

University of Denver

Digital Commons @ DU

---

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Graduate Studies

---

1-1-2019

## Letting the Village Be the Teacher: A Critical Ethnographic Case Study of Community-Based Learning in Northern Thailand

Lauren Collins  
*University of Denver*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd>



Part of the [Community College Leadership Commons](#), and the [Liberal Studies Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Collins, Lauren, "Letting the Village Be the Teacher: A Critical Ethnographic Case Study of Community-Based Learning in Northern Thailand" (2019). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 1650.  
<https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd/1650>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Studies at Digital Commons @ DU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ DU. For more information, please contact [jennifer.cox@du.edu](mailto:jennifer.cox@du.edu), [dig-commons@du.edu](mailto:dig-commons@du.edu).

---

# Letting the Village Be the Teacher: A Critical Ethnographic Case Study of Community-Based Learning in Northern Thailand

## Abstract

This paper explores how three communities in rural Thailand are building global education program provision infrastructure as they respond to the desires of U.S. study abroad programs to place students in homestay experiences. The three communities profiled in this study are each seeking alternate paths that allow engagement with outsider visitors while minimizing unwanted impacts. Through my research, I challenge the hidden narrative in U.S. higher education practice and discourse that a study abroad destination's main value is as a site for the benefit of U.S. higher education students; a site where they can accrue cultural, social, and political capital. Traditional study abroad research suffers from problems of exclusion, with U.S. students the only unit of analysis that is prioritized. In this study, I utilized a critical ethnographic design to structure data collection and analysis, with focus on both the institution of study abroad as it is operationalized within the U.S. higher education context, as well as the specific context in the communities I visited in Northern Thailand. Communities experienced a wide range of benefits that they were able to leverage or had the potential to deploy through engaging with the study abroad economy. Benefits were not limited to only financial capital, but included cultural and social and political capital. Communities with developed systems of distributive benefit allowed learning environments for students that produced more positive outcomes for community members as well. From these findings I hypothesize that in well-designed study abroad programs, both community members and students can be empowered and the relationship can be mutually beneficial.

## Document Type

Dissertation

## Degree Name

Ph.D.

## Department

Higher Education

## First Advisor

Ryan Gildersleeve, Ph.D.

## Keywords

Community impact, Critical theory, Study abroad

## Subject Categories

Community College Leadership | Education | Liberal Studies

## Publication Statement

Copyright is held by the author. User is responsible for all copyright compliance.

Letting the Village be the Teacher: A Critical Ethnographic Case Study of  
Community-Based Learning in Northern Thailand

---

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Morgridge College of Education

University of Denver

---

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

---

by

Lauren Collins

August 2019

Advisor: Ryan Gildersleeve

©Copyright by Lauren Collins 2019

All Rights Reserved

Author: Lauren Collins

Title: Letting the Village be the Teacher: A Critical Ethnographic Case Study of Community-Based Learning in Northern Thailand

Advisor: Ryan Gildersleeve

Degree Date: August 2019

### **Abstract**

This paper explores how three communities in rural Thailand are building global education program provision infrastructure as they respond to the desires of U.S. study abroad programs to place students in homestay experiences. The three communities profiled in this study are each seeking alternate paths that allow engagement with outsider visitors while minimizing unwanted impacts. Through my research, I challenge the hidden narrative in U.S. higher education practice and discourse that a study abroad destination's main value is as a site for the benefit of U.S. higher education students; a site where they can accrue cultural, social, and political capital. Traditional study abroad research suffers from problems of exclusion, with U.S. students the only unit of analysis that is prioritized. In this study, I utilized a critical ethnographic design to structure data collection and analysis, with focus on both the institution of study abroad as it is operationalized within the U.S. higher education context, as well as the specific context in the communities I visited in Northern Thailand. Communities experienced a wide range of benefits that they were able to leverage or had the potential to deploy through engaging with the study abroad economy. Benefits were not limited to only financial capital, but included cultural and social and political capital. Communities with developed systems of distributive benefit allowed learning environments for students that produced more positive outcomes for community members as well. From these findings I

hypothesize that in well-designed study abroad programs, both community members and students can be empowered and the relationship can be mutually beneficial.

## Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction .....	1
Positioning of Study Abroad within Higher Education Practice .....	1
Research Questions for Study .....	4
Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks .....	6
Neoliberalism. ....	7
Academic Capitalism. ....	8
Neocolonialism. ....	8
Contributions to Higher Education Theory.....	11
Contributions to Higher Education Practice .....	12
Contributions to Teaching and Learning .....	13
 Chapter Two: Literature Review .....	 15
Introduction.....	15
Positioning of Study Abroad within Higher Education Research .....	16
Traditional Foci of Research.....	17
Pedagogy.....	18
Student Learning.....	19
Program Structure.....	20
Commercialization of Study Abroad.....	22
Community Impact .....	25
Critical Readings and Counter Narratives .....	28
Study Abroad and U.S. Foreign Policy.....	28
Neoliberalism and the Academic Capitalist Regime.....	30
Colonial Legacies: Postcolonial, Decolonizing, and Neocolonial Frameworks.....	36
Critical Global Citizenship.....	40
Conclusion .....	45
 Chapter Three: Thai Context Considerations .....	 47
Colonialism in Southeast Asia.....	48
Origins of the Nation State.....	48
Treatment of Minorities.....	50
Economics and Income Inequality in Thailand .....	53
International Development Projects.....	58
Authoritarian Government.....	61
U.S. Thai Relations .....	64
Education System.....	66
Salience of English.....	67
Tourism .....	68
Ethnic Minorities and Cultural Commodification for Tourism.....	70
Community-based Tourism.....	71
Homestay Economics.....	71
Education Abroad Industry in Thailand.....	74

Chapter Four: Methodology.....	75
Summary of Methodology .....	75
Inception of Research Questions. ....	76
Ethnographic Approach .....	78
Dissertation Setting.....	81
Thailand. ....	81
Research Partner. ....	83
Data Collection .....	85
Fieldwork .....	87
Visit One. ....	87
Visit Two. ....	88
Visit Three. ....	89
Connections to Indigenous Methodologies.....	89
Participant Observation.....	90
Interviews.....	91
Descriptions of Communities .....	91
Community 1. ....	93
Community 2. ....	94
Community 3. ....	96
Researcher Positionality.....	98
Rejecting Objectivity. ....	98
Lived Experience. ....	100
Data Analysis.....	107
Ethical Considerations. ....	109
Research Relationships. ....	111
Limitations of Study .....	112
Chapter Five:.....	113
Introduction.....	113
Learning the Process. ....	116
Summary of Qualitative Themes .....	117
Theme 1: Economic Impacts and Varieties of Capital .....	119
Financial Capital. ....	122
Social and Political Capital.....	131
Theme 2: Systemic Factors and Programmatic Interventions that Put Power in the	
Hands of the Community .....	131
The Community as Knowledge Creator or “Letting the Village be the Teacher”.	
.....	136
Systems of Distributive Benefit. ....	141
Treating Students as Learners Not Consumers. ....	146
Theme 3: The Work of Hosting.....	148
Meals and Sleeping Accommodations.....	150
Caring Labor. ....	153



Performing Family.....	154
Authenticity.....	156
Discussion.....	158
Chapter Six: Implications and Possibilities .....	162
Introduction.....	162
Inclusion of Community Impact in Best Practices Work by Study Abroad Standards	
Organizations .....	164
Forum on Education Abroad: Standards of Good Practice.....	164
Consider Adopting the Fair Trade Learning Rubric.....	169
Inclusion of Study Abroad as a Part of the Public Impact of Higher Education .....	170
Higher Education Institution Study Abroad Managerial Processes.....	171
Critically Assess Third-party Provider Partnerships, Especially on Short-term	
Faculty-led Programs.....	172
Applications for Pedagogy.....	174
Decenter Faculty on Study Abroad Programs.....	175
Prepare Students to Take Community Comfort as a Priority, Not Their Own	
Desires.....	176
Discourse and Rhetoric .....	177
Conclusion .....	178
References.....	180
Appendix A.....	214
Data Collection Summary.....	214
Summary of who was Interviewed .....	215

