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THE EXCLUSIONIST FRAMING OF STUDY ABROAD ELECTRONIC ADVERTISING AND ITS POTENTIAL INFLUENCE ON STUDENTS OF COLOR PARTICIPATION

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ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose	This qualitative study examines the discourse of study abroad (SA) electronic advertising and how it potentially constrains participation by students of color in education abroad using a critical race theory (CRT) perspective.
Background	Through visual and text communication, SA advertisements define the SA participant as affluent and White and construct SA as opportunities for tourism and recreation, while down-playing academic engagement along with other intellectual benefits. These practices can play a major role in determining who studies abroad.
Methodology	This qualitative study employed content and thematic analysis to examine and analyze advertisements for study abroad through a CRT lens. A review of online advertisements for study abroad made available on the selected institutions' websites, and those of their affiliated third party provider (TPP) was conducted. A line-by-line reading of collected advertisements led to the creation of identified themes which served as categories for analysis.
Contribution	Using documents from two institutions and two third party providers (TPP), the researchers explored the language and images used to advertise SA experiences in order to open discussions surrounding the issues related to current practices and the potential benefit addressing these practices could have on expanding SA experiences to more students of color.
Findings	Four major themes emerged from this research: homogenization of the study abroad population, study abroad as recreation, study abroad as tourism, and de-accentuation of academic learning.

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Exclusionist Framing of Study Abroad

The participant profile for study abroad is largely homogeneous, and advertising produced by SA offices and TPP often perpetuate this homogeneity. An analysis of electronic ads revealed an underlying assumption that SA participants are predominantly White students from affluent backgrounds, whose main objective for participating in SA is immersion in a “different” culture and to fulfill a thirst for adventure. From our analysis it was found that included images were overwhelmingly of non-Students of Color. Images found of students engaging in activities while abroad perpetuated wealth, class and Whiteness. The absence of images of Students of Color (SOC) was disturbingly conspicuous, while the heavy use of images of White students communicated to the researcher and to potential participants who view these ads, that the target population is middle to upper class, White students.

Recommendations for Practitioners	SA is a costly undertaking and the challenge of paying for an overseas educational experience cannot be overemphasized. For SOC and their families, paying for SA can seem like an unnecessary expense in addition to the increasing cost of higher education. When SA ads depict the experience as an adventure and emphasize recreational activities at the expense of academic engagement, students and their families often question the rationale for spending money to go abroad for recreation. Excursions can serve as a very important part of SA, particularly in helping students engage with the local community. However, their value can only be realized when they are clearly linked to the academic goals of the program. Such connections should be made explicit in SA ads if institutions expect to attract minority students who might be apprehensive about the value of SA. Providing opportunities for SOC to see themselves as possible SA participants has the potential to not only enrich their college experiences but encourage future SOC to explore these valuable educational opportunities.
Recommendations for Researchers	We recommend further study into the specific policy and practices used by institutions and TPPs to inform institutional community members of opportunities to study abroad beyond advertisements provided on websites. Additionally, further investigation is needed to better understand the specific feelings, emotions, and actions advertisements similar to the ones reviewed for this study develop within students of color and what can be done to advance study abroad as a more inclusive academic experience.
Impact on Society	Ultimately, increasing the number of students of color participating in study abroad can have a dramatic impact on who and how future cohorts of students participate. The more SA experiences are viewed and valued as an educational experience by SOC and their families, opportunities for future students to participate will be expanded. Furthermore, it is imperative for institutions to support and encourage students from diverse backgrounds to engage in study abroad as a mechanism for better preparing students for an ever-increasing competitive global workforce.
Future Research	Future research directed at better understanding the characteristics of SOCs that do choose to study abroad and insight into the added value these experiences have on students’ academic experiences and professional development is needed. There is a dearth of literature related to these areas of interest that could expand our knowledge and understanding related to SA participation and its benefits to all students.
Keywords	study abroad, critical race theory, students of color, advertising

INTRODUCTION

Study abroad (SA) has been identified as one of six high impact education experiences that all students should participate in (Kuh, 2008). Subsequently, colleges and universities continue to make efforts to expand international education opportunities and to encourage more students, especially students from underrepresented groups, to participate in these activities (Dessoiff, 2006). Though these efforts have led to slight increases in participation over the years, disparities in racial and ethnic minority participation persist with a disproportionate representation of White students (Dessoiff, 2006; Shih, 2009). During the 2015-2016 academic year, for instance, approximately 325,340 American students studied abroad for academic credit. Of these participants, 71.6% were Caucasian, 9.7% Latino/Hispanic, 8.4% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 5.9% Black or African American (Institute of International Education [IIE], 2017). Digging deeper into participation numbers, one will note that a large percentage of students who studied abroad were women. Not to mention, of the top ten institutions with greatest number of study abroad students during the 2015-16 academic year a majority were predominately white institutions (PWI) (IIE, 2017).

