the experiences of the immediate to the forefront in their decision making.

“We were all exhausted”: Responding with increased fervor to the compression of time in the short-term experience.

Short-term programs are popular for college students in part because they view the experience as an opportunity to gain beneficial social capital and identity without a significant investment of time or money. The perceived costs of participation were influential in guiding the men to a program that they felt was affordable in price, achievable in time commitment and lower in risk, especially in terms of men’s fear of vulnerability and social alienation (Capraro, 2007; Seidler, 1992). As Lee and Johnny each expressed above in contemplating engineering students orientation to time as finite, the men were drawn to the convenience and limited commitment of a 14-day, summer program design. However, the program model also fostered a sense of time compression and confinement that magnified the men’s existing orientation to time as limited. Even before departure the men began shifting their expectations in anticipation of time press as illustrated by Lee’s fears when surveying his classmates for the first time, “They’re just

gonna go sit in the hotel rooms (frowning)” and not take full advantage of every moment in Spain.

For the men in my study, being abroad is not about sitting in hotel rooms because that is not an authentic Spanish experience and is counterproductive to the desired outcomes of fun and friendship. Here again the men encounter conflict between their desire to escape to a slower life in Spain, a site of hanging out and making new friends, and time press accelerating their behaviors. Paul noted, “For me at least it’s, we were in a different country and you only have so many days to go out and experience that country and then you’re, then you’re back, back home for who knows how long.” The men’s fear of missing out on an experience in Spain and a future orientation toward home, a site from which they have expressed the desire to escape, set up an entrance into the host culture that reinforced time press. Bringing with them expectations of Spain as “kinda a party scene” and a place one must “go experience the night life,” the men responded to their “limited” time by engaging in nightly, repeating performances of indulgence, often staying out until late hours visiting bars and clubs, initially compartmentalized from the daytime academic aspects of the course but slowly blurring together. As Patrick shared when reflecting on the pace of their experience and their desire to suck the marrow from each moment, “We were all exhausted (pause) every day.” This exhaustion represented the positive accomplishment of seeing and doing everything possible to not miss out on opportunities to create experiences useful in future storytelling at home.

The men with prior experience studying abroad offered glimpses into their past suggesting the compression of time was not unique to this course. One man observed, as he compared his behavior in Spain with a previous study abroad course, that “there was

only one night I didn't go out [on the previous course] and that's 'cause I was sick.' The men recognized their responses to time press as different than social behaviors at home and, perceiving my vaguely institutional position documenting their behavior, pointed out to me when potentially negative behaviors did not reflect their finely crafted personas at home. As one observed while making sense of his time in Spain:

I was definitely not expecting anything like that. I was like, okay we'll drink wine a couple times and that really, 'cause I rarely drank that much ever. My parents will let me as long as I'm not stupid and go drive my car, but I was not expecting going out to like bars and clubs almost every night. (chuckle) So that was definitely different than anything I've done here [at home]. 'Cause I don't even, I don't go, like I don't have time to go to parties.

This student, not yet 21 years old but of legal drinking age in Spain, worked to portray his response to the time press more favorably by enlisting his more positive, academic reputation from home. Drinking for him is still understood in relation to his parents as he encounters new independence as an emerging adult, recognizing that for others to perceive him as a nightly partier, though celebrated abroad, might negatively impact the persona he presents in his daily life at home. Another man noted his own shifting social behaviors in the fast-moving experience stating, "I've gotten more comfortable with going out and I'm, I think honestly when I'm in Europe or studying abroad I'm a lot more outgoing than when I'm [home]." The sense of urgency in time press combined with a generous supply of new places for exploration, some level of anonymity and a propensity for alcohol provided the emerging adult men in my study an ideal catalyst for study abroad behaviors that were high on activity and risk while low on idleness and

moderation. Navigating new cities without parents or chaperones, striking up small conversations using limited Spanish language abilities, discovering unfamiliar foods, learning how to travel by train or public transportation and wandering off the beaten path if even briefly provided the men the satisfaction of undertaking a risky adventure abroad. These activities also supplied their future selves with the memories and photographs needed to tell and retell future audiences their stories. The constant awareness of a future-self engaged in social interaction, telling others about their experiences, and the perceived social capital they would gain from sensational travel stories, was well-suited for reinforcing the men's perceptions of study abroad as tourism.

Theme Three: Approaching the Study Abroad Experience with Touristic Imaginaries of Spain and Creating a Privileged Group Immersion Bubble

Aspiring for fun and friendship while seizing every minute in Spain, the men performed in highly touristic ways. They rarely explored the diverse cultural spaces of Spain beyond attending to their personal pleasures and voyeuristic interests in the moment. In their race to consume the low hanging fruit of Spanish culture they made passing references to the more complex life swirling around them - signs of the current refugee crisis in Europe, monuments and reminders of the painful Spanish civil war, men selling counterfeit football jerseys on the sidewalk while constantly on the lookout for police and the appearances of pro-independence supporters in Catalonia - but held no motivation nor faced any pressure to explore more deeply those aspects of Spanish life. They were physically in Spain but positioned in a type of borderland (Anzaldúa, 2012) they had created between home and abroad that provided a space for representing their activities in Spain as “immersion” (parroting institutional messages acquired from their

home campus) while remaining emotionally and physically detached from the cultural mosaic of present-day Spain. Creating their own immersion space empowered them to enter Spain as privileged travelers and construct the cultural experiences they chose (Breen, 2012).

This privileged positionality and the men's present-hedonistic time orientation prompted highly romanticized notions of Spain that ignored present-day cultural strife and the cultural blending in a globalized world. The men anticipated a more "traditional" experience, leading them to underestimate the presence or significance of a contemporary Spain. As Lee noted, "There's a lot more history over there than we have here cause obviously it's much older country." Several of the men imagined an "older, cultural" Spain, filled with benevolent locals providing a soundtrack of "traditional" music to accompany them as they traversed the urban plazas and narrow streets. As Paul noted when reflecting on the tourist spaces favored by the men, locals were present "only because they have to be to take care of us." Expressing disappointment upon finding a globalized society embracing English language music, Stan noted, "but the clubs we went to for the most part they didn't play too much Spanish music. A lot of them were American, English music." Johnny expressed similar disappointment:

There was less like live music than I had expected (pointing to photo on the table of a flamenco music group), just like maybe in day to day activity around Madrid there were, was certainly more with just like the street musicians and things like that. But uh I kind of expected there to be more of like musical vibe to the city around. Just like maybe in places of business or whatever that were just you

know more of Spanish even vibe to the music cause if you go into the department stores you are just hearing the standard American rock and roll.

This romanticizing of Spain as a site of tourist-serving locals and traditional music echoing through the streets ignored the full, rich lives of a modern, globalized Spanish people. In the moment, the men were generally untroubled by their decisions to stay within the “golden ghetto” of tourists and only upon returning home did one express disappointment in not pushing himself to break out and explore the locals’ spaces.

The men practiced the consumptive behaviors of Ogden’s (2007) colonial student, “comfortably situated on the venerable veranda, although with an obstructed view of the full potential that an education abroad experience presents” (p. 39). This privileged perspective allowed the men to narrowly construct “cultural immersion” as any physical placement of the body in Spain and therefore an easily attainable experience. However, when encountering discomfort or facing a Spanish culture not aligned with their romanticized views the men sought out more familiar, indulgent experiences, such as locating an Irish pub or eating at McDonalds, then defended their behaviors as culturally “normal” in Spain and therefore aligned with the cultural immersion metanarrative of study abroad. Participant explanations (Emerson, et al., 2011), such as “the local people drank a lot more,” “everything happens later here,” “they sell beer at Taco Bell” and “we had to partake of the local lifestyle” helped the men justify their indulgences. When placing themselves in more comfortable spaces, like bars and American-themed restaurants, the men deftly transitioned from framing their intentions as learning “more about the culture and history of Spain” and furthering “knowledge of the Spanish culture and language” to statements like “my goal was to go out and just try different drinks and

find what I like and then also hang out with people and um get to know the rest of the people in the group.” Grounded in the men’s narrow understanding of immersion as placing the body in a physical space, this shift in explanation provided what the men perceived as a reasonable, legitimate narrative of their limited time in Spain while maintaining underlying motivation for personal enjoyment.

“It’s fun”: Seeking fun and adventure in the study abroad space.

Notable across my data is the expectation that the trip would be “fun.” Although content analysis of my interview transcripts focused on thematic depth over specific word counts, the word *fun* was so prevalent in the men’s narratives that I paused briefly to examine the use of the word, finding the men employed it in their interviews 67 times to describe study abroad. Across all data, the term fun was operationalized by the men over 120 times in framing their experience and crafting expectations for their trip abroad; seeing an opportunity for “a lot of fun to go out and see another part of the world.” If the short-term program does not offer “fun” and enjoyment, “it is not worth doing.” Lee observed that these minimal expectations for fun were much easier to accomplish than more complex expectations while still allowing the men to construct credible narratives at home when he shared:

I think that’s why I try to go into things with not as many rigid expectations. Just like, little ones, like have fun, see a lot of stuff (chuckles). Going with the flow it’s gonna be fun...If I can get course credit for it and go with a bunch of friends from uh school then I figured it would be fun experience.

Crafting expectations of study abroad as “fun” is highly subjective and therefore readily achievable, allowing the men to describe the overall experience as positive even when

they encounter disrupting moments abroad. Such limits in expectations are incredibly freeing when they might otherwise have to spend their brief time abroad addressing troublesome issues such as not speaking the local language or culture shock.

However, because students can also experience fun on the home campus the men needed to frame fun abroad differently as when Patrick noted, “I feel like the study abroad trips you get to know the professors in a different way from how you ever would at school. And that’s always fun.” Lee expressed similar thoughts above when he tied fun to receiving academic credit and traveling with friends, outcomes not normally associated with fun at home. When asked about his thoughts on having fun abroad, Stan replied, “Just the word adventure...challenge ‘n adventure.” One man expressed a similar concept when he reflected on his favorite aspect of the experience, “I mean I definitely got my fill of adventure and getting to explore the whole country and experiencing the clubs that Spain has. ‘Cause it’s considered the party capital of the world.” The men’s constructions of fun adventures beyond the boundaries of home helped them build upon masculinized perceptions of international travel as challenging exploration, a worthwhile endeavor for college men to undertake and therefore a source of potential social capital in peer groups at home.

Tightly interconnected with the men’s perceptions of fun are their collective views of participation as an “escape” from real life and the engineering student’s daily grind. This anticipation of escape provided the men with constructs of study abroad as a vacation, noted hesitantly in our final meeting by one participant when he stammered, “I mean, I, I definitely would say I used it as partial vacation.” Aware of institutionally sanctioned speech framing study abroad as an academic experience, the men still slipped

occasionally into referring to the course as a vacation, visible when one caught himself mid-sentence, “And so I think it’s just you know you’re on vacation, you’re just kind of (long pause looking away then looking back at me) well class. You know class, trip, vacation type thing.”

In deciding to participate, Stan, Paul and Lee relied heavily on past travel with little connection to academics beyond recognizing that they would “get academic credit” for the course. However, Johnny and Patrick, with no meaningful international travel experience on which to reflect, described wanting an engineering specific learning experience abroad. They chose this course in part because of “the focus on engineering” through which they would “be able to see um you know how do other countries in the world look at engineering problems maybe or like what role do they play in the like global community of engineering.” Framing participation within their academic discipline more so than as tourism, both returned with some disappointment in the course noting it had “more of a touristy feel” and “especially in the areas where we were, were kind of the touristy area. That is where you go to have fun and hang out kind of areas too, so (shrugging shoulders).” Although disappointed in the academic experience, by recognizing and employing the “fun,” “hanging out” narrative they shielded their disappointment and retained a positive framing of the study abroad experience.

“I have all kinds of pictures, so many pictures”: Documenting the study abroad experience as visual tourists.

When asked to imagine the study abroad experience before traveling to Spain, the men commonly portrayed themselves engaged in visually-centric amusements. During the imaginaries exercise in interview one, three of the men drew themselves pursuing

visual activities including photographing a building, looking at an historic site through binoculars and taking selfies with friends. A fourth man drew a woman dancing the flamenco, placing himself outside the image as audience voyeur. Although being abroad encompasses a wide range of physical sensations and experiences, the men relied heavily on visual encounters consistent with emerging adulthood as a time of observing and documenting identity. Being able to narrate believably authentic experiences on social media and in person after returning home is an important factor in gaining peer approval and acquiring the identity and social capital from participation, motivating the men to document the full range of their experiences and performances abroad. Interacting with emerging adult peers who share a proclivity for the visual, the ability to show tangible proof of an embodied experience is paramount. Therefore, seeing places in person and capturing them in images on their phones helped the men establish and mark what they deemed as an authentic experience worth sharing. With a strong focus on constructing an authentic study abroad experience through visual moments, and documenting those moments for later advantages, the men eagerly sought out tourist spaces as sites of stunning vistas and artifacts to capture in photos for use in constructing exciting and exotic study abroad personas.

Theme Four: Bringing Along Constructions of Masculinity and Reproducing and Justifying Gender Roles and Behaviors in the Study Abroad Space

Similar to the observations of Jessup-Anger (2008), the men in my study did not recognize gender within the host culture or describe the experience of studying abroad as being particularly gendered. Although aware my study focused on men, they did not automatically articulate thoughts or reflections on gender within their personal lives, in

relation to their home culture or while engaging with the host culture in Spain. However, the men carried expressions of masculinity and gender roles abroad - including serving as protectors of women, social event organizers and purveyors of alcohol - on which they constructed their experiences. Although the men's expressions of gender and masculinity were not homogenous, they engaged in socially constructed gender performances. These performances and the moments when familiar gender roles were disrupted provided glimpses into their individualized experiences as gendered beings navigating the short-term study abroad space.

Grewal and Kaplan (2006) note gender assumptions regularly go unchallenged in daily lives because the social assignment of gender is outside the scope of most individual's awareness. As a group of White, college-aged men studying in a highly masculinized academic field at a predominantly White institution, the five men in my study have few opportunities to encounter environments in which gender is fluid or where their privileges as White men is tested. I gained some understanding of their awareness of gender and their privileged position in the engineering field when Johnny reflected on organizing a new student club at MidSouth:

My friend and I started uh, uh a super-computing club uh the spring semester of last year so not most, the most recent academic but like the year previous to 2016 spring, um and you know of the, of the group that was our uh kind of like inaugural set of members we saw there's, there were like 4 or 5 girls and like 15 to 20 guys and we're like hmm, women are very underrepresented in STEM and, and uh computer science especially. We need uh we should fix this as a society. Let's work on this one. 'Cause you...hear about it and you know it's a thing but

then like when you actually see it represented in a group in front of you you're just like 'huh, yeah, yeah no that is that way. Okay.'

Johnny recognizes the absence of women in computer science (a topical theme during this study as Silicon Valley technology companies faced public scrutiny over a lack of women in their industry), mentions his hope for social change in this pattern, then resolves for the time being to accept the inequality as the "way things are" in his environment, leaving its resolution to the larger body of society.

"Girls are just better planners": Theorizing why more college women study abroad.