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1 Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks .....	6
Figure 2 CIA World Factbook Map of Thailand (CIA, 2019).....	48
Figure 3 Average Daily Wage in Thailand as of January 1, 2019 (Asia Briefing Ltd, 2019; Rastogi, 2018) .....	54
Figure 4 International Tourism Arrivals in Thailand, 1970-2013 (TAT 1998, 2015).....	69
Figure 5 Picture Advising Against Commodification of Religion (MyBangkok, 2019).	70
Figure 6 Thai Government Homestay Standards (Thai Homestay Standards, 2019).....	72
Figure 7 Economic Impacts Overview .....	119
Figure 8 Systematic Factors and Interventions Summary .....	136
Figure 9 Components of the Work of Hosting.....	148

## Definitions

**Community-based learning:** A type of study abroad program that involves staying in a local community to learn about issues relevant to people and place in that location.

**Homestay:** Accommodation provided that involves staying in a local person's home. Meals are typically included in a homestay.

**Study abroad:** An international educational experience that U.S. students participate in with the support of their home institution. Programs are typically credit bearing and count toward a student's degree at their home institution.

**Third-party provider:** An intermediary organization that organizes logistics and/or programs for U.S. students and faculty.

## **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **Positioning of Study Abroad within Higher Education Practice**

Study abroad is assumed both in popular discourse and academic research to be an overwhelmingly positive and effective process (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut & Klute, 2012). However, there is little research that works to reconfigure or reimagine how we understand this process in the first place. As Zemach-Bersin (2009) argues, “study abroad as a technology of knowledge production, citizenship education, and cultural diplomacy has enjoyed a profoundly uncontested status” (p. 89). Through my research, I challenge the hidden narrative in U.S. higher education practice and discourse that a study abroad destination’s main value is as a site for the benefit of U.S. higher education students; a site where they can accrue cultural, social, and political capital. What are the corresponding community experiences and learning outcomes for community members when they host study abroad programs? Overall study abroad research is suffering from a one-sided understanding of this phenomenon (Schroeder, Wood, Galiardi & Koehn, 2009).

During the past century, the American economy has been structured by the labor needs of corporations who have to maintain profitability in a continually changing economy. In this process, production of goods has increasingly moved to locations outside of the U.S. where people cost less to employ, particularly in the manufacturing sector. Within the U.S., high-paying jobs have become ones where workers have to apply

theoretical and analytical knowledge, typically acquired through training by a higher education institution, to create and sell products and services. Assessing the changing labor force in the 1950s, business theorist Drucker (1959; 1992) began using the label “knowledge worker,” describing how labor in the United States was moving to a system where workers needed to use their minds to produce work instead of physical labor (Collins, 2019).

Higher education institutions now work to produce a workforce that can succeed in this new economy (Collins, 2019b; Duncan, 2011; Knight, 2004). Government representatives, private businesses, and educational organizations are seeking to train students who can work in a global economy (Collins, 2019b; Institute for International Education, 2018). Advocates point to the positive benefits of study abroad that include academic growth, personal development, foreign language skills, and career preparation. Students participate in study abroad programs to receive knowledge about places outside of the U.S. that they will later be able to leverage into employment post-graduation. In this understanding, students return from study abroad more aware and appreciate of cultural differences, which makes them more marketable for employment where they will have to work with diverse people from around the world. They also become stewards of world peace. Another key benefit of peace is the ability of corporations to continue to grow (Friedman, 1999).

The majority of U.S. higher education institutions now offer study abroad programs (Twombly et al., 2012). Narratives that look at community experiences of U.S. study abroad programs do not feature in classic accounts of study abroad impact. In this dissertation, I investigate the ways in which host communities participate in the global

economy through providing spaces of learning for study abroad programs. To do so I take a micro-look at a few specific instantiations of this process in Northern Thailand. In the 2016-2017 academic year, 332,727 U.S. college students studied abroad for credit outside of the U.S. The majority studied in Europe, followed by Latin America. 2763 (.008%) of U.S. study abroad students participated in programs in Thailand (Institute for International Education, 2018).