Faculty within institutions of higher education that offer SA programs often partner with SA offices to organize and advertise their programs to attract diverse populations (Heyl, 2011; Pisano, 2016). This is an important aspect of the recruitment process as it is the medium through which students are first introduced to specific SA programs provided by their institution, as well as those provided by their affiliate third party providers (TPP) (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Despite the availability of SA program information being made available through diverse outlets, SA participation among students of color has remained dismally low. In 1991, the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) identified marketing practices as a possible barrier to minority student participation (CIEE, 1991). Little progress in this area has been made since the CIEE publication in 1991. A search of the literature yields few scholarly articles on discourse of electronic advertising and its potential impact on minority student participation in SA. Ip (2008) underscored the importance of investigating how the linguistic and visual discourse contributes to the persuasive power of travel promotional materials, stating that such discourse has the capacity to influence the consumer's cognition.

This study endeavors to provide an analysis of online advertisements from two institutions and their affiliate third party providers (TPP) (hereafter referred to by the pseudonyms FunAbroad.com and RealStudyAbroad.com), in order to better understand how SA is being presented to students and what messages they potentially send to would-be minority student participants. This analysis is guided by two primary research questions:

1. How do electronic advertisements of study abroad by U.S. universities and their affiliate third-party program providers construct the study abroad experience?
2. How does the framing of study abroad by colleges and universities within the US and their affiliate third- party program providers potentially impact minority students' decision to participate in study abroad programs?

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Though attention within the literature has been given to study abroad participation and the experiences of students that participate in these programs, the literature has not provided much insight into the experiences of students of color in study abroad programs (Downing, 2015). The knowledge available concerning participation (Cheppell & Kovacich, 2012; Doan, 2002; Jackson, 2006), benefits of participation (Comp, 2008; Martinez, 2011), and barriers to accessing these experiences (Brux & Fry, 2010; Walker, 2015) has been limited. Of particular interest to this study is the advertising strategies used by institutions and third party providers to solicit participation in study abroad programs. More specifically, our aim is to explore the potential impact advertising has on the participation of students of color in SA programs. Within this review we provide a discussion of study abroad offices and their relationship with and the role of third party program providers, advertising practices and

their impact on consumers, benefits of study abroad, and barriers to participation in these programs for students of color.

STUDY ABROAD OFFICES AND THIRD-PARTY PROGRAM PROVIDERS

Most public U.S. higher education institutions have a Study Abroad office where students access, among other things, general information about SA programs (Harari, 1983). Faculty often partner with these offices to organize and advertise their SA programs. In recent years, demand for SA opportunities has grown well beyond the capacity of colleges and universities to provide a wide range of programs on their own (Heyl, 2011; Nelson, 1995). To accommodate this demand and to remain competitive, institutions partner with TPP that have the capacity to provide a broader choice of programs and destinations (Redden, 2007). Most TPP organize their own programs and depend on accredited U.S. and international institutions to provide courses for students to ultimately receive college credit for their study abroad experiences (Heyl, 2011). Partnering institutions in turn provide related information on their websites on behalf of their affiliate providers. Heyl (2011) observed that the number of TPP has grown significantly over the past 10-15 years and suggested that the crucial role they play in education abroad will continue to expand as institutions depend on them more and more as a way to attract quality students and control costs.

THE DISCOURSE OF ADVERTISING

Advertising combines text and visual discourse to create the desired effect on the target audience. According to Holloway (2004), the underlying objectives of advertising are to inform, persuade, and remind. These objectives are consistent with the AIDA principle used in marketing: “attracting Attention, creating Interest, fostering Desire and inspiring Action” (p. 265). Commenting on the discourse employed in travel brochures, Weightman (1987) stated that “the tour brochure directs expectations, influences perceptions and thereby provides a preconceived landscape for the tourist to ‘discover’” (p. 230). Levin and Gaeth (1988) concluded that product labeling can indeed have an effect on the decision of the consumer with regard to the product advertised. Texts can also create, evoke, and reinforce existing dominant social types (Cook, 2001) and even bolster the feeling of in-groupness, that is ‘us’ vs ‘them’ (Adegoju, 2008). Thus, the nature of discourse can either be isolating or inclusive depending on the interpretations that the consumer attaches to it. Martin (2006) further suggested that advertisements contribute to cultural self-image. Martin argued that effective communication must take into account cultural identity of the target audience. She suggested that advertisements that fail to do so are sometimes met with resistance and may send unintended negative messages to the consumers that may lead them into questioning their cultural identity. The literature is clear that advertising has the potential to impact the behavior of consumers. When consumers are attracted to a product, they are likely to become interested in the product and take action (El-daly, 2012). In the case of SA, when certain groups of students and parents are not attracted to or interested in what they view within advertisements they are less likely to investigate opportunities further, thus excluding students of color from pursuing SA experiences. Understanding SA advertising, and the impact such advertising has on the consumer is imperative to conceptualizing and understanding the impact it can have on the participation of students of color within study abroad programs.

BENEFITS OF STUDY ABROAD

Research on the impact of SA indicates that students make numerous personal and educational gains as a result of their participation in study abroad. Benefits associated with SA include second language acquisition (Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009); cognitive, identity and professional development (Dolby, 2004; Franklin, 2010; Ingraham & Peterson, 2004; McKeown, 2006; Savicky & Cooley, 2011); as well as general academic success (Kuh, 2008; Sutton & Rubin, 2004, 2010). Study abroad has also been shown to develop intercultural competence (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Patterson, 2006; Pedersen, 2010; Salisbury, 2011) and impart global learning (Brascamp, Brascamp, &

Merill, 2009; Douglas & Jones-Rikken, 2001). While these benefits apply to the general student population, the literature further presents benefits that are particularly salient to ethnic and racial minority populations.