Recognizing the men were not naturalistically reflecting on or mentioning gender as we interacted, I focused additional questions on their thoughts on gender in the short-term study abroad space. The men responded by equating gender to women (a long standing claim in gender studies) and relying on imaginaries of relationships between men and women as grounded in competition for power, resources and attention, as glimpsed in Patrick's reflection on why women might participate in study abroad in greater numbers because their families did not pressure them to work at jobs as do men's:

I don't really understand why there would be a, an unbalanced uh ratio of male to female. I feel like we were all there for the same reason, more or less...to ex-, experience a different culture and countries and... (pause) Yeah. Uh, I wonder if it could be more of a, um (pause) like the guys feel like they need to work. More. Yeah, and if they don't have an internship they probably end up doing physical labor of some sort most of the time. And I feel like maybe uh the women don't have the same (pause) like maybe their par-, their parents don't push them as

much. To do that [work]. And so they see they have more opportunities to do other things, such as study abroad.

In positing on women's participation Patrick views the phenomenon through his personal life experiences with family and decision making, first equalizing and essentializing women's and men's motivations to participate as the same need to experience different cultures and countries. Reasoning that social expectations for men to work, and familial pressures to do so, restrict opportunities for men to participate in study abroad he establishes a claim that women do not face particular barriers. Paul described differences in the support he believes men and women receive:

I, this is totally, I like, I don't know if this is right or wrong or anything but this is totally a thought out of my mind that I had the other day during class. It's like, um you think about the difference between males and females. Generally in what I've seen of the difference between males and females going to college is that the parents back females much more than they back males. Like I've seen, like 'cause you know like in school the girls always have like the biggest meal plans. Their meal plans are always you know, they always have the extra money on their meal plans. The guys, you never see that. Um (pause) and then you ask them like how do you afford this how are you paying this? 'Oh, daddy's paying for it.' So that, that's what I get all the time, whenever I'm in my, my personal experience with the difference between males and females in college. So I don't know if that relates somehow to why (pause) 'cause I know this trip was not cheap. Um, so I don't know if that relates potentially somehow. But I also just ju- it was just a thought that popped into my mind one time. I don't know if that's good or bad or

makes me (pause)...I doubt that's the root case but that's just a thought that popped into my mind. Like, I dunno...There's, there's the other aspect like you know, parents are typically more protective of their, the female child. I know that because my parents were definitely more protective of my sister than me. Um, so I dunno, 'cause that, that kinda contradicts what (pause) the (pause) the (pause) what I first said, so.... better [to send your daughter on study abroad] than just sending, sending a 20 year old girl over by herself to go [backpacking through Europe] 'cause, that would, that would, that would probably not be the best idea.

This rich description has an abundance of gender assumptions and illustrates Paul's discomfort and lack of confidence in articulating gender, and gender differences in support and competition, as he dances around not being sure if his thinking is "right or wrong." Similar to Patrick, he frames gender through personal experiences as an emerging adult man as he struggles to unpack why only five men are participating in a course with 15 women. Paul has a physically-demanding job on which he relies to earn money for his education, leading him to suggest his experience working and paying for college, and the study abroad course, differs from women's experiences. His perception that women receive greater familial support than men and the link he attempts to create in needing to protect women reinforces an understanding of masculinity shared by the other men across my data. In postulating that women need protecting and participate in short-term study abroad because it is a safer way to engage experiential learning, Paul employs a social construct of gender familiar on his home campus while simultaneously contradicting the men's perception of study abroad as a risky adventure from which they can acquire masculine social capital. Short-term study abroad is simultaneously cast by

the men as a safer option for women while providing men the level of risk needed to obtain masculine social capital from peers upon re-entering the home culture.

As glimpsed in both Patrick's and Paul's comments, the men framed physical work and employment through a masculine lens. Stan shared similar observations, describing men's lack of study abroad participation in terms of the expectation for engineering students at MidSouth to seek summer internships as work experience:

I had one thought, like this is just kind of one I had, I was thinking okay well most people who study abroad are college students. And I started thinking, well maybe in today's world I mean I know, well I feel like guys get hired more often than girls. So I was thinkin' maybe that's why, 'cause most college guys are getting internships while the girls are not...getting accepted. An' so maybe they're studying abroad instead. Because I know, last year I applied for an internship, didn't get anything, and I was like 'I'm just gonna study abroad all summer. I'm just gonna be gone.' ...I was (pause) kinda my thought when you first brought it up I was like 'why is that?' So I was like, maybe (pause) it has to do with (pause) the job market now. I mean the guys are getting hired compared to girls. And maybe there's, the guys just have an expectation where the women are actively looking fer learning opportunities to equip themselves for the job market.

Similar to Paul's discomfort in discussing gender, Stan begins his observation hedging what is appropriate to say aloud comparing men and women. The men possess an awareness of institutionally-sanctioned gender talk and grapple with fear of reprisal in expressing any thoughts which may conflict with the approved narrative. Stan first explains that women engineers lack internship options, then, by confessing his own lack

of an internship the prior summer, reveals a potential failure on his part as a man in engineering. He transfers his internship experience onto women engineers then reframes the situation as competition, expressing that women need to work harder to get a job and thus study abroad might help them become more competitive, not something he relates to his own lack of a summer internship. Stan later links women's need to work harder than men, and possibly why they participate in greater numbers in study abroad, with a story he shared from high school:

One of my uh teachers in high school said this (pause) told me this a long time ago and it's kinda st-, stuck with me. And uh, one thing he said it was like, he was like, yeah he's like 'I'm pretty sure in the future it's gonna be girls running this world' because right now they are trying to prove something while guys are like 'oh we've got it made.' Well, uh, guys are getting lazier because they feel like they've got it made. Well, girls are trying to prove something so they're gonna be working harder. He was like, 'I have a feeling that if guys don't start trying again then they're gonna be the ones that it's gonna (pause) the roles are gonna reverse and then we're gonna be like 'oh, we want (pause)' So maybe that's another thing. They're tryin' to work harder and...do a little more for themselves to show off that they can.

Here Stan returns to the perception of women as having to work harder than men to overcome the gender barriers in the past and to accomplish the same goals. He ideates a view of men's entitlement as a source of their eventual downfall, a concept that relies on the narrative that men and women are competing for limited power. His suggesting that men are in decline supports a powerful/powerless paradox of college men, presented

earlier in this document, in which college men's lack of engagement in extracurricular and experiential learning opportunities is viewed as a shift in men's power on campus. They remain privileged in their social position as men yet are also viewed as in need of increased support to succeed as students.

“You have to include the ‘frat snap’ in your dissertation”: Performing as playful boys and independent men in the short-term study abroad space.

Although this case study focused on the men in the course, their experiences depended largely on their interaction and shared experiences with the women on the course. The women students frequently portrayed the men in ways that were both disparaging and useful in managing the men's elevated position and power within the group. The women pointed out the men's heavy alcohol consumption. They criticized choices the men made in nighttime social destinations. They referred to the men as not being as smart as the women in the course and pointed out when the men were loud and rambunctious in public spaces. The women frequently referred to the straight men as boys, with a subtle tone and tenor difference in use of the term *boy* when they employed it to ridicule the men's conduct. For example, in the middle of a site tour during which two men were being particularly high spirited and annoying other visitors, one of the women turned to them in a sharp voice clear for all nearby to hear, “you boys are nothing but birth control for any woman thinking about having a baby.” Although the comment generated some guffaws by others standing nearby, the men targeted by her words just rolled their eyes. However, the deeper message was clearly received as the men immediately settled down and turned away from their classmate.

In contrast to fellow students, the course leaders generally described the men in ways that celebrated their level of independence. For example, in discussing an incident the previous year in which a man was stranded at a train station because of his own mistake and had to make his way to the next destination alone, one of the faculty leaders noted that it was easier to “leave him” behind than would be one of the students on this year’s course, especially the women whom they found more “needy” and less independent. Although the faculty leaders spent less time policing the men’s behavior or dress, and looked to the men as peer leaders for the group, at times they joined the women students in referring to the men as “boys.” This was especially visible when the popular men were goofing off in public, had consumed too much alcohol or were not following instructions. Based on their responses, the men embraced both the masculine, independent privilege awarded them along with the boy-culture identity assigned to them, responding with some pride when they were recognized in either capacity.

Being boys in a pejorative sense did not eliminate the men from serving as a highly demanded pool of potential romantic interests with several flirtations springing in Spain between some of the women and men on the course. The men involved in these budding romances downplayed any interest, at times denying any existence, but gentle horseplay, splashing women in the surf, performances of male puffery in the bar and the selection of seating at group dinners exposed the men’s shared awareness of and interest in the romantic relationship potential within the group. Informants among fellow students were eager to locate me and share tidbits about the men’s latest romantic diversions, should the subtle indications during my observations be lost on me as a generational outsider. Although these updates were mostly gossip, the informants

provided a great deal of information on the men's behaviors in private spaces to which I had limited access. In the group's courtship routines, familiar, heteronormative gender roles were re-enacted abroad as women allowed men to carry heavy bags, help them up from a seat or buy them a drink at the bar. On occasion the men competed with each other to perform these tasks for the women. Prospective couples took romantic walks in the evenings and I observed on two occasions women giving men neck massages during class activities. These gestures demonstrated that for all the teasing and negative remarks about the men and their childish behaviors, both women and men viewed the other as a suitable pool from which they could potentially glean romantic partners.

“Saturdays are for the boys”: Defining gender roles and creating time-specific moments to enact gendered behaviors.

As the group quickly formed around familiar social and gender roles brought from home, the men conceived of themselves as key protectors of women in the course while also serving as the principal decision makers and organizers of the group's nighttime social activities. The men researched, planned and orchestrated the very social activities in which they felt the women in the course most needed their protection, thereby reproducing the gender roles brought to Spain and reinforcing the perceived need for those roles. Responsibility for and protection of the women in the course typically emerged when the men felt a situation involved greater uncertainty. For example, as the group faced an unexpected travel delay and members opted for a variety of ways to fill their found time, Patrick mentioned to me, “I have lost [names woman on course] and I am kind of her buddy.” This comment subtly demonstrated Patrick's sense of kindness

and connection to classmates but also a possible sense of responsibility to help the women avoid separation from the group.

More blatant steps to protect women in the course were visible as when Johnny shared with me that as the group slowly disbursed from a bar in Madrid a few of the women said as they were leaving, “Where are we?” To Johnny they seemed “lost” and this was his cue to intervene as a responsible man. Having already established within the group his ability to navigate new environments and his pride in maintaining a sense of exactly where the group was at all times, Johnny felt it was his duty to walk the women back to the hotel even as he described his own condition at the time as “also having had a few drinks.” Similar to Patrick’s perceived protector role, Johnny expressed pride on being a responsible man in helping the women avoid getting lost.

Lee, already friends with several women on the course prior to departure, defined his relationship with them as paternal when sharing, “I was kinda like the leader. I had to lead them. I was like the dad in that relationship with them ‘cause I don’t know, I don’t know how much they’ve traveled abroad or just traveled in general.” His protective, paternal behavior was visible early in the course and appeared most clearly one night when an incident earlier in the evening resulted in a disagreement between the hotel night manager and several of the students over climbing onto the hotel roof to admire the city views. In discussing the group’s later return to the hotel after visiting some local bars, Lee shared that he had made sure “my group [of women]” all kept quiet when they returned. One of the women was drunk so “to keep her out of trouble” he “coached her” to “say nothing” until they quietly walked across the lobby and up to the first floor where she could then speak again. Lee’s policing of his friend’s behavior and voice came out of

his sense of responsibility in the leader/dad role he had assumed, whether or not the women felt the need for such an instrumental figure in their lives abroad.

The inclination to protect women was strongest at night when the men felt most in charge of the group's social activities. In bars and clubs, the men demonstrated territorial and suspicious behaviors when men outside the course approached women in the group. For example, even after much teasing from his buddies and some of the women in the group, Paul physically positioned himself as the primary protector of one woman when a stranger from Boston and his brother approached her in the bar. Paul describe his reaction as:

I mean, I know that, I mean this is just how I am everywhere is I'm, like I'm protective especially like people around me who I know. And if you're in another country I'm gonna be protective of the people in the group. Um, and so I know I was definitely, especially that night out um at the (pause) bar there, I mean there was, definitely some weird people coming up and bothering. They [his classmates] were making fun of it and stuff but I don't really care. Um, those guys were being super you know just super weird so um just as my I guess, I guess I'm a guy I guess er my personality, I am more of a um pro-, protective person so. Um. I definitely'd say that was as, just something I did you know whether it was as a man or you know.

Despite the fact Paul frames his response as protective of the entire group, he did not demonstrate similar protective tendencies toward men as they encountered strangers or uncomfortable situations. He worked to justify his protective behavior by labeling the college men from Boston as "weird," but his response is grounded in his perception that

he was responsible for the women in the group and men outside the group were a clear and present threat to the safety of the women.

“Why did they exclude us?”: Disrupting gender roles and creating gender conflict in the study abroad space.

Although the men took ownership in orchestrating evening activities, the women did not consistently accept the role of willing participants. Of particular infamy was a “Girls Only” night (see also *Momento Cinco* following this chapter) that evolved one evening when the women excluded the men from joining them for a night of wine and conversation in the hotel. This exclusion elicited strong feelings from some of the men, especially those for whom the nightly socializing held deep significance. Only Patrick, the least likely of the men to engage in the late night drinking and barhopping, seemed entirely un-phased by the women’s temporary rejection of the men’s role as social directors. Stan described the incident this way, while discussing things that happened in Spain he was not expecting:

I wasn’t expecting the, I don’t know if anyone else mentioned this, but the girls had that girls night out where we weren’t allowed to go hang out with them even though we, that whole day we’d planned to all go out. And then, so they like last minute we planned it, we were ready and they were like ‘Uh, we’re all gonna stay inside.’ And we’re, [names two other men] and I were like well, there goes our plans. So I wasn’t expecting that. That was a little frustrating but it was a night to stay inside and watch *Tango and Cash* in Spanish.

Visible in his description are feelings of frustration with what he perceived as breaking a previous commitment and the disruption of the gender roles the men had played up until

that point in organizing the evening social activities. “Breaking a commitment” was mentioned by Paul as well when reflecting on that night, stressing the men’s views on the work they put into organizing nighttime activities. Stan’s emphasis on the men not being “allowed” to participate provides depth to the men’s feelings of exclusion and rejection by the women toward their established gender role.