In my study I draw on interdisciplinary streams of scholarship to examine the specific case of three communities in Northern Thailand who host study abroad programs. Ethical considerations of North-South study abroad programs are highlighted and considerations for improved institutional practice within higher education in the U.S. are offered. North-South student mobility refers to students from the North America, Europe, and Australia/New Zealand traveling to the “Global South” for educational opportunities (Jotia & Biraimah, 2015).. The Global South is often thought of as countries which have a low Gross National Product (GNP) or that rank low on the Human Development Index (HDI), meaning “human development indicators are weak, and rates of poverty, inequality and insecurity are high” (Tiessen, Lough & Grantham, 2018, p. 2; Tiessen & Grantham, 2016). However, these categories are messy. Many countries in the Global South have urban areas with individual wealth and consumption levels equivalent or higher to what is considered standard in the Global North, while also containing vast degrees of inequity between the rich and poor, particularly in rural areas that lack access to financial capital. Taking into account the differences and nuances within and between countries, I use the terms Global North and Global South throughout this paper to describe economic divisions detailed in the Brandt Report of 1980, but acknowledge that

these categories are fuzzy (McFarlane, 2006). According to Tsing (2000) economic globalization began in the 1990s with the defeat of the Soviet Union. Economies in the Global North deregulated and privatized and those in the South were forced into structural adjustment policies (Tiessen, et al., 2018). Chomsky (1979) saw this as a major decline of the public good in service to the profit of corporations.

Findings from this study show that study abroad is entangled in the global economy in diverse and unexpected ways. It works to understand study abroad through impacts on host communities instead of the U.S. students, giving rise to new understandings and considerations. Questions I ask and analyze through this dissertation help to complicate normative understandings of study abroad and create space to consider the larger economic and power systems study abroad programs are acting within and having impact upon. I hope that my work can create a space for further research in this area, and interfere in a dominant discourse that does not often look at study abroad program impact from this perspective.

### **Research Questions for Study**

A critical approach to study abroad is needed that moves away from centering on U.S. student experiences. Dominant discourse on the role of study abroad in higher education is rich with studies that look at U.S. student development and outcomes. This study works to disrupt this narrative through exploring the relationship between three communities and the study abroad programs that they host by focusing on economic impacts and how study abroad learning experience provision in the three communities considered is reflective of local strategies for engagement with the global economy.

The work was guided by the following central research question: In what ways are economic opportunities and behaviors of host communities altered through interactions with study abroad programs?

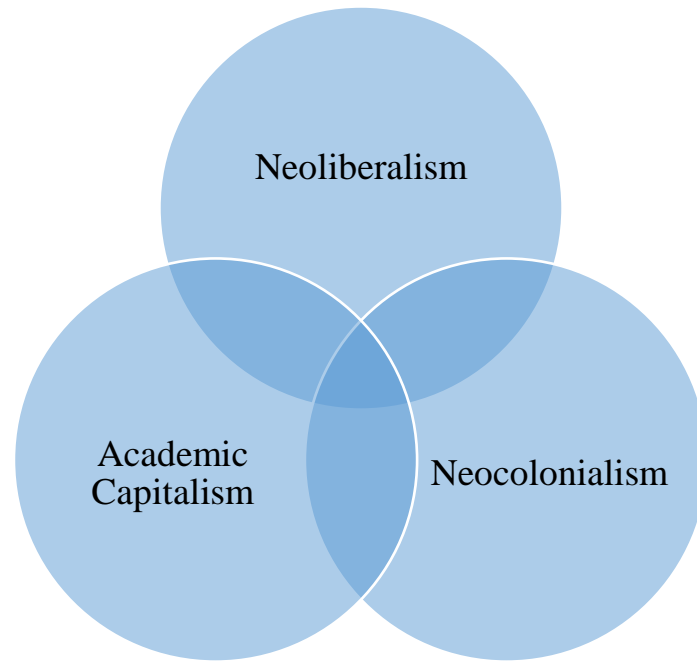
I also worked to answer three related sub-questions:

- 1) How do host communities experience and come to know study abroad programs?
- 2) How does hosting and teaching students affect every day, lived experiences?
- 3) What opportunities exist for communities to shape what their relationships with study abroad programs look like?

