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A Historical Analysis of U.S.-Based Study Abroad Program Providers

Chrissie Faupel

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A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF U.S.-BASED
STUDY ABROAD PROGRAM PROVIDERS

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to analyze the emergence and development of study abroad program providers as a distinct model of study abroad program through archival research and interviews. This particular focus will allow scholars and international educators to understand how program providers emerged, evolved, and responded to the changing nature of education abroad. The combination lock theory and institutional theory provide a lens through which we can reconstruct the historical underpinnings of study abroad program providers. There is scant research on the historical aspects of the development of program providers. In this way, this research offers scholarly significance. Additionally, it allows education abroad professionals to develop a fuller sense of the history of education abroad and how study abroad program providers fit within that history. As special attention is paid to motivations for – and intentions behind – their emergence into the field, these findings provide guidance on how to make more meaningful and intentional decisions about partnerships between higher education institutions and study abroad program providers, ensuring that values, goals, and priorities are mutually aligned.

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CHAPTER 1
UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF STUDY
ABROAD AND PROGRAM PROVIDERS

In the last decade, the US has seen a 37.6% increase in participation in study abroad for academic credit (IIE, 2008; 2018). The first models of study abroad programs to enter the field in the 1930s were faculty-led, direct-enroll, or island models, which replicate most aspects of the American college context within the host country (Hoffa, 2007; Varghese, 2008; Norris & Dwyer, 2015; Kim; 2009; Garraty & Adams, 1959). In the more recent history of international education, US study abroad program providers have entered the field as an alternative type of program, starting in the 1930s but with more regularity in the 1960s onwards (Hoffa, 2007; Rodman & Merrill, 2010). As the number of students who study abroad increase, it is not surprising that international educators have likewise seen an increase in the number and types of study abroad programs.

This study analyzes the history of US-based study abroad program providers in an effort to find out what motivated their emergence in the field of international education. Specifically, it examines the histories and evolution of nine study abroad program providers, including American Institute for Foreign Study (AIFS), Academic Programs International (API), Cultural Experiences Abroad (CEA), Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), Center for International Studies (CIS Abroad), Institute for the International Education of Students (IES Abroad), Institute for Study Abroad

(IFSA), International Studies Abroad (ISA), and School for International Training (SIT). I selected these nine providers for two reasons: 1) their founding dates range from the foundational study abroad years in the 1930s to 2000, providing an extensive amount of time with which to study the evolving nature of the field, and 2) they are the most commonly used providers by US institutions of higher education.

This particular focus will allow scholars and international educators to understand how program providers emerged, evolved, and responded to the changing nature of education abroad. More specifically, I answer the following research questions:

1. When did US-based study abroad program providers emerge in US higher education?
2. Why and how were US-based study abroad program providers founded?
3. How did US-based study abroad program providers respond to the changing nature of education abroad from the 1930s to present day?

The history of student mobility can be divided into two main phases, the latter phase further divided into three distinct phases of program development. The pre-history of study abroad encompasses the time period during which international education took place without formal transfer of credit. Once US higher education institutions adopted the modular credit system and allowed for credits from abroad to transfer back to a student's home campus, for-credit study abroad was initiated. This, I argue, is the modern history of study abroad. This is also the time period in which program providers are born.

Organization of Study

This study is organized into six chapters. Chapter one includes the literature review, methodology, and theoretical approaches. Chapter two covers the early years of

education abroad prior to the emergence of study abroad program providers. Chapters three through five are devoted to the histories of the providers themselves, organized by era. The final chapter, chapter six, concludes with the findings and discussion.

Understanding the Landscape of Study Abroad

Study Abroad

The term “study abroad” tends to be amorphous and can mean a number of things to a number of people or institutions. In its most basic sense, study abroad is the movement of students from their home institutions to a foreign institution for a period of time in order to progress toward degree completion. In an early attempt to explain the varieties of study abroad programming, Wallace (1996) divided study abroad into a number of categories, including duration, student class standing, relationship to academic institution in the host country, selection criteria for participants, institution responsible for oversight, and housing options. In this way, one can see that there are many different types of study abroad.

In a historical sense, students have been traveling from their home countries for the sake of knowledge acquisition or cross-cultural learning for centuries. One of the most oft-cited examples of this in the Western world comes from the days of the Roman Republic when young men went to Greece to study various disciplines (Scanlon, 1973; Hoffa, 2007). In the 19th century, the only way for Americans to acquire a PhD was in Germany, which was the first country to begin offering the doctorate of philosophy as a research degree. American students began matriculating in to German universities, and later in French and British universities, to obtain an advanced degree before American universities developed their own graduate schools (Axtell, 2016).

However, it was not until the modular credit system was introduced to US institutions in the late 19th century that students – primarily undergraduates – were able to go abroad to take classes in a foreign country and transfer their credits back to their home institutions. This system first began in 1869 when Harvard adopted the elective system. With a more open curriculum came the need for standardization. This allowed for a greater degree of flexibility for students to change programs within an institution or even to transfer credits between institutions (Lewis, 1961; Heffernan, 1973). At this point in time, students were able to study abroad and have their credits evaluated for transfer back to their home institutions. For this reason, the modern history of US study abroad is said to begin with the introduction of the modular credit system (Hoffa, 2007; Von Klemperer & Cunz, 1962).

There has long been a debate within the field of international education over whether the term *education abroad* or *study abroad* more accurately describes outgoing student mobility. Education abroad, as defined by The Forum on Education Abroad, is education that occurs outside the participant’s home country and can include study abroad, work abroad, volunteering abroad, and directed travel. Study abroad is seen as a subunit of education abroad; this type of activity is credit-bearing and results in progress towards a participant’s degree (The Forum, n.d.). It is important to note that, from the US perspective, study abroad does not include US participants who are degree-seeking students in a foreign country.

Study Abroad Program Provider

There is a paucity of published definitions of study abroad program provider. One reason for this is the multitude of terms used, including *third-party provider*, *affiliate*

program, and *education abroad organization*. One published definition put forth by international education scholars, which uses the term *third-party provider*, supplies this definition: “Third-party providers include nongovernmental, not-for-profit organizations...while others operate with a profit motive. The Institute of International Education (IIE) reported that approximately one quarter of students studying abroad in 2000-2007 did so through a third-party provider” (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut & Klute, 2012, p. 33).

More notably, The Forum on Education Abroad has defined *study abroad program provider* as an “institution or organization that offers education abroad program services to students from a variety of institutions. A program provider may be a college or university, a nonprofit organization, a for-profit business, or a consortium” (n.d.).

This definition itself provides some insight into why there may be a lack of published definitions. Under the criteria put forth by The Forum on Education Abroad, a number of types of organizations can be considered study abroad program providers, including universities, non-profits, and companies. The Forum on Education Abroad was first founded in 2001 in response to the lack of professional organizations that focused specifically on education abroad (as opposed to both inbound and outbound student mobility). The founders wanted to include institutions of higher education that provided education abroad services to their students only (i.e. not study abroad program providers). However, when the founding members reviewed the history of US study abroad, they saw that many universities would not only facilitate study abroad for their own students, but for students from other institutions of higher education, as well. In this manner, these universities were themselves a type of study abroad program provider. Therefore, The

Forum on Education Abroad determined that they needed to include all institutions and programs that facilitated study abroad services for students (Hoffa, personal communication, October 12, 2018).

Also of note is the juncture in which NAFSA: Association of International Educators officially acknowledged program providers as a study abroad program model in their literature. NAFSA publishes official NAFSA Guides on a variety of topics every few years. It was not until the 2005 edition of the NAFSA Guide was published that they discussed program providers as a program model, noting a relatively late emergence onto the scene. (Rodman & Merrill, 2010). Providers were notably omitted in the 1974, 1993, and 1997 editions.

This history illustrates why it has been difficult to define the term *study abroad program provider*. For the purposes of this study, *program provider* will be defined as “any organization involved in supplying program components and services necessary for an education abroad program, including...comprehensive program support” (The Forum, 2019, p. 3). It should be noted that the travel agent part of The Forum’s definition was intentionally left out so as not to include these agents that merely support the logistics of travel as opposed to the educational components of a study abroad program.

Despite the lack of a consistent definition, the fact remains that study abroad program providers fill a need in the field of education abroad. According to The Forum (2019), “education abroad could not function without these relationships with program providers” (p. 1).

Review of the Literature

There is a clear lack of research on the history of US-based study abroad program providers. In this section, I will provide an overview of the current literature that does exist. This literature tends to focus on factors such as classification of program models, early perceptions of program providers, assessment methods of study abroad programming, and financial implications of program providers.

There is not a large body of literature pertaining to the history of study abroad in general, and even less about the history of study abroad program providers. Of a dozen institutional histories I surveyed, very little was uncovered.

The University of Minnesota (2018) provides details about their relationship to international education throughout history on their website. The institution welcomed their first international students, who came from Canada and Denmark, in 1874. Their first study abroad program was organized in 1947. It was called SPAN, the Student Project for Amity Among Nations, and involved faculty and students traveling in small groups over the summer term to conduct research in various countries. Later, in 1952, a former international student from Germany helped to found the university's first reciprocal student exchange, which was with the Free University of Berlin.

Additionally, Keller & Keller's "Making Harvard Modern" (2001) discusses upper administration support for study abroad. Specifically, Derek Bok, who served as president of Harvard from 1971-1991, was particularly interested in increasing international engagement. He wanted to send more students to study abroad, as well as bring in more international students to prepare them to take on leadership roles in their home countries. He attempted to organize a program very similar to Fulbright that would

facilitate student exchange. Bok's attempts were met with pushback from the faculty who were not interested in his ideas.

However scant, the existing literature relating to study abroad program providers does offer a broader framework to better understand how US-based study abroad program providers cohere to the field of international education. It should be noted that the literature covered in this review focuses on study abroad program providers in general; any historical data is integrated into the findings.

Classification of Program Models

Several scholars in the field have attempted to create a system of classification by which all study abroad program models can be assessed. These systems vary based on what the scholar considers to be the most important programmatic aspects.

For example, one such study considers duration, student class standing, relationship to host institution, selection criteria for participants, institution responsible for oversight, and housing options (Wallace, 1996). While somewhat dated, this classification system is still often used in study abroad advising appointments as a means to break down the programming components for students.

Another study compares duration, entry target language competence, language used in coursework, academic work context, housing, level of cultural interaction, and opportunities for guided reflection. In this latter study, the authors created a classification system (see Table 1.1) that broke all study abroad programs down into one of five categories: study tour, short-term study, cross-cultural contact program, cross-cultural encounter program, and cross-cultural immersion program (Engle & Engle, 2003). This type of classification system allows international educators to look beyond the exact type

Table 1.1. Engle and Engle Classification System of Study Abroad Programs (2003)

| Program Components | Level 1: Study Tour | Level 2: Short-Term Study | Level 3: Cross-Cultural Contact Program | Level 4: Cross-Cultural Encounter Program | Level 5: Cross-Cultural Immersion Program |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| Duration | Several days to a few weeks | 3 to 8 weeks | Semester | Semester to academic year | Semester to academic year |
| Entry target-language competence | Elementary to intermediate | Elementary to intermediate | Elementary to intermediate | Pre-advanced to advanced | Advanced |
| Language used in coursework | English | English and target-language | English and target-language | Predominately target language | Target-language in all curricular and extracurricular activities |
| Academic work context | Home institution faculty | In-house or institute for foreign students | Student group or with other international students | In house student group | Local norms, partial or complete direct enrollment |
| Housing | Collective | Collective and/or homestay | Collective, home stay visit, home stay rental | Home stay rental or integration home stay | Individual integration home stay |

| Program Components | Level 1: Study Tour | Level 2: Short-Term Study | Level 3: Cross-Cultural Contact Program | Level 4: Cross-Cultural Encounter Program | Level 5: Cross-Cultural Immersion Program |
|---|---------------------|---------------------------|---|---|---|
| Provision for cultural interaction, experiential learning | None | None | None or limited | Optional participation in occasional integration activities | Required regular participation in cultural integration program, extensive direct cultural contact via service learning, work internship |
| Guided reflection on cultural experience | None | Orientation program | Orientation program | Orientation program, initial and ongoing | Orientation, mentoring, ongoing orientation or course on culture, reflective writing and research |

of program (i.e., program provider, exchange, direct-enroll) when assessing which is a best fit for the student by considering more telling aspects, such as level of cultural immersion and opportunities for reflection. This classification makes the assumption that more immersion and use of target language is always better. While most international educators may agree with this, it ignores the fact that students are embarking on their study abroad experience at varying levels of international exposure. For some, a “study tour” may constitute a larger learning opportunity than the cross-cultural immersion program, depending on their previous international exposure. This classification system does not account for students’ previous experiences.

Yet a third classification system distinguishes between restricted programs that take only high-performing students abroad, general programs that take any type of student abroad and do not require language proficiency, programs with modest academic pretensions, and independent study arrangements (Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960). Under this system, the focus is less on the type of immersion that occurs while abroad and more on the type of student that participates. Several types of programs may fall under this final class of independent study arrangements, including study abroad program providers.

Because most of the early study abroad programs focused on language acquisition (Von Klemperer & Cunz, 1962), these classification systems often do not take into account programming to English-speaking countries. As will be discussed later in this dissertation, one of the earliest study abroad program models was the Junior Year Abroad (JYA), which emphasized an academic year abroad for the purposes of linguistic immersion. For this reason, classification systems focused on countries that provided

opportunities for foreign language acquisition, which by nature excluded English-speaking countries. Nonetheless, these systems provide international educators with a means to assess the various types of programming and which program may align with student needs and goals.

Early Perceptions of Study Abroad Program Providers

The early perceptions that study abroad practitioners have towards study abroad program providers have been noted by a number of historians of study abroad. On the one hand, some practitioners appeared open to the multitude of programming that was emerging onto the scene but cautioned that they should be intentional about providing meaningful encounters with the host culture (Abrams, 1960). Program providers have also been lauded for turning the field's attention to non-traditional destinations in an effort to diversify program portfolios (Ogden, Sonesson, & Weting, 2010). On the other hand, some practitioners appeared staunchly against the notion of program providers, noting a number of issues including the problem of evaluating credits that are provided by outside agencies, a bias against programs that are run by entities that are not themselves degree-granting, the haphazard formation of for-profit study abroad programming, a skepticism of the authenticity of programs organized as profit-making businesses, and a simple preference for the standard Junior Year Abroad program (Hoffa, 2007; Abrams, 1960; Freeman, 1964; Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960; Shank, 1963; Cressey & Stubbs, 2010; Bolen, 2001).

It should be noted that the realm of US-based study abroad program providers – and some of the universities that they served – experienced a crisis in 2007. The summer of that year, the New York Times wrote an article exposing some aspects of the

relationship between program providers and institutions of higher education that some considered suspect, including free and subsidized site visits, services to defray operating expenses, marketing stipends, membership on advisory councils, and commissions based on student-paid fees (Schemo, 2007). Some argued that these types of arrangements might bias universities towards certain program providers, as opposed to considering student needs or desires in programming options. Others said that these arrangements were not unethical unless study abroad offices came to rely on this money to operate (Schemo, 2007). Supporters went further to explain that study abroad program providers allowed them to expand their list of programming, particularly to non-traditional destinations, at a time that universities themselves may be of limited means (Redden, 2007).

As a result of this article, the New York Attorney General, Andrew Cuomo, launched an investigation into five US-based study abroad program providers: Danish Institute for Study Abroad (DIS), American Institute for Foreign Study (AIFS), Arcadia, Institute for Study Abroad (IFSA), and Institute for the International Education of Students (IES Abroad). A number of US higher education institutions were likewise involved in the investigation and were asked to provide information on their study abroad practices and the nature of their relationship with the above mentioned providers (Farrell, 2007). Cuomo's goal was to develop a set of standards to govern the relationship between institutions of higher education and study abroad program providers (Glater, 2008) since the only set of regulations that govern study abroad programming is a voluntary code of

ethics¹ (Schemo, 2007). Several notable education abroad professionals responded to the investigation with indignation, defending the relationship between universities and program providers and arguing that the original New York Times article was unfair and lacked nuance (Trooboff, 2007; Gliozzo, 2007).

While nothing significant emerged from this investigation, the field of education abroad began to navigate the relationship between program providers and institutions of higher education with more finesse and transparency. It should be noted, as well, that no scholarly articles to date have analyzed this incident and the implications it holds for the field.

Regardless of how study abroad program providers were perceived, the rise of this type of programming was forecasted by a number of early scholars due to an increase in demand for study abroad programming in general, a need that was not being met through universities alone (Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960; Abrams, 1960; Shank, 1963). Bowman (1987) predicted a greater dependence on program providers due to staff limitations and the cost of implementing new programming. Further, the 1990 National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad recommended the expansion of study abroad program models to meet the demand for study abroad options in order to reach the goal of 10% of US undergraduates participating in some sort of education abroad (Cressey & Stubbs, 2010).

¹ This is a reference to The Forum on Education Abroad's *Standards of Good Practice*, adopted in 2007, that offer guiding principles, an academic framework, and student learning and development guidelines.