Lee attempted to rationalize the women’s behavior that evening when he shared, “It was probably good for the girls to have (pause) whatever. The things they talk about, who knows? Cause you know they talk about things they don’t want to talk about in front of other guys.” To protect his hurt feelings, Lee crafts justification for the women’s separation by suggesting they have an inherent need to engage in girl-talk away from the men’s presence. In creating this argument, he rationalizes that the women would need such an activity at least once during the trip and therefore the separation is not because of anything the men have done to be excluded. Yet Lee’s pain became clearer when he more fully articulated the evening with this story:

There was one night that the girls definitely kind of ditched all the guys. They had their girls’ night and um (pause), yeah, so then, we were like well that kind of made us mad though cause they texted us they’re like, ‘We wanna go out. Where should we go?’ We were like, uh, okay we’ll go here. And they’re like ‘we don’t know how to get here.’ Okay, give us 10 minutes we’ll be, it was more like 20 cause we had to ride the subway, so we’ll like come get you and then we will go. So we got back and like, ‘yeaaaahhhh (sigh), we’re all sitting in this hotel.’ They were sitting in the hotel room on the first floor. I don’t remember whose [room] it was (pause). ‘Yeah, we’re just like sitting here like we’re just gonna hang out in

the hotel.’ Okay, can we come? Can we hang out too? And they’re like, ‘it’s kinda like a girls’ night.’ We’re like, we just came back 20 minutes from where we were hanging out to come get you guys to take you out and now you’re gonna tell us you don’t wanna hang out. So, there was, (pause) I think it might have been kinda good, I think everybody at that point was kind of getting tired of everybody. So, I don’t know. Wish they would’ve just told, if they would have just told us ‘hey we’re gonna have a girl night.’ Okay, fine. We’ll go do something else.

Though Lee attempts to justify the women’s behavior in excluding the men under the auspices that everybody (in this case the women) was “kind of getting tired of everybody” (the men more specifically), rationalizing meaning other than a clear indictment of the men’s role in managing nighttime activities, his use of “ditched” and his inclusion of a specific moment in asking the women if they could participate and being rejected help illustrate the hurt feelings and the sense of abandonment the men experienced. It is notable Lee ends his description of the event with an observation that if the women had just told them their plans earlier the men would have stayed out and done their own thing. In asking other men during our conversations why they didn’t just go out as planned and make a guy’s only night out of it, they mostly shrugged their shoulders and could not articulate any reasoning. With gender roles entrenched in behavior dependent on women’s participation, staying in their room, drinking beer and watching the film *Tango and Cash* on TV could not substitute for the disruption and feelings of betrayal the men experienced at the breaking of the group’s established social contract. “Sitting in your room watching Spanish films” was repeated across the course

to describe what the men did not want to do in Spain and what they viewed as wasting the limited time they had in-country. The “girls’ only” experience intersected gender identity with the men’s perceptions of time press, highlighting a moment when they were pushed outside their gender role comfort zone within the fast-paced experience abroad. It also highlights a moment when the women felt empowered to disrupt the existing gender behaviors and enact at least for one night more control over their bodies and the construction of their experience abroad.

Finally, the “girls’ only” episode ended with one meager but noteworthy attempt at retaliation on the part of a few of the men. I observed a sex segregation in the breakfast room the following morning but only learned upon our return that the separation was in part an effort by some of the men to isolate the women so they would experience similar feelings as the men had the night before. One man explained:

We definitely screwed with them. We were like, we’re gonna totally ignore them all morning. We’re not gonna talk to them. ‘Cause they were like snapchat, like [one of the men] would snapchat [one of the women] or text her something [the night before] and then she wouldn’t reply but she would post something on her story like okay we know that you’re on your phone, why are you ignoring us? So I thought okay when we get down there in the morning we just not gonna talk to any of ‘em. So we just like sat there didn’t talk to any of ‘em. And then they finally started talking to us, asking ‘okay?’ (laughing). So we were just messing with ‘em.

This narration underlines a depth of pain some men experienced the evening before. This description was shared with me over 4 weeks after the incident abroad, showing the raw

emotion still in the minds of some of the men. The rather sophomoric attempt to punish the women for breaking the accepted gender code shows a level of inexperience on the part of the men in dealing with situations where gender behavior is not constructed in a way they readily understand. It also exposes their still unresolved struggles as emerging adult men constructing responses to emotional pain in an unfamiliar setting. That the men's efforts to retaliate quickly fell apart as soon as the women showed even a modicum of interest in the men's well-being emphasizes how quickly the men returned to familiar gender roles when given the opportunity. Moments after the morning retaliation attempt the men were eagerly engaged in planning the next evening's activities, comfortable back in their role as social directors.

“ ‘Cause that thought kind of scared me a little bit”: Responding to feelings of vulnerability abroad.

In *Momento Tres* I reflected on the day “I believe in us” in all its assorted adaptations emerged as symbolic of group belonging and the importance the narrative holds for the men. “I believe in ...” represents an easily recognizable identity construct locating those within and outside the group. Months after our return from Spain, my phone continued to ping almost daily with a new message from the “I Believe in Us” GroupMe message string as the men continued to post messages as a way to retain the social connections possible from a short-term experience. Group belonging sat at the heart of the masculine experience abroad in part because of the social risks and vulnerability the men associated with participation. Men's vulnerability and fear of inadequacy are powerful in situations like study abroad with greater risk of exposing failure to live up to images of men's independence and self-sufficiency (Seidler, 1992).

Being out of one's comfort zone, a construct trumpeted across study abroad marketing, strikes at the core of men's fear of not being able to maintain an acceptable masculine image. Vulnerability abroad is a risk men avoid because socialization has shown the negative consequences faced when masculinity is questioned. Alcohol serves as one socially accepted and expected way for college men to deal with these feelings of vulnerability and was a primary instrument utilized during our time abroad to bind the group and ease the men's feelings of displacement and discomfort.

***“We are probably going to look like alcoholics in your paper”:* Addressing feelings of masculine vulnerability through alcohol consumption.**

“He who drinks and does not drink again does not know what drinking is” was a quote translated from a Prado Museum gallery card by one of the men during our visit to Madrid. From a Titian's painting *The Adrians/The Bacchanalia*, the text spoke to the student's sense of humor regarding college men's social drinking and was significant enough that he wrote it down on a piece of scrap paper to share with other men on the course and at home. Social drinking abroad was an extremely efficient way to gain recognition for successful performances of masculinity and access desirable positions both within our group in Spain and in peer groups at home.

The interest in alcohol was visible immediately, when one of the men stepped off the plane from the U. S. sporting a t-shirt printed with the words “never skip keg day.” Given many of the students in the course were under 21 years old, they faced a strong push to take advantage of their limited time in Spain, a country perceived as a global party destination and one where they could legally drink. As one of the men observed, “there is kind of, that little pressure for people. Go experience the bars for the first time

and live it up.” From the first day in Spain the men began planning what one described after a group dinner as time for “dessert beer” or the transition from official, academic daytime to fun, social nighttime.

Noting a large number of people “drinking in the streets” at cafes and bars during the day, the men constructed cultural immersion imaginaries warranting their “participation in the local culture” through social drinking. Socializing outside the organized class activities provided junctures to more easily pursue desired friendships with one student noting “the guys on this course go out of their way to create a party atmosphere on the trip.” Most of the men engaged in each night’s activities, recovered the following morning from lack of sleep and in some cases notable hangovers that left them feeling “w.r.e.k.t.” while concurrently planning new experiences for the upcoming night. As one man noted after I had mentioned a pattern emerging:

I saw the cycle that you saw. Like we would travel. We would, the travel to like the day trips travel there would be the recover stage for everybody, luckily I only had my recover stage one time and that’s all I needed...And then there was do things we were doing for that day, and then the travelling back was the ‘alright what are we doing when we get back?’ Like we are recovered now. We ate food. Drank some water. So now what are we doing at night, and then just kept going through the cycle. Yeah there definitely (pause) I think college kids are a lot more structured around their, uh, social activities (laughs).

Here the student recognizes a normative expectation of social drinking among college students while practicing impression management in attempting to distance himself from the cycle by stating he only needed a recovery morning once during the trip.

It seemed inevitable the nightly socializing would begin to interfere with daytime activities. The lingering effects of the men's social drinking reached a head in Barcelona when the course leader posted on GroupMe before a visit to Sagrada Familia, "In all seriousness, please do not be drunk for the tour." As the men were at that moment sitting in a restaurant drinking complimentary limoncello shots, captured in images on their phones and later shared with a convoluted mixture of pride and shame, it is perhaps to their credit they appeared to be sober and on time at the basilica tour later in the afternoon. Even so, the few days remaining in Spain felt fragmented with minimal change in the men's nightly socializing but more diligent efforts to separate free-time drinking from the more highly surveilled class time during the day.

"Time for 'dessert beer'": Constructing a justifying discourse on nightly social drinking and men's gender roles.

By engaging in heavy social drinking abroad, the men maintained masculine personas and reduced feelings of vulnerability and discomfort in the unfamiliar culture. Drinking also provided a response to the emergence of gender role conflict, for example the "girls' only" night discussed earlier after which the men sat in their room drinking beer while watching Spanish TV. With the goal of creating friendships high on the list of expectations and the pressure to reproduce gender roles brought from home, organizing social activities centered on alcohol was seen by the men as their responsibility and one in which they excelled. As one noted in a discussion with me and later substantiated in group discussions with other men on the course:

I think that a lot of the nightlife planning and stuff like that was uh was definitely the guys. You know like um, like especially [mentions classmate by name] uh

towards the end of the trip you know was trying to get everything set up for all the, all the nightlife stuff. Umm and during the day you had a lot more of the girls kind of planning 'let's go here, let's go here, let's go here' kind of things. Where like they'd be walking around saying 'hey that's cool place lets go try that' 'n you know during the day the guys were a lot more along for the ride and during the evening the guys were kind of like 'hey lets go you know here, here and here' and so. That was something I think um that I noticed.

The men took ownership of the evening social activities with the women expected to oversee the daytime, more academic focused learning activities. Capraro (2007) defines this separation of activities as a "*male domain*" where men dominate drinking, identify with drinking and are centered on drinking (p. 183).

Noting a similar experience as the student above, another observed that "there was probably one or two people [women] that would do research [on places to see during the day]. They would go to their room at night and do research instead of you know, going out [with us]." I observed the men's expectation for women to organize daytime activities was bolstered by having a woman leader for the course who held responsibility for the majority of the group's daytime logistics and scheduling. By relying on the women the men could "go with the flow" and be "along for the ride" during the day, an ideal position to hold when exhausted from a late night out and frequently nursing a hangover. As well, the men required a steady and enduring presence of women each night to justify the significant effort put into planning the nightly activities and to fulfil their obligation to perform as protectors of women in social situations. Creating a gender role narrative for women as daytime leaders was necessary for the men to explain their

nighttime performances but also contributed to the disruption they felt when the women took control of their social activities with the “girls’ only” night.

The collective framing of the men’s absolute responsibility for group social drinking also situates Patrick and Johnny in an alternate masculine space. Both occasionally chose not to participate in the nightly drinking, engaging in other activities like photography and exploring the city. Although the dominant masculinity performances centered on social drinking I observed the men recognize and accept alternative masculinities in play within the short-term study abroad experience. In the small group of men, these deviations were generally tolerated as there were no other men in the group willing and able to step in should the core group exclude a member for his alternative expression of masculinity. However, the men who chose not to engage in nightly social drinking were allotted different territory in the men’s peer group and received less affirmation of friendship than did the men who consistently participated in what I considered the aspirational masculine group performance of drinking. The idea that the men were expected to participate in nightly drinking aligns with the student’s comments in Theme Two where he imagines a future questioning from peers about taking every advantage of the perceived party scene in Spain. Although he would like to stay in the hotel one night instead of going out he anticipates a future in which that decision would negatively affect his social position with peers. Even with tolerance for some difference in behavior, alcohol remained central to the men’s experiences abroad even for those preferring not to participate in the nightly social drinking.

“We were touched by the Hand of God”: Relying on alcohol to represent short-term study abroad as a risky adventure.

Finally, alcohol consumption abroad enhanced the men’s sense of adventure. The night the group discovered “The Hand of God,” introduced previously in Momento Cuatro, best represents how alcohol consumption was used by the men to portray risk and adventure. Johnny implied the role the drink had in setting tone for the men’s study abroad experiences when he shared in our final interview after I asked about his overall time abroad, “Um, well there’s the ‘Hand of God’ that’s all (pause) no one expects that.” The drink made such an impression on the men that after its discovery the GroupMe name was quickly changed to “I believe in the Hand of God.” The name held prominence in GroupMe for a record amount of time, until well after the class had returned from Spain, aligning the men’s deep-seeded need to craft interpersonal relationships, their use of the “I believe in...” narrative to demonstrate group belonging and their mobilization of alcohol in performing masculinity. In our final interview, one of the men shared how the drink influenced his relationship with friends at home and allowed him to demonstrate his acquired masculine capital having survived the experience, while at the same time using the drink as a way to police his friends own masculinity:

I made one of my friends here do it [Hand of God]. I made one for ‘em. He actually did it. I made two of my friends do it actually. I was very impressed with them. I’m never doing that again, so, ‘I’m proud of you [his two friends] for that.’

Perceiving short-term study abroad as a “safer” option for avoiding vulnerability and developing social relationships with compatible peers, the Hand of God represented the

danger, risk and masculine adventure needed to gain the social capital study abroad participation offered. Social drinking was not only a way for the men in my study to cushion discomfort but also maintain a social narrative central to the justification for their participation.

Summary

This chapter presented the key thematic findings of my naturalistic case study. With ongoing analysis as part of an evolutionary process throughout my study in making meaning of the men's full range of experiences abroad, I arrived at four primary themes with multiple subthemes in each area representing salience as related to my research questions. The four primary themes emerging as the men in my study imagineered their study abroad experiences were:

- Theme One: Prioritizing interpersonal relationships over other aspects of the short-term study abroad experience and expecting participation to provide opportunities for developing new friendships with institutional peers
- Theme Two: Perceiving time before and during the short-term study abroad experience in multiple and contrasting ways, orienting behaviors and performances accordingly
- Theme Three: Approaching the study abroad experience with touristic imaginaries of Spain and creating a privileged group immersion bubble
- Theme Four: Bringing along constructions of masculinity and reproducing and justifying gender roles and behaviors in the study abroad space

Subthemes allowed me to explore the men's relationships, responses to perceptions of time, anticipation of fun adventure and their gendered behaviors and their vulnerability as men in the study abroad space.

Chapter six is my final chapter and concludes this document by briefly summarizing the previous chapters. I will discuss my research questions as related to my thematic findings then explore the implications of my study for research, practice and students. My final chapter closes with suggestions for future research and conclusions.

MOMENTO CINCO: BOYS NOT ALLOWED

The girls had that girls night out where we weren't allowed to go hang out with them even though we, that whole day we'd planned to all go out. And then, so they like last minute we planned it, we were ready and they were like 'Uh, we're all gonna stay inside.' And we're, ... were like well, there goes our plans. So I wasn't expecting that. That was a little frustrating.

- Stan

A foretoken of the men's approaching night and its prominent place in my study, the hotel lobby is profoundly disorienting. As I sit facing the room's wall of mirrors, I slowly take in a scene of arranged confusion. Freshly painted white walls and sparkling marble floors are disrupted by rickety reproduction Victorian furnishings and gold painted floor lamps adorned with cherubs whose smiles distort into smirks as the shadows of darkness dance across the room. An elderly desk clerk taps on her computer at the dimly lit front desk as the heavy summer air settles upon the room. Reminiscent of an American home on Christmas Eve, bowls of tempting red gummi candies are scattered about the room to taunt me. As I greedily feed my sweet tooth, the gauche scene reflected before me is further disrupted by a series of printed tourism photographs someone at the hotel has taped on the mirrored wall. Surrounding these curling pages, smeared, pastel-colored, handwritten text provides tips for sightseeing in Barcelona this week. The room cannot decide what it wants to be – hip and edgy or traditional and secure. The result is neither but something of an entirely new dimension.