This project is a stance in support of the intellectual responsibility of research to take a critical approach (Apple, 2004; Chowdhry, 2007; Said, 1978). We can and must increase possibilities for justice in the world around us, including qualitative research (Cannella, 2014). In my research economic impacts were a key focus of analysis, including monetary and non-monetary capital accrual by hosts, the business practices of study abroad program providers, consumption of the experience by students, and the global economy that these programs operate within. This dissertation works to produce new connections between the study of interrelated issues of study abroad and economic globalization via the theories of neocolonialism, academic capitalism, and neoliberalism.



## Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks



*Figure 1: Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks*

This dissertation is situated at the intersection of discourse on study abroad and the conceptual frameworks of neoliberalism, academic capitalism, and neocolonialism.

Through these analytical frameworks, I explore the ways that study abroad in Thailand is connected to a diversity of social phenomena, deeply entangled in host communities in unexplored ways, and related to issues of power and capital reflective of these conceptual frameworks. Methodologically, I engaged in a practice of “being alive to the world” (Ingold, 2011). I lived my research questions professionally at the same time as I was tried to make sense of them academically. The research process occurred in real time as I engaged in the research as an academic and as a worker. Throughout I continually questioned what the social institution and practice of study abroad was creating in host communities. Throughout data collection and analysis my methodology involved ever-changing understandings.

**Neoliberalism.** This project takes as a premise that the neoliberal economy, in which the global higher education system participates, perpetuates a system of neoliberal governance, privileging market society and consumerism over communitarian and/or humanistic goals. Under neoliberalism, profitability is the primary way that value is perceived and created. This has threatened the public purpose of education (Orphan, 2018). Although study abroad is understood in large part as having altruistic impacts through increasing understanding, and by extension world peace, it also plays a distinctly economic role. This includes revenues to a host institution or community, jobs for local people, as well as the multiplier effect of program and student spending on the local economy. Study abroad is often framed in explicitly market-oriented and entrepreneurial ways. Participation in the study abroad industry becomes part of how students sell themselves to employers. I argue that through this process, they carry the internalization of what French philosopher Foucault (2008) described as “homoeconomicus” and “entrepreneurship of the self,” helping to transfer neoliberal governmentality into other cultural and historical contexts. Governmentality as defined by Foucault (2008) is the exercise of how people are governed willingly through their participation in the economy. In this context, citizens of all nations increasingly operate in a context where they must generate monetizable value to survive. Taking study abroad as a focus, this educational practice has been expanding under a regime working to create capitalist citizens prepared to work in the global economy. Thus, I use neoliberalism as a framework to analyze the relationship between study abroad programs and the provision of labor and services by host communities.

**Academic Capitalism.** The theory of academic capitalism provides another backdrop for understanding how study abroad fits into contemporary higher education practices. This theory describes how higher education institutions participate with and in the global economy. First laid out in *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University* (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), it shows the many ways in which higher education is increasingly in service to a capitalistic learning regime rather than a public good learning regime. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) describe how higher education institutions are increasingly focused on generating external revenue through market-like behavior. Through this process lines between private and public interest blur. In this reading, study abroad can be understood as another component through which the commercialization of university activities and the changing relationships between campuses and external markets becomes visible (Slaughter & Leslie, 2004). Three ways in which study abroad can be seen operating under an academic capitalism regime are: 1) through the increasingly managerial economy of study abroad within higher education institutions, 2) the rise of intermediary organizations that contract with higher education institutions to provide study abroad programs, and 3) the production of global knowledge workers.