Assessment Methods of Study Abroad Programming

Because of the consistent rise in study abroad participation and programming each year, practitioners in the field determined at an early stage that there was a need to develop a set of standards by which to assess all programs. From the outset, there was an imperative to justify the academic quality of study abroad programming, particularly to staunch critics who felt as though students would learn more should they stay at their home campus to receive instruction as opposed to traveling abroad (Hoffa, 2007; Shank, 1963). In this way, there was a clear relationship between the quality of learning and the quality of study abroad programs (Comp & Merritt, 2010; Durnall, 1967) and international educators found that they needed to provide evidence indicating that the learning abroad was of similar quality to the learning at home.

Assessment happened in a number of ways. Organizations devoted to international education were instrumental in providing assessment measures and setting standards, including the Institute of International Education, the Council on Student Travel, and the Experiment in International Living via a series of conferences and committees throughout the 1960s (Hoffa, 2007; Comp & Merritt, 2010; Freeman, 1964). Finally, in 2005, The Forum on Education Abroad developed the *Standards of Good Practice* due to a proliferation of study abroad programming, in an effort to achieve some sort of consistency in the field of education abroad (Sideli, 2010).

This process was not without difficulty. International educators found that there was no way to reinforce or regulate assessment standards or programming due to the decentralized nature of higher education in the US (Comp & Merritt, 2010). Therefore, outcomes from the convened conferences and committees mentioned above were in the

form of guidance rather than policy. A further complication came from early sources of data collection. As assessment should always be dictated by data, international educators turned to data collection in their assessment efforts. However, early efforts at data collection in the field of international education came from organizations such as the Institute of International Education (IIE) and the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NAFSA), which were more oriented towards international students coming to study in the US rather than US students studying abroad. Guidelines proposed by NAFSA were minimal and data collected by IIE regarding numbers of study abroad participants were inaccurate, since they relied on foreign institutions to report data on the numbers of US students they received. This type of data collection did not distinguish between graduate vs. undergraduate students, degree-seeking students vs. study abroad participants, or type of study abroad program (Hoffa, 2007; Freeman, 1964).

In fact, because of this lack of nuance, the NAFSA Data Collection Working Group conducted a separate survey in 2002 that focused solely on study abroad participation and program elements of program providers (Sideli, 2002). Study abroad program providers have traditionally been excluded from submitting data for national study abroad surveys. The Survey of Third Party Study Abroad Providers was the only one of its kind and was designed to be more comprehensive than existing surveys. For example, it included program elements such as housing selection, language prerequisites, financial aid availability, etc. The results were ultimately not epochal, particularly because it was only limited to the 2000 – 2002 academic years and was not repeated. Because of this, there were no opportunities to capture trends in study abroad program

provider enrollment and program elements. It did, however, acknowledge that program providers were a valid and important program model.

Assessment efforts in the field of education abroad have contributed to program evaluation and, ultimately, new program development. Reviewing the literature on assessment methods of study abroad programming can provide insight into the history of the field and how endeavoring to evaluate programs has led to new trends throughout history. While some research in the field has focused on assessing study abroad programs, we would do well to keep in mind the shortcomings noted above. Additionally, assessment in education abroad has largely been driven by study abroad program providers that have the capacity to undertake their own large assessment projects (such as IES Abroad and AIFS). As such, much of the literature devoted to assessment is presented through the lens of program providers.

Financial Implications of Program Providers

Because many study abroad program providers are for-profit companies, and because most divert tuition dollars away from US campuses due to their funding models, much attention has been paid to the financial implications of program providers (Cressey & Stubbs, 2010). On the one hand, program providers may provide more cost-effective alternatives for students to exchange or direct-enroll programs. Many program providers offer their own scholarships to participate, reducing total study abroad costs by as much as 5% or more (Cressey & Stubbs, 2010).

On the other hand, many program providers follow the market price model of financing, a methodology that is based on competitive pricing and an attempt to undercut the competitor's program fees (Cressey & Stubbs, 2010). While this model allows for

program fees to remain competitive (i.e. low), it also leads to changes in marketing procedures. This, in turn, aids in the legitimization of profit-making in the field of international education, a common critique of study abroad program providers who are seen as valuing profit margin over programmatic integrity.

While some education abroad literature includes some level of discussion of study abroad program providers, this literature does not address their history. An historical perspective is important because it allows international educators to gain a larger understanding of the evolving nature of education abroad and how program providers have responded to – and in some cases, heralded – this evolution.

Research Methods and Theoretical Approaches

This section provides an overview of the research methods and theoretical approaches that are used in the process of analyzing the emergence of US study abroad program providers in the field of education abroad. I employ historical analysis as my methodological approach, including archival research and interviews with leading figures in the field of education abroad. The theoretical approaches that are employed are the combination lock theory and institutional theory.

Purpose and Research Aims

The field of education abroad is witnessing an interesting trend unlike it has seen before, a trend that some might refer to as the monopolization of program providers. Study abroad companies are merging with, acquiring, and/or cannibalizing other companies. The impact that this has on the field is profound; it likely one of the bigger issues that the field has experienced along with the 2007-2008 investigation of study abroad program providers and the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. The histories of these

programs, and the intentions behind their founding, have much to say about their academic and programmatic integrity.

The purpose of this study is to understand why US-based study abroad program providers emerged and what their emergence indicates about trends in the field of education abroad at large. This topic is of particular significance to me as I interact regularly with program providers through my work in an education abroad office. This positionality inevitably impacts my research on this topic. According to Brayboy and Deyhle (2000), insider status indicates membership of the community that is being studied with all the obligations that entails; an outsider is of a marginal position to the community being studied. For the purposes of this dissertation, I simultaneously have the insider status of belonging to the field of education abroad and the outsider status as an affiliate of a higher education institution rather than as someone working within a program provider.

Further, as an education abroad administrator, my relationship with program providers may potentially be impacted by my research in a number of ways. For example, as I was researching the early years of study abroad – more specifically, shipboard education – my stance towards one provider in general, Semester at Sea, changed as I learned more about their programming and history.

Initially, I was reticent to partner with a program that, at the outset, seemed to lack immersion opportunities. However, upon learning about the origins of Semester at Sea and how their programs have evolved, my stance towards them has likewise evolved to become more favorable. Given their early origins, Semester at Sea has had close to six decades to improve their program model. They employ high quality faculty and staff that

are poised to prepare students to take full advantage of their stops at port. Because of their multiple port spots throughout the semester (typically about 11), students are able to gain a unique comparative perspective of their discipline that they are not able to get from a traditional single-site program.

My research on the history of study abroad program providers allowed this type of insight to emerge, which will continue to have a profound impact on my professional work.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study examines the histories and evolution of nine study abroad program providers, including American Institute for Foreign Study (AIFS), Academic Programs International (API), Cultural Experiences Abroad (CEA), Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), Center for International Studies (CIS Abroad), Institute for the International Education of Students (IES Abroad), Institute for Study Abroad (IFSA), International Studies Abroad (ISA), and School for International Training (SIT). I selected these nine providers for two reasons: 1) their founding dates range from the foundational study abroad years of the 1930s to 2000, providing an extensive amount of time with which to study the evolving nature of the field, and 2) they are the most commonly used providers by US institutions of higher education. Given the ambiguous nature of what constitutes a study abroad program provider, it would be extremely difficult to provide the number of total study abroad program providers currently operating in the field. One study abroad program review site listed as many as 690 different program providers. However, it is more common for higher education institutions to work with a portfolio of roughly 15 core program providers.

In order to conduct my historical research, I consulted a variety of archival and current sources. The Forum on Education Abroad has conducted interviews with international educators, some of whom were instrumental in the founding of program providers that are included in my research. These interviews are made publicly available through The Forum Storytellers Podcast. Specific interviews that were used were with Kathleen Sideli, William Hoffa, Tom Roberts, and Bill Gertz.

Additionally, some of these international educators contributed their own personal libraries and historical documents to the archives of The Forum on Education Abroad. The papers of William Hoffa included materials from AIFS, CIEE, Experiment in International Living, IES Abroad, Semester at Sea, Beaver College [Arcadia], and School for International Training. It also included Hoffa's notes on First Study Abroad Programs 1960s – 2000s and Miscellaneous History Materials and Notes. The Jon V.C. Booth papers included A History of CIEE, Word of Caution: Private Work, Study or Travel Abroad Organizations, and a National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task. The Kathleen Sideli papers included a Summary of the First Annual Forum Conference and Attendee List First Annual Conference and a Survey of Third Party Study Abroad Providers Final Report. The papers of William Gertz contributed AIFS Promotional Materials from their early days. Finally, The Forum on Education Abroad papers included a series on the history of the organization.

Many program providers themselves, particularly the ones with earlier founding dates, have ample resources on the histories of their organizations. These include IES Abroad, CIEE, and SIT. Finally, some program providers are affiliated with higher education institutions; the archives of these higher education institutions have proven

useful, including the archives of Beaver College (which became Arcadia University) in Pennsylvania and Butler University in Indiana.

When consulting these historical materials, I looked in particular for insight into the motivations behind the founding of these program providers. This came in the form of an individual founder that was driven to start a company, an institution in which study abroad programming allowed it to fulfill its mission, or as a result of a global event. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, I looked for these historical materials to provide context into what was happening in education abroad at the time. Ultimately, this was my research goal. By pulling material from a large array of sources, I was able to build the context for an historical interpretation.

I also interviewed several education abroad elders who have a long-standing in the field. This allowed me to get first-hand accounts of changes within the field to provide further context and to supplement the archival research. These elders include:

- Kathy Sideli, who currently serves as the Associate Vice President for Overseas Study at Indiana University and is a founding member of The Forum on Education Abroad
- Anthony Ogden, who is the Managing Partner for Gateway International, which offers consulting services and resources to the field of international higher education
- Michael Steinberg, who retired in 2019 from 43 years of service with IES Abroad
- Bill Hoffa, who retired after more than 30 years of working in international education with Scandinavian Seminar, CIEE, SIT, and Amherst College

- Michael Woolf, who currently serves as the Deputy President of CAPA International Education

I initially selected Bill Hoffa, Kathy Sideli, and Tony Ogden to include on my interviewee list. Hoffa is considered to be *the* historian of the field of education abroad; his voice was important to include in my study. He has worked for both study abroad program providers and higher education institutions, providing him with an important comparative perspective. Sideli is one of the founding members of The Forum on Education Abroad. (In fact, were I to have unlimited time and resources, I would opt to interview each of the [living] founding members of The Forum for the purposes of this study.) She is highly respected as someone with a long and illustrious career in the field of education abroad; additionally, she works at Indiana University, which claims the first documented for-credit study abroad program. Ogden has worked on both the provider and the higher education side. Since leaving higher education, he became an entrepreneur when he founded Gateway International. He is well-known and well-respected in the field of education abroad. After interviewing Ogden, he recommended that I speak with *his* education abroad mentors and through his connections, he put me in touch with Steinberg and Woolf. I found these two to provide an important perspective for my study. In this way, I compiled my list of five study abroad grand elders.

I interviewed each grand elder for approximately one hour. I created an interview protocol (Appendix); each interviewee answered most of the questions in my protocol, although many also supplemented these prepared questions with their own reflections and ideas. I continued communicating with each grand elder post-interview, particularly since

most of them mentioned several pertinent resources during the course of the interview and I followed up with them to gain access to these resources.

In putting together these archival materials and interviews, I was able to construct a full picture of the histories of the nine selected study abroad program providers. The archival research allowed me to re-create individual stories about individual program providers. After conducting the grand elder interviews, I was able to weave together these individual stories into a larger story that contextualized the founding of program providers in the larger field of education abroad. This allowed me to reach my final step, which was to analyze all of my materials and look for broad themes. These themes highlighted trends in the field over time and allowed me to tell the story of education abroad.

Research Significance

This research study provides a scholarly contribution to the literature of the field of education abroad. As mentioned previously, little research exists on the historical aspects of the development of study abroad program providers. This study provides much-needed context for this type of program as the field is rapidly expanding to include more providers. Further, this historical context paves the way for further research to take place regarding study abroad program providers.

Additionally, this research study allows education abroad professionals to develop a fuller sense of the history of education abroad and how study abroad program providers fit within that history. As special attention is paid to motivations for – and intentions behind – their emergence into the field, these findings provide guidance on how to make more meaningful and intentional decisions about partnerships between higher education

institutions and study abroad program providers, ensuring that values, goals, and priorities are mutually aligned. In this way, my research study has both scholarly and practical applications.

Theoretical Approaches

International educators have long considered the importance of program design in providing meaningful interactions between students and their host communities (Ogden, 2007; Engle & Engle, 2003; Wallace, 1996; Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960). Study abroad program providers, like all models of study abroad programming, are designed according to a number of factors. What theories can be used to explain the emergence of study abroad program providers in the landscape of US education abroad?

Two theories provide a lens as we answer this question. The combination lock theory (Rodman & Merrill, 2010) explores the various factors – micro, mezzo, and macro – behind study abroad program development and how these factors coalesce into the design of study abroad program providers specifically. This theory argues that program design is a result of how various levels of influence interact with each other at the particular time and place of program development. They claim that there are three levels with which programs are designed and analyzed.

The *micro level* takes into account the specific needs or desires of stakeholders, including students and international educators. These influences are specific to an individual institution, students, faculty, and institutional leaders. The *mezzo level* considers the factors that influence higher education or international education at the time of program development. Examples include increasing tuition and changing demographics. The *macro level* takes a broader view, considering social trends at the

time of program development, which may include broad social, economic, and political influences (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut & Klute, 2012).

Institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) looks at the way in which institutions mimic other institutions as they develop. This theory posits that organizations become more homogenous in their structure and behavior through a process they call institutional isomorphism. This is a process in which new organizations come to resemble older organizations that face the same set of environmental conditions. Specifically, “organizations compete not just for resources and customers, but for political power and institutional legitimacy, for social as well as economic fitness” (p. 150). In this way, organizations, institutions, or programs mimic other organizations, institutions, or programs.

These two theories provide a lens for us to explain and analyze the development of study abroad program providers. Through the use of these theories, I postulate several hypotheses.

To begin with, I hypothesize that all study abroad program providers were created due to several factors from the micro, mezzo, and macro levels. More likely than not, one of these levels was a stronger factor in program development than others. Further, I hypothesize that study abroad program providers were developed by a person or a group of people who had some sort of international experience and wanted to model the new program design on their former experience. This might mean mimicking the program absolutely *or* creating a program in response to the shortcomings of their former experience. In this way, I hope that these theories will inform my study by providing a more nuanced understanding of program provider development.

CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY HISTORY OF STUDY ABROAD

The history of student mobility can be divided into two main phases, the pre-history of study abroad and the modern history of study abroad. The latter phase can further be divided into three distinct phases of program development. The pre-history of study abroad encompasses the time period during which international education took place without formal transfer of credit. Once US higher education institutions adopted the modular credit system and allowed for credits from abroad to transfer back to a student's home campus, for-credit study abroad was initiated, which, I argue, is the modern history of study abroad. This is also the time period in which program providers are born. The story of education abroad can be traced through the years, with particular emphasis on the modern history of study abroad and the nine program providers included in this study. Throughout this history, I have incorporated reflections on the field of education abroad as recounted to me by several of study abroad's so-called "grand elders," or professionals who have had long careers in education abroad.

Study Abroad Before Program Providers

Long before there were formal credit-granting study abroad programs, people traveled the world for academic reasons in pursuit of further education, whether formal or informal. In that regard, the history of study abroad can be broken up into pre-history (i.e. before credit-granting opportunities existed) and modern history (i.e. post-credit-granting).

Pre-History of Study Abroad and International

Influences on American Higher Education

International education has existed for as long as there has been an interest in the pursuit of knowledge. Ancient Athens as a center of learning attracted students “not only from the isles of Greece, and from the coasts of the Aegean, but...students even of Semitic race” (Capes, 1922, p. 7). In fact, some lamented that such a large number of academics were foreign that the local Attic dialect was in danger of dying out.

However, it was not until much later that one of the first study abroad participants was documented. In 1190, Emo of Friesland traveled from Northern Holland to England to study at Oxford University (Lee, 2012). This adventurous and headstrong student finished his studies at Oxford and returned home to take up teaching and then later the priesthood (Reuser, 2016). Emo’s study abroad experience prefaced many centuries of educational exchange throughout Europe.

Education abroad in Colonial America began as early as the 17th century. Before William and Mary was founded in 1693, men from Virginia who wished to train as clergy were sent to England. Lutheran men in Pennsylvania training for the clergy would often study in Germany. Later, during the 19th century, a good number of medical students completed their studies in Paris and Vienna (Bowman, 1987). A parallel to this can be found in the way that the Mormon Church sent students to Europe to study the arts, sciences, and professions such as medicine so that they could return and help build up the kingdom in Utah (Simpson, 2007).

During the 19th century, the only way for Americans to acquire a PhD was in Germany; American students began matriculating into German universities (and later in

French and British universities) to obtain an advanced degree before American universities developed their own graduate schools (Axtell, 2016). German universities were, at the time, considered to be the most advanced in the world (Bevis & Lucas, 2007). The lure of the German doctoral degree was further enhanced by the prestige it afforded the recipient upon return to the US (Goldschmidt, 1992).