As I take in the scene, I am not yet aware of the equally disorienting tableau unfolding within our band of travelers. Already 11:00pm and having just returned from dinner I decide I can muster the energy to join the students on at least some of tonight's potation search to observe more of what one participant calls "having the college experience of this part of the trip." Knowing a return to my room will only encourage excuses and an overwhelming sense of crawling into bed, I settle into the lobby awaiting our departure. Staring at myself in the mirrored wall, juxtaposed into the disquieting scene, I am empathetically drawn to the taped photographs and their involuntary need to curl into themselves. The evening is quite humid and, with the lights on low and doors and windows locked for nighttime security, the lobby is oppressive. Sitting with two students, a man and woman, I observe and occasionally engage in their casual banter interrupted by frequent intermezzos as they check their cell phones for group updates. Lots of tapping and waiting with phone in palm fills the time as the students engage in an online chat to which I am not privy. Soon the young woman announces she needs to run upstairs and abruptly leaves. The young man and I sit staring at each other and begin to discuss my curiosity over the large plastic bag he is cradling in his lap. It is filled with liquor he has purchased from a small shop down the street to take out this evening as a cost saving measure, in anticipation of a beach party to come.

As my apprehension grows, I wonder what is in store for us this evening. It is a moment where my role as researcher collides head on with my more familiar in loco parentis hat of study abroad director abandoned for this trip. Defiantly ignoring the collision and pressing on, our conversation drifts to the personal. Time slowly ticks along as the phone checking and tapping become less frequent. We discuss childhood,

past romantic relationships and the moments in life that define us as men across decades. The compression of time we experience abroad often leads to these more intimate discussions among the travelers, as if our short time together requires delving deeper and more quickly into our personal lives as we grasp for relationship connections amid strangers. As we share chuckles over some of the humorous events of recent days, I begin to wonder in the back of my mind about our night out. I am stunned to discover we have been sitting and talking for well over an hour and a half. I ask the student about our departure and he nonchalantly says, “Oh, we aren’t going out anymore. Sorry. That was cancelled.” ‘Thanks for letting me know,’ I think, while noting this time together in the lobby has been quite meaningful in connecting with this individual student and I am grateful for our time together. I do however also relish the knowledge I will be snuggled into my bed much earlier than 2:00 a.m. tonight.

Likely explaining the earlier abrupt departure of our fellow lobby companion, I learn that after extensive planning during the day for another night out in the city the women in the course have collectively disrupted the men’s plans opting for what they are calling a “girls only” night in the hotel. With 15 women settled into a room directly above our heads, one later describes it to me as “just like an 8th grade slumber party except we had wine!” Probing my lobby mate for details, I learn that four of the men in the course have asked to be included and are told that for tonight men are not allowed. As we call it a night and I drag my weary self up the stairs to my third floor room, I don’t recognize in the moment its importance. For me, this change of plans is an excuse for visiting dreamland earlier than usual for this trip but for several of the men this moment emerges as a defining event in the course that re-emerges across the remaining time in

Spain and after our return home. The disrupting of the norm and the narrative expectations of the trip and the bruising upending of gender roles as social event directors and women's caretakers within the compressed, frenetic time in Spain take time to heal.

The following morning the energy in the breakfast room is static. There is little to no talking and the students are clustered into small, whispering groups. I nonchalantly join a group of three women unaware of a lingering gender separation in the group and they begin to tell me about their fun evening the night before. As their eyes sparkle and dance in the telling, I realize this exclusion of the men holds deep meaning for the women. They talk of bonding as a group in ways they felt not possible earlier on the trip. I interpret their stories as emancipatory where the women have, for at least one night, taken ownership of the group's destiny. I glance around the room and the men's stony faces tell another part of the story. I begin to view the men's constant discussion of evening events that have dominated our days since arriving in Spain in a new light. The beauty and clarity of observer as participant unrolls before me like a magic carpet as I realize we are living in a defining moment for the men in my study.

The night's events dominate discussions across the day as several disgruntled men openly complain and the women laugh at new, inside jokes and stories that only enflame the men's simmering bitterness. There are glaring stares, rolled eyes, huffing and puffing and many moments spent listening to men's expressions of being left out, disrespected and mistreated by the women. Although the sour mood begins to shift under the warmth of the Spanish sun, the men re-engage with the women in planning for a new adventure that evening. The incident seems in the press of time forgiven but not clearly not forgotten. Three of the men remain notably resentful at being excluded from the

women's social activity. These feelings occasionally resurface across the remaining time in Spain and well after our return home. Although the group's connections are tenuously mended and life is back on track in as much as the men are again responsible for planning the nighttime social activities, the journey is disrupted and like the confusion of the hotel lobby that marked my evening the men's experiences take on an entirely new dimension that will appear throughout my data and stand out across my analysis.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This naturalistic inquiry case study examined five college men's experiences as they imagineered a short-term study abroad program in Spain. Imagineering is a process in which the men imagine themselves participating in study abroad then actively engage in creating the experience. Important factors in the men's imagineering process included perceptions of time and destination. As a short-term course the program was compressed into 14-days abroad, causing the men to view time as limited and to accelerate the pace of their activities. Conceptualizing Spain as both relaxing destination and energizing party haven only compounded the men's frantic attempts to seize each moment.

With limited research on men's participation in short-term study abroad, my naturalistic case study provides useful depth and detail of understanding on the phenomenon. By including participant observation in my study design and travelling abroad with my participants, I was able to observe the latent learning that occurs outside official learning spaces. As a case study, the phenomenological information provided here is only suggestive but potentially generative. This chapter provides a brief review of the study as presented in the previous chapters, the findings based on my research questions, the implications of this study for research and practice, recommendations for future research and my conclusions after conducting this study.

Review of Previous Chapters

The short-term study abroad program model continues to gain in popularity both for students and institutions looking for learning opportunities abroad that are affordable and convenient. Universities promote these brief departures from the United States as an ideal way to increase participation in study abroad, at a time when most students graduate college without having participated in an immersive international experience, and to prepare students for success in a globally competitive environment. However, as college student participation increases overall in programs across the country, national efforts continue to struggle at increasing college men's participation (Institute of International Education, 2017). Limited research examines men's participation in study abroad and researchers traveling with students during their participation in study abroad is extremely rare. This study offers the only known qualitative case study to include participant observation focused on men's experiences in short-term study abroad.

Designed around the use of participant observations during the trip and interviews before, during and after the trip, this naturalistic inquiry case study examined the experiences of the five college men participating in a 14-day study abroad engineering course to Spain offered by a predominantly White, Midwestern, public land-grant university. I supported my primary data collection methods with photographic images, drawings and participant interactions with those artifacts. My work as director of a study abroad office, my participation in multiple study abroad programs as a student and my extensive international travel experience contributed to the strength of this study.

The participants in my study are traditional-aged, White college men in an emerging adult phase of independent, adult role exploration that includes the tendency for

greater risk taking and focus on self, happiness, instant gratification and consumption (Arnett, 2000; Nelson, 2003). They shared perceptions of Spain as a safe, entertaining destination and crafted light expectations for their time abroad focused on having fun and making friends. As a site of identity construction, study abroad provides space in which doing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987) emerges as a situation-specific rewarding of gender competency when behavior aligns with social expectations at the site of construction. Aiming to gain credibility among peers for their participation, the men constructed their experiences and behaved in ways that allowed them to frame their masculine performances abroad in positive terms required to gain social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) at home. As participants in an engineering course compressed into two weeks, the men experienced time as limited and responded accordingly by intensifying the pace of their actions and behaviors. Even though some of the men behaved in ways aligned with established masculinity norms for college aged men, such as the use of alcohol and competition for individual power within the group (Capraro, 2007; Connell, 2005; Kimmel, 1994; O'Neil & Roberts Carroll, 1988), others expressed little concern for the gender performances (Elliott, 2014; West & Zimmerman, 1987) and gender role conflicts (Goffman, 1977; O'Neil, 1981) of their peers.

Through continuing analysis, I arrived at the following four primary themes with multiple subthemes in each area representing salience as related to my research questions:

- Theme One: Prioritizing interpersonal relationships over other aspects of the short-term study abroad experience and expecting participation to provide opportunities for developing new friendships with institutional peers

- Theme Two: Perceiving time before and during the short-term study abroad experience in multiple and contrasting ways, orienting behaviors and performances accordingly
- Theme Three: Approaching the study abroad experience with touristic imaginaries of Spain and creating a privileged group immersion bubble
- Theme Four: Bringing along constructions of masculinity and reproducing and justifying gender roles and behaviors in the study abroad space

As a part of my analysis, I explored the men's interpersonal relationships, their responses to perceptions of time, their anticipation of fun adventure and their gendered behaviors and vulnerability as they imagineered their experiences in the study abroad space.

Research Questions and Findings

In this section I discuss the findings of my naturalistic case study, presented in greater detail in Chapter V, as they relate to my research questions. Connections to prior research are included to help demonstrate significance and illustrate connections with my findings and research questions.

Research Question One: How Do College Men Imagineer a Short-Term, Summer Study Abroad Experience?

My first research question is grounded on an overarching view of college men's experiences on a short-term study abroad program in which they imagine themselves as participants and embark on constructing that experience. Concentrating on the intertwining themes of the imagineering process, my objective was to gain holistic understanding of the short-term study abroad experience for these five men through participant observation abroad, expanding beyond the limits of prior research focused

primarily on the participants pre-departure and returnee phases (Lucas, 2009; Shirley, 2006; Yankey, 2014). Study abroad is a highly individualized series of interconnecting and overlapping experiences. The construct of imagineering helps conceptualize the men's study abroad experiences as a process in which imagination and creativity contribute to reaching their desired outcomes (Kuiper & Smit, 2014). To answer this first question, I relied on the following four subquestions.

How do men come to view the short-term study abroad course as a worthwhile collegiate activity in which they would participate?

The men in this study came to the short-term study abroad experience through relational imaginaries and established interpersonal relationships. Contrary to the best intentions of the MidSouth University study abroad staff, none of the men chose to participate because of institutional messaging campaigns on the benefits of participation or the diverse program options for students. Instead, key individuals in the men's lives invited, recommended, encouraged, pushed or pulled the men to consider participating. Johnny's mother wanted her son to have a rewarding study abroad experience like she had during college with Lee's parents making sure they instilled in their son an awareness of the world around him by encouraging him to travel globally. Stan's older brother observed his sibling's resistance to participation in study abroad and spoke with Stan about joining him on a course as a way to ease in to the rewarding experience. Stan, after a positive experience with his brother, wanted to return abroad. This led him to encourage his fraternity brother and fellow engineer Paul to participate. Patrick trusted the faculty leader as a mentor guiding him to the experience as something beneficial to his academic career. Several of the men were also influenced by friends in their

academic discipline who had studied abroad previously or were already enrolled to participate in the course to Spain. Albeit each man's path to study abroad is unique, the power of influential relationships in their lives is a shared aspect of their decision to participate.

This finding aligns with observations from Salisbury, Paulsen, and Pascarella (2010a) on the power of peer influence and Shirley's (2006) finding that faculty and peers play a key role in men's decision to participate. Lucas (2009) and Yankey (2014) both identify family as also having a role in the likelihood of men approaching the possibility to participate in study abroad, something reflected in my findings as well. Relevant to this specific research question is the diversity of people and approaches leading the men to participate. No one moment solidified their decision to participate. Although there were commonalities in the men's influences – for example, all five mentioned the faculty leader as having some role in their decision to participate and all had close relationships with parents and other influential family members - how the individuals in their lives engaged with them about studying abroad was unique to each man. Lee, Patrick and Johnny interacted with parents closely, influencing their decision to participate, but those interactions were unique to the parent's own life experiences, the family's socioeconomic background and the way their family engages in discussions about educational choices (Perna, 2006b). A direct invitation and subsequent encouragement from a fraternity brother helped Paul decide to participate, while Johnny observed participating peers from a distance and thought to investigate further. Patrick respected the faculty leader's professional capabilities, while Stan and Paul felt drawn to the professor's "fun" qualities as appealing for a two-week trip. Across all of these

different relationships and social interactions, the men arrived at a common decision to participate in this course to Spain.

A more obscured but powerful factor leading the men to view study abroad as a worthwhile activity was the underlying influence of social capital and social relationships in the men's lives. As emerging adults, the men are engaged in active identity construction to prepare for their lives beyond college and rely on consumptive activities like study abroad to contribute to forming those identities (Arnett, 2000). They interpret their social landscape and adapt behaviors that reposition them in favorable ways with peers, faculty and family members. By observing peers in their academic environment discussing study abroad with faculty and other students, leading in some instances to those students choosing to participate, the men recognized the potential social benefits of participation. This social interaction and observation of peers with study abroad experience is especially important for overcoming men's negative perceptions of participation (Doyle, et al., 2010). Viewing the experience as a source of potential social capital, the men carried the anticipation of social benefits into their imagined expectations of participation.

How do men who have chosen to participate in a short-term study abroad course imagine their upcoming experience?

Imagination is an important element in constructing the study abroad experience. The men in my study thought of their short-term study abroad course as convenient (in enrolling procedures and timing at the start of the summer break) and inexpensive (in financial cost and time expenditure). These perceptions of convenience and affordability encouraged the men to imagine the experience as pleasurable and self-rewarding,

common themes for emerging adults (Arnett, 2000). The men were motivated by the perception that participation provides an escape from their stressful lives at home and fun opportunities to develop friendships with fellow MidSouth engineering students. Perceiving short-term study abroad as being “a lot of fun to go out and see another part of the world” aligns with prior research indicating men are motivated by perceptions of fun as they consider study abroad participation (Lucas, 2009) and situate the need for close relationships as more central to their study abroad experience than previously thought (Yankey, 2014). All five men in this study interacted with study abroad images showing group activities and social interaction when selecting photographs to represent their upcoming time in Spain. In developing their imaginaries in interview one, envisioning themselves interacting with other people was a common image forming in their minds, with a notable focus on engaging in visually-centric social activities like documenting Spain in photographs, looking at iconic architecture with classmates or posing with friends for selfies. At times the men’s imaginaries included interaction with locals but locals were peripheral in the experience and as such quickly fell to the wayside once the men were in Spain and favored interacting with peers from home, behavior common for emerging adults focused on affiliation and group belonging (Arnett, 2000). The men imagined the short-term study abroad experience as socially engaging, convivial and ultimately centered around their fellow traveling companions.

Similar to the *must* imaginary of Härkönen and Dervin (2015,2016), the men imagined study abroad participation as something to do during college before “real life” intervenes. Viewing study abroad as a “once-in-a-lifetime” opportunity did not mean they viewed the experiences as something done once (two of the men had participated in

multiple programs) but framing the experience as something only available to them while in college (Ravert, 2009). This view of limited opportunity encouraged the men to imagine their time in Spain as both finite and slow. They needed to anticipate time as slower than home to support their intentions to spend it with their peers building personal relationships, but also anticipated an acceleration of activities to construct what they imagined as the typical, tightly-packed, short-term study abroad experience.