Day-Vines, Barker, and Exum (1998) examined the impact of a study abroad program in Ghana on 18 African American students and found that the program enabled participants to (1) replace stereotypes about Africa with more accurate representations, (2) examine American cultural values more critically and analytically, (3) develop in terms of ethnic and racial identity, and (4) experience enhanced achievement and increased motivation (p. 63). In another study, the Georgia Learning Outcomes of Students Studying Abroad Research Initiative (GLOSSARI) (Sutton & Rubin, 2004) found that education abroad was particularly beneficial to students of color. The study reported that while all students who studied abroad had a 17.8% higher 4-year graduation rate, the rate rose to 31.2% for African-American students. The study also found that African-American student participants had six-year graduation rates that were very similar to those of White students who studied abroad. Despite our knowledge and understanding of the benefits of study abroad for students of color, barriers still exist which prevent larger numbers of students to participate in these programs.

BARRIERS TO MINORITY STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN STUDY ABROAD

Previous research has highlighted many barriers that limit or prohibit minority student participation in SA programs. These barriers include cost, fear of racism and discrimination abroad, and access to information concerning SA programs (Chieffo, & Griffiths, 2005; Hembroff & Rusz 1993; Lincoln Commission, 2005). SA programs require substantial financial investments by students, which many students of color do not have access to. Recognizing that SA is an expensive undertaking, the U.S. Department of State introduced the Gilman International Scholarship in 2001. The Benjamin A. Gilman scholarship program seeks to increase participation in SA programs among individuals from diverse backgrounds with financial needs by awarding financial awards to undergraduate students that might not otherwise be able to participate (Institute of International Education, 2017). However, despite programs such as the Gilman scholarship, participation of this target group remains low.

In addition to being cost prohibitive, fear of racism and discrimination keeps ethnic minority students from studying abroad (Carroll, 1996; Consuelo-Clemens, 2002; Fels, 1993; Hembroff & Rusz, 1993). Historical patterns of study abroad participation have been associated with negative perceptions of and attitudes towards study abroad held by students of color. This combined with their limited travel experience within and outside of the U.S. causes apprehension and fear of travelling to unfamiliar locations (Hembroff & Rusz, 1993). Brown (2002) argued that “traditionally, international travel and study have not been part of the culture for most students of color” (p. 28). Jackson (2006) posited that historical exclusion plays a role in keeping minority students from studying abroad, noting that while this is a long-established tradition among many upper middle class White families, it is not the case for ethnic minority families. Among African American students, the “number one myth is that education abroad is not for Black students” (Craig, n.d.) as many perceive these types of experiences to be outside of their cultural norms (Burkart, Hexter, & Thompson, 2001).

Still yet, researchers have identified institutional factors as barriers to minority student participation in SA, the most prominent being lack of information. Norton (2008) found that African American students reported a lack of awareness of education abroad programs as one of the reasons they do not study abroad. Washington (1998) determined that lack of information and awareness of the benefits of SA are the greatest contributors to African American students not participating in such programs. Furthermore, scholars have suggested that the lack of encouragement from faculty and staff (Dessof, 2006; Shih, 2009), lack of peer mentors and information networks on campus about study abroad issues (Mattai & Ohiwerei, 1989) have also impacted participation rates among students of color.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The current study is concerned with the discourse of SA advertising. It seeks to understand how the discourse of advertising constructs study abroad and how this might impact minority students' decision to participate. This study examines data from four study abroad websites, which include two Mid-Western Universities and two Third-Party Providers (TPP). The institutions were selected based on their (1) range of tuition fees, (2) student profile, (3) number of students on Pell Grants and federal loans, (4) study abroad participation, and (5) affiliation with a TPP. Both universities are predominantly White institutions (PWIs). 78.4 % of students at Institution 1 were White while 21.4 % were Students of Color (SOC). At Institution II, 79.2% were White students while 20.8% were SOC. At each institution a large number of students are either on Pell grants or federal student loans. At Institution I, approximately 5,100 (21%) undergraduates are recipients of Pell grants at an annual average of \$3,400, while approximately 4,100 (15%) students receive Pell grants at an average of \$4,100 annually at Institution II. Students at Institution I and Institution II receive an annual average of about \$6,200 and \$6,900 in federal student loans respectively. In terms of SA participation, 3.6% of students at Institution I studied abroad during the 2012-2013 academic year, while 4.2 % of the total student population at Institution II studied abroad. To provide further context, both institutions had study abroad participation rates above the current national average of 1%. Consistent with national averages, more than 80% of those who studied abroad at both institutions in the 2012-2013 academic year were White. Of those in Institution I who studied abroad, 83.8% were White and 16.2% were SOC while at Institution II, 86% were White and 14% were SOC. Evidently, the percentages of SOC who participated in SA in both institutions was lower than those enrolled whereas that of White students was higher than those enrolled.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Race Theory (CRT) served as a guide to the design of this study and the collection and analysis of data from primary and secondary sources. CRT serves as an appropriate lens through which to question and challenge policies and practices where race, White supremacy, meritocracy, and racist ideologies reproduce power structures that result in inequitable access to valuable resources (Allen, 2006; Hiraldo, 2010). Specifically, CRT views racism as a “means by which society allocates privilege and status” (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001, p.17), where benefits that come with that privilege primarily benefit the dominant group (Solorzano, 1998). Lawrence (2003) observed that institutions can intentionally or otherwise maintain and reproduce a racial order that privileges the dominant group through deeply rooted aspects, ideology, culture, and practices of institutions. CRT also espouses the idea of “analyzing racism in education by placing it in both a historical and a contemporary context” (Solorzano, 1998, p.123). Within the present study, the context in which to view this problem is provided by the historical low participation rates of students of color in study abroad programs.