By the 1850s, it is estimated that more than 100 American students entered German universities, studying theology, medicine, arts, and sciences. By 1895, this enrollment number peaked at over 500 American students in Germany (Geiger, 2014). In fact, the total number of Americans enrolled in German universities from 1815 - 1916 is estimated to be anywhere from 6,000 to 9,000 total students (Goldschmidt, 1992).

The impact this had on American higher education is profound through the German university's "orientation toward idealist philosophy and its emphasis on the development of theory" (Goldschmidt, 1992, pg. 14). More specifically, the importance attached to research on the part of German universities began to shape the culture of American higher education.

In the years leading up to World War I, the numbers of Americans studying at German institutions began to diminish. Not only was travel to – and within – Germany becoming more expensive, but there were more opportunities for graduate studies at American universities (Goldschmidt, 1992).

By the late 1900s, several prominent American institutions were graduating students with PhDs, most notably Harvard and Yale. Johns Hopkins quickly rose to prominence, graduating its first four PhDs in 1878. Its graduate students became highly

sought after for employment in universities around the country, with Johns Hopkins taking measures to reinforce the prestige of its PhD program (Geiger, 2014).

Another international opportunity commonly sought out by Americans throughout the 19th century was the sojourn through Europe that was referred to as the Grand Tour. This was modeled after the Grand Tour of the Middle Ages to the Renaissance when young British men would travel the European continent as “a means of gathering information which would be turned to the nation’s advantage, and of training young gentlemen to take their places in a world in which patriotic Englishness would not be enough” (Hibbert, 1969, p. 10).

In the American version, sons (and eventually daughters) of affluent families would spend an extended amount of time in major European cities. These trips were social and diplomatic in nature (Hoffa, 2007), with the purpose of making connections with affluent European families and to become more cultured before entering adulthood (Withey, 1997). Further, “the Grand Tour was intended to expose privileged youth...to the higher spheres of attainment and to teach refinement and sophistication” (Woolf, 2020, p. 8).

American higher education would be profoundly impacted by an influx of students with significant – and specific – international experience. In 1944, the US Congress passed the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, known as the GI Bill, granting federal monies to World War II veterans to pursue higher education. As Thelin (2019) states, “few expected much of the government’s college plan” (p. 263). Architects of the plan assured Congress that “few servicemen and women would want or need the generous provisions for attending college” (Geiger, 2019, p. 5). In fact, even supporters

of the bill estimated that only roughly 10% of veterans would actually take advantage of the benefits (Thelin, 2019). As it turned out, approximately twice as many veterans as had been forecasted pursued a higher education with the GI Bill (Hamrick & Rumann, 2013). Despite the projections, an “unanticipated boom in veteran enrollments soon followed” (Geiger, 2019, p. 5).

Prior to the passing of the GI Bill, “higher education was largely a privilege reserved for the wealthy” (Hamrick & Rumann, 2013, p. 21). When the GI Bill was passed and a different demographic began entering the doors of higher education, it became clear that “a greater portion of the population could succeed in and benefit from higher education” (Geiger, 2019, p. 14). Not only did higher education have a profound impact on the veterans, but veterans had a profound impact on the landscape of higher education. They brought with them a knowledge of foreign languages, international relations, and world awareness that many traditional college-aged students did not possess. They also represented certain diverse demographics that were not largely present on college campuses prior to their arrival. Some of these diversities included older students, married students, parents, students with disabilities, and first-generation college students.

In 1958, President Eisenhower signed into law the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). This act initially provided federal financial aid to strengthen instruction in science, math, and foreign languages at the elementary and secondary school level under Title III (Johnson, 1967). Title VI took this further to enhance area and language studies more specifically. Its goal was to provide adequate security needs for the country and argued that the stability and security of the US is dependent on trained experts in world

regions, foreign languages, and international affairs (Office of Postsecondary Education, 2011). While the NDEA was not without criticism – including the argument that it disproportionately benefited wealthier institutions (Johnson, 1967) and concern that the university was being used for political purposes (Urban, 2010) – nonetheless it exhibited a federal commitment to the expansion of language and area studies.

In fact, for the most part throughout its history, the US has supported the notion of internationalization as a practice, particularly in an effort to build ties with its allies and to eradicate anti-American bias around the world (Bevis & Lucas, 2007). This has manifested in the support for study abroad programming, as well as programs to welcome international students to the US.

Schrum (2019) advanced the notion that while universities may have once been siloed institutions, it is common today for institutions to undergo an instrumental and strategic recalibration. By this, Schrum is referring to universities as “important crossroads of society” (p. 77). No longer just the realm for faculty and students, the academy also now holds a place for representatives from other sectors of society and other countries. In this way, we have witnessed an important evolution in the global connectedness of universities.

Modern History of Study Abroad

It was not until the modular credit system was introduced to US institutions in the late 19th century that students were able to go abroad to take classes in a foreign country and transfer their credits back to their home institutions. This system first began in 1869 when Harvard adopted the elective system. Harvard President Charles Eliot introduced a “radical change in the traditional fabric of college life” (Geiger, 2014, p. 321) when he

established a system of free electives. Previously, subjects were classified according to year and texts to be covered. Eliot discontinued this system, morphing the subjects instead into courses with a department, number, and instructor and further opening up the courses to any qualified student from any class. Several years later, he removed the mandatory Latin and Greek courses from the freshmen curriculum, further strengthening the free elective system (Geiger, 2014).

With a more open curriculum came the need for standardization. This allowed for a greater degree of flexibility for students to change programs within an institution or even to transfer credits between institutions (Lewis, 1961; Heffernan, 1973). At this point in time, students were able to study abroad and have their credits evaluated for transfer back to their home institutions. For this reason, scholars Hoffa (2007) and Von Klemperer & Cunz (1962) argue that the modern history of US study abroad begins with the introduction of the modular credit system.

Summer Programming

Higher education institutions have long been offering summer programming abroad for their students, whether non-credit or for-credit. However, very few records exist today on these programs. As Bowman (1987) notes, “reliable data on summer programs is also difficult to collect since they frequently are operated on an occasional basis or discontinued after a few years” (p. 37).

Indiana University is perhaps the first university on record to offer for-credit study abroad programming in the form of their “summer tramps” (IU, 2019a). Beginning in 1879, these summer programs were organized for 20 to 30 students to travel throughout Western Europe and study natural history, language, and culture (IU, 2019b).

The program was established by David Starr Jordan, a biologist and future president of the university, and was co-led by Jordan and a language professor. The summer tramps began as a means to combine educational and research opportunities with tourism (IU, 2019a). However, in 1890 IU adopted the credit system and at that point the academic catalog began listing the summer tramps as credit-bearing programs (IU, 2019b).

In 1929, IU pioneered a more formal for-credit summer study abroad program through the School of Music. The Summer School in Munich was a six-week program that focused on music, art, and languages and allowed participants to earn 7.5 credits from abroad (IU, 2019b). The Summer School in Munich was open to IU students as well as high school students (Hoffa, 2007), eventually leading to the establishment of the IU High School Honors Program in the 1960s (IU, 2019b). There are no records to confirm how many years the summer program in Munich operated; however study abroad programming trends indicate that the program was most likely discontinued after the rise of the Nazi party (Hoffa, 2007).

An interesting footnote in this history is the American Expeditionary Forces University (AEFU), created by General John Pershing at the end of WWI because he wanted a way to keep soldiers occupied while they awaited transportation back to the United States (Anderson & Meehan, 2012). The university was housed in a large army hospital in Beaune, France. It taught nearly 10,000 soldiers and had about 800 faculty. Some soldiers were also sent to study in Paris and in England. While these soldiers obviously did not go to Europe in order to study, they were afforded this chance to study *while abroad* as they awaited a chance to return home.

Georgetown University offers another example of early study abroad programming offered during the summer. The Georgetown Walsh School of Foreign Service was founded in 1919 and by the following year, administration began to understand the need to educate these future foreign service workers beyond the borders of the US. And so in the summer of 1920, a five week study tour was organized to Caracas, Venezuela to study language and culture (Hoffa, 2007). They were met in Venezuela's capital by Dr. Gonzales Ricones, the Minister of Public Instruction ("South America," 1920).

Eighteen undergraduate males participated in the study tour. These students attended courses and completed individual research projects. For this, they received three credits in Spanish; credit was also potentially granted towards economic coursework (Hoffa, 2007). In addition to academics, the students also competed in three baseball games: two against Venezuelan teams and one against a team of American expats living in Venezuela. The Georgetown players won all three games ("South America," 1920). It is unclear whether this summer program continued beyond the first year.

Junior Year Abroad

The University of Delaware (UD) is considered to be the first higher education institution to offer for-credit study abroad programming during the traditional academic year. Their first program model, the Junior Year Abroad (JYA), would become the gold standard of study abroad program models for many years, with a number of similar JYA programs following suit around the country. According to Pace (1959), the JYA is defined as "the mechanism whereby an undergraduate in a liberal arts college may spend his junior year abroad studying under supervision at a foreign university and receive full

credit for that year toward his American baccalaureate degree” (p. 3). In fact, the term “junior year abroad” was so ubiquitous that the term “study abroad” itself was not coined until the 1950s when the act of study abroad branched out to different levels of students beyond just the junior; at that point, a more comprehensive term was needed (Bowman, 1987).

In 1923, UD Modern Languages professor Raymond Kirkbride approached the president of UD, Walter Hullihen, with a plan that he referred to as the Delaware Foreign Study Plan (University of Delaware, 2018). Kirkbride was a WWI veteran and had witnessed the devastating effects of war. His ambitious plan was rooted in the belief that cross-cultural understanding through travel and study could help avoid future wars. Hullihen agreed to the plan, believing that it could produce more well-rounded students and train future teachers of foreign languages. Two important objectives of the program were established: to produce students with a more active international understanding and interest and to foster a sense of worldliness in their students (Pace, 1959). Because the university refused to fund the program, Kirkbride turned to private donors to fund the inaugural tour (Schwaneger, 1970).

And so it was that in the summer of 1923, eight students sailed to France to participate in the first semester-long study abroad program of its kind (Lee, 2012). These students and their successors came to be known as Delforians, based on the original name of the program of Delaware Foreign Study Plan (University of Delaware, 2018). Participants spent the summer in Grenoble or Tours for intensive language training. Then, following a short vacation in the Alps or Pyrenees, they would settle in Paris to take a year of coursework at the University of Paris (Smith, 1933).

Each year saw more and more student participation from other institutions (Hullihen, 1928). The Delaware Committee on Foreign Study, assembled in an effort to ensure academic and programmatic integrity, issued bulletins describing the academic work that students would complete on the UD JYA program. As such, all colleges that sent students on the program agreed to give credit for the work completed abroad, allowing for successful credit transfer at the end of the academic year (Hullihen, 1928).

Other institutions soon began paying attention to these JYA programs. In 1925, Smith College sent a group comprised of more than 30 of its own students to France for the purpose of language study (Hullihen, 1928). By the end of the 1920s, JYA programming had become so popular that they began to be administered by a central institution – the Institute of International Education (IIE) through their Committee on the Junior Year Abroad (Schwaneger, 1970). This allowed the scope of the JYA program to be broadened through the extensive networks of IIE (Schwaneger, 1970). As such, IIE, in partnership with *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD) or German Academic Exchange Service, extended the JYA program to Munich, Germany in 1931 (Ferguson, 2007). After the success of this experiment with the JYA program in Germany, the Delaware Foreign Study Committee agreed to adopt the “Junior Year in Munich” as an extension of its own JYA program (Ferguson, 2007).

All JYA activity ceased during World War II. Then in 1946, UD resumed its JYA program; however, the program traveled to Switzerland instead of France. There was still a good deal of interest in resuming the program in France and so, during the 1948-1949 academic year, the Delaware program returned to Paris. A year later it withdrew its sponsorship for “financial and political reasons” (Bowman, 1987, p. 14). Hullihen’s

successor, the new president of UD, appealed to the state of Delaware for increased support; he therefore felt that support of the JYA program, which only served a small percentage of UD students, was inconsistent with his appeal (Bowman, 1987). At this point, Sweet Briar College took over the administration of the JYA program in France (Barker, 1953).

In the 1950s, Sweet Briar College President Anne Pannell commissioned an evaluation of the JYA program to assess its outcomes. This study, which looked at characteristics of participants, values attributed to foreign study, and international-mindedness, found that “participation in this program makes a difference in the subsequent lives of its alumni...the alumni themselves believe strongly that their experience influenced them in many ways – culturally, vocationally, in personal maturity, in understanding other people, and in political and international interests” (Pace, 1959, pp. 68-69).

Shipboard Education

The history of shipboard education can be traced back to the 1870s, where it started as an idea to send students by steamship from New York to sail around the world. James Woodruff, a civil engineer by trade, envisioned this new type of study abroad program, which he never brought to fruition for reasons not clearly documented. It would not be until 1926 that the first “floating university” would set sail (Global Oceanic, 2019).

James Lough, a psychology professor at New York University (NYU), was the mastermind behind the program. He initially tried to recruit from the NYU student and faculty body but did not get a sufficient amount of interest to run the program. With only

two months to prepare (“Plan world study cruise,” 1926), Lough was only able to recruit 300 of the 450 students needed to run the program. When the first iteration of the floating university was cancelled, NYU withdrew their support of the program and retired Lough from his academic post (Tate, 1986).

So Lough decided he needed a different approach; he founded an entity called the University Travel Association to administer the floating university (Hoffa, 2007). He secured financial backing from an investor named Andrew McIntosh to fund the program (Hagley, 2016). And so it was that Lough assembled 504 students and 63 faculty and administrative staff on the *SS Ryndam*, which set sail around the world in September of 1926. Roughly a third of the students on board were participating in a gap year between high school and college, another third were undergraduate students, and the final third were graduate students taking coursework with an emphasis on foreign trade (Tate, 1986).

Credit was granted for courses taken during the program (“University afloat,” 1931). However, special arrangements had to be made with students’ home universities in order for credit transfer to occur (Tate, 1986). The program fee, which covered tuition and shore excursions, was \$2500 (“Plan world study cruise,” 1926). The ship featured a gymnasium, swimming pool, classrooms, and a library. The planned route included Havana, Panama, Los Angeles, Honolulu, Japan, China, the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, the Malay States, Siam, India, Egypt, the Holy Land, Greece, Italy, Spain, France, Belgium, Germany, Poland, Scandinavia, and England (Tate, 1986).

The maiden voyage was not without its share of controversy. One debate centered around the idea of coeducation and whether males and females could undergo the voyage

together (the first voyage *was* coeducational). The second controversy regarded the lack of discipline aboard. Discipline issues included excessive drinking, vandalism and/or disrespect of sacred sites, and one case where “two of the students jumped overboard and swam ashore” (Tate, 1986, p. 179). Issues such as these occurred despite the fact that hard work was “the ship’s first order” (“Floating university,” 1926, p. 19).

Upon the return of the first voyage, Lough and McIntosh parted ways. Some argue that McIntosh was motivated by the success of the endeavor and wanted to create his own program (Hoffa, 2007). Others believe that Lough and McIntosh disagreed on how the program should be operated (Hagley, 2016). Regardless of the exact reason, McIntosh went on to found the International University Cruise in 1927. Between the two companies, several more successful floating university tours occurred, including a summer program in the Mediterranean (Lough, 1935).

With the onset of World War II, all operations ceased (Hagley, 2016). It would not be until the 1960s that the concept of shipboard education would fully take root in the consciousness of international education. At this point, the field began to see the formation of what would become Semester at Sea, which would formally launch in 1963. When first resurrected by California businessman Bill Hughes, it was under the name University of the Seven Seas. It would undergo several more name changes and leaders before becoming Semester at Sea and landing with the University of Colorado as its school of record, where it now remains (Semester at Sea, 2019).

Fulbright Program

The Fulbright program is considered by some to be the flagship of international exchange programs and one that had everything to do with “the horrors of World War II”

(Bevis & Lucas, 2007, p. 103). It came from a simple idea from Arkansas Senator William Fulbright in 1945 to use “foreign credits accruing to the United States from the sale of idle surplus war property overseas for the financing of educational exchange” (Vogel, 1987, p. 12). In this way, foreign countries that owed a debt to the United States from WWII supplies and loans were given the opportunity to pay back their debts by way of supporting the exchange of students, faculty, and scholars (Hoffa, 2007).

Senator Fulbright advocated for the creation of a Board of Foreign Scholarships (now known as the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board or FFSB), a body of educational and public leaders tasked with selecting the participants and with supervising the exchange programs (Vogel, 1987). In this way, the Fulbright program would be independent of US politics (Hoffa, 2007). Today the FFSB is comprised of 12 leaders who are appointed by the President of the United States (Fulbright, 2020).

To date, 160 countries participate in Fulbright programs. Around 8,000 individual grants are awarded each year, with over 380,000 total participants since the Fulbright was created in 1946 (Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, 2020).