For the men in my study, being idle (for example, sitting in the hotel or at meals that last several hours) is not how they imagined a legitimate and convincing study abroad experience. Being idle is counterproductive to their primary desired outcomes of fun and friendship. Imagining Spain as a cosmopolitan place to “go experience the night life” contributed to their expectations of what “fun” should look like in Spain. With images of sunny beaches and warm weather in their minds, the men also crafted dream imaginaries (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015) of Spain as a vacation destination with study abroad as an activity of relaxation and touristic behaviors. Study abroad professionals frequently discuss students’ fear of missing out (FoMO) as a barrier to participation, with students not wanting to leave their home campuses and risk missing key experiential milestones with their friends (Przybylski, Murayama, DeHaan, & Gladwell, 2013). However, in this short-term study abroad program, the men imagined the reverse - a fear of missing out on opportunities in Spain leading them to cautiously craft their expectations in anticipation of a tightly planned agenda.

As Lee observed in interview one, minimal expectations like “have fun” and “see lots of stuff” are much easier to accomplish than more complex goals. Yet minimal expectations can still provide the positive outcomes of fun and adventure the men desired

from participation and relied on to craft exciting stories for people at home. Setting light expectations freed the men from constructing short-term study abroad as too challenging or too uncomfortable. By framing the short-term experience as an achievable way to have fun that is different from the fun at home, and craft friendships that enhance notions of group belonging, the men positioned themselves at their entrance to Spain as consumptive, academic tourists.

How do men participating in a short-term study abroad course enact the experience as men?

Building upon the light expectations and imaginaries crafted at home, the men in my study constructed their experiences in Spain as much as possible in support of their goals for fun, friendship and to some extent a desire to experience the “local culture” at temporary and cursory junctures. The men imagined Spain in highly romanticized ways that objectified locals and contributed to creating a separate zone of immersion from which the men could observe the host culture without too much discomfort (Ogden, 2007). This bubble allowed the men to pass through cultural spaces while creating the privileged cultural experiences they desired (Breen, 2012) and describe their physical presence as “cultural immersion” without facing pressure to view and unpack the complex environment of a contemporary Spain. Arming this invisible, culture shield also allowed the men to focus inward on group members and attend to building social relationships and group belonging, a primary expectation of their short-term study abroad experience.

The men’s perception of time as compressed led them to establish group norms quickly. Relying on social messaging (for example, the “I believe in _____” GroupMe

app narrative signaling group membership), gender roles brought from home (such as serving as women's protectors), existing social capital (including relationships with the faculty leaders and classmates) and situational social capital (unlimited phone data or an ability to speak Spanish), the men quickly set about negotiating potential friendships within the group. The men's success at crafting new relationships was dependent on how their classmates viewed them as potential friends, recognizing that they were not only performing but being viewed by peers in return, a critical construct found within the doing of gender to manage the reproduction and representation of behaviors from the home culture (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As noted in my findings, the men were inconsistent in their ability to successfully achieve the same level of friendship within the group with some men relegated or relegating themselves into positions adjacent and occasionally intersecting but outside the central, social group.

The men remained keenly aware of their tether to home and their activities scrutinized by peers and others on the course as well as friends and family at home. They crafted audience-specific messages to represent selected parts of their overall experience, constructing these partial representations as authentic short-term study abroad experiences for those different audiences. Goffman's (1973) concept of impression management, where individuals represent themselves in positive ways during social interaction, and Connell's (2005) understanding of men's multiple, intersecting masculinities, on which they place greater or lesser importance as they navigate different social contexts, converge in these moments of surveillance. The men constructed representations of themselves designed to enhance their positionality within the social group and adjusted which masculinities they chose to accentuate with a given audience.

For example, as described in my findings a participant expressed a desire to remain in the hotel one evening but noted his friends at home would not accept that behavior as taking full advantage of his time in Spain. Engaging in a mutual surveillance exercise from opposite sides of the Atlantic, this student was attuned to his future representations of Spain with peers at home and which masculinities these peers would perceive as authentic and legitimate.

The men worked tirelessly to seize every minute in Spain which only exacerbated the tendency to seek out opportunities for instant gratification (Arnett, 2015) and perform in touristic ways (MacCannell, 2013). Although they relied on cultural immersion narratives to validate their participation for the home audience, they remained relatively untroubled by their decisions to stay within the “golden ghetto” of tourists in Spain. When they found themselves in culturally-uncomfortable situations, retreating to the Irish pub or eating at McDonalds was an easy way to return to the familiar while representing the behavior as culturally “normal” because of the physical placement of these spaces in Spain. Building on their imagined experience as visually-centric, and recognizing that documenting their experiences in idealized or unfamiliar ways enhances the strength of their efforts to acquire social capital at home, the men eagerly sought out tourist spaces as sites of exciting and exotic imagery useful for enhancing their developing study abroad personas. During a final class social activity several months after the end of the course, designed as a reunion of sorts for the group and an opportunity for the leaders to return the student’s journals, one man exclaimed as an image appeared in a trip slide-show on a screen in the room that it was his “favorite photo” from the entire course. The image was

a selfie he took with three classmates lined up behind him taking their own selfies with a scenic view in the distance.

The men documented themselves in Spain in what Urry and Larsen (2011) consider the “tourist gaze as performance” (p.189). Study abroad participants gaze upon the sites of their program and document these travel moments not so much to share memories but as an ongoing representation of *experiences* (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 185), to be cast onto social media for instant consumption. Images eliciting unfavorable peer responses were deleted, erased and retaken, giving an entirely new and highly consumptive dimension (Urry & Larsen, 2011) to Goffman’s (1973) concepts of self-representation and impression management. Documenting and capturing perfectly-anticipated moments during the trip was a critical element of the men’s experience and an important tool for representing their performances abroad in the home setting, especially empowering when they could place themselves visually in the moment as illustrated in the selfies within a selfie image described above.

Finally, social drinking was an extremely efficient way to enact male privilege abroad and gain powerful social positions both within the class and in peer groups at home (Arnett, 2015; Capraro, 2007). The men armed themselves with alcohol to create environments more familiar from home, compete for group membership, demonstrate their endurance, communicate a sense of adventure and equip themselves with the evidence necessary to acquire social capital within peer groups on their home campus. As with other efforts to represent their behavior as culturally normal, the men relied on explanations of Spaniards “drinking in the streets” and staying out until the early morning to construct their performances as the “college student experience” and authenticating the

“real” short-term study abroad experience. Social activities designed around alcohol were also ideal for reinforcing the men’s gender roles as protectors of women and nighttime social directors, roles that when disrupted created disorientation and emotional conflict for the men who held these roles as fundamental to their accomplishment of manhood (O’Neil, 1981) in the short-term study abroad space.

How do men participating in a short-term study abroad course make meaning of the experience after returning home?

The course ended abruptly after the last official site tour on the last day in Barcelona. The group quickly disbursed for final shopping opportunities, to return to the hotel to pack or to squeeze in a few more tourist activities before returning home. The group did not reconvene for a final dinner or farewell toast, so the students experienced no event signifying the end of the course. The students simply faded away as they departed at different times across the following day which seemed an awkward end after two weeks of non-stop focus on group belonging and friendships. I observed this lack of official closure made it easier for the men to encapsulate their experience abroad without engaging in deeper reflection on experiences with meaning for their future. The men quickly re-entered their scheduled lives - returning to their parents’ home for the summer, enrolling in a few online, summer classes, working to save money for the coming year and participating in a short internship. Asked to maintain a daily journal while abroad, they were given several weeks after the class to submit those to the faculty leaders. Many completed that project around 2:00 a.m. the morning before they were due. Despite negating much of the intentionality of maintaining a daily, reflective travel journal it provided the students an opportunity together as a group to reaffirm belonging

at home. Some of those not physically present participated via GroupMe posting encouraging messages and responses to their classmates gathered together on campus. Simple actions like these demonstrate the continuing importance group membership carries for the men, and perhaps the strongest indication of the meaning men made in terms of social belonging.

The students were also required to submit a 10-page paper on their experiences abroad, but most provided a perfunctory laundry list of activities in which they participated rather than including any substantive, reflective observations. The course structure did not provide opportunities for reflection on the time in Spain nor did the men actively seek them out. Therefore, the meaning-making at home was limited. However, the men spent time and energy crafting representations of their experiences abroad as meaningful and worthwhile. They spoke of cultural immersion but were unable to articulate beyond surface observations of similarities and differences what they learned from their perceived immersion. These results are quite similar to Härkönen and Dervin (2015,2016) findings that for the time and effort invested in the imaginaries of study abroad, they are often structured around unrealistic and unattainable transformations given the brief time spent abroad and the time press of a single short-term course.

Of the men in this study, Stan was the most reflective after the experience in contemplating his future career choices and the ways he might change his career path given what he has observed over his four study abroad experiences. As the most experienced study abroad participant, Stan related his time in Spain to his other experiences, a productive scaffolding that suggests the value of students' participation in multiple travel courses.

Research Question Two: How Do College Men's Experiences Align with and Diverge from Institutional Goals for a Short-Term Study Abroad Course?

MidSouth University sets general goals for all study abroad programs and had class objectives for the short-term engineering course to Spain. As a study abroad professional, I found examining the men's experiences in relation to these goals provided meaningful insight on where the men's experiences aligned with and diverged from the institution's intention in providing the course to students. Noting the anticipated competencies and outcomes universities generally hold for study abroad, it is helpful to examine contradictions between the value-laden goals of the institution and the lived experiences of participants (Ariyaratne, 1986; Miao & Harris, 2012; Spindler, 1959/2000). As summarized on MidSouth University's programming materials, the primary institutional goals for students participating in study abroad are:

- Develop academic skills and new perspectives in academic discipline
- Gain valuable skills and career direction for employment beyond college
- Develop confidence, independence, flexibility and creativity while gaining a new insight into the home culture
- Increase interest in other cultures, develop intercultural competence and become more aware of and sensitive to other cultures on the MidSouth campus and in the United States

The class objectives as listed in the syllabus, noted as correlating to the engineering field's ABET accreditation program outcomes, are:

- Develop a familiarity with the history, culture, and technology of Spain

- Understand the critical cultural aspects and key indicators associated with a society
- Utilize empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop a body of knowledge
- Employ cultural mapping to identify social differences and similarities
- Understand how the culture within the society influences the use and development of technology
- Develop the competency to establish and maintain professional relationships within a different culture
- Become proficient in foreign travel skills

Institutional goals.

The four institutional goals are broad, designed to cover a diverse portfolio of programs at MidSouth. Although the men's experiences on this short-term course met the institutional expectations in some ways, they also differ from these goals in several important ways that expose some challenges in the short-term program model. The men who had not studied abroad anticipated the course would provide new academic skills and perspectives their classes on the MidSouth campus did not have. Not finding these elements in the class setting abroad, they returned with disappointments gently concealed behind representations of the course as "it was great" and "it was interesting."

All five men participating in this study, when I asked in their final interviews about how the class contributed to their careers as outlined in the second institutional goal, responded only briefly. Although several entered the course with expectations of career relevance, beyond an opportunity to see inside facilities during the corporate site

visits the men struggled to articulate any strong connections to their future careers. Paul emphasized his interest in working and living in Europe in the future, and Stan engaged in reflection on his career choice, but the men did not individually or collectively experience the course as meaningful to their working lives beyond college. The lack of ability to connect the experience with their careers led them to frame Spanish engineering as “kinda underwhelming.”

This course was probably most successful in meeting elements of the third goal. My data contains clear moments when the men demonstrated new found confidence, as when Patrick comes out of his shell and engages with his classmates in Spain and Stan expresses his ability to be less socially awkward after engaging with new people in study abroad. Lee was the most direct in hoping to gain independence; he expressed pride in several of his leadership accomplishments while abroad. Flexibility and creativity are more limited to my observations while traveling with the men, but they adapted, albeit slowly, to diversions of the daily agenda and as budding engineers applied all manner of creativity in accomplishing immediate goals. However, there were exceptions to their flexibility, such as the “girls’ only” night when the men’s gender roles as social directors was disrupted, that offer insight into their limits. They framed new awareness of their home culture in terms of the United States as being more technologically sophisticated and efficient than Spain, an understanding based primarily on their experiences abroad as tourists and less on any self-reflection on their home culture.

Considering the fourth institutional goal, my findings suggest the men gained interest in other cultures as all expressed a desire to travel more internationally in the future. As critiqued in Chapter II, intercultural competency and cultural sensitivity are

complex constructs that are difficult to measure and pinpoint and are therefore beyond the scope of this study. In reviewing the four institutional goals together with my findings, the men's experiences on their short-term course aligned in some aspects. However, they also diverged significantly from MidSouth University's institutional goals which carries implications for practice explored later in this chapter.

Course objectives.

Linked to objectives pulled from the college's academic accreditation program, the course objectives articulated on the syllabus are more discipline specific than the institutional goals. However, they are also designed with space for flexibility to accommodate the faculty leaders' and students' emerging agendas abroad. Two of the objectives were assessed and graded by the faculty leaders as part of specific class assignments outside of the time in Spain, utilizing empirical investigation and critical analysis (in the 10-page final paper) and employing cultural mapping (in a pre-departure mapping exercise). The five remaining course objectives are discussed here in relation to my findings.

The findings of this study indicate that with the speed of the course compressed into a 14-day window and perceptions of the short-term course as tourism, remaining attuned to the course objectives was nearly impossible for the men within the experiences they constructed. Even when they recognized they were treating the course as a vacation and made efforts to focus on the experience as a course, their attention was limited to making sure they had enough content to write a 10-page final paper when they got home. As someone with extensive international travel, I observed the men were most successful at gaining travel proficiencies included in the final objective. Over the course of our two

weeks in Spain they developed skills at navigating unfamiliar transportation systems and communicating in situations complicated by a lack of language skills in the host country. This objective is the one area of the course that was best served by the men's nightly adventures. In those moments the men were entirely responsible for their own actions without influence or direction from the faculty leaders.

The men also gained a modicum of familiarity with the history and culture of Spain (the first class objective), thanks in large part to the classroom presentations before departure, and experienced firsthand examples of local technology including high speed trains and innovative car manufacturing processes. However, as discussed in Chapter V they were sophisticated in avoiding becoming too familiar with the local culture while maintaining an illusion of cultural immersion. Without discussing or reflecting on their observations and experiences, they were unable to make lasting connections between their limited view of the local culture and the social influences on the use and development of technology, a notable divergence from the fifth objective.

The men's experiences also diverged from the sixth objective for developing competencies in establishing and maintaining professional relationships across cultures. When provided the opportunity to speak with local engineers and other professionals, the men instead clustered together and spoke among themselves or with other students leaving the faculty leaders to engage with the local experts. Only Patrick and Johnny, as the two most interested in the engineering aspects of the course before departure, made significant attempts to ask questions during engineering-specific site visits. However, observing those attempts in person I could not describe them as significant competencies articulated in the course objective. As with the institutional goals above, although the

men's experiences aligned with some objectives on the short-term study abroad program notable, divergence from the course objectives was notable. Contemplating the ways in which the men's experiences aligned with and diverged from the institutional goals and objectives provided meaningful implications (discussed later in this chapter) beyond those emerging from research question one.