Historically, exclusion has manifested itself in the denial of higher education for students of color through segregation, limited state funding, and through curriculums designed to subjugate them and maintain ideas consistent with White supremacy (Spring, 2012). Though official de jure segregation has been eliminated, scholars suggest that the higher education system within the U.S. continues to practice racism in covert and informal ways (Harper, 2012; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). These exclusionary practices continue to manifest themselves through institutional policies and structures (Gasman, Abiola, & Travers, 2015). The primary purpose and intent of this study is to examine SA advertising as a practice that could potentially replicate historical exclusion of minority students from meaningful educational experiences such as study abroad.

CRT has been used in social science research to identify and explain (critique) barriers that hinder access to and success in higher education for marginalized groups (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). In a similar manner, CRT can serve as a useful framework for understanding the pervasiveness of Whiteness within higher education spaces, programs, and activities,

and how this pervasiveness serves to marginalize students of color in gaining access to study abroad opportunities. Institutional insensitivity to cultural differences in the provision of information about various activities and programs may work to propel or reinforce institutional racism in spite of any action plans for inclusiveness. Therefore, it is important to consider how well-intended institutional processes and procedures can potentially promote racism when working toward improving an institution's plan for inclusion.

Harper and Hurtado (2007) support the use of CRT as a lens in which to examine subtle manifestations of racism in higher education practices and how these might further marginalize minority students who are already marginalized by hostile campus environments. Accordingly, CRT provides a framework to help unravel the sometimes invisible layers of exclusion, currently limiting the participation in SA programs by students of color at institutions of higher education within the US.

METHODOLOGY

Document analysis is the selected research method used for this study. Document analysis, as a qualitative research method, entails analysis of documents through systematic procedures for reviewing or evaluating printed and electronic material (G. A. Bowen, 2009). Such documents contain text and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention. Using document analysis provides a rich source of data which in turn produces rich descriptions (Stake, 2010; Yin, 1994) and helps "uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights" (Merriam, 1988,; p. 118) relevant to the phenomenon under study.

More specifically, this study employed content and thematic analysis to examine and analyze study abroad advertisements. First, a review of online advertisements for study abroad made available on the selected institutions' websites, and those of their affiliated TPP was conducted. Data collection began during the summer of 2015 and continued for eighteen months. The process entailed identifying relevant advertisements and then transferring these advertisements to Microsoft Word documents. This step was followed by a thorough reading of the text and identification of pertinent and relevant passages of text and/or visuals (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Meaningful segments of data were highlighted and coded. For instance, statements such as "offers great city attractions such as restaurants, cafés, parks and gardens, theaters, art galleries, shopping centers, and nightclubs" were coded as "recreation/ entertainment." From this process a total of nine major codes were created. Next, codes were grouped into individual themes that served as categories for analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). A total of four themes emerged from an analysis of the collected data: homogenization of the study abroad population, study abroad as recreation, study abroad as tourism, and de-accentuation of academic learning.

FINDINGS

Analysis of the identified SA websites revealed that two main modes of communication are most used in electronic ads: visual and verbal. These two forms of communication interact to convey the meaning of SA as perceived by the advertisers. Najafian and Ketabi (2011) argue that the linguistic as well as visual choices made by ad producers are not accidental at all; in essence, they carry the ideologies that advertisers associate with the target of the ad. Ip (2008) posits that the linguistic and visual means employed in ads such as travel brochures are likely to influence consumer's cognition. Therefore, it can be argued that ideologies held by advertisers are passed on to the consumer and subsequently influence the way consumers perceive the targeted message of the ad. This section discusses how advertisers, through the visual and verbal choices in their electronic ads, construct SA.

HOMOGENIZATION OF THE STUDY ABROAD POPULATION

The profile for study abroad participants is largely homogeneous in terms of background characteristics. Study abroad offices and TPP often confirm and perpetuate this homogeneity through SA ads.

An analysis of electronic ads revealed an underlying assumption that SA participants are affluent White students whose main purpose for SA participation is immersion in a different culture and a quest for adventure. This is communicated through the choice of images and text used within these ads. For instance, images illustrating SA participants were overwhelmingly those of White students. However, the absence of images of students of color is disturbingly conspicuous and the heavy use of images of White students communicates that the ads are targeted to this population. In TPP ads, images of White students engaging in activities while abroad overwhelmingly perpetuate wealth and Whiteness.