To be clear, Fulbright program funding does not support the exchange of undergraduate students. It does, however, support US graduate students, scholars, researchers, and professionals who often, upon their return to the US, pursue careers in international education. In this way, the Fulbright program has had a profound – though ancillary – impact on the field of education abroad (Hoffa, 2007).

Peace Corps

The concept of a corps of American volunteers sent abroad to developing countries as a sort of goodwill ambassador had been discussed since the 1950s (Rice,

1985). However, the first time this idea was officially announced to the public, it seemed to be quite by accident. While on the campaign trail on October 14, 1960, John F. Kennedy had flown into Ann Arbor, Michigan at 2am and was greeted by 10,000 University of Michigan students, eager to hear his ideas. It was at this point that Kennedy chose to mention his idea for what would eventually become the Peace Corps. It was greeted with enthusiasm (Peace Corps, 2020a).

Over the course of Kennedy's campaign, he made a specific proposal for the Peace Corps (Rice, 1985). During his inaugural address, he made mention of the Peace Corps with his famous line "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country" (Hoffa, 2007). As president, Kennedy first authorized the Peace Corps by way of Executive Order #10924 (Exec. Order No. 10,924, 1961) and later it was approved by Congress as a permanent agency within the State Department (Hoffa, 2007).

The Peace Corps is now a volunteer service opportunity sponsored by the US government that allows American citizens to be immersed in local communities, working alongside locals to effect change (Peace Corps, 2020b). It has three goals:

1. To help the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained men and women.
2. To help promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served.
3. To help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans.

These last two goals indicate that the Peace Corps is an agency not only focused on international development but more importantly, it facilitates exchange between Americans and people of other countries. In fact, more often than not, these volunteers are young Americans, with the average age being 26 (Peace Corps, 2020c). In this way, the Peace Corps is similar to study abroad exchange programs. As a matter of fact, Kennedy appointed Sargent Shriver as the first Director of the Peace Corps (Rice, 1985). Shriver was no stranger to exchange programs. Before this appointment, he was a participant in the Experiment in International Living (EIL) and then returned two times as a leader of an EIL program (World Learning, 2019). In many ways, Shriver modeled his vision for the direction of the Peace Corps on his early experience with EIL.

Since Kennedy first launched the Peace Corps in 1961, over 240,000 Americans have volunteered overseas (Peace Corps, 2020a).

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the history of student mobility can be divided into two main phases, the pre-history of study abroad and the modern history of study abroad. The pre-history of study abroad encompasses the time period during which international education took place without formal transfer of credit. Once US higher education institutions adopted the modular credit system and allowed for credits from abroad to transfer back to a student's home campus, for-credit study abroad was initiated, which, I argue, is the modern history of study abroad. This is also the time period in which program providers are born. This chapter also discussed several initiatives and organizations that, while not explicitly study abroad programs, nonetheless have played a role in shaping student mobility.

CHAPTER 3

PIONEERING A PROGRAM MODEL: THE 1930s–1950s

Study abroad program providers were first developed during the very beginning of the modern history of study abroad. In this way, program providers are as old as the field of education abroad itself. In this chapter, I explore the histories of three prominent study abroad program providers which were founded between the years of 1932 and 1958. These include CIEE, IES Abroad, and SIT. As demonstrated, these organizations can be viewed as pioneers among study abroad program providers because they coincide with the establishment of the modern history of study abroad.

Council on International Educational Exchange

The Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) was created in 1947, a time during post-World War II that witnessed an interest in promoting international understanding and establishing trust between nations. Educational exchanges between nations were seen as one major way to achieve such goals (Mikhailova, 2003). As such, the organization was first founded as the Council on Student Travel (CST) in response to a growing need to provide transportation services to students going abroad to study in Europe. In its first year, CST consisted of 32-member organizations, mainly non-profits and cultural agencies that were interested in promoting peace and understanding between nations in the aftermath of World War II (CIEE, 2018a). Minutes from early committee meetings as CST formed showed that the three goals they were most concerned with were: 1) sending American youths to Europe; 2) helping with post-war development in

Europe; and 3) providing an educational experience for the American participants (Mikhailova, 2003).

These types of consortia were common in the early years and allowed institutions to actively integrate education abroad into their curricula (K. Sideli, personal communication, June 30, 2020). While this model of provider programming is less common today, the field of education abroad may see renewed interest in the consortia model; with the effects of COVID-19, education abroad professionals may feel the need to align study abroad programming more closely with home school curricula (A. Ogden, personal communication, July 9, 2020).

While CST was initially founded simply to provide transportation services, their mission expanded along with their numbers. Before long, they were offering travel arrangements upon arrival, along with orientation services while still aboard the ship (Hoffa, 2007). Because shipboard transportation from the United States to Europe could last as long as seven to ten days, CST used this time to offer extensive orientations for onboard participants. Referred to as the Traveler's Information and Recreation Programs (TRIP), the programming allowed students to consider important international issues, to acquire background information on their host country, and to begin to experience cultural transition issues (Hoffa, 2007). The length of the sea voyage allowed plenty of time for adjustment and preparation.

Early on, CST recognized the role that it could play in preparing students to be cultural ambassadors, which would be important if it was to help promote peace and understanding between nations. Not only was it facilitating the educational exchange of

youth by providing transportation services, but it was playing a big part in preparing students to be the best ambassadors of the US as possible.

CST was recognized in the field as providing such successful transportation and orientation services that in 1951, it was invited to provide services to incoming students from Germany to the US (CIEE, 2018b). This arrangement was continued into the next year as CST was commissioned to work with the German-American Fulbright program in transporting and orienting participants (Mikhailova, 2003).

In 1958, CST partnered with the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR to create a Cultural Agreement (CIEE, 2018b). This cultural exchange program was historic in that it was the first exchange program initiated between the US and USSR. This event initiated “a new wave in the development of international education” (Mikhailova, 2003, p. 88).

The 1960s and 1970s would see a move towards further professionalization of the field, as well as an increase in study abroad program development and implementation. Cooperative programs were established between universities in the US, Europe, Asia, and the USSR to provide exchange opportunities for students. At the time, this was one of the most significant achievements of CST (Mikhailova, 2003). In addition to the creation of exchange agreements, CST established Study Centers, originally based in European cities, to provide programming for American students.

In 1965, CST hosted its first international conference in Cannes, France. The conference took place over four days and hosted over 300 participants, mainly study abroad directors operating in Europe. They discussed such issues as exchange program development and program quality and assessment (Sideli, 2010). This conference was

significant in the field of international education. The other major professional organization in the field – the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA) – was largely perceived as catering to inbound student mobility. NAFSA now serves international educators that work with both incoming and outgoing students, yet it was first founded as an organization for foreign student advisors (i.e. inbound mobility). While they have evolved over the years to accommodate education abroad professionals, much of their work is still geared towards those working on inbound student mobility. While CST worked with both incoming and outgoing student mobility, its work centered more around study abroad participants.

The year 1967 marks a strategic shift for the organization. Its mission changed drastically from their original goal of offering transportation and orientation services to students going to study in Europe. With air transportation, these services were no longer needed. Instead, the focus turned towards academic programming. As such, this called for a name change to the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) to better reflect its mission (see Figure 3.1) (CIEE, 2018b; Mikhailova, 2003). Despite the name change, the mission remained similar to the original – to promote and encourage international understanding. However, this strategic shift also incorporated the importance of building educational relationships around the world (Mikhailova, 2003).

In the mid-1980s, CIEE began concentrating its efforts on research and data collection, something that had been previously absent from the field. It began compiling a history of education abroad, which resulted in a 1987 Occasional Paper publication by John Bowman, CEO of CIEE, titled *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad: The Development of Study Abroad Programs by American Colleges and Universities*. This



Figure 3.1. Current CIEE Logo.

history focused not just on the history of CIEE, but the “whole spectrum of experiences constituting the international movement of students and youth to and from the United States after World War II” (Sideli, 2010, p. 378).

Further, a two-volume study was published on survey results collected on students who applied for the International Student Identity Card which was facilitated by CIEE. This study focused on profiles of the students who traveled abroad. Four patterns were identified: 1) language study and/or language concerns abroad; 2) parental language; 3) career goals; and 4) duration of study abroad program (Sideli, 2010). While this unprecedented study would not be replicated by CIEE, it revealed an important amount of information on the study abroad participant profile.

CIEE began to focus on diversifying the field of education abroad in the 1980s, an issue that is still very relevant today. It established a scholarship fund to encourage students to study in the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Sideli, 2010). It also strengthened its curriculum integration efforts, focusing on specific disciplines that were often underrepresented in education abroad, including business, law, and engineering. Finally, in 1988, the CIEE Board of Directors established the Committee on Underrepresented Groups in Overseas Programs to increase participation of minority students in study abroad programs. (Mikhailova, 2003). Diversification of study abroad participants continues to be an issue to which CIEE remains committed.

The International Faculty Development Seminars were created in 1990. This unique program aided in internationalizing faculty on campuses across the US (CIEE, 2018b). Still offering programming today, IFDS has offered thousands of faculty participants the chance to travel to many different locations around the world to study different educational systems. This program allows for the internationalization of faculty by providing knowledge and resources to develop their own study abroad programs, facilitate new research projects, and establish new exchange programs, among other outcomes (CIEE, 2018a).

The year 1994 saw a major shift in how CIEE was governed. The Board of Directors was given a stronger voice in overseeing academic programs. This new iteration, known as the Academic Consortium Board (ACB), assisted CIEE with program development, monitoring existing programs, and evaluating programs abroad on a regular basis (Sideli, 2010). The ACB, which still exists today, helps to shape the future of CIEE by taking responsibility for program review and quality.

While still maintaining its Study Centers around the world, CIEE also developed direct enroll options at almost 50 universities around the world. These options were created to provide programming at a lower cost for students with higher financial need. It also gave students more freedom to develop their own study plans (Mikhailova, 2003).

In 1997, CIEE initiated the *Journal of Studies in International Education* (JSIE). This journal, unprecedented in the field, publishes research and reviews regarding international higher education. A peer-reviewed journal, it covers topics such as internationalization of campuses, exchanges and study abroad, international students, etc (Sideli, 2010).

As can be witnessed through the history of CIEE, public diplomacy has been a core factor throughout the years, “introducing the best values and ideals of the US abroad” (Mikhailova, 2003, p. 202). It has remained committed to the spirit of the times during which it first developed as CST, that of promoting international peace and understanding between nations.

Institute for the International Education of Students

The Institute for the International Education of Students (IES Abroad) was founded in 1950 when 23 Americans boarded a ship to study in Vienna. Their leader, Paul Koutny, was an Austrian student who had spent a year at the University of St. Thomas in Minnesota, then called the College of St. Thomas, as a Fulbright Scholar. It was during his time in America that he created a plan to bring American youths to his native Austria. Koutny had been a Nazi political prisoner at the age of 17, having been a part of the resistance in Austria (M. Steinberg, personal communication, July 13, 2020). As a consequence, he was committed to not only rebuilding Austria after World War II, but also to found “an organization that would create life-changing experiences for young Americans and help bridge the cultural divide between two continents” (IES, 2018a). This spirit of idealism, of person-to-person exchange existing for the social good, was a guiding force for many of the early study abroad programs (M. Woolf, personal communication, July 24, 2020).

The first group of students joined Koutny in Austria in September of 1950. “At that time we didn’t have a name or anything,” said Koutny of his nascent organization (IES Abroad, 2011). At the time of its founding, the organization was named the Institute

for European Studies, as the original plan was to concentrate on post-World War II development in Europe.

Two participants among this first group of students were a newlywed couple, Clarence and Alberta Giese. This couple was so inspired by what they experienced that they returned home from their time in Vienna and worked with Koutny to establish what would become IES Abroad (IES, 2018b). The organization was first launched from the Giese's dining room (Stilts, 2011). In fact, while study abroad programs were in session, Alberta would bake brownies for the students (M. Steinberg, personal communication, July 13, 2020).

IES Abroad established its first affiliation with Universitat Wien in 1957. By 1961, it opened its second center in Paris, France (IES, 2018b), followed by Freiburg, Madrid, and Nantes (Hoffa, 2007).

Wanting to ensure that participants could gain credit for their term abroad, IES Abroad decided to form a consortium of sending institutions that could grant credit directly to their students, based on IES Abroad faculty and overseas director input. IES Abroad began holding regular meetings to ensure the academic quality of programming, which eventually led it, in 1965, to hosting an annual conference. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, IES Abroad was considered a membership consortium, with student participants sent from member institutions and decisions being made by these same institutions. Eventually, IES Abroad began accepting students from institutions that were not formally affiliated with it (Hoffa, 2007). In this way, there was a move away from the original consortia model and more towards the concept of a third party model (A. Ogden, personal communication, July 9, 2020). It was also around this time that Koutny stepped

away from the organization, founding a center in his native Vienna that focused on music (M. Steinberg, personal communication, July 13, 2020).

In the early 1980s, IES Abroad expanded its program offerings outside of Europe. Its first non-European center was in Mexico City in 1982. This was followed by the establishment of centers in Japan and Singapore several years later (IES, 2019). To that end, in the 1990s, IES Abroad officially changed its name from the Institute of European Studies to the Institute for the International Education of Students to better reflect its programming (see Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2. Current IES Abroad Logo.

In 1999, IES Abroad created a resource for the field of international education in the form of its Model Assessment Practice (MAP). Originally designed as a tool to assess its own programming, IES Abroad shared it with practitioners of education abroad to evaluate existing study abroad programming; it quickly became highly respected as an assessment tool (Sideli, 2010). The MAP series includes Language & Intercultural Communication, Study Abroad Programs, and Student Health, Safety, & Crisis

Management. The guidelines introduced in the series represent best practices in the field of education abroad and now serve as the benchmark for national standards (IES, 2011).

In 1999, IES Abroad employed, for the first time, a dean of students. The Office of Dean of Students was established to oversee the health and safety of all participants and programming. This was the first model of its kind employed by a study abroad program provider. Today, IES Abroad has staff dedicated to student affairs at every center around the world (A. Grabmeier, personal communication, January 18, 2019).

In an intentional effort to address issues of diversity and inclusion, IES Abroad launched its Initiative to Diversify Education Abroad (IDEA) in 2008. This initiative provides resources for diverse students abroad, funding opportunities to increase diversity, and an ambassador system that allows for diverse participants to share their message. Since the creation of this initiative, IES Abroad has increased its enrollment of ethnic diversity by 77% (A. Grabmeier, personal communication, January 18, 2019).

Further, IES Abroad became the first study abroad program provider to complete The Forum on Education Abroad's Category 2A Quality Improvement Program (QUIP) in 2010 (IES, 2018b). This review process, which is based on The Forum's *Standards of Good Practice for Education Abroad*, certifies institutions and organizations that provide study abroad programming (Forum, 2017). It has professionalized the field of education abroad by ensuring academic quality of programming and alignment with best practices.

Today, IES Abroad is governed by a Board of Directors, a group of 19 leaders in the fields of study abroad and business. It has more than 180 staff members based in the US. Worldwide, it has more than 300 staff members and 595 faculty members. IES

Abroad has programming in 34 locations around the world (A. Grabmeier, personal communication, January 8, 2019).

IES Abroad has evolved dramatically from an organization that sent 23 students abroad in its first year to one that has sent over 120,000 students abroad today. And yet, at its core, it still strives to be an organization that creates “life-changing experiences for young Americans” (IES, 2018a), as first envisioned by Koutny. While IES Abroad was first focused geographically in Europe as a means to assist with post-war development, it has since expanded to the rest of the world in order to provide students with similar study and internship opportunities that benefit both the participant and the host country.

School for International Training

The post-World War I period had a great impact on international education, influencing ideas about international development and peace between nations. One influential idea that emerged during this time period was that one could “learn to live together by living together” (Fantini, 2017), a sort of experiment in international living that was developed by Donald B. Watt. Watt would go on to found The Experiment in International Living (EIL) in 1932 (see Figure 3.3). Watt was profoundly influenced by his own early experiences in Mesopotamia, Iran, and India, serving as a YMCA secretary with the British Indian Army (Peters, 1957), when he created this cultural exchange program that took high school and college students abroad.

Watt believed strongly that reciprocity between people of different nations – sharing their values and culture with each other – could contribute towards peace and understanding between such nations. However, the first summer was not an overall success.

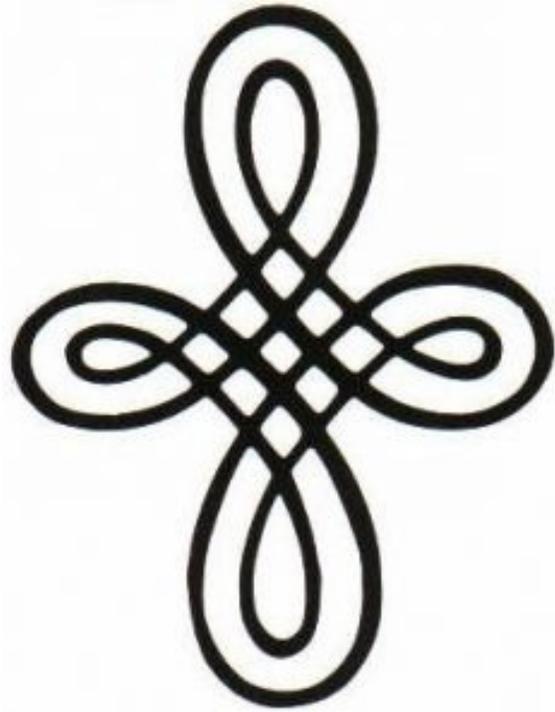


Figure 3.3. First Logo of the Experiment in International Living.