How this Study Contributes to Research Literature

This study contributes to and extends existing research in a number of ways. As referenced in earlier chapters, my study is unique because I included participant observation across the arc of the men's study abroad experience. By traveling abroad and engaging with my participants rather than relying on pre/post-test instruments or only on interviews capturing the men's perceptions, I was able to better observe the latent learning that occurs outside the official learning spaces provided by the University (Ariyaratne, 1986; Levinson & Holland 1996; Miao & Harris, 2012; Spindler & Spindler, 1983/2000). I was able to observe what they did abroad rather than only what they said about the experience. With the limited research on men's participation in study abroad and an even smaller body of qualitative work on men's experiences as participants, my naturalistic case study also provided useful information on the short-term study abroad program model specifically, a type of programming though dominant in terms of student participation in the United States is understudied as a phenomenon.

The men in my study relied on a full-range of life experiences to decide to participate, as predicted by Perna's (2006a) model of college student decision making and the Salisbury, et al. (2010a) observations on the importance of existing social capital in the decision making experience. Parents' previous life and travel experiences, family

socio-economic status and the men's family patterns encouraging members to explore educational opportunities (Perna, 2006b) all appeared within this study as accessible capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) influencing the men's decisions to participate. Supporting prior research on previous experience, the men with more developed international awareness and involvement identities, and those with exposure to peers with prior study abroad experience, demonstrated a connection between those experiences and their interest in participating in this specific course (Doyle, et al., 2010; Mazon, 2009; Salisbury, et al., 2010a). After the time in Spain, those with no prior international travel experience expressed a desire to engage in more travel in their future lives as well, illustrating the influence of prior international experience on future behavior.

Future career motivations are frequently referenced in the field of study abroad as a way to increase men's participation (Lucas, 2009, Shirley, 2006; Yankey, 2016). The men in my study perceived their lives as having adequate opportunities outside of study abroad, such as engineering internships and studying in a nationally recognized engineering program, for elevating their professional status. As suggested by Sanchez, Fornerino, and Zhang (2006) in examining patterns in Western students study abroad behaviors, the men viewed the short-term course as having little effect on their academic and career futures. However, in contrast with this existing research the men chose to participate and perform in ways designed to increase their social status and capital both within the traveling group and especially their peer groups at home. This behavior in the short-term experience is notable because it adds a new dimension to Schroth and McCormack (2000) and Lucas (2009) findings that men who value traditional, masculine constructs of career success are more drawn to experiences that demonstrate opportunity

for mental challenge. The men in this study had no expectations of mental challenge from a short-term course and conceptualized the primary advantages they would gain as relational, social capital coming from the simple placement of the body in another geographic location.

Paus and Robinson (2008) identify foreign language study, academic achievement and participation in extracurricular activities as predictors of study abroad participation. The men in my study represented these qualities to varying degrees with four of the men highly involved in student clubs and fraternal organizations, all five represented by the faculty leaders as academically strong among their peers and for three men some level of Spanish speaking ability or a stronger willingness to attempt some of the local language. This study also supports existing research showing faculty and peers influence on men's decisions to participate in study abroad (Asaoka & Yano, 2009; Auster and MacRone, 1994; Salisbury, et al., 2010a; Shirley, 2006). Expanding on this research, and contrasting studies like Shirley (2006) that found women's decisions more influenced by parents than men's, all five men in this study had strong relationships with their parents and those family relationships played a key role in deciding to participate.

This study also contributes to existing research showing differences in financial circumstances and men's participation. Shirley (2006) observed that women tend to consider the financial ramifications of participation more than men and may be more likely to opt against participation for financial reasons, something he connects to parental influence on women. However, for several of the men in this study and especially Paul, who goes as far as explaining women's participation as having greater financial support from parents, the family financial ramifications were critical. This study aligns with the

findings of Lucas (2009) and Yankey (2014) who observe that men feel deeply their obligation to family and accountability for the use of family's financial resources.

The men in this study expressed imaginaries aligned with prior research suggesting perceptions of study abroad as a once-in-a-lifetime experience (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015, 2016). However, an additional imaginary not fully articulated by Härkönen & Dervin (2015, 2016) in their conception of a *new me, new life* imaginary was the men's anticipation for friendships from the short-term experience. After searching for research on men's relationships in study abroad, and finding little beyond a few studies looking at men's decision making in study abroad and how relationships influence that decision (for example, Auster & MacRone, 1994; Lucas, 2009; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Paus and Robinson, 2008; Salisbury, et al., 2009; Salisbury, et al., 2010a; Shirley, 2006), my research represents an initial exploration of men's social relationships within the short-term study abroad space. Prior research indicates personal values and life experiences shape men's intentions to study abroad (Salisbury, et al., 2010a), something the men in this study also indicated. However, studies also suggest that social activities like attending sporting events, joining a fraternity, partying or similar masculine activities can take precedence over participation (Lucas, 2009; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Salisbury, et al., 2010a). This was not evident in the short-term experience in this study where the men's time commitment away from home was limited. Perceiving a peer group activity in which they could deepen friendships encouraged men to participate. The men viewed the short-term study space as a site of the very activities listed above that discouraged participation on longer program models. This supports existing research indicating that men perceive study abroad as leading to a greater sense of

belonging, connecting to their still not fully understood prosocial tendencies and expressions of ethnocentrism (Goldstein & Kim, 2005; Kim & Goldstein, 2005; Li, Olson, & Frieze, 2013).

Lucas (2009) identifies fun, cultural learning, resume building and academic/career benefits as influencing men's participation. The men in this study shared some participation qualities with Lucas' participants but also had notable differences. Without question, fun was a deeply-held expectation for the men in this study and appeared across the full range of my data. The men also expressed lightly-crafted expectations of cultural learning but held very low measures on which they assessed those experiences, making it easier for them to speak about cultural learning and immersion as a reward of participation. When pressed, some men expressed vague connections to their careers and academic learning, but those connections were tenuous and demonstrate their distance from institution-sanctioned narratives of study abroad as a career boost or as contributing significantly to discipline-specific learning (Härkönen & Dervin, 2015, 2016; Lucas, 2009). The men with the least experience studying or traveling abroad relied more on expectations of engineering-based learning, but adjusted for the lack of those opportunities during the time abroad by falling in line with the behavior of the other men in speaking about their experience in terms of fun and adventure.

The men's expectations of adventure and fun align with prior research on study abroad perceived as consumptive tourism with culture for the taking (Breen, 2012; Shubert 2007). These perceptions also support Härkönen and Dervin (2015) findings on students' imaginaries of study abroad as a dream place. The men romanticized Spain as

charmingly stuck in history and constructed expectations organized around days spent on sun-drenched beaches. Ogden's (2007) observations on the metaphorical study abroad verandah were visible in this study as well, with the men creating a space from which they could view Spain without having to attend to the more difficult issues of immersing in the local culture. The men viewed the locals as present to provide an experience and expressed disappointment when the locals failed to deliver, as with the lack of Spanish music in the bars or echoing across the plazas.

Facing cross-cultural intersections within the short-term study abroad space, the men's identities and deep need for group belonging triggered an emphasis on social identification and masculinities situational to the specific experience (Connell, 2005; Frey & Tropp, 2006; Savicki & Cooley, 2011). This situational emphasis affected the men's performances abroad, demonstrating why observing the men's performance in situ was critical to understanding their study abroad experience on a short-term course and informs the implications of my study.

Implications

In addition to contributing to research literature, this study holds implications for theory, research and practice for those working in study abroad, short-term program leaders and administrators, student affairs professionals and college men.

Implications for Theory

Although national discourse on study abroad in the United States is frequently reduced to simplified messages equating success with increased participant numbers, in part because counting people is easier than assessing complicated constructs like global mindedness and intercultural competency, participation in study abroad is a complex,

multidimensional experience that transcends numerical tallies. Many studies examining higher education topics rely on the counting of people as a focus of sex/gender research. However, the counting of participants by gender is a relatively uninformative conceptualization of student engagement in study abroad. As a professional in the field, I am not immune to the convenience of using numbers to mark areas of growth and assess participation. This study relied on the counting of men, and a comparison to the number of women participating in study abroad, to help establish a problem worthy of examination. However, my research suggests there are implications for theory in examining the study of men in education abroad as a phenomenon (and potentially women, ethnic minorities and other student populations being studied) beyond the traditional approach of evaluation through counting. My study relied on multiple theoretical approaches, including those emerging as salient during my inductive analysis process, to make sense of my participants complex experiences abroad, but these theories hold limited capacity for fully explaining the phenomenon. The field of education abroad would benefit from expanding the theoretical approaches scholars use to examine gender dynamics and men's short-term study abroad experiences.

Of the theoretical approaches employed in this study, imagineering (Kuiper & Smit, 2014) proved a useful orienting concept as I stepped into the men's short-term study abroad space. Observing key moments as we moved from imagining through completing the course and returning to the home culture, I was able to turn to the concept of imagineering to mark experiential points around which it was then possible to shape my analytical process. Kuiper & Smit recognize the value of imagineering in business, but I found applying it in the study abroad setting useful as well. Exploring how students

imagined a future experience then observing them abroad building upon those imaginaries enhanced my study and led to findings that suggest implications for theoretical work with imagineering beyond education abroad. The men in this study expressed similar approaches in creating their lives as engineering students and emerging adults, suggesting the concept of imagineering holds potential for examining the longer-term collegiate experience of which study abroad is but one part.

However, imagineering alone is not sufficient to understand a man's journey into and through the short-term study abroad experience. Idealistic metanarratives are abundant in the study abroad space, instructing participants, leaders and professionals on romanticized and often unrealistic notions of participation. As noted in my findings, the study abroad imaginaries of Härkönen and Dervin (2015) were helpful in understanding the men's expectations for short-term study abroad but were not consistently represented in their discussions with me or in my participant observations. These imaginaries only begin to explore the cognitive work students undertake when constructing an education abroad experience. The men's need for deeper friendships and their expectations of forming meaningful social relationships illustrates the theoretical implications of expanding work on the concept of imaginaries within the phenomenon, especially since some men in this study were less successful than others in realizing their friendship imaginary while in Spain. My study suggests the range of alternative imaginaries on which students can rely may resonate differently with each student depending on their chosen program model, their personal life experiences and their expectations for the selected program. This observation carries implications for expanding the Härkönen and

Dervin imaginaries and for seeking additional theoretical foundations when examining imagination and behavior within study abroad.

Arnett's (2000) developmental theory of emerging adulthood aligned well in conceptualizing emerging themes as I worked to unpack the men's personal behaviors and shared experiences. Emerging adulthood theory also informed my understanding of the ways in which awareness of audience affected the men's self-representations and trip narratives. The men performed in ways indicative of the emerging adulthood phase articulated in this theory, including engaging in risk-taking activities and seeking affiliation. They exhibited present-hedonistic time orientation (Boyd & Zimbardo, 2005) attitudes, favoring instantly gratifying and self-focused experiences. However, they represented these experiences differently, using separate and distinct images and stories depending on the target audience. This study contributes to an understanding of emerging adult's construction and representation of experience in a temporary, global space and suggests opportunities for expanding the emerging adulthood theory into sites of alternative identity constructions, especially spaces like short-term study abroad where gender behavior and social interaction exist in a compressed-time environment. My findings suggest emerging adulthood constructs may emerge at a different pace and in unique ways within the short-term study abroad space. Attending to the theoretical implications of emerging adulthood in cultures beyond the United States, including U.S. college students' experiences within these cultures during study abroad, may hold significance in expanding this developmental theory and its usefulness as a foundation for study abroad research in higher education.

Applying the theory of doing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987) in study abroad spaces extends theoretical tools of study abroad as well. Rich with gender imagery, performance and identity, the phenomenon is well-suited for further study using an expanding range of theoretical approaches to deepen understanding of gender in the study abroad space. From my observations of the men in this study, gender constructs appear salient in areas like motivation to participate, perception of benefits to be gained from participation, and behaviors performed abroad. The men in this study brought constructions of masculinity and gender with them from home and enacted selected gender roles abroad to establish familiarity in uncomfortable settings as well as increase the potential for group belonging. Encountering the compression of the study abroad experiences into 14 days, the men created activities that fostered the reproduction of familiar gender roles and constructed specific masculinities they believed most likely to achieve their social and relational needs in the unfamiliar yet fast-moving environment. My study suggests there are theoretical implications for turning a research lens to gender roles and behaviors, relational expectations, and feelings of social vulnerability in the study abroad environment. These areas are barely touched upon within study abroad research, hold possibility for better understanding the individual experience and represent a potentially productive site of theory exploration and development.

Finally, time, technology and gender appeared throughout the men's experiences, advancing and retreating across key moments in their time abroad. This study carries implications for exploring how time and technology theories might be useful in understanding student's conduct and behavioral responses in the study abroad space. The men in this study remained tethered to home while constructing the experience abroad,

including anticipating futures and suggesting that some of their time perceptions may contain gender dynamics worthy of further exploration. This may be especially relevant when examining the short-term study abroad program environment where gender, time and technology appear to intersect in unique ways.

This study suggests more theoretical work and theories are needed in education abroad research and literature to unlock deeper understanding of the phenomenon. There is more research to be done beyond this study and the theoretical approaches I employed to conceptualize the complexities of men's experiences in study abroad. However, my study also suggests implications for theory beyond the short-term study abroad space. The men in my study located their study abroad experiences within their larger, college-student lives, suggesting theory, research and practice implications for exploring study abroad participation within student's conceptualization of the larger collegiate experience.

Implications for Research

This study reinforces the benefits of including participant observation in research design. Research on study abroad that relies on pre-test and post-test methods, with little to no in situ observation or data collection, is abundant across the literature. The reality is this method of study is more realistic for the majority of higher education researchers facing limited time and resources to engage in study of the phenomenon. However, engaging with my participants over an extended length of time before, during and after their study abroad course enhanced my ability to observe and make sense of their experiences. Travelling abroad with the men strengthened my analysis by allowing me to recognize moments at home in which they attempted to manage self-representations

differently than their performances abroad. Observational data was critical to understanding beyond what the participants said but what they actually did when traveling abroad. Without participant observation the findings of my study would have been significantly underdeveloped with limited contribution to understanding the phenomenon. More research of the study abroad phenomenon that includes participant observation is needed to move beyond the limited capacity of understanding currently available in existing literature.

Including activity-based projective and reflective techniques during the interviews also carries implications for research. Feedback from the men after the initial interviews supported my understanding that the men spent little time reflecting on the experience beyond generalizations and they felt engaging in the activities enhanced their own experiences. Having the men interact with photographic images and record their imaginaries on paper not only aided my data collection but provided the men with opportunities for guided, meaningful reflectivity. These activities also enhanced my ability to form the relationships and trust needed for the men to share openly during our time together abroad. The inclusion of the men's own photography in the second interview also provided opportunities to see and discuss with the men their approaches to documenting and representing the experience for different audiences. By intentionally not requesting images from the men until we returned from Spain, they were more open in sharing with me images of their full experience in stark contrast to the sanitized images they submitted for their class assignment. This study suggests that engaging in such activities before departure can affect behavior abroad, as glimpsed in Lee's recollection of his pre-departure imaginary drawing while constructing his experience abroad.