In addition to visual images, the examined ads used verbal messages in the form of past participants' testimonials of their study abroad experience to recruit future students. A thorough search of the four websites turned up only one testimonial from a student of color, at least where names and images of contributors could be matched. In one of its program sites, Institution I provided testimonials and corresponding photos of past participants in one of its SA programs to Europe. All entries posted on the blog were contributed by White students. Even though lack of peer mentors and information networks has long been cited as one of the barriers to minority student participation in SA (Mattai & Ohiwerci, 1989), it appears that advertisers, who are faculty and HE administrators, remain oblivious of the need to document minority students' experiences as a way of reaching out to other minority students through voices that they can identify with.

Additionally, within the collected ads, opportunities for "cultural immersion" were used as a prominent selling point for SA. For example, the following phrases related to this cultural immersion were used in more than 20 of the 28 ads that were examined:

- "This is a 1 credit orientation course to prepare for studying in a different culture...."
- "Immerse yourself in South Africa's culture and traditions."
- "This program also provides you with diverse cultural and social experiences...."
- "This program is focused on engaging with the local culture.... See the rugged beauty of this region while learning about the history and culture of its people."
- "The program has an experiential focus and a significant portion of the learning will occur through cultural immersion...."
- "...visit the northern Chinese grasslands conquered and ruled by Ghengis Khan in the 13th Century, and stay overnight in a yurt and witness Mongol culture."
- "The tour will visit Melbourne, capital of the state of Victoria, and considered to be Australia's 'cultural capital.'"

Advertisers assume that all students who choose to study abroad are interested in interacting with other cultures. This, in itself, is insensitive to the experiences of minority students particularly those studying at PWIs, for whom navigating the campus cultural environment is a daily and sometimes unpleasant "cultural" experience. Salisbury, Umbach, Paulsen, and Pascarella, (2009) argued that not all minority students "need to seek out cross-cultural experiences by traveling to another country because in most cases they already regularly interact across cultural differences in their everyday lives" (p.30). However, for White students who typically live within homogeneous environments, the idea of experiencing a different culture can be appealing. Constructing SA as a "cultural immersion" can discourage the participation of students of color, particularly if they have had unpleasant experiences navigating and immersing themselves within the culture of their own campus.

STUDY ABROAD AS RECREATION

The description of many electronic ads for SA programs depicted education abroad as recreation – a time for students to take a vacation from the more rigorous demands of academic life. Ads on both institutional SA and TPP websites described SA in ways that elevate pleasure above any planned academic gains. These experiences were often presented as leisure, relaxed, fun, and casual. Ads attempt to lure students into participating in SA programs by capitalizing on young students' perception of

how leisure time should be spent. Within the examined ads, these leisure activities included visiting cafes, shopping, watching movies, going out to clubs, watching games, and relaxing in parks. For instance, one SA ad from Institution II informed prospective participants that a city in New Zealand “is said to have become a true young person’s city with a variety of cafes, restaurants, parks, theatres, and vibrant nightlife.” In another ad from the same institution, the ad encouraged those who decided to study at a university in New Zealand’s capital city to “take in a rugby game,” “head to the beach to relax” or “visit one of the many art festivals.” The ad also promised prospective participants a “relaxed” teaching style during their four-week program in Ireland. Institution II’s affiliated TPP, RealStudyAbroad.com, encouraged students to study abroad in an Australian city which “boasts ... a casual lifestyle” and “offers great city attractions such as restaurants, cafés, parks and gardens, theaters, art galleries, shopping centers, and nightclubs.” It also promised students a “relaxed and friendly” atmosphere at the host university. According to an ad by Institution I, a SA location in Australia has state-of-the-art facilities which include gymnasium, exercise, and sports science labs. An ad on FunAbroad.com, an affiliate TPP of this institution, persuades students to study in the largest city in Spain whose “charm cannot be missed in the numerous nightlife activities, which include restaurants, shows, dance clubs, and pubs.” The same TPP, advertising a location in Brazil informs students that “the city has 223 cinemas, 92 theatres, 11 cultural centers, 70 museums...” and goes on to state that “[t]he five amusement parks and the great number of leisure places are the icons of the city.”

While providing students with leisure activities can be a valuable learning experience, the pervasive use of words like “leisure”, “fun”, “recreational”, and “relax” punctuated with suggestions of facilities that students will have access to such as gyms, restaurants, dance clubs, bars, parks and so forth, raises doubt about the level of academic engagement and value of SA. It is evident that leisure activities are given more prominence in SA ads, regardless of whether they are on university or TPP websites.