The program was structured as a sort of camp, where all the participants lived on one large estate, listened to lectures on culture and language, and participated in physical and leisure activities together (Peters, 1957). Even though participants came from America, Belgium, France, Germany, and Switzerland, Watt found that before too long, language cliques had formed between participants of the same nationalities. Watt reflected that he had created a situation for misunderstanding (Cramer & Wallace, 2000). For this reason, in the program's second year, Watt intentionally orchestrated a period of intense homestay experience in the host country, in which program participants learned about the language and culture of their hosts. The homestay component allowed for language cliques to be avoided and for international friendships to be fostered (Peters, 1957). Further, this method allowed further immersion and interaction between

participants. The homestay portion was followed by a month of traveling with and learning from their counterparts (Cramer & Wallace, 2000).

By the second year of EIL, three major changes had been instituted: the adoption of the homestay component, the acceptance of girls as participants, and the limitation of group size so as to foster deeper conversations between participants (Peters, 1957).

Early participants were high school students but after several years of operations, more and more college students became interested in EIL programs. Watt was clear that this was an educational experience, but not an academic one (i.e. no credit would be awarded in this program). With the outbreak of World War II, EIL continued to operate but focused its programming in Central and South America (Hoffa, 2007). “The advent of World War II made [EIL’s] purpose even more serious” (Ingersoll, 2000, p. 3).

Donald Watt stepped down as director in 1950, which was a year of major change for EIL. Watt named Gordon Boyce as his successor. Boyce became involved with the organization when he himself was an EIL leader. Boyce’s major achievement during his tenure was to bring financial solvency to the organization. He expanded and diversified the Board of Trustees. He also underwent a large fundraising effort which still provides funding links to the organization today (Cramer & Wallace, 2000).

Due to EIL’s extensive contacts around the world, as well as its proven record for language and cross-cultural training, it was asked to provide training for Peace Corps Volunteers when the Peace Corps was first founded in 1961. The first director and architect of the Peace Corps, Sargent Shriver, had close connections to EIL, being an Experimenter himself to Germany in 1934 and later leading three EIL groups abroad to Germany, Austria, and France (World Learning, 2019). The Peace Corps training

programs were first implemented in Putney, Vermont; as these programs expanded, it became clear that additional space was needed (A. Fantini, personal communication, January 7, 2019). To that end, in 1962, the Board of Trustees approved the purchase of a large farm estate known as Sandanona, located in Brattleboro, Vermont just 10 miles south of Putney (Cramer & Wallace, 2000). After several years, the Peace Corps transitioned their training programs to their host countries but continued to contract with EIL to operate in-country training sites for Peace Corps volunteers (A. Fantini, personal communication, January 7, 2019). EIL was also awarded a contract in 1951 to administer a pilot program to provide homestay experiences for German and Austrian Fulbright scholars. The organization was so successful with this endeavor that it was awarded subsequent contracts to expand the program (Peters, 1957).

These training programs helped to provide the impetus for the founding of the School for International Training (SIT) in 1964 (SIT, 2018), an academic and training arm of EIL. By the mid-fifties, roughly 80% of EIL participants were college-aged students. They had few for-credit study abroad programming options during the school year and believed enough in the impact of an EIL experience to participate between semesters. University administrators began to see the value in EIL programming and subsequently looked to this organization to provide expertise in developing for-credit opportunities for their students. After initially receiving programming support from EIL in the form of orientation and language, homestay placements, and in-country support, universities then started to become more familiar with the intricacies of study abroad administration and began offering their own programming, becoming competitors to EIL (Hoffa, 2007).

SIT began offering a college semester abroad, known first as the Independent Study Program and then as the Cooperative Overseas Program. This would later change to SIT Study Abroad (SIT, 2018). At this point in the history of the organization, SIT became a study abroad program provider, accepting students from multiple universities. It also began expanding beyond the traditional European destinations to include new programs in uncommon locations (A. Fantini, personal communication, January 7, 2019). This program could not initially offer credit or an academic transcript; however SIT became accredited in 1977 through the New England Association of Schools and Colleges and was able to offer for-credit programming abroad.

At the founding of SIT, not only did it offer a college semester abroad for undergraduates, but it also began offering graduate programming. Students accepted to this program were foreign students funded by their own governments and American students who had been transformed by their own international experiences and wanted to pursue an international career. In the late 1960s, SIT was offering a program in teaching English and by 1971, it awarded its first master's degree in the Program in Intercultural Management (SIT, 2018).

SIT has now been operating study abroad programming, whether as EIL or SIT, for almost nine decades. In fact, many newer programs have modeled their practice on the SIT model, particularly the cultural immersion and the homestay component. To this day, the founder's vision of achieving peace through understanding is still guiding all programs (Fantini, 2017).

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, study abroad program providers were first developed during the very beginning of the modern history of study abroad. This chapter explored the histories of CIEE, IES Abroad, and SIT. Because of their early founding dates, these organizations can be viewed as pioneers among study abroad program providers, paving the way for many dozens more to emerge throughout the coming decades as the field continued to develop.

CHAPTER 4

BUILDING ON A PROGRAM MODEL: THE 1960s–1980s

The program providers developed during this time period are unique in a sense. They are bounded by those early organizations that pioneered the concept of this model of program and the later organizations that developed and codified standards of best practice for program providers to operate within. In this way, they functioned as a sort of bridge, moving program providers along the pathway from nascent concept to professional organization. The three providers founded here – AIFS, IFSA, and ISA – were founded between 1964 and 1988.

American Institute for Foreign Study

In the early 1960s, three professionals working together in brand management for Procter & Gamble decided to make a drastic change. Cyril Taylor, Roger Walther, and Doug Burck took a leave of absence to form a company that organized international study programs. The impetus for forming this company came from Taylor's then-girlfriend, Judy, who was a high school French teacher. Judy wanted to take her high school French class to France on an educational trip and applied to the Foreign Language League, the only such organization that managed such logistics. However, she was turned down because this organization was full and not accepting new applications. Knowing Taylor's experience with organizing travel tours in Europe, Judy asked if he could arrange an itinerary for her. And thus, the American Institute for Foreign Study (AIFS) was born (see Figure 4.1) (Taylor, 2013; Rodman & Merrill, 2010).

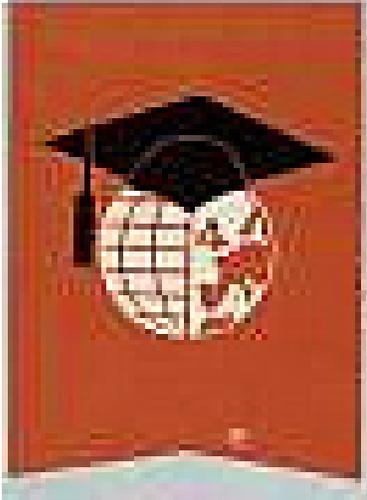


Figure 4.1. First AIFS Logo.

Taylor, Walther, and Burck saw this as a potential market and felt that they had “tapped into a demand that was not being met” (Taylor, 2013, p. 57). In the summer of 1965, which was their first term of operation, AIFS contracted with European universities whose facilities were typically closed during the summer months. These universities hosted American high school students to provide coursework while AIFS facilitated homestays and cultural excursions. (Gertz, 2001). The first programs took place in Madrid, Salamanca, La Rochelle, Tours, St. Malo, Vichy, Perugia, and Salzburg (Taylor, 2013).

AIFS’ humble beginnings in 1964 offered logistics planning for high school classes. They were also able to provide direct-enroll options for students whose teachers were themselves not chaperoning a group (Taylor, 1964). By the end of their first season, AIFS had 1500 student participants and more than \$1 million in revenue (Rodman & Merrill, 2010). By 1968, AIFS began offering full semester-length study abroad programming for college students in Salamanca, Perugia, Salzburg, and Grenoble (Taylor, 2013).

It was around this time, as well, that AIFS came into contact with New York Senators Jacob Javitz and Robert Kennedy, who were interested in supporting the mission of the company, namely offering life-changing experiences to American youth while giving them the opportunity to learn a foreign language. The senators recommended that Taylor register AIFS as a formal charity, which would make it easier for them to solicit funding. So in 1968, the AIFS Foundation was formed, which has continued to provide scholarships to disadvantaged young people (Taylor, 2013).

By now it was clear that Taylor, Walther, and Burck had created a thriving business and in late 1969, they decided to sell their company to the National Student Marketing Corporation. However, the chairman of this corporation was later convicted of fraud, so Taylor and Walther bought back the company in 1977. (Burck had since joined the Peace Corps in Peru and was no longer an owner.)

Despite this debacle, the 1970s was a period of growth for AIFS. They increased their portfolio of programming, expanding locations to Europe, Asia, and South America (Gertz, 2001). Further, seeing a need for programming in London, they purchased Richmond College, which later became Richmond, the American International University in London. Richmond is now a private, liberal arts institution modeled after the American higher educational system and is accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools. In 1978, a second Richmond campus was opened in Kensington, which now caters to upperclassmen degree-seeking students, as well as American study abroad students. While today AIFS still owns the buildings of the Richmond campus, it became an independent institution in 1994, along with US 501(c)(3) charitable status (Taylor, 2013). It's important to note that this prestigious degree-granting institution first grew out

of a need to place American study abroad students in London. However, some have argued that Taylor founded Richmond as a means to ensure his legacy (M. Woolf, personal communication, July 24, 2020).

AIFS focused its efforts on programs for incoming international students in the 1980s. AIFS established the Academic Year in America, which assists international high school students in acquiring J-1 student visas to attend local high schools and live with American families. It also established the Au Pair in America program in this decade, providing cultural exchange and child care opportunities between international students and American families. AIFS acquired two companies in the late 1980s which focused on language and education services (ELS and ACIS). Finally, the College Division began offering logistical support to college faculty, which was a particular benefit to community colleges (Gertz, 2001). This was the first time that AIFS was able to reach this particular stakeholder.

Once again, AIFS went public on the American Stock Exchange in 1986. However, Taylor and Walther decided to re-acquire it in 1990. Three years later, Walther made the decision to relocate to San Francisco. He purchased ELS as a separate company from AIFS and moved its headquarters to California (Taylor, 2013). Taylor was the only remaining of the three founders.

The 1990s saw tremendous growth for AIFS due to innovations in technology. In fact, AIFS is considered to be one of the first in the field to create a website, which went live in 1994 (Gertz, 2001). This type of innovation from program providers is commonly observed in the field (A. Ogden, personal communication, July 9, 2020). Providers are sometimes seen as more avante-garde than higher education institutions and tend to have

resources that higher education institutions do not have access to (K. Sideli, personal communication, June 30, 2020).

By 2021, AIFS has reached over 1.5 million participants. They operate programming in 29 countries worldwide. In addition to providing outgoing student mobility, they also facilitate incoming student mobility, with participants coming to study in the US from 60 different countries. AIFS has also expanded into the insurance business, establishing Cultural Insurance Services International (CISI). CISI is utilized by many study abroad programs and institutional study abroad offices to provide emergency overseas health insurance to study abroad participants and international travelers (AIFS, 2018). Today AIFS is considered a private organization, governed by a Board of Directors. They have roughly 500 staff employed worldwide (Gertz, 2001).

AIFS was founded due to a need in the field. As one AIFS alumnus recalled, “in the seventies there were few opportunities to study abroad, whereas today it is almost commonplace” (AIFS, 2004). From that need grew a company that, in 2000, celebrated its 1,000,000th program participant (AIFS, 2018).

Institute for Study Abroad

The Institute for Study Abroad (IFSA) was founded in 1988 on the campus of Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana. While affiliated with Butler University, it was established as a non-profit entity and therefore, independent of the campus (IFSA, 2019a). The organization originally was called *IFSA-Butler* to highlight the close connection between the study abroad program provider and the institution of higher education (see Figure 4.2). However in 2018, they decided to remove “Butler” from the name due to extensive research that indicated confusion on the part of students and

educators as to the relationship between the two entities (K. Labs, personal communication, January 18, 2019).



Figure 4.2. Early Logo of IFSA.

IFSA was founded largely because of the vision of one key individual: Geoffrey Bannister. Bannister began his career at Butler University as the Executive Vice President and one year later in 1988, transitioned into the role of 17th President of the university, a position which he would hold for 12 years (Bannister, 2011). Within his first year in the presidency, Bannister oversaw the foundation of what would become IFSA. According to Bannister, IFSA was created as a means to “provide for a more diversified student body and to help recruit more students” (Podwell, 1988, p. 5). More importantly, Butler students needed an “international experience...[and to] understand European culture” (Podwell, 1988, p. 5).

Bannister’s resume boasts an impressive dedication to the field of education abroad. He served as the founding president of The Forum on Education Abroad when it was first incorporated, serving from 2002-2006. From 2007-2008, he served as the President and Chief Academic Officer for CEA Study Abroad (CEA, 2007). He is largely responsible for the development of Boston University’s study abroad programming, where he served as Dean for Arts and Sciences for close to a decade beginning in 1978 (Star Advertiser Staff, 2011).

Due to Bannister's extensive contacts in the field of education abroad, he had become familiar with David Gray and Tom Roberts through their work at Beaver College's Center for Education Abroad (The Forum, 2015) which would later become Arcadia Study Abroad, a study abroad program provider. Bannister invited them to launch the nonprofit Institute for Study Abroad in order to develop Butler's international programming, which at the time had no study abroad program. In fact, the office accommodations at Butler University were so sparse when Gray and Roberts joined the team that the only furnishings they had were three, large red chairs in an empty room. There were no pens, no paper, nothing besides the three chairs. The three founders of IFSA – Tom Roberts, David Gray, and Denise Connerty – sat in the chairs during their first days developing the study abroad program and asked themselves “What have we done?” (The Forum, 2015). As founder Tom Roberts explains in his interview with The Forum (2015), “we had only our wit.” While Roberts and Gray brought their academic experience, Connerty was crucial in lifting IFSA off of the ground with her administrative experience.²

One thing that makes IFSA stand out in the field of education abroad is the fact that they were the first US study abroad program provider to offer programs in Australia and New Zealand (IFSA, 2013), which was a break from the traditional European study abroad destination. The Australia program began in 1989 and the New Zealand program launched in 1991 (IFSA, 2019b). Because of this new programming, there developed a

² David Gray passed away in 2015. Tom Roberts passed away in 2019. Denise Connerty currently serves as the Assistant Vice President for the Office of International Affairs at Temple University. Up until Gray's death in 2015, the three founders of IFSA continued to celebrate Three Chair's Day by calling each other on or around July 1 and reminisce.

need to train study abroad administrators on the educational systems of these countries as they differed drastically from those of their European counterparts. As such, IFSA convened a meeting in Australia of their newly developed National Advisors Council to introduce international educators to the Australian educational system. Through a series of six separate familiarization trips, 147 international educators participated from varying US institutions (Sideli, 2010). This helped to increase the popularity of Oceania as a study abroad regional destination. Today, Australia is the 8th most popular study abroad country among US college students and New Zealand is the 19th (IIE, 2018). There were 57 student participants on the first IFSA program to Australia in 1989. By the year 2001, there were 714 students on the program (IFSA, 2019b).

IFSA developed a new marketing strategy when, in 1996, they launched their first website (IFSA, 2019b). This was fairly early for the field, with the first known study abroad program provider website (AIFS) being launched in 1994.

In 1998 IFSA ventured into Latin America with their new programming in Argentina and Chile. This was developed through a collaboration called COPA (Cooperating Programs in the Americas) with the University of Illinois, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill and the University of Texas, Austin. At the same time, IFSA launched a program in Costa Rica through a collaboration with ISEP. These collaborative programs continued through the next decade until they became full-fledged IFSA programs (A.B. Blume, personal communication, February 28, 2019). In 2005, they re-established ties with Arcadia (formerly known as Beaver College) to launch what became known as the Alliance for Global Education. The Alliance was a joint program provider that focused specifically on study abroad programming in Asia. In 2014, the Alliance

officially became a division of IFSA, disassociating themselves from Arcadia, and by 2015 they had moved their offices to Indianapolis.

In 2004, the IFSA Foundation was chartered by the IFSA founders as a means to provide substantial grants to institutions and organizations. The ultimate goal was to subsidize and support international education directly and indirectly to undergraduate students. The IFSA Foundation was a separate entity from the study abroad program provider. The foundation existed for 8 years until their funds were distributed entirely (A.B. Blume, personal communication, January 18, 2019). The IFSA Foundation made evident the original founders' dedication to the field of international education.