Defining and clarifying conceptual terminology and researcher positionality also carries significant implications for research. For example, in the field of education abroad terms like *cultural immersion* and *global competency* often go unchallenged in their inclusion in academic research leading to their use in marketing efforts for increasing participation. As a researcher, I only recently began to reflect on these terms critically, thanks in great part to a brief but meaning-filled, personal interaction with Neriko Doerr (2013). For the men in this study, describing their activities as “cultural immersion” was a convenient way to represent their experiences as authentic moments in their host culture. The men parroted immersion messaging pulled from the literature by their institution, illustrating the importance of critically reflecting and pushing to view the familiar in new ways.

Finally, in looking at men’s experiences in this study, the role of researcher sex/gender identity has implications. I found that my own identification as a man was beneficial for connecting with my participants and recognizing when masculinity identities occurred. I was able to enter into their world, grasp behavioral subtleties and understand much of the masculine language they used in jokes and describing experiences. Our shared experiences resulted in relationships that extended beyond the researcher/participant interaction. As shared in Chapter III, the relationships gained with my participants not only provided opportunities for informal member checks and confidence in my data but fostered meaningful friendships enhancing my experience as a researcher and education abroad professional.

However, as Yankey (2014) noted, there may be times when men would be more willing to discuss vulnerabilities and fears with a women instead of revealing those to

another man. I observed during the course that all five men had a long-established, special connection with the woman faculty leader and broached some topics with her more easily than they did with the other men on the trip. Although the relationships between the faculty leader and the men were more complex than any single concept of gender can likely explain, considering how and when gender and masculinity or femininity appears in the study space carries significant implications for research, especially in study abroad sites outside the familiar environments of home. Gender is a dynamic and fluid concept and as new conceptions of gender emerge, research on gender needs to respond accordingly (Bailey & Graves, 2016). Attention to researcher sex/gender, including researchers who identify along the continuum of gender identities, has the potential to enhance data collection as well as analysis and potentially heighten understanding of the studied phenomenon.

Implications for Practice

As a study abroad professional and occasional program leader, I was constantly attuned to moments in my study where observations and interactions with the men inspired new ideas for my office and colleagues. A significant amount of my personal discussions with colleagues in the field during the course of this study focused on application ideas emerging from my research. This section presents the most salient of those implications.

Study abroad professionals in higher education.

My participants' desire for deep, meaningful friendships appeared throughout the study and provides insight for study abroad professionals on the potential to draw more men to study abroad participation but also the importance of recognizing this need in

college men. This study supports both anecdotal impressions from the field and prior quantitative research (Salisbury, et al., 2010a; Shirley, 2006) suggesting that peers play a significant role in guiding men to participate and keeping men away. Peers, faculty and family members played key roles in coaxing the men to the experience. Engaging in more peer-to-peer programming and outreach to families and charismatic faculty members may create networks of individuals interested in helping guide more men to participate. I noted with some surprise that all five men described having strong, positive relationships with their parents and those relationships proved meaningful in leading the men to participation. Study abroad professionals should consider ways to engage students without strong parental support and help them create similar paths to participation.

As professionals it is also important to recognize in our daily interaction with students the interpersonal connections college men may be seeking. Men are often assumed in society to be independent and self-sufficient, but the yearning for friendship the men in this study shared suggests there may be relational needs and insecurities students conceal in formal advising settings. Going to the students in their more informal settings could encourage open dialogue and enhance the formal advising process. The men in this study viewed the short-term program as an inexpensive and efficient site of new friendship opportunities. Men seeking group belonging and deeper relationships may be attracted to programs that are designed to help foster these types of relationships, but as witnessed in this study if participants fail to make those social connections they are likely to experience feelings of being “left out.” Programs representing the experience as

an opportunity for friendship development need to include plans for helping foster group belonging and those relationships.

The desire for new relationships and group belonging was also connected with men's repeating participation. Both Stan and Paul came to study abroad through key relationships then returned abroad in this course based on the experiences they shared previously. Understanding men's potential for returning as participants provides opportunities for study abroad professionals to work with those returning from a short-term program on different opportunities like internships or a semester abroad. Men's interest in participating on additional programs may also provide a resources for peer recruitment. Stan was recruited to participate by his brother and in turn recruited Paul without any formal intervention on the part of the study abroad office. Taking advantage of this naturally-occurring practice of peer recruitment, and recognizing that the men felt the discipline-specific program was more likely to attract like-minded friends, could pave the way for greater participation in areas like engineering and other STEM fields where participation may be lower than other disciplines.

This study also carries implications for how study abroad offices message programs to men. The men in this study were distantly aware of institutional efforts to encourage student participation and message campaigns showing study abroad participation as helpful in achieving school and career goals. These messages existed at MidSouth but did not motivate the men enrolled in this course. Professionals in study abroad should review how they are attempting to connect with students and look for new ways to connect with diverse student populations. Recognizing the men in this study came to participation through peers and key individuals outside the study abroad office,

looking at who is delivering the messages and where they are going to engage the students is important.

However, identifying difficult to reach populations is not enough. This study also suggests that message content is important. Some messaging may not be as effective as study abroad professionals believe. For example, narratives that represent study abroad as “getting out of one’s comfort zone” may not resonate with men actively avoiding vulnerable situations that carry risk of exposing masculinities normally concealed. Messages that study abroad is a fun adventure may also have limited effectiveness unless the men understand the fun as significantly different than the fun they are already experiencing at home. The men compartmentalized the trip as a challenging adventure, including climbing a mountain or drinking a powerful alcoholic beverage, but challenges are unique to the specific site of each program. When left entirely to the students to locate at the study abroad site, challenges in the compressed short-term space may result in undesirable behaviors. Each of the men in this study entered Spain with anticipations of engaging the local culture in deep and meaningful ways but performed in ways that separated them from local cultural opportunities. Designing programs that connect cultural experiences abroad with students’ social interests may help participants make links between learning goals and personal interests, especially if pre-departure activities include helping participant’s craft those links to learning and are followed up with effective programming while abroad that fosters intentional learning experiences.

This study also indicates there are opportunities to target specific populations of men who have never traveled before to help guide them to the experience. The two men in this study with the least experience traveling abroad were more receptive to messages

of discipline-specific, academic learning as a motivating factor. Academic discipline may be an effective way to lead men to participation, especially those in highly masculinized fields like engineering. However, the messages need to be backed up with curriculum content or, like the men in my study, participants may return viewing the course as not meeting their learning expectations. Study abroad professionals should consider the core purpose for their programs. Are major transformations a realistic expectation of the short-term program model when students view the experience as an opportunity to gain some freedom and engage in fun, social activities? Simply learning to navigate international spaces and experiencing freedom as an emerging adult may be satisfactory and valid outcomes for many programs. Short-term, “fun” trips have the potential for positively influencing students’ longer-term college life decisions and experiences well beyond the bounded site of the course abroad. However, luring men abroad so they can experience alcohol-fueled nights on the town and engage in highly touristic, consumptive behaviors is troubling and illustrate why formal learning abroad may require additional planning and intentionality on the part of study abroad program coordinators. Reaching the potential for a fun, short-term course that also engages students in transformative learning experiences is connected with the ability of the institution to set clear goals and objectives for courses then design effective programs that help the participants accomplish those goals. The men in my study were provided course objectives and anticipated learning-centric experiences. Failing to address those objectives during the course led to disappointment for some participants.

Finally, this study provided me the opportunity to travel with students in an entirely different capacity. Although there were times that my normal role as program

director butted heads with my role as participant observer, I was able to observe and experience short-term study abroad in a way that I feel makes me a more effective professional moving forward. An implication for study abroad professionals is to encourage those who have the chance to travel with students on a study abroad program removed from their professional capacity, possibly through another institution or program unaffiliated with their institution, should take advantage of the opportunity. The experience is not only revelatory but energizing in ways that bring new vigor and imagination back to the professional realm in ways I could not imagine prior to undertaking this study.

Short-term program leaders and administrators.

Many of the implications for study abroad professionals also relate to program leaders and administrators, but there are a few implications of this study specific to the curriculum development and operation of short-term study abroad programming. The men in this study were each drawn to the experience by a dynamic and charismatic faculty member. Students' familiarity with key faculty was notable and something to consider when planning a short-term program. Students anticipate spending long days with faculty abroad, with expectations of gaining deeper relationships in the process, suggesting that the initial choice of faculty leader plays a critical role in the willingness of men to participate and in the construction of their expectations for the overall experience. If for some reason programs must be led by faculty without a positive social connection with students, something I strongly discourage, program administrators should look for ways to mitigate the effect. This could include providing specialized training for faculty leaders, recruiting charismatic and well-liked staff members to travel

with the group or designing the class with time for students to pursue individual learning passions and interests outside of a formal setting with the faculty member (e.g. field research, internships, service learning projects).

For short-term study abroad program development, this study highlights the importance of thoughtful selection of time, duration and location. The men in this course viewed the experience in large part as a vacation because of the early summer timing outside the official academic term, the compression of the class into two weeks and the selection of Spain as a destination (a site perceived by the men as inherently touristic). Understanding in advance the effects of time pressure on participants in the short-term experience can provide an opportunity to prepare for that response in the course design. For example, recognizing that students may be pushed in some locations and under time limitations to seize every opportunity to explore the local nightlife and engage in touristic, consumptive behaviors, faculty leaders should look for ways to connect free time activities to class learning objectives. Providing students intentional opportunities to slow down and reflect in the moment, as when some of the men in my study hiked to the mountain top and sat quietly for 30 minutes, offers participants the opportunity to engage in reflective learning not possible when racing from one moment to the next or jumping from city to city. My findings show the men participated in little meaning-making after participation, suggesting program leaders should also build re-entry reflection opportunities into the curriculum to help participants unpack the experience and articulate meaning as they move forward with their lives.

Another implication for program leaders is recognition of participants' tethering to home. This tethering not only fosters frequent connection to family and friends, but

more significantly leads students to frame their experiences in relationship to home even while also framing it as cultural immersion. The men in this study relied heavily on familiar gender behaviors and roles to construct their behaviors abroad. They also resisted discomfort and vulnerability by seeking out familiar experiences, which in some instances led to using alcohol in ways that may not be conducive for learning on many programs. Adapting orientation and pre-departure materials, including some projective reflection activities with photos or imaginaries, is one way leaders can guide students toward thinking critically about their decisions and behaviors while abroad. Partnered with leader intentionality to move beyond tourism, while still recognizing men's eagerness for fun and adventure, course design has the potential to challenge participants in new ways that push participants to seek out more immersive experiences. This could include opportunities to socialize with college student peers in the host communities, as one example. Building in daily reflections and debriefings while abroad provides students time to negotiate their experiences and decisions in ways that enhance group belonging without relying entirely upon behaviors like heavy social drinking that can carry negative consequences.

Student affairs professionals.

The findings in this study are also beneficial for professionals in the field of higher education student affairs. Given the nationwide attention in higher education on student retention, the faculty-student relationship emerging in this study supports prior research showing potential benefits of study abroad programming as a retention tool (Metzger, 2006). As Patrick noted, the opportunity to spend time with a charismatic faculty member provided an opportunity to develop a stronger relationship in a way that

was fun for him. Deeper relationships with faculty from short-term courses may translate into establishing institutional fit for students as a way to retain them, especially if programs are designed to engage students early in their college careers.

For those in student affairs working on issues of gender and men's alcohol use, this study also provides findings helpful in those areas. The men in this study engaged in an othering (Mountz, 2009) of women when they discussed why fewer men participate in study abroad. The study abroad site in my research had the potential for engaging men in deeper discussions of gender as a place in which new constructions of gender could be planted. The men afforded their peers some leeway in diverting from the gender norms of the aspirational, core group, as when some men chose not to go out every night to the bars. The short-term course appeared to be a space in which student affairs professionals could design programming to help guide men toward exploring new masculinities in a more flexible, fluid, safe space outside the confining and heavily surveilled environment of their home campus as well as developing interventions designed to elicit discussions on intersecting masculinities beyond those familiar to the men. This opportunity also includes engaging men in discussions of friendship and vulnerability, and possibly the ties between vulnerability and alcohol use. Student affairs professionals could look to short-term study abroad as an opportunity to more critically engage in constructions of masculinity. Because alcohol use by the men in this study was associated with fostering feelings of comfort and familiarity and as a tool for developing relationships, social capital and feelings of masculine empowerment, my perceptions are this site would have been a very difficult space in which to affect any large-scale change in the men's drinking behavior but as part of a larger effort to explore men's alcohol use on campus

and how that ties to relationship vulnerability and performances of masculinity, study abroad should not be ignored as a relevant site of men's gender construction and performance for their developing, masculine identities.

Finally, the importance of key relationships in the men's decision to study abroad also has implications for student affairs. Peer-to-peer social interaction was a central feature of the men's experiences, both their decisions to participate and their behavior choices while abroad. The men were acutely aware of various audiences in their lives and represented themselves accordingly. Although peer pressure and social influence appears in many student development theories, such as Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Developmental Ecology Model, Chickering's and Reisser's (1993) Revised Theory of Identity Development and Erikson's (1959/1980) Identity Development Theory, this study demonstrates similar influence of peers, faculty and parents in the study abroad environment specifically. This suggests student affairs practitioners look for ways to engage parents and faculty in the study abroad environment and encourage using the open, fluid study abroad space for new student development programming.

College men.

Focused on men considering and participating in study abroad, my study has findings with implications for students. Stan and Paul demonstrate the influence men can have encouraging their peers to engage in activities like study abroad to enhance their learning and longer-term collegiate experience far beyond the study abroad space. After studying abroad, Stan's brother encouraged him to participate even though Stan did not think it was something he would enjoy doing. In turn, Stan encouraged Paul to participate as a way to deepen their friendship and because he felt it would be a

meaningful experience for Paul. As Lucas (2009) and Yankey (2014) noted, men look to other men for cues on their performances and behaviors and perceive the messages they receive from their peers as important in the study abroad decision making process. Men who have positive experiences studying abroad have the potential for encouraging other men to participate, if they choose to use that influence.

My study findings also indicate that men have the power to take ownership of their learning and can intentionally decide what they would like to gain from an experiential learning experience like study abroad. Just as the men in my study chose to explore safe and comfortable spaces, like an Irish pub or McDonalds, they also chose to test out their Spanish with strangers and climb to the top of the mountain even though most of the others around them were not following. The institution will always have expectations for primary learning outcomes, but short-term study abroad is full of opportunities for latent learning beyond those organized by faculty leaders or program administrators. For the men in this study, latent learning activities included pre-departure logistical planning, navigating complex international spaces and even scheduling the social nightlife activities. As Patrick demonstrated when he seized every opportunity to embrace the “wonderment” of Spain, men have the ability to choose how they spend their time. As Stan noted when realizing he needed to alter his behaviors and focus more on the experience as a class, a decision is not final and there are opportunities even in the fleeting moments of the short-term study abroad experience to alter one’s course and craft a culturally immersive, possibly uncomfortable but highly rewarding experience to carry into the future. Ultimately, no amount of faculty pressure or institutional influence

is stronger than an individual student's will to get out and take hold of the learning experience they desire.