STUDY ABROAD AS TOURISM

Data from the selected websites reveals that electronic advertising of SA programs is characterized by the use of highly touristic language. Words associated with tourism such as “explore”, “discover”, “adventure”, “tour”, and “sight-see” dominate the electronic ads. Advertisements from Institution I promised that while in London, students would have their “own *private bus tour* of London complete with *professional guide* on [their] first full day in London...” On the same trip, their “second *adventure* will be to Cambridge...” In one instance, its affiliate, FunAbroad.com, promises students an “action-packed itinerary” in Ireland where they will visit museums, wall murals, and historic sites, and they are promised that unlike ordinary tourists, they will have the opportunity to travel ... and see sites normal tourists would never get to see.” A study abroad program sponsored by Institution II informs students that “[t]here are no prerequisites, other than an interest in *discovering* the cultural riches of Ireland and a willingness to *explore* the experience of Ireland through writing and Irish literature.” Another ad for a city in Latin America states that the city “was declared a Cultural Patrimony of Humanity by UNESCO because of its historic monuments and its varied cultural ambiance, which attracts many visitors and tourists” (FunAbroad.com).

As shown in Table 1, advertisements found on SA websites employed very similar techniques as those used by TPP. Just like tour companies capitalize on tourists’ fascination with picturesque and entertaining locales to lure students into buying their products, so do SA advertisers. For instance, an ad from Institution I described the capital of Spain as “an incredibly *historic* and stunningly beautiful city” which “still retains much of its *medieval architecture* and narrow winding streets...” Institution II described an SA host campus in New Zealand as having a “unique *Mediterranean-style architecture*.” Another ad from Institution I advised participants that while in Costa Rica, they can “tour the *national park and seashore*, home of beautiful vistas, wonderful *beaches*, and maybe even see a *sloth or monkey* or two!” Several additional examples of examined ads further illustrate the targeting of advertisements to those seeking adventure and scenic locations during their study abroad experience. An ad for

Ghana stated that students will be at a location that is “well known for its extraordinary beauty of *rolling hills and valleys*,” another *described* Campbell town in Australia as an “energetic, lively city set in a *landscape of rolling hills and farms*.” Of an SA site in Australia, a RealStudyAbroad.com ad states that “unsurprisingly, it is a paradise for anyone who likes the *outdoors*...”

Table 1: Terms used within institutional and TPP website advertisements associated with tourism

Terms used	Frequency
Tour	36
Explore	21
Discover	11
Sight-see	9
Adventure	8
Total	85

Within the examined advertising ads, it was found that SA offices and TPP often overused “positive and glowing adjectives” within their ads, a technique which Capelli (2006) referred to as the euphoria technique. This technique, also referred to as the “hyperbolic” element (Lapsanska, 2006), is a common technique in tourism advertising that employs heavy usage of adjectives which are normally non-gradable (Lapsanska, 2006) to glamorize the tourist sites and travel experiences. The purpose of this technique is to create a magical effect (Capelli, 2006). Ads that were examined for this study used descriptions such as “incredibly historic”, “stunningly beautiful” “exciting experience”, “picturesque countryside”, “fascinating landscape”, “vibrant city” “magnificent buildings”, and “spectacular view” to describe SA locations.

It is evident from the foregoing that the greater value attached to SA is that of exploration and pleasure. As Zemach-Bersin (2009) suggests, this kind of discourse of adventure positions the SA participant as an adventurer rather than a learner.

DE-ACCENTUATION OF ACADEMIC LEARNING

SA ads are largely mute on the academic substance related to the student’s field of study. In a growing consumerist context where SA is being seen as academic tourism (Breen, 2012; Zemach-Bersin, 2009), it would seem that academic content would find a central place in SA ads in order to set it apart from tourism. However, the academic component of SA is relegated to the periphery in a way that suggests that advertisers do not see it as the core purpose of SA. Greater emphasis is placed on excursions as evidenced by highly elaborate details about activities that involve recreation, juxtaposed against shallow and oftentimes implicit information on planned academic activities. Sampled ads revealed that the academic goals and objectives of the programs are often vague, and providers generally are noncommittal on how the program goals would be achieved. Institution I advertised a human rights, law, and justice program in Ireland thus:

Spend spring break in beautiful Northern Ireland for an experience of a lifetime! Throughout this program students *will see* large metropolitan areas and small country towns, meeting local Irish folk and *absorbing all* that this small region *has to offer*. Culture, history, politics, and religion are combined into a unique and *engaging experience* that offers 4 credits in just one week!

Although it is touted to be an experience of a lifetime, it is not clear what the students will be *absorbing* or what they will learn from *seeing* the metropolitan areas and small country towns. Stating that the region has things to offer and failing to identify them serves to enhance the mystical effect often associated with tourism advertising. Without a clear description of what students will do and learn while abroad, describing it as an *engaging experience* is a hollow promise, which, besides evoking excite-

ment at the prospect of earning 4 credits does little in way of defining what the experience will entail and what the students will be expected to gain.