International Studies Abroad

ISA was first founded in 1987 by Gustavo Artaza at a time when many other study abroad programs were too specific or required a long-term commitment. Born in Paraguay, Artaza went on to receive a BA in Sociology and Business Law from the University of Texas. But it was a high school mission trip to Guatemala that ignited in Artaza a passion for international travel (J. Acosta, personal communication, March 6, 2019).

ISA's first program traveled to Salamanca, Spain, but expanded to Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, England, France, Italy, Mexico, Morocco, Peru, and 10 cities in Spain by 2000 (ISA, 2019a). Eventually, ISA branched out to include service learning options, internships, high school programming, and a Christian study abroad division, adapting to a changing field. Today, ISA has approximately 300 employees worldwide and sends roughly 6000 students abroad each year (J. Acosta, personal communication, March 6, 2019).

ISA offers two distinct tools that guide students in deeper cultural immersion while abroad. The Bridging Cultures Program is an on-site orientation that takes place during the first few days of arrival. It is designed to work with students on goal setting, intercultural awareness, diversity, and professional development. The Discovery Model organizes student learning and development into five categories: intercultural, historical, sociopolitical, professional, and environmental. It ensures that students receive guided learning in these categories during out-of-class experiences such as excursions, cultural activities, and community involvement (ISA, 2019b).

Another division within the company is EuroScholars, a semester-long program designed for undergraduates to conduct research abroad (ISA, 2019c). ISA serves as the recruiting and admissions partner for EuroScholars. ISA does not have on-site staff, however it does facilitate communication between students and their host institutions. It also processes the transcript at the end of the program (J. Acosta, personal communication, March 8, 2019).

Program providers are often used to supplement education abroad offices at higher education institutions. For smaller institutions, providers might offer much of the programming options (M. Steinberg, personal communication, July 13, 2020). For other institutions, education abroad professionals might identify gaps in institutional-based programming and use program providers to fill those gaps (K. Sideli, personal communication, June 30, 2020). The University of Kentucky (UK) took this one step further when, in 2012, they created an ISA embedded office within their campus unit. This partnership allowed UK to focus more on customized faculty-directed programming (A. Ogden, personal communication, July 9, 2020). The embedded office model at UK

was not without its share of controversy; many in the field saw this as an unethical business practice, granting unparalleled access to a for-profit business.

One of the remarkable aspects of the ISA story is its evolution as a company through a series of mergers and acquisitions, leading to its status as an industry giant.

In 2012, ISA acquired Interstudy, a Boston-based study abroad program provider. This acquisition allowed ISA to offer study abroad programming in Britain, Ireland, Italy, and South Africa (ISA Today, 2012). A year later, Learning Programs International (LPI) merged with Student Voyage, a volunteer program service provider, to create the ISA High School Division. This division offers summer programming abroad for high school students in Costa Rica, Peru, and Spain (ISA Today, 2013). In 2014, ISA acquired GlobalLinks, a Denver-based study abroad program provider (see Figure 4.3).

GlobalLinks itself began as AustraLearn, a program provider focused on the Pacific Region (Roberts, 2016). As AustraLearn grew and expanded to include AsiaLearn and EuroLearn, it evolved into GlobalLinks (GlobalLinks, 2019; Roberts, 2019). Most recently in 2015, ISA itself was acquired by WorldStrides, an educational travel company (WorldStrides, 2015). Other notable companies that joined the WorldStrides family include Classic Festivals, Accent Travel Group, Oxbridge Academic Programs, and The Education Abroad Network (WorldStrides, 2019).

A year after the WorldStrides acquisition, Artaza donated \$1.5 million to Carroll College with the purpose of expanding their global education initiatives (Carroll College, 2016). The donation allowed Carroll College to establish the Artaza Center for Excellence in Global Education. Carroll College serves as a School of Record for ISA.



Figure 4.3. Logo of ISA When They Acquired Globalinks.

Conclusion

The three program providers discussed in this chapter illustrate that the organizations developed during this time period functioned as an intermediary of sorts. No longer a new concept of study abroad program model nor operating within a set of published standards of professionalization, these three providers represent a unique period of time in education abroad.

CHAPTER 5

CUSTOMIZING AND STANDARDIZING A PROGRAM MODEL:

THE 1990s–PRESENT DAY

This chapter explores the histories of three program providers founded between 1990 and 2000. During this time period, the field of education abroad made strides towards professionalization and standardization, especially through the *Standards of Good Practice* as outlined by The Forum on Education Abroad³. This decade also witnessed a more recent trend in program customization as more faculty leaders began to partner with program providers to provide logistical support for their study abroad programs. As such, many program providers began to develop the faculty-led customization division of their operations more fully.

It should be noted that the providers discussed here were founded much more recently. As such, their histories are much shorter than those presented in previous chapters.

Academic Programs International

The history of API cannot be traced back to one founder but rather to four founders; the four “founding mamas”, to be more precise. In the early 1980s, Julie Leitman was invited by her anthropology professor to travel to Seville, Spain to teach middle school students. During this stint in Seville, Leitman came into contact with

³ Similarly, The Forum on Education Abroad was founded in 2000.

Sharon Foerster through a friend of the family. Foerster would later invite Leitman to return to Spain to teach English and work with Americans on their junior year programs. When Foerster returned to her home of Austin, Texas, she connected with Jennifer Attal Allan and Brittany Norman. The four of them would come together to found API (API, 2019).

API was founded at a time that the field of education abroad was beginning to become more professionalized (see Figure 5.1). Like the founding mamas of API, many education abroad professionals had formative experiences abroad yet no formal training in education abroad management (M. Steinberg, personal communication, July 13, 2020).



Figure 5.1. Current API Logo.

Today, API sends roughly 4,000 students abroad each year. Their portfolio includes programming in over 25 countries around the world (API, 2019), including in such unique locations as Portugal, Croatia, and Poland.

In 2018, API received official recognition by The Forum on Education Abroad's Quality Improvement Program (QUIP) (PR Newswire, 2018). QUIP is a rigorous peer review process that ensures organizations are following the *Standards of Good Practice* as defined by The Forum on Education Abroad. API is also a Founding Circle Member of the Global Leadership League, an advocacy organization dedicated to promoting women's leadership in the field of international education (Global Leadership League, n.d.).

Perhaps one of the more significant events to transpire for the company was the 2018 partnership between API and the Sterling Partners Education Opportunity Fund (Christie, 2018). Sterling Partners is a private equity firm; their Education Opportunity Fund provides investment capital to companies that promote a path for students through a college education and beyond (Sterling Partners, 2019). The investment with API was for growth capital for an undisclosed amount of money, although Sterling Partners' equity commitment size is \$5 to \$175 million (mergr, n.d.). This type of partnership underscores the "recognition that study abroad is a major business" and is an apt example of a program provider operating in "the age of competition" (Woolf, 2020, p. 10).

Cultural Experiences Abroad

CEA was founded in 1997 by Brian Boubek, an "entrepreneur and leader" (CEA, 2019a), out of his childhood home (Hancock, 2017). With a background in marketing and finance from DePaul University and experience as a financial consultant, data researcher,

and market coordinator, Boubek went on to spend a year in Dijon, France at the University of Burgundy (Boubek, n.d.). This international experience would prove to be so transformative that it would be the impetus for the founding of a new company: CEA Study Abroad (see Figure 5.2). Boubek's goal was to provide a complete support structure for students abroad from pre-departure through their return to their home campus (T. Boubek, personal communication, February 13, 2019).



Figure 5.2. First CEA Logo.

Today, CEA operates study abroad programming in 23 cities and 13 countries worldwide, sending roughly 4000 students abroad every year (CEA, 2019b). They employ 100 domestic staff and 100 overseas staff (T. Boubek, personal communication, February 13, 2019). In 2005, they developed a new model of programming called the GlobalCampus Network, today known as the CEA Study Center Model. This model of programming is a network of study centers that operate like independent branch campuses. CEA's goal was to operate 12 such centers across Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Oceania. The concept of these centers came about as a means to increase capacity for student participation. The direct enroll model employed by CEA was not able to keep up with student demand (Redden, 2008); the GlobalCampus Network would allow them to operate more programming and increase capacity. It would also serve as a means to maintain tighter control over curriculum and educational space (CEA, 2011).

To that end, CEA appointed Dr. Geoffrey Bannister to the position of President and Chief Academic Officer in 2007. In this role, Bannister was expected to oversee the new GlobalCampus Network (Martin, 2007a). He was appointed largely because of his expertise in international and higher education; he had previously served as the President of The Forum on Education Abroad, President of Butler University (and largely responsible for the creation of IFSA, a study abroad program provider), and Dean of Arts and Sciences at Boston University. Said Bannister at his appointment to CEA: “Globalization is critical to maintaining a competitive edge in the international economy, therefore it is imperative that we offer academic programs that prepare students to conduct business in a global market” (Martin, 2007b). Bannister would remain in this position with CEA for one year before moving on to become president of Schiller International University (Martin, 2008).

While participation numbers at each center varied, CEA planned to cap enrollment at 600 (Redden, 2008). It is numbers like these that drew criticism on this new model of programming. The clumping of American students in this way, particularly in cities that are already overrun by tourists, could likely lead to a lack of immersion and integration in the host culture. While this model would allow CEA to serve a larger number of students, it could likewise impact the student experience and level of integration.

In 2014, CEA updated their logo to that of a rose book compass pointing north. This change was a reflection of a stronger emphasis on academic integrity (T. Boubek, personal communication, February 13, 2019).

To date, CEA has been honored by numerous awards, including the Excellence in International Business Award, the Arizona Corporate Excellence Award as the 13th fastest growing organization in Arizona, the Small Business Association Exporter of the Year, and the BizAZ Hot Growth Award as the Top 10 fastest growing company in Arizona (T. Boubek, personal communication, February 13, 2019).

Center for International Studies

When he was in his early 20s in the 1980s, Jeff Palm took his first trip abroad, backpacking around Europe. Having never studied abroad before due to his athlete status as an undergrad, he had never had the opportunity to travel internationally. This backpacking trip was a first spark that would have lasting implications. The second spark would come later, when Palm moved to Hawai'i to look for work. He found a job filling in for somebody on maternity leave, recruiting students to study in Hawai'i from the South Pacific. During this time, he was sent on a recruiting trip to Palau. He then moved into the position of Assistant Director of International Admissions at Hawai'i Pacific University, a position which sent him all over the world on recruiting trips. This was the third spark that would eventually lead Palm to found CIS Abroad (J. Palm, personal communication, January 28, 2019).

While recruiting in Scandinavia, Palm came into contact with a recruiting agency called Center for International Studies (CIS). This agency worked with Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, and US institutions to send Swedish students abroad (Bluechip Tours, 2019). CIS was founded by Joakim Frisk, a Swedish citizen who was inspired by his own international undergraduate experience in the US at Plymouth State University (Frisk, J., n.d.).

Palm and Frisk worked together to establish CIS in the US. Their goal was to be both an imitator and an innovator in the field of education abroad. They sought to imitate “those organizations that had direct-enroll programs by sending qualified students to spend a semester, summer or year abroad at one of the company’s many partner institutions” (CIS, 2019). At the same time, “the company would look for market niches both in the short-term study abroad market and also in the newly developing full degree abroad market” (CIS, 2019).

Suffolk University in Boston leased them office space in the spring of 2000. In its first year, CIS sent three students abroad to study in Australia – two to Macquarie University and one to Bond University. By 2002, it was obvious that the company would continue growing and needed more space. At this point, CIS moved its headquarters to Northampton, Massachusetts, where it remains today (J. Palm, personal communication, January 28, 2019).

In 2005, Frisk and Palm parted ways. Frisk sold his Swedish company and started a new company by the name of Bluechip Tours, which focused solely on assisting Swedish students in studying in the US. Bluechip would go on to assist college athletes in studying in the US (Bluechip Tours, 2019). Before long, the US-based CIS decided to officially change its name to CIS Abroad to help differentiate the two companies.

In its first ten years, CIS Abroad offered international experiences for both study abroad students and full degree-seeking students. By 2010, it decided to narrow its programming to study abroad students only; full degree-seeking students were a complicated and narrow market. Around this time, it also began broadening its horizons outside of the Northeast. The University Relations Team was augmented and it began

working with institutions around the country (J. Palm, personal communication, January 28, 2019).

In 2010, CIS Abroad merged with International Education Programs (IEP), an organization that assists US universities with the development and management of study abroad and international student services offices (IEP, 2017). IEP was a small provider and CIS Abroad found that it managed faculty-led programming particularly well. The merger allowed CIS Abroad to more effectively expand opportunities in this area of the field (J. Palm, personal communication, January 28, 2019).

The year 2016 saw big changes for the company. Palm stepped down as President of CIS Abroad. After 16 years of running operations, he moved into a consultancy position with the organization while Kris Holloway moved into the role of President. Holloway had been the Senior Director of University Relations & Marketing for nine years before taking the helm as President (Holloway, K., n.d.). With a background in Public Health and having worked as a US Peace Corps Volunteer in Mali, West Africa, Holloway was in a unique position to take the organization in new directions. Holloway is a founding board member of the Global Leadership League, an advocacy organization dedicated to promoting women's leadership in the field of international education (Global Leadership League, n.d.). In fact, CIS Abroad was named as one of the Top 100 Women-Led Businesses in Massachusetts by the Commonwealth Institute and the Globe Magazine in 2018 (CIS, 2018).

In 2020, CIS Abroad celebrated 20 years in operation (see Figure 5.3). Over this period of time, it has had to grow and change as the market has changed. What started off

with a portfolio of semester-long programs has grown to include summer, internship, and faculty-led options.



Figure 5.3. Current Logo of CIS Abroad.

Like many such education abroad organizations, CIS Abroad has had to learn to balance market demand with demand from the field of international education. This includes sustaining – and growing – a business while simultaneously focusing on quality of programming and people. To maintain this balance, Palm has always approached business operations from the perspective of his background in higher education; it was from this model that CIS Abroad was first created.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the histories of three more recently founded program providers. As we can see illustrated in the histories presented here, this time period represents an era of professionalization in education abroad. As such, we see an emphasis on customization and standardization, which is in part driven by trends in student demand and in part by international education professional organizations.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION: UNDERSTANDING THE
STORY OF STUDY ABROAD

In an effort to fully understand the field of education abroad, one should endeavor to understand the historical underpinnings of the field. One aspect of this history is the development of various program models over time. The creation and evolution of study abroad program providers help to tell the story of education abroad more generally. This dissertation analyzes the development of study abroad program providers through time, endeavoring to contextualize this model of programming in the rich history of education abroad. It further provides one specific avenue with which to explore the larger history of the field.

Summary of Findings

This study utilizes historical methods. I began by consulting a variety of archival and current sources. When consulting these historical materials, I looked in particular for insight into the motivations behind the founding of the program providers included in my study. I further looked for these historical materials to provide context into what was happening in education abroad at the time. By pulling material from a large array of sources, I was able to build the context for an historical interpretation. Additionally, I also interviewed several education abroad elders who have a long-standing in the field. This allowed me to get first-hand accounts of changes within the field to provide further context and to supplement the archival research.

The history of study abroad in the US has two very distinct phases. I argue that the introduction of the modular credit system to US institutions, which allowed for academic credit to be transferred to home institutions from courses taken abroad, is the demarcation between these two phases. The first documented study abroad programs during this second phase, which I term the modern history of study abroad, were faculty-led summer programs – which were first documented at Indiana University in 1890, and the Junior Year Abroad – which began in 1923 at the University of Delaware (UD).

Some of these early programs could themselves be considered program providers. For example, the University of Delaware began accepting non-UD students to participate in its Junior Year Abroad program, effectively operating as a program provider to those non-matriculated students. However, the first documented program provider that was not itself a degree-granting institution [at the time of its founding] was the Experiment in International Living, founded in 1932. From that point forward, the field witnessed a steady increase in the number of program providers. While the exact number is difficult to document at any one time, one could argue that in these early years (1930s-1950s), there were approximately five known program providers. The number of study abroad program providers currently operating in the field is likewise difficult to document. Nevertheless, one study abroad program review site listed as many as 690 different program providers currently.

The nine program providers that I chose to include in my research can be divided into three distinct time periods according to the year of their founding.

Many of the early providers that were founded in the 1930s to the 1950s were creating a new concept. CIEE, IES Abroad, and SIT were pioneers of a new type of

program model. By the time AIFS, IFSA, and ISA emerged onto the scene in the 1960s to 1980s, the notion had been established and these providers built on the concept of study abroad program provider by expanding programming and practices. Finally, in the 1990s to present day, API, CEA, and CIS Abroad provide examples of how program providers began to customize their programming to fit the needs of their stakeholders, as well as to standardize their operations to comply with best practices in the field.

Theoretical Applications

International educators have long considered the importance of program design in providing meaningful interactions between students and their host communities (Ogden, 2007; Engle & Engle, 2003; Wallace, 1996; Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960). Study abroad program providers, like all models of study abroad programming, are designed according to a number of factors. What theories can be used to explain the emergence of study abroad program providers in the landscape of US education abroad?