Recommendations for Future Research

Building upon this study and my findings, I propose the following recommendations as next steps in exploring the phenomenon of men's participation in study abroad. This case study was limited by the site of the short-term program and the men who chose to enroll in the course. The men all come from the same region of the United States, share a racial identity, attend the same university and enroll in engineering programs within the same college at MidSouth University. This enhanced my ability to collect and analyze my data, but also highlights opportunities for expanding this research to other populations and to continue to explore diverse masculinities. Conducting a similar study in another region of the United States or with a population of men from a variety of regions and institutions would provide the opportunity to explore men's experiences from a spectrum of backgrounds. Studies with racial diversity of participants, or studies focused specifically on other racial groups beyond White men who represent the primary male travelers in U.S. study abroad, would provide insights into constructs of race and class in the study abroad experience. Finally, research on men in other academic programs beyond engineering or research focused specifically on men's identity as engineering students would expand the glimpses in this study of the role of academic discipline in men's study abroad participation.

Although this study focused on men across their participation in a specific program, longitudinal, qualitative research following men across the college experience would enhance our understanding of men's decision making process, how they come to

participate in study abroad and how they incorporate their experiences into their daily lives after returning home. This length of time could provide opportunities to explore more deeply men who participate in multiple study abroad programs while in college. The phenomenon of study abroad repeaters could become a trajectory of study to explore how participation shapes men's future behaviors. A longitudinal study across the college experience would also provide the opportunity for incorporating the experiences of men who choose not to study abroad while in college. Documenting their experiences and decisions would advance knowledge in understanding the process a majority of men go through during college when they reach graduation having not participated in a study abroad program.

In terms of the short-term study abroad experience specifically, the findings of this study suggest more research is needed in exploring men's interpersonal relationships and the importance of friendships in their lives. The theme of friendship was prevalent in the five men's experiences but this study only lightly scratches the surface on the phenomenon. My findings show the men relied heavily on existing relationships in deciding to participate and held high expectations for new friendships to emerge from participation. Research is needed on the construct of friendship for men participating in study abroad and the consequences when they do not work out as imagined, including how men engage in efforts to develop new friendships, utilize gender behaviors and roles to perform friendship in the study abroad space and respond when their efforts at establishing group belonging in the study abroad space are not successful.

Location and duration are also areas for future research in the short-term study abroad phenomenon. This study and the men's experiences were influenced by the

programmatic selection of Spain as a destination, with all of its complexities, and the men's perceptions of it as a site for their study abroad program. Research on program timing would help articulate if there are differences in men's expectations and behaviors on programs conducted at different times of the year. Given my findings on the critical aspects of time pressure and the men's responses to time as compressed during a short-term program, further qualitative research on program duration and student's perceptions of time in connection to their expectations and behaviors is warranted.

Although this study was focused on men and designed around my professional interest in men's participation in study abroad, the findings of this study suggest similar qualitative studies exploring women's experiences imagining a study abroad experience would also be useful to the literature. With study abroad only starting to mature into an experiential learning opportunity in higher education, and with the continued emergence of short-term study abroad programming as the dominant model in the United States, further research on how women and men respond, behave and perform in these programs will provide helpful information in crafting stronger, more effective programs.

This study carries implications for quantitative studies as well. Although more research on the study abroad phenomenon that includes participant observation in situ will expand knowledge of the student experience and benefit professionals and researchers engaged in this work, my findings also suggest opportunities to revisit surveys and other instruments of quantitative study and how those items might be used in capturing data that better represents the in situ experiences of participants. Nonetheless, traveling with these five men and experiencing the moments in Spain together expanded my

understanding of their experiences and positively affected my data and the analysis process. The depth of the relationships we formed abroad, illustrated by the ways in which the men continued to reach out and connect with me after the completion of my data collection, suggests several areas of potential future research, primarily in areas of student retention and institutional fit looking further at how relationships abroad foster feelings of belonging on the home campus. Having shared this experience with these five men, the personal relationships we developed and the results I see in my final work solidifies in my mind the benefits researchers and study abroad professionals can gain if willing to plunge as observers into the lived experiences of students during their time abroad rather than remaining outside, removed from the experience.

Concluding Reflection

Qualitative research holds the potential to unlock deep, meaningful understanding of the study abroad phenomenon. Participation in study abroad is a uniquely individual process (Hackney, Boggs, & Borozan, 2012; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015) of identity construction and gender performance undertaken as part of a larger, social experience, making it a site of worthwhile qualitative study. My research contributes to the discussion of men's participation, an area of continuing opportunity for additional study, by illuminating the experiences of five vibrant young men as they imagineered their short-term study abroad program in Spain. The concept of imagineering holds strong possibilities for further study of the phenomenon because study abroad is filled with richly complicated imaginaries and emerging adults actively engaged in creating fascinating and equally complicated lives.

Living in times of national and global debate and disagreement on the future of humankind, with uncertainty and suspicion of others sweeping large parts of the globe, study abroad has the potential to provide our future leaders with the life experiences and skills to foster the meaningful change so desperately needed in the coming decades. My findings illustrate there is more work to be done in higher education leadership to prepare our young adults for the global challenges we all face. If short-term study abroad is to remain the primary path for introducing college students to the larger world, meaningful research that contributes to the literature and reveals implications for practice is essential. The short-term model of study abroad programming holds great potential, but realistic, achievable expectations for what we hope to accomplish are needed. Powerful changes to study abroad must be informed by research, knowledge and information to support the weight of society's expectations and needs of our institutions. I believe this study contributes to that effort and encourage others to take up their compasses and help guide us into the future of education abroad.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Consent Form Oklahoma State University

PROJECT TITLE: Men's Experiences within a Short-Term Study Abroad Course

INVESTIGATOR:

Jeff J. Simpson, M.S., School of Education Studies – Education Leadership and Policy Studies
Ph.D. Program, Oklahoma State University

PURPOSE:

This research study examines men's experiences as they imagine themselves as participants in a short-term, faculty-led study abroad experience, enact the experience abroad, and make meaning of the experience upon returning home. This study also considers how gender emerges as salient within the experience. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your enrollment in the CEAT Technology and Culture of Spain course traveling in May 2017. This study is seeking information on your thoughts, feelings and personal observations as a participant in this specific course.

PROCEDURES:

As a participant in this study, there will be a brief demographic questionnaire to complete at the beginning to provide the researcher with basic information on you as a student and participant. You will be asked to participate in a brief interview prior to departure on your study abroad program and a second interview upon return. These interviews will last approximately 45 minutes each and will be recorded for later transcription. The first interview will occur sometime between the first class meeting and your departure for Spain to provide you the opportunity to share personal thoughts about the upcoming course. The second interview will occur after your return from Spain and provide you the opportunity to reflect on and share observations you may have about your time abroad and the return home. You will be asked in the second interview to share, if you choose to do so, images and thoughts from your time in Spain that you feel best represent the experience. You will be provided opportunities, if you choose, to review any information you provided to the researcher during the study and revise/clarify that information for accuracy and thoroughness.

RISK OF PARTICIPATION:

There are no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION:

This study provides you the opportunity to reflect on your study abroad participation in unique ways that may enhance your overall experience and deepen your understanding as you apply knowledge and skills gained abroad in your future life and career. This study also allows you to contribute in meaningful ways to information that may benefit future study abroad participants and program development.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

The records of this study will be kept private. Any written results will discuss group findings and will not include information that will personally identify you. You will be asked to choose a pseudonym for use in study records and results to help ensure your privacy. Any record of your participation will reference only this pseudonym chosen by you. Research records will be stored on a password protected computer in a locked office and only the researcher will have access to the records. Data will be destroyed 1 year after the study has been completed. Recordings will be transcribed and destroyed within 10 days of the interview.

COMPENSATION:

Participants in this study will receive, prior to departure for Spain, an International Student Identity Card (ISIC) that can be used while abroad and in the United States. This card has a \$25.00 value and not only serves as a record of your student travel but includes supplemental international travel insurance as well as discounts exclusively for ISIC holders at venues and travel services worldwide. The card is valid for one year and is yours to keep as a memento of your study abroad experience.

CONTACTS:

You may contact the researcher or his advisor at the following addresses and phone numbers, should you desire to discuss your participation in the study and/or request information about the results of the study:

Jeff J. Simpson, M.S., 242 Student Union, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405.334.3699.

Stephen P. Wanger, Ph.D., 309 Willard Hall, School of Educational Studies, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 71078, 405.744.3982.

If you have questions about your rights as a research volunteer, you may contact the IRB Office at 223 Scott Hall, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405.744.3377 or irb@okstate.edu.

PARTICIPANTS RIGHTS:

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusal to participate, and that I am free to withdraw my consent and participation in this project at any time, without

penalty. I understand that my participation in no way affects my grade in my study abroad course.

CONSENT DOCUMENTATION:

I have been fully informed about the procedures listed here. I am aware of what I will be asked to do and of the benefits of my participation. I also understand the following statements:

- I affirm that I am 18 years of age or older.
- I understand that if I choose to share personal photographs, videos, written text or any other items not in the public domain with the researcher that these may be used in this study. However, no item shall be identified directly as coming from or produced by me nor will any image be reproduced for public display in which I could be identified without my prior consent.
- I have read and fully understand this consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy of this form will be given to me. I hereby give permission for my participation in this study.

Signature of Participant

Date

I certify I have personally explained this document before requesting that the participant sign it.

Signature of Researcher

Date

APPENDIX B. IRB APPROVAL

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Thursday, April 06, 2017
IRB Application No ED1733
Proposal Title: Men's Experiences within a Short-Term Study Abroad Course

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 4/5/2020

Principal Investigator(s):

Jeff J. Simpson	Stephen P. Wanger
060G Student Union	309 Willard
Stillwater, OK 74078	Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

- 1Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval. Protocol modifications requiring approval may include changes to the title, PI advisor, funding status or sponsor, subject population composition or size, recruitment, inclusion/exclusion criteria, research site, research procedures and consent/assent process or forms.
- 2Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
- 3Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of the research; and
- 4Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Dawnett Watkins 219 Scott Hall (phone: 405-744-5700, dawnett.watkins@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



Hugh Crethar, Chair
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX C. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questionnaire
Men's Experiences within a Short-Term Study Abroad Course

Please answer the following questions to assist the researcher in better understanding you as a unique participant in this study.

1. What is your current age? _____
2. What race or ethnicity best describes you? _____
3. What is your current academic major? _____
4. Considering time since your birth to now, how many years (approximately) have you spent living in each of these types of communities?
 - a. A private farm, ranch or home outside of any community: _____ years
 - b. A community with fewer than 10,000 residents: _____ years
 - c. A community with 10,000 to 100,000 residents: _____ years
 - d. A community with 100,000 to 500,000 residents: _____ years
 - e. A community with 500,000 to 1,000,000 residents: _____ years
 - f. A community with over 1,000,000 residents: _____ years
5. Considering time since your birth to now, in which states (and if applicable countries other than the USA) have you lived and approximately how many years in each location?

Have you traveled (not on a study abroad program) or lived outside of the USA prior to this study abroad course? yes no

- a. If yes, to which countries and approximately how long were you abroad?

6. Have you traveled specifically for study abroad prior to this course? yes no

a. If yes, to which countries and approximately how long were you abroad?

7. When you think of Spain as a study abroad destination, what are some words that come to mind?

8. What do you hope to gain by participating in this specific course? What is your purpose for participating?

9. Do you have any apprehension or concerns about participating in this course?

To best ensure your privacy in this study, you will be referred to in records and any resulting documents by the pseudonym of your choice. This name should be different enough from your real name to avoid any chance someone might connect you with your pseudonym. What name would you like used by the researcher in official study reports?

Thank you for your participation in this important study!

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW 1 PROTOCOL

Interview 1 Protocol

Approximately 30-45 Minutes

1. Welcome and discuss use of audio recording. Discuss confidentiality and complete consent form.
2. Discuss the use of photographic images in the study and why.
3. Follow the primary questions, expanding with secondary questions as discussion emerges:
 - a. What are your thoughts about the upcoming course in Spain?
 - b. Using the collection of study abroad iconographic images, ask the participant to spend some time looking through the images and select one or more they feel represents what they imagine study abroad to be like.
 - i. What about this image represents study abroad to you?
4. Provide the participant with a piece of blank paper and a selection of writing utensils (pencils, pens, colored pencils, markers, etc.). Ask the participant to sit quietly for a few moments and imagine themselves on the study abroad course in Spain. After a minute or so, ask the participant to use the paper to record anything they imagined, with prompts if needed like: What were you wearing? Where were you? What were you doing? Who was with you or around you? What were they doing?
 - a. When they complete recording their thoughts on paper, ask:
 - i. can you describe to me what you have on your paper?
 - ii. what are your thoughts on this activity?
 - iii. are there things about this exercise that you think might help you prepare for your upcoming time abroad?
5. Was there anything you did not have on your paper or share in our discussions that you would like to share about your thoughts and expectations for the upcoming course?
6. Thank the participant and review next steps including departure for Spain and an interview when back in the USA.

APPENDIX E. INTERVIEW 2 PROTOCOL

Interview 2 Protocol

Approximately 30-45 Minutes

1. Welcome and refresh on use of audio recording, privacy and confidentiality.
2. Follow the primary questions, expanding with secondary questions as discussion emerges:
 - a. Now that we are back, what did you think about studying abroad in Spain?
 - b. How did the experience abroad compare to what you imagined it would be?
 - c. Please tell me about the image you have selected from your time in Spain
 - i. How does it represent your overall experience in Spain?
 - d. Revisiting the primary image you selected to represent study abroad during our first interview, what are your thoughts on that image now that you have completed the time abroad? (student will be provided the original image to see again)
 - i. Prompt for comparison and contrast to the photo they brought with them if needed.
 - e. Revisiting your thoughts from our first interview (student will be provided their original paper) on how you imagined yourself before departure:
 - i. How does that compare with your actual experience in Spain?
 - ii. Were there experiences during your travels you expected that did not occur?
 - iii. Were there experiences during your travels that happened you were not expecting?
 - f. What words would you use to describe your study abroad experience now that it is completed?
 - g. How do you think participation in this study abroad course will affect your future?
 - h. Is there anything I should have asked during this study that I have not asked and you think I should?
 - i. Is there anything you want to be sure I know about you and your experience?

Thank the participant and review next steps including opportunities for participant checking

VITA

Jeff Jaret Simpson

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: HANGING UP AND HANGING OUT: A QUALITATIVE CASE
STUDY OF COLLEGE MEN IMAGINEERING A SHORT-TERM
STUDY ABROAD ENGINEERING COURSE IN SPAIN

Major Field: Higher Education Leadership & Policy

Biographical:

Education:

Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in Higher Education Leadership and Policy at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in December, 2017.

Completed the requirements for the Master of Science in International Studies at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in 2010.

Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Science in Design and Housing at University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas in 1992.

Experience:

Director, Study Abroad and National Student Exchange Office, Oklahoma State University, July 2012-Present

Study Abroad Coordinator, Study Abroad and National Student Exchange Office, Oklahoma State University, January 2010-June 2012

Operations Manager, Gilliam's Center for Creative Design, Scottsdale, Arizona, May 1992-June 2008

Professional Memberships:

Association of Higher Education Administration (ASHE)
NAFSA Association of International Educators
Phi Beta Delta Honor Society for International Scholars
Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society