It is apparent that electronic ads de-emphasize academics by the manner in which they draw attention away from the academic activities within the institutions, choosing to focus on the attractions within the institutions or in the surrounding areas. An example of this is an ad about a program to Australia. The ad barely touched on the academic activities of the program but provided an extensive description of the physical environment of the campus that will host the program:

The specially designed campus has received international attention for its environmentally sensitive design, including its six green star rated building, and a focus on sustainable living. The teaching facilities are set on over 87 hectares including wetlands with a distinct focus on native flora and fauna, and a herbarium. (FunAbroad.com)

Other than mentioning that the university offers a variety of courses, nothing specific is said about the nature of the courses or the curricula. Another ad by Institution II, for instance, describes the Australian city where the university is located as being “surrounded by extinct volcanoes and countless islands” and that the city is “truly one of the world’s most spectacular harbor cities...” Introducing a study abroad program in Spain, its TPP states that:

Experiencing Córdoba’s surrounding nature and wildlife destinations is an absolute must. The nearby lakes and rivers attract water sports enthusiasts from around the world, while local mountains and valleys are ideal for hiking, horseback riding, rock climbing, hand gliding, and other outdoor activities. (FunAbroad.com)

This silence about the academic engagement embedded in the SA program speaks loudly about what the advertisers consider to be of importance in SA programming: anything else but academics.

Finally, the suppression of academics is brought out through the images used in the SA ads. Images depicting “academic” activities are conspicuously absent while those showing “outdoor” recreational activities dominate the sampled electronic ads. It is instructive that the SA websites sampled highlight cultural learning as a key goal of an education abroad experience, yet the advertising messages are worded in such a way as to appeal to the students’ sense of excitement rather than focusing on the more demanding yet important aspects of academics and intercultural learning.

COMMERCIALIZATION OF STUDY ABROAD

SA programs construct SA as a commodity and the SA student as a passive consumer of all that her desired location has to offer. There is a monetary value attached to pre-packaged experiences and the student who has purchasing power can buy them for her own personal enjoyment. People, places, and the culture of the host countries are put up “for sale” for a quoted price. For instance, the reason given why students need to sign up for a program in Ireland according to RealStudyAbroad.com is that “the Irish people in Cork are very kind and always have an interesting story to tell.” Another ad on Institution I SA website says that students can expect to find the people of Northern Ireland “fascinating.” Another ad plays on the exotic image often associated with the people and cultures of Africa stating that in Botswana, “There are numerous ethnic groups ranging from the San or Bushman, who were hunter gatherers.”

Accessing local culture is part of the SA package. Students, just by presenting themselves at their SA location, can hope to sit back and enjoy the local culture. Prospective SA participants in a Mexico program can hope to be in a location where “there is always something to satisfy any visitor’s taste ... whether your tastes are for exploring the city or enjoying the countryside” (Institution II). Students who hoped to go to Ruhr were informed that the area opens its vast cultural offerings to every inhabitant, suggesting that while they temporarily inhabit the area, students will have unlimited access to the vast culture. In essence, once the student paid for SA, they could see the people and their cultures as though they were goods on display.

Furthermore, business practices were reflected in SA advertising. The concept of discounts, normally associated with commercial enterprises, is employed to lure students into buying the “study abroad product”. A Ghana faculty-led program sponsored by Institution I offered various discounts to prospective program participants. For instance, it had the Early Bird \$100 for early applicants or the “bring a friend” discount. Participants who brought a friend to register were promised a \$250 grant for a semester program or a \$100 grant for a summer, winter, or internship program. Additionally, previous participants who had been bitten by “the travel bug and could not wait to leave the US again “will receive a \$250 grant for a semester program or a \$100 grant for a summer program.” This demonstrates that the main concern of this program was more numbers. This competition caters to the “customer” in students and the beneficiary.

SA advertisers also take it upon themselves to not only market the business establishments that college students would be attracted to, but also encourage them to go on shopping sprees. Enjoyment of being abroad is viewed in terms of where one goes shopping and the places they visit. In Exeter, the ad states,

the real enjoyment of shopping in Exeter is to explore the side streets and some of the more unconventional shops, such as Cathedral Green with its bars and restaurants or Gandy Street with its diverse range of shops selling designer labels, jewelry, and gifts. Exeter’s arts centre, the Phoenix, offers top quality theatre, live music, exhibitions, and films.

For students who do not have purchasing power, these expectations that students spend time shopping designer labels, watching movies, visiting exhibitions could easily dissuade financially disadvantaged students from participating in SA. That funding is one of the major barriers that constrain minority student participation in SA is widely documented. It is therefore concerning that institutions that claim to be working to diversify the SA population oversee this kind of advertising that has the potential to disenfranchise minority students further. This sentiment is complemented by text descriptions such as this one of an Australian city. The text states, “...recreational activities abound with venues for golf, swimming, tennis, horse riding and fascinating walks...” Minority students who, in many cases, come from low socio-economic backgrounds (W. G. Bowen, Chingos, & McPherson, 2009) may not necessarily identify with this kind of lifestyle, yet the elitist activities are used as a selling point without distinction of the diverse population that is likely to participate in SA programs.

LIMITATIONS

As with any study, this work has limitations that must be considered. To begin, the authors collected ads and data contained on webpages from two higher education institutions and two TPPs. Considering that there are thousands of colleges and universities and TPPs in the U.S., the collected data represents advertising practices for only a small percentage of institutions and TPPs. The intent and purpose of this small sample was to explore a phenomenon and to encourage further discussion concerning the influence of SA advertising on minority students’ decision to participate. Additionally, the interpretation of the influence of ads is, to a great extent, informed by the literature and the perspectives of the authors. A study that examines the perceptions held by SOCs concerning SA ads would provide a more informative understanding of this influence. When collecting and analyzing data from websites, specifically pictures from websites, the authors made judgements concerning race and ethnicity based on visuals alone. We fully understand there is a great margin for error when basing race and ethnicity on a single picture. Lastly, this paper discusses the influence of advertising on the participation of SOCs in study abroad. We fully recognize that when examining variables such as race, social class could have a very similar impact. For the purposes of this study we chose to place primary focus and emphasis on the impact ads have on students of color.