Two theories provide a lens as we answer this question. The combination lock theory explores the various factors – micro, mezzo, and macro – behind study abroad program development and how these factors coalesce into the design of study abroad program providers specifically. Institutional theory looks at the way in which institutions mimic other institutions as they develop. These two theories provide a lens for us to analyze the development of study abroad program providers.

Combination Lock Theory

The combination lock theory, proposed by Rodman and Merrill (2010), argues that program design is a result of how various levels of influence interact with each other

at the particular time and place of program development. They claim that there are three levels with which programs are designed and analyzed.

The *micro level* takes into account the specific needs or desires of stakeholders, including students and international educators. These influences are specific to an individual institution, students, faculty, and institutional leaders. The *mezzo level* considers the factors that influence higher education or international education at the time of program development. Examples include increasing tuition and changing demographics. The *macro level* takes a broader view, considering social trends at the time of program development, which may include broad social, economic, and political influences (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut & Klute, 2012).

This theory was first published in 2010 in *A History of Study Abroad: 1965 to Present*, edited by William Hoffa and Stephen DePaul, as a means to discuss the theory behind program design. More specifically, it was created as a means to help design new study abroad programming, as well as to analyze existing programming. This theory takes into account needs, circumstances, and institutional context (Rodman & Merrill, 2010) when assessing program design and allows for political, cultural, economic, and educational rationales (De Wit, 2002). For this reason, the rationales for program design may shift depending on the personal needs, institutional trends, and larger geopolitical events; programming will look quite different depending on the era it was created. In this way, study abroad program design is “characterized by response to needs and circumstances in the local organizational context. The associated variables are effectively framed through the vision of individuals who possess the ability to move others to action” (Rodman & Merrill, 2010, p. 200).

It is important to note that while these are considerations in program design, international education professionals cannot accommodate all micro, mezzo, and macro level needs simply due to finite resources (Rodman, personal communication, November 14, 2018). The combination lock theory has provided a useful lens with which to study the emergence of program providers and to attempt to analyze the reasoning behind their creation, examining all possible levels of factors that go into the creation of a study abroad program.

Micro Level

In his 1975 keynote address to a group of education abroad professionals regarding the exponential increase in the type of study abroad programming, John Wallace said “the students ask for it and want it. We have a habit in the U.S. of giving children their wishes” (1975, p. 5). This idea, that the student, administrator, or other individual has a particular desire or need that should be met, is what makes up the micro level factor of program design. An example of this factor is that of Rockland Community College, which is the first community college in the nation to have an education abroad office. Records indicate that they sent their first students abroad in 1969. This institution is located in Suffern, New York, which has a large Hasidim community. Therefore, administrators at Rockland Community College saw a need to develop education abroad programming in Israel, which was met with great success (Merrill, personal communication, November 9, 2018). Bowman (1987) notes that many early programs “resulted from the initiatives of president, provosts and deans who could exercise their authority as well as their persuasion” (p. 10). This reliance on an individual to initiate programming is another example of a micro-level factor.

Study abroad programming designed according to micro-level factors can be quite effective since they are catering to stakeholder needs and/or desires. However, some concerns do exist. In an effort to keep up with the pace of stakeholder demands (whether student, administration, etc.), the program design itself may be weak, leading to insufficient program infrastructure. Further, if stakeholder demand and curricular fit do not match, this may lead to programming that cannot ultimately be sustained (Bolen, 2001).

To reiterate, micro level factors of program design take into account individual needs or desires of stakeholders. While the effects of mezzo level and macro level factors are often more far-reaching and therefore more visible, micro level factors should not be overlooked when considering program design.

Mezzo Level

In 1989, as the Cold War was coming to an end, many liberal market economies emerged around the world. Liberal market economies as those with greater income equality, reduced taxes, and lower public-sector funding (Currie, 2004). This shift towards liberal market economies caused a shift within institutions of higher education towards a more corporatized and entrepreneurial culture, forcing them to look towards the private sector to achieve their goals (Currie, 2004; Lane & Kinsner, 2011; Rhoades 1987; Chattapadhyay, 2009). Some see this as a shifting of priorities for universities, turning away from what a liberal public education stands for (Natale & Doran, 2012). Others see neoliberal tendencies in the education sector as inevitable (Czinkota, 2006).

As is evidenced here, the development of neoliberalism in the form of liberal market economies was not applied as a concept to products alone. The General

Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) first codified the concept that services such as education, health, and technology could also be traded (Knight, 2002, 2005). The GATS, an agreement administered by the World Trade Organisation, identified four principal modes of trade in services, including cross-border supply (i.e. service crossing the border), consumption abroad (i.e. the consumer moving to the country of the supplier), commercial presence (i.e. a service provider establishing a commercial facility in another country with the purpose of providing a service), and presence of natural persons (i.e. a person traveling to another country to provide a service).

The purpose of the GATS was to first and foremost reduce barriers with the goal of further promoting trade; more specifically, it sought to eliminate discrimination against foreign trade partners (Knight, 2004; Scherrer, 2005). This neoliberal shift in the realm of education suggests that education is considered by many to be a profitable trade sector (Knight, 2008). More specifically, study abroad is more and more considered a prepackaged experience (Zemach-Bersin, 2009; Bolen, 2001).

With a rise in the number of study abroad program providers, competition and commercialization of study abroad has increased. Further, many study abroad program providers follow the market price model of financing, a methodology that is based on competitive pricing and an attempt to undercut the competitor's program fees (Cressey & Stubbs, 2010). While this model allows for program fees to remain competitive (i.e. low), it also leads to changes in marketing procedures. This aids in the legitimization of profit-making in the field of international education. As we move further into the 21st century, economic factors remain prime motivators of program design (Rodman, personal communication, November 14, 2018).

As the world has seen a shift towards the commercialization of education since neoliberalism emerged onto the scene, one can likewise observe a shift towards the commercialization of study abroad. In this way, the impetus for study abroad programming seems to have shifted from diplomacy, national security, and cross-cultural understanding to a more economic rationale, benefiting the study abroad participant. An international experience during one's collegiate career is seen as providing a greater number of post-graduation opportunities and a higher salary. With this shift comes an increase in study abroad program providers to meet the demand. In fact, since the late 1980s, the field of international education has seen a preponderance of mobility of programs and providers, as opposed to merely student mobility (Knight, 2005, 2008).

While not explicitly addressed in the literature, this type of activity falls under the GATS third mode of supply: commercial presence. In this mode, a service provider moves across borders to supply the service (i.e. education). While much scholarly research has been paid to the movement of students across borders, very little exists regarding the movement of programs and providers.

With the emergence of neoliberal tendencies, education came to be viewed as a marketable commodity. With less and less state funding, tuition costs have increased and students are left to pay a majority of the bill. In other words, students (and their parents) become consumers with the resulting earned degree as the product. In this way, education, once considered a process, is more and more being considered a product. In many cases, public institutions of higher education are considered successful when they find lucrative ways to secure funding from the private sector (Natale & Doran, 2012). In this manner, academic capitalism can be seen as the "blurring of boundaries among

markets, states, and higher education” (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p.4). Further, market tendencies within the education sector do not just occur within nation-states, but also on an international scale (Kauppinen, 2012).

While neoliberalism could certainly be considered a macro level factor in general, this movement impacted higher education in a very particular way. To reiterate, the mezzo level of the combination lock theory is concerned with factors at the institutional level and how these factors influence program design. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, neoliberalism is considered a mezzo level factor due to its influence on higher education and international education. The impact that neoliberalism had at the institutional level is profound.

Macro Level

Over the years, with the growth of US political power around the world, the role of the study abroad participant has evolved. Pressure is increasingly exerted on the study abroad participant to act as a representative of the US, considered a type of soft diplomacy (Keller & Frain, 2010). In this sense, soft diplomacy is the ability to positively influence foreign relations through persuasion rather than coercion. Seen in this way, geopolitical events influence the design and implementation of study abroad program design. In fact, over the years as this type of soft power became more prevalent and recognized by the US government, there emerged an increase in demand for educational services which in turn led to an increase in providers to meet this demand (Keller & Frain, 2010). In addition to study abroad programming, the US also saw the emergence of multiple acts and initiatives that promoted international activities during this time period, including the Fulbright Program, the Foreign Assistance Act, the U.S. Agency for

International Development, and the Peace Corps (Hoffa, 2007; Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut & Klute, 2012).

As is evidenced here, in the 1920s between the two world wars, there was a growing awareness among Americans of the larger world (Hoffa, 2007). This growing awareness eventually led to an interest in international activities, including study abroad programming, as a means to further international and cross-cultural understanding, leading to world peace and a deeper understanding of other cultures (Bennett, 2010). In this way, efforts that emerged post-World War I to foster cultural understanding and peace led to a growing interest in study abroad on the part of Americans (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut & Klute, 2012).

Following the years after World War II, study abroad programming design turned away from motivations focused on world peace and understanding, yet saw continuing demands for educational services. This growth in demand for educational services has witnessed an important trend, a shift from the idea that education serves as a means to develop people and society towards the idea that education serves a profitable means of commerce. This shift “from aid to trade” poses a challenge for institutions of higher education (Knight, 2005, 2008; Youssef, 2014).

In this way, macro level factors played a large role in the creation of some of the first US study abroad program providers. Because of the larger geopolitical events in between the two world wars and the influence this had on the social conscience of many Americans, study abroad program creation and design were likewise impacted. Much of the study abroad programming developed during this time period saw a larger focus on aid and development.

To sum up, Rodman and Merrill (2010) proposed that study abroad programs are created as a result of factors that exist at three levels: micro, mezzo, and macro. Likewise, the creation of study abroad program providers can be traced back to factors at these three levels. Understanding the three levels of influence in the design of study abroad program providers can help scholars to better understand the landscape of education abroad at the time of the emergence of program providers.

Institutional Theory

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) posit that organizations become more homogenous in their structure and behavior through a process they call institutional isomorphism. This is a process in which new organizations come to resemble older organizations that face the same set of environmental conditions. Specifically, “organizations compete not just for resources and customers, but for political power and institutional legitimacy, for social as well as economic fitness” (p. 150). In this way, organizations, institutions, or programs mimic other organizations, institutions, or programs. There are three pathways to institutional isomorphic change: coercive, mimetic, and normative.

Coercive Isomorphism

Coercive isomorphism is a result of pressures exerted on an organization from other organizations upon which they are dependent. As study abroad program providers are dependent on higher education institutions to supply consumers (i.e. students), in essence they depend on the same sources of funding as do higher education institutions. This “position of dependence leads to isomorphic change” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 154), resulting in new study abroad program providers resembling already-established programs.

SIT / EIL provides one example of coercive isomorphism. As previously mentioned, by the mid-fifties roughly 80% of EIL participants were college-aged students. These students had no study abroad program at their home institution and therefore sought out the services that EIL was able to offer. These higher education institutions were initially dependent on EIL, receiving program support in the form of orientation and language, homestay placements, and in-country support. Eventually, though, as they learned from EIL the intricacies of study abroad administration, they eventually branched out and developed their own study abroad programs. In this way, their initial dependent position on EIL primed the path for isomorphic change.

Another example of coercive change comes from the 2007 investigation into the relationship between program providers and higher education institutions. As previously mentioned, the New York Times wrote an article exposing some aspects of the relationship between program providers and institutions of higher education that some considered suspect, including free and subsidized site visits, services to defray operating expenses, marketing stipends, membership on advisory councils, and commissions based on student-paid fees (Schemo, 2007). This then led to an investigation and subsequent subpoenas from NY Attorney General Cuomo. While nothing significant emerged from this investigation, the field of education abroad did begin to navigate the relationship between program provider and higher education institution with more transparency and finesse. While this was not a governmental mandate, it had become a cultural expectation at this point in the field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Mimetic Isomorphism

Mimetic processes of institutional isomorphic change rely on uncertainty and ambiguity to drive imitation. In this model, ambiguous goals, a lack of understanding of processes, and employee turnover or transfer can lead to mimetic isomorphism. As the field of education abroad is still relatively new, with professionals vacillating between the public and the private sector, one could argue that there is a great deal of employee transfer taking place. Along with employee transfer comes the transfer of structures and processes, leading to homogenization, particularly since “organizations tend to model themselves after similar organizations in their field that they perceive to be more legitimate or successful” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 152).

An example of this comes from CEA. As mentioned previously, CEA adopted a new model in 2005 called the CEA Global Study Center (later renamed the GlobalCampus Network), which allowed for the organization to increase enrollment (and therefore, profit) at several of their overseas locations. Two years later, CEA appointed Geoffrey Bannister as President and Chief Academic Officer, largely to oversee this new program model. Bannister’s accomplishments during his long and illustrious career in international education were well-known.⁴ As such, appointing him to this position was a strategic move that could potentially move this new study model (which had received its share of criticism) into a more positive light. While this was not necessarily the intention behind Bannister’s hiring, we nonetheless see mimetic processes operating here as

⁴ Bannister had previously served as the President of the Forum on Education Abroad, President of Butler University (and largely responsible for the creation of IFSA, a study abroad program provider), and Dean of Arts and Sciences at Boston University.

Bannister's reputation helped to increase the legitimacy and success of the CEA Study Center.

Another example of mimetic isomorphism comes from IFSA. IFSA was established on the campus of Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana. The same Geoffrey Bannister as mentioned above was appointed President of Butler University in 1988. At the time, there was no study abroad program at Butler. Bannister was familiar with David Gray and Tom Roberts through their work at Beaver College's Center for Education Abroad (later to become Arcadia Study Abroad). He invited them to launch the nonprofit Institute for Study Abroad in order to develop Butler's international programming. As such, when Gray and Roberts joined Bannister at Butler University and established IFSA, they brought with them the reputation and authenticity that Arcadia was known for.

Normative Isomorphism

The third and final pathway to institutional isomorphic change comes from normative pressures, more specifically from the professionalization of a field. As mentioned previously, the field of education abroad is still relatively new. As such, efforts have been underway to standardize the profession so as to "define the conditions and methods of their field...and to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 152).

Since its founding in 2000, The Forum on Education Abroad has made great strides in providing standards with which education abroad organizations (public and private) can govern themselves. This standardization "can make it easier for organizations to transact with other organizations" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 153),

an important consideration for program providers who need to align their programming with a large variety of higher education institutions in order to have access to a larger customer base. Additionally, many study abroad program providers are counseled by an advisory board comprised of professionals in the field who often work for higher education institutions. For these reasons, one could argue that normative processes contribute to institutional isomorphism among study abroad program providers. Additionally, the field may witness a greater degree of isomorphism from normative pressures as more graduate programs are developed to train international education practitioners and scholars. As these new professionals enter the workforce, they will pull from a standardized pool of knowledge with which they were trained, which may contribute to further homogenization.

The field has certainly witnessed some disruption to this concept of isomorphism. We see this in thought pieces and other articles that push back on certain ideas that have been taken for granted in education abroad. In one example, we see Michael Steinberg arguing against the notion that interaction with host country nationals is always more beneficial than interacting with other US undergraduate participants (M. Steinberg, personal communication, July 13, 2020); this is a position that has long been argued by education abroad professionals in the program development process. In another example, scholars Brewer, Beaudin, and Woolf (2019) argue that curriculum integration is antithetical to the ultimate goal of a study abroad experience, namely taking classes that do not easily fit into the curriculum at the home institution. This idea is posited at a time when curriculum integration is heralded as one of the more important undertakings of an education abroad office in an effort to situate education abroad within the academic

framework of an institution and while developing new study abroad programs. As we see here, there is space for disruption to isomorphism, yet thus far it has taken root in scholarly dialogue as opposed to practical application.

Discussion

This study aimed to answer three research questions. In this section, I use key findings to answer these questions:

- When did US-based study abroad program providers emerge in US higher education?
- Why and how were US-based study abroad program providers founded?
- How did US-based study abroad program providers respond to the changing nature of education abroad from the 1930s to present day?

When Did U.S.-Based Study Abroad Program

Providers Emerge in US Higher Education?

Some might argue that study abroad program providers are a more recent development in the field of education abroad. There has certainly been an explosion more recently in terms of the number of program providers and the niches that they fill. This increase in the number of – and dependence on – program providers was predicted by Bowman (1987) due to resource limitations at higher education institutions. Nonetheless, program providers have been around since the genesis of the modern history of study abroad.

The Junior Year Abroad and short-term faculty-led programs were the first documented models of programming in the early 1920s; however, program providers were quick to follow suit. I have argued that the first example of a program provider is

the Experiment in International Living, which morphed into SIT Study Abroad, founded in 1932. Yet even before this time, the history recounted in this study shows that there were some traces of what would eventually become fully fledged program providers that had their beginnings even before the early 1920s.

In fact, before *internationalization* became a buzz word in US higher education, study abroad offices were profoundly under-resourced – if they existed at all. In this way, many higher education institutions had to turn to program providers if they wanted to offer education abroad opportunities to their students. Thus, many early program providers operated as consortia, existing as an association of universities and colleges that – independently – could not provide their own study abroad experiences.