DISCUSSION

In using CRT as a lens in which to explore the issues concerning SA recruitment and participation among students of color, we question current practices and policies and challenge practitioners to consider the power of advertising and how disenfranchising language can be. Historically, students who study abroad have been overwhelmingly white, a trend that has led minority students to distance themselves from these types of experiences. Craig (n.d.) points out that African American students do not think of SA as an academic activity for students like them. Students of color generally disassociate themselves with SA because of a negative mindset that stems from the lack of role models from among them (Perdreau, 2000). Yet, even as U.S. higher education institutions make substantial efforts to increase minority student SA participation (Desoff, 2006), they continue to perpetuate the notion that SA is for white students by using images of white students almost exclusively in their SA ads. Bucciarelli (2010) states the image created for a product or service fashions personality for which the target consumer can identify. According to Bucciarelli, images should speak directly to particular types of individuals so that these individuals can see their own personalities represented in the life-style images created by ads. Going by this proposition, it would appear then that electronic SA ads position White students as the “right people” to study abroad while everyone else, by implication, belongs to the “wrong group”. By using images of and testimonials from White students almost exclusively, SA program providers risk sending the message that SA is a preserve of white students, thus marginalizing them further. In his analysis of the social implications of advertising language, Cook (2001) shows that texts can create, evoke, and reinforce dominant social types. He argues that a sense of self as both an individual and participant in social activities is to be found within the form of discourse, not outside it and independently from it, in the language of advertising as in all language use.

Students of color often struggle with issues of ethnicity when confronted with the idea of studying abroad. Although the literature documents fear of discrimination from host communities as a barrier for minority student participation, there is the less talked about fear of discrimination from White peers. Perdreau (2000), a former director of study abroad program at a public university, shares that minority students often expressed anxiety about interactions with White students abroad and confided in her their fear of finding themselves being “the only one in a sea of White faces.” Confronted with images of White students in SA locations could serve to heighten anxiety among minority students and confirm that indeed SA is not for them. In addition, if, as Zemach-Bersin (2009) points out, students’ first exposure to SA programs is through online ads, the pervasive use of images of and testimonies from white students could prevent the student from exploring other more accurate sources of information, such as an SA advisor or faculty liaison.

SA is a costly undertaking and the challenge of paying for an overseas educational experience cannot be overemphasized. For minority students, who are more likely than White students to come from low socioeconomic families (W. G. Bowen et al., 2009) paying for SA can seem like an unnecessary expense. When SA ads depict the experience as an adventure and emphasize recreational activities at the expense of academic engagement, students and their families often question the rationale for spending money to go abroad for recreation. Excursions can serve as a very important part of SA, particularly in helping students engage with the local community. However, their value can only be realized when they are clearly linked to the academic goals of the program. Such connections should be made explicit in SA ads if institutions expect to attract minority students who might be apprehensive about the value of SA. If, as Washington (1998) points out, students of color hesitate to study abroad because of their lack of awareness of the benefits associated with SA, depicting SA as recreation can only serve to further distance them from the possibility of participating in SA. Students finance their education because they believe that the benefits will outweigh any sacrifices made along the way. Therefore, institutions and faculty should stress the benefits of SA, such as academic, intellectual, professional, and personal growth over that of adventure and recreation if they truly hope to expand participation.

This analysis is important and timely. First, people of African American and Latinx backgrounds will soon constitute more than half of the U.S. population and will constitute a large number of America's future workforce (Colby & Ortman, 2015). Their continued dismal academic attainment portends grave consequences for the nation's economy and its ability to compete globally. Understanding factors that militate against the participation of students of color in high-impact educational experiences such as SA can guide practice to improve their chances of graduation, prepare them to effectively navigate today's increasingly globalized world, and ensure an effectively trained future workforce. This is not likely to happen if institutional practice isolates an already disadvantaged population if SA advertising does not take their particular needs to account.

Given that electronic advertisements serve as a medium through which many students are first introduced to specific study abroad opportunities (Zemach-Bersin, 2009), it is important to understand the potential impact this advertising has on who subsequently participates, and the likelihood that students of color will participate. Findings from this study will be beneficial to faculty and study abroad practitioners and program providers in gaining a greater understanding of how to effectively communicate study abroad opportunities to diverse audiences.

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BIOGRAPHIES



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David Horton Jr. is an assistant professor in the Higher Education and Student Affairs program at Ohio University. David's research centers on the curricular and co-curricular experiences of marginalized groups at the community college, with a special focus on student athletes. David regularly teaches graduate courses at Ohio University that include *Community Colleges in America*, *Leadership and Change*, *Diversity in Higher Education*, and *Critical Theories in Higher Education*.