As noted in Chapter 1, the 1990 National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad recommended the expansion of study abroad program models to meet the demand for study abroad options. The ultimate goal of this mandate was to increase study abroad participation rates to 10% of US undergraduates participating in some sort of education abroad (Cressey and Stubbs, 2010). Perhaps because of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad, many new program providers emerged onto the scene in the early 1990s.

Why and How Were U.S.-Based Study Abroad Program Providers Founded?

The founding story of each of the program providers included in my research shares some similar themes. For example, many of the founders themselves had some sort of transformational experience abroad and wanted to replicate this experience for

other students. Or perhaps they believed strongly in the power of an international education without themselves having had the opportunity to study abroad.

Yet the motivations for these program providers' founding seems to have morphed over time. For example, the early program providers included in my research – CIEE, IES Abroad, and SIT – all have grand notions of idealism at their core. They were founded not to benefit individual participants but rather as a way to connect people of different cultures and to spread awareness and understanding of other countries. Ultimately, it was argued, this would lead to world peace and understanding.

Over time, these motivations changed. More recent program providers focus on the benefit to the individual participant as the motivation for providing international opportunities. These individual benefits include better jobs post-graduation, higher salaries, and higher acceptance rates into top-choice graduate schools. Noticeably absent from many of these more recent program providers is the narrative about study abroad as a benefit to the greater good.

These adaptations are reflected in the evolution of research focused on the benefits and outcomes of study abroad experiences. Early research projects focused on study abroad experiences as a tool for “public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy” (McAllister and Whatley, 2020). However, more recent research projects focus more on individual student learning outcomes and do not, as McAllister and Whatley point out, answer the question “is what we’re doing actually beneficial to the globe?” (2020).

Further, this grand narrative change is perhaps a reflection of the larger political climate. Post-World War II society tended to focus on reconstruction and re-establishing ties with nations, seeking solutions to ensure that there would be no future world wars.

This narrative of cultural exchange for the collective good dominated much of study abroad programming. Then, in the 1980s, there was a noticeable shift to more of a focus on the individual, curated under the Thatcher and Reagan administrations (M. Woolf, personal communication, July 24, 2020).

How Did U.S.-Based Study Abroad Program Providers

Respond to the Changing Nature of Education

Abroad From the 1930s to Present Day?

Throughout the modern history of study abroad, program providers have responded to – and in some cases heralded – the changing nature of the field. For example, Open Doors reports an increasing trend in short-term, summer programs. From 2008 to 2018, there was a reported growth of 7.3% in short-term, summer programs (Open Doors, 2008 & Open Doors, 2018). A large majority of these short-term programs are customized, faculty-led programs. (However, as previously noted, Open Doors does not collect data on participation rates by program model.) As such, many program providers have developed a custom programs unit to serve this growing trend. When study abroad expanded to include other international activities such as internships, research, and service-learning, we likewise see a shift in the services that are offered by program providers.

Changes within NAFSA signal this evolution. In 2001, a NAFSA Member Interest Group (MIG) was established that became known as WIVA (Work, Internships, and Volunteering Abroad). In 2015 this acronym was updated to WIVRA to include Research. Even more recently in 2020, the group changed to ISLRA (Internships, Service

Learning, and Research Abroad) to highlight the experiential nature of education abroad (Moore, 2020).

We likewise see an evolution in the offerings of program providers, as well as the creation of niche programs to fill new demand. For example, Cross Cultural Solutions was founded in 1995. This organization provides international service learning programming. (Cross Cultural Solutions, 2020). Global Experiences, an organization dedicated solely to international internships, was established in 2001 (Global Experiences, 2020). A year later, ISA established their Experiential and Service Learning division (ISA, 2019a).

With a proliferation of programming and participation rates, the field of education abroad found a need to codify a set of industry standards in an effort to achieve consistency and regulation. This task was undertaken by The Forum on Education Abroad in 2005 when they developed their *Standards of Good Practice* (Sideli, 2010). Following the 2007 investigation and subpoenas into the relationship between program providers and higher education institutions, The Forum developed their *Code of Ethics* in part to help the field navigate the ethical implications of these relationships that were spotlighted in the investigation. While many program providers and higher education institutions did not believe that they were engaging in unethical business practices, they nonetheless examined – and perhaps amended – some of their practices in response to the investigation (K. Sideli, personal communication, June 30, 2020). It should be noted that no scholarly articles to date have analyzed this incident and the implications it holds for the field.

These are all examples of ways in which program providers have responded to changing trends. This dissertation also shows that, in many ways, program providers actively shifted the landscape of study abroad. Some argue that program providers tend to be more innovative and remain ahead of their higher education institution peers in terms of marketing strategies and program development (A. Ogden, personal communication, July 9, 2020). Others go so far as to say that program providers are more sophisticated and provide the field of education abroad with important resources that raise the standards for all professionals in the field (K. Sideli, personal communication, June 30, 2020).

In this way, program providers have both responded to and heralded the changing nature of education abroad.

Interpretation of the Findings

The Professionalization of the Field of Education Abroad

Most of the study abroad grand elders that were interviewed for this study proudly stated that when they began their careers, there was no field of education abroad to speak of. They had to forge their own way and to learn what it meant to be an education abroad professional. This gave the field an air of informality, as people “were not professionally trained (M. Steinberg, personal communication, July 13, 2020). Because there were no formal education abroad training avenues, many professionals entered the nascent field from other disciplines. Woolf (personal communication, July 24, 2020) described this time as “exciting...people were inventing stuff...[there was a] rich interaction of disciplines...[where you] flew by the seat of your pants.” In fact, Woolf described a common experience he had when working for Lewis & Clark College as their London

director: he often invited his students to join him at the local pub and typically a third of the way through the semester, he would remember to ask them over a pint if they had remembered to purchase international insurance.

This evolution of the field was similarly illustrated by the program providers' histories, as well. For example, many of the early providers maintained that their students' international experiences would be measured by the positive impact to the social good. Over time, standards and assessment outcomes were developed by the field and program providers were expected to provide quantifiable outcomes to justify the positive impact to participants of their programs. Further, program providers began to develop new positions, such as Dean of Students, that were akin to positions at higher education institutions.

This is an example of how education abroad has experienced isomorphic change from normative pressures to conform with higher education institutions. Efforts have been made to standardize the field so as to "define the conditions and methods of their field...and to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 152). For these reasons, one could argue that normative processes contribute to institutional isomorphism among study abroad program providers. As the field further professionalizes due to an increased number of graduate programs in international education, the field may witness a greater degree of isomorphism from normative pressures.

Early Providers as Consortia

At the time that many of the early study abroad program providers were founded, it was not common to see internationalization as a part of the higher education strategic

plan. For this reason, many institutions did not have a study abroad office. More likely than not, if there were study abroad opportunities at all, they would be managed by a faculty member devoted part-time to such a task. As such, study abroad opportunities were scant and under-resourced.

Program providers were able to fill a need for higher education institutions. In this way, many of the early providers operated as consortia, allowing for multiple institutions to work together to provide study abroad opportunities to their students. Some of these early providers still operate as a consortium. For example, CIEE maintains an academic consortium of member schools. While it is not necessary to be a consortium member for an institution's students to access their programming, membership affords greater access to program and funding offerings.

In a similar way, a number of providers were founded as a way to ensconce a study abroad office within a particular higher education institution. At the same time, they would operate as a provider for non-matriculated students from other institutions.

IFSA, located at Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana, is one such example included in this study. One could argue that these programs were created under micro-level conditions as outlined in the combination lock theory. Micro level factors of program design take into account individual needs or desires of stakeholders. IFSA was founded because of the vision of one key individual, Geoffrey Bannister, who was the president of Butler University and wanted to establish a study abroad office. In this way, IFSA operated as a study abroad office for Butler University and as a program provider for non-Butler students. With its founding, it was responding to a micro-level need.

A Changed Narrative

Many of the early providers included in this research study were founded on idealistic and altruistic notions. Participants were encouraged – and motivated – to participate out of a sense of the common good. It was believed that exchange between young people of different cultures would be a benefit to both the study abroad participant and the host country national and perhaps more importantly, a benefit to the world at large.

We see this in the strong belief of SIT founder Donald Watt when he said that people of the world can only learn to live together by living together. We see this in the motivation behind IES Abroad when former Nazi political prisoner Paul Koutny founded an organization to help rebuild war-torn Austria. We see this in CIEE as a nascent organization that was formed to provide transportation services to organizations dedicated to peace and understanding in the aftermath of World War II.

At a certain point, there was a “sea change in the rhetoric of education abroad” (M. Woolf, personal communication, July 24, 2020). Study abroad programs began to be marketed as a means to develop the individual. Emphasis was placed on the benefit to the individual in the form of enhanced job opportunities, increased graduate school acceptance rates, and higher starting salaries post-graduation. While this change in the narrative seems to have happened slowly and subtly, it does seem to coincide with political changes that came with the rise of neoliberalism.

This idea of liberal market economies, emerging in the 1980s and coinciding with the administrations of Ronald Reagan in the US and Margaret Thatcher in the UK, had a profound effect on many aspects of society, including international and higher education.

This study has shown evidence of neoliberal tendencies as a factor in the emergence of study abroad program providers during this time period. This has come in the form of company mergers, acquisitions, relationships with investment companies, and stronger affiliation with the business industry rather than the education industry.

While there is nothing inherently wrong with this change of narrative, this does highlight a change in the field of education abroad. Any discussion about the benefits of studying abroad tends to focus on how the individual participant gains from going abroad rather than how society benefits by having young people from different cultures learn from each other.

Innovation Versus Standardization

While study abroad program providers and their counterparts in higher education may purport to work towards the same internationalization goals, they are often governed by a very different set of policies. For example, many higher education institutions – particularly state-supported institutions – have very particular policies surrounding finances and how funding is used. This is just one example of how higher education institutions are more conservative in their approach to change. They tend to hold tight to tradition and status quo.

In contrast, some study abroad program providers are non-profit organizations and may have to report to, and receive funding approval from, a Board of Directors. Other study abroad program providers are for-profit companies and have much more fiduciary freedom. Either way, generally speaking, study abroad program providers are often considered to be more flexible and have more freedom around how their funding is used. With this freedom, they are able to be more innovative and quick to adapt.

This idea of innovative program providers versus standardized higher education institutions came up time and again in my interviews with the study abroad grand elders. Providers are seen as more “sophisticated and able to do things that institutions can’t do...they raised the bar for all of us...as providers got more sophisticated, institutions got more sophisticated” (K. Sideli, personal communication, June 30, 2020). They are also seen as needing to “be five steps ahead of universities” (A. Ogden, personal communication, July 9, 2020).

In the same way that program providers positively impacted higher education institutions, institutions likewise had a positive impact on program providers. “Institutions pressured providers on assessment, health and safety protocols, etc.” (K. Sideli, personal communication, June 30, 2020). Similarly, “providers need to turn to institutions for guidance, scope, and direction” (A. Ogden, personal communication, July 9, 2020).

This is one illustration of isomorphic change through coercive measures. Coercive isomorphism is a result of pressures exerted on organizations from other organizations upon which they are dependent. Higher education institutions and study abroad program providers are dependent on each other; higher education institutions supply the students (i.e. clients) that program providers need to stay in business and in return, program providers provide the logistical support to administer a study abroad program on behalf of higher education institutions.

In this way, higher education institutions and study abroad program providers are able to work collaboratively and to influence each other in positive ways according to their strengths.

Research Limitations and Future Research

Several limitations to this study present opportunities for further research. To begin with, this research is situated strictly in the context of the US, only considering the history of education abroad as it developed in the US and only including US-based study abroad program providers. This was an intentional choice, as including other cultural contexts would have presented too large of a subject for one research project. Nonetheless, further study on the history of education abroad as it developed in other countries and other contexts would supplement this study well.

Another limitation of this study is that the researcher selected nine study abroad program providers out of the hundreds that exist. This was an intentional choice because, according to a SECUSS-L poll of education abroad practitioners, they are the most commonly used providers by US institutions of higher education. However, further research that includes smaller providers and in particular, programs that provide niche study abroad opportunities, would potentially offer a different – and critical – perspective.

This study employs an historical approach. While this methodology was appropriate for the stated research questions, further quantitative research on program providers would dovetail well with this study's findings. More specifically, I would recommend a quantitative research study that focuses on participation rates by program model and how this trend has changed over time. This methodological approach would tell the story of education abroad in a different and notable way.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study is to understand why US study abroad program providers emerged and what their emergence indicates about trends in the field of education abroad at large. This research has shed some light on the factors that went into the development of program providers as a study abroad program model. Additionally, the historical nature of this research has described how these factors have changed over time, ultimately revealing trends in the field of education abroad.

This research provides a scholarly contribution to the literature of the field of education abroad. As mentioned previously, very little research exists on the historical aspects of the development of study abroad program providers. This study provides much-needed context for this type of program as the field is rapidly expanding to include more providers.

Additionally, this research allows education abroad professionals to develop a fuller sense of the history of education abroad and how study abroad program providers fit within that history. As special attention is paid to motivations for – and intentions behind – their emergence onto the scene, these findings provide guidance on how to make more meaningful and intentional decisions about partnerships between higher education institutions and study abroad program providers, ensuring that values, goals, and priorities are mutually aligned. In this way, my research study has both scholarly and practical applications.

Postscript on COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic first began to impact the field of education abroad in March of 2020. Most US higher education institutions repatriated their students who were

abroad during the Spring 2020 semester, forcing them to return home or to provide justification as to why it was safer for them to remain in-country.

In my interviews with study abroad grand elders, I learned about some of the past crises that impacted education abroad. They listed events such as the 2007 investigation, 9/11, SARS, and the devaluation of the dollar in the 1970s. But without a doubt, this pandemic has been the biggest crisis that the field of education abroad has experienced to-date. In fact, many of the grand elders expressed their joy over either being retired or being close to retirement simply so that they would not have to weather the COVID storm for long.

And just like the pandemic does not impact all people the same, it has not impacted all study abroad program models the same. Program providers seem to have sustained the most damage; almost all have had to furlough employees, reduce pay, or altogether lay off staff members. Most have attempted to pivot a good portion of their programs to a virtual format in an effort to recoup some lost income. And yet, as of this writing, there are no certainties about when it will be safe to once again resume physical mobility of students. Which means that there are no certainties about when study abroad programs can begin the arduous task of rebuilding.

Despite the fact that program providers have suffered the most in this pandemic, it is equally clear that they will play a monumental role in the future of education abroad. Once they recover, they will be instrumental in helping international higher education to rebuild their study abroad offerings, outreach, and student support services. The field of education abroad is focusing much of its attention as of late on the importance of strong

partnerships between higher education institutions and program providers, partnerships that are built on trust, transparency, and mutual goals.

It is my belief that, moving forward, higher education institutions will be more scrupulous when identifying program providers with which to partner. Perhaps we will see an end to the study abroad portfolio that includes multitudes of program providers available to the student. Perhaps, also, we will see an end to the open-ended (or lack of) study abroad portfolio that allows students to select any program provider, regardless of whether or not it has been officially vetted by the home school office. I believe that we will see an intentionality around study abroad portfolios that speaks to a carefully cultivated process of partnership.

While this intentionality can certainly be beneficial for the field overall, I would caution education abroad professionals to consider carefully partnering with program providers that meet the needs of their particular students. In other words, instead of choosing to partner with larger, more well-known program providers simply because of their name recognition, it is more important than ever to select partnerships based on the specific, nuanced needs of each organization. Were partnerships to form simply based on name recognition, we will see a move towards the oligopolization of the study abroad industry by only a select few of the larger program providers, particularly since the field has witnessed the closing of several smaller program providers due to the pandemic. This certainly would not serve the unique needs of every institution and its student body.

Further, as discussed previously, study abroad program providers tend to be more innovative and creative than their higher education institution counterparts. The field has witnessed this innovation as providers pivot to virtual and hybrid program formats to

maintain enrollment through the pandemic. I believe that we will continue to see innovative ideas generated by program providers, perhaps even services to support struggling study abroad offices in a time of budget cuts such as trainings, advising services, and technology assistance.

This, then, is the ultimate recommendation for future research: the role that program providers play in the future of education abroad post-COVID.

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APPENDIX A

STUDY ABROAD GRAND ELDER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Evolution of Field

1. When did you first enter the field of education abroad and what roles have you held since?
2. At the time that you entered the field, how would you characterize it?
3. What were some of the more significant moments that you and / or the field experienced during your career?
4. How has the culture of education abroad changed over the time that you have been in the field?
5. If you could influence education abroad to move in a certain direction in the future, what would that look like?

Program Providers

1. What are your general feelings about study abroad program providers?
2. For what purpose do they serve the field?
3. Explanation of how I divided my research up into time periods.
 - a. 1930s–1950s: CIEE, IES Abroad, SIT. Perceptions / experiences to share?
 - b. 1960s–1980s: AIFS, IFSA, ISA. Perceptions / experiences to share?
 - c. 1990s–Present Day: CEA, CIS Abroad, API. Perceptions / experiences to share?
4. Moving forward, what place do program providers have in the field?