**Neocolonialism.** Post-colonial, decolonizing, and neocolonial frameworks offer a range of jumping off points for important ways to look at study abroad and at community-level experiences in the Global South. These are not unifying theories, but provide tools for analyzing how power flows in different national and cultural contexts. Thomas (1994) proposes that colonialism can be understood as a process where power, national, racial, and culture inequalities are legitimized through institutionalized practices

and rhetoric of people in power. Post-colonial theorists Said (1978), Bhaba (1994), and Spivak (Spivak, 1993; Spivak, 1988) argue that distinctions between the West and the East are constructed concepts, created by Western colonial powers with the intention of justifying the subjugation of and extraction of resources from the East. These scholars argue that although formal colonial rule has ended, real power imbalances exist that that are perpetuated by post-colonial practices and economics. Decolonizing frameworks question the interlinking of a lack of modernity with lack of economic development. Stemming from the experience of colonization in Latin and South America scholars of decolonization argue that the dominant narratives that take modernity and economic development as the heart of history grossly overlook the impacts of colonialism, empire, and enslavement on structuring access to power and resources today. Neocolonial theorists Nkrumah (1966) and Chomsky (1979) describe the current world order as one where developed economies use capitalism to influence developing economies rather than using overt military control. In the context of my study's location in Thailand, I focus on neocolonialism as a framework to explore how capitalism, globalization, and cultural imperialism all impact local community members and students lives (Nkrumah, 1966).

### **Line of Flight: Reflections on Process**

My research unfolded as both formal and informal field work experiences. It exists as a lived inquiry I have been in long before I entered the field to collect data. As a lived experience that unfolded over multiple years, my research categories developed with the research, not before (Tsing, 2015). Findings from three formal field work encounters in Thailand are examined through personal experiences exploring the relationships between

study abroad programs and host communities. During the initial phases of research inception, I worked for a higher education institution where I managed the bidding process for short-term study abroad program provision by third-party providers. I also traveled with faculty-led study abroad programs. Later, as I was developing the research design for this project, I spent eight months working in the sales department of a for-profit study abroad company. I also designed and led four community-based study abroad programs as a field instructor for yet another third-party program provider. My analysis draws on all these experiences. These experiences shaped the research questions that I asked during my fieldwork and are integral to how I understand the answers that I found.

My fieldwork was ultimately conceived of as a way to explore how host communities experience study abroad programs after seeing how little consideration was taken of host community impact. As a researcher I am less interested in impartial representation than I am in “mapping plausible realities” (Gildersleeve, 2018, p. 695). I want to “understand, in partial and temporary kinds of ways, the making of the human as it unfolds across intersecting lines of flight with difference, diversity, and immanence” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Gildersleeve, 2018;). Looking at the experience of a study abroad program from an assemblage of perspectives allowed me to see cultural, social, and economic exchange as continually emergent and in flux (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Attentiveness to power, as operationalized in my analysis as forms of capital, led to the research questions that frame the present study.

Lines of flight (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), as an analytical and conceptual process, is central to presentation of my findings. It also captures the process of my research inquiry as it unfolded over three separate field work experiences that were in conversation with

the previous lived experienced described above, and detailed further in my methods section. Rather than see my project as one that offers a new branch on the tree of knowledge, where my findings are secure, the research process and findings presented here are inherently rhizomatic, where each understanding or insight led to another. In this approach research was both a substance and process where I applied multiple, nonhierarchical ways of working with my data and interpretations. I work to use this research as an entry to understanding how study abroad and my specific case studies can be understood at both the individual and the system levels.

### **Contributions to Higher Education Theory**

This study contributes to higher education theory in the following ways. First, it adds to the discourse on impacts of neoliberal policies on higher education institutions. Study abroad practices reflect the consumer model of education, the growing managerial economy of higher education, and play a role in perpetuating the spread of neoliberal values in host communities. Insights into how study abroad program provision maps on to the theory of academic capitalism demonstrate ways in which higher education learning is increasingly privatized. Unlike other impacts that neoliberalism has had on the practice of education that are widely discussed in higher education discourse, such the impact performance funding models, increasingly reliance on corporate partnerships, the market-based ranking of scholars, or employment of adjunct instructors, study abroad program provision is currently a less visible penetration of the marketization of education (Barkin, 2018; Marginson, 1999, Marginson, 2013; Marginson & Considine, 2000). Developing students for their future careers helps to perpetuate the economic role of higher education institutions rather than their role as producers of a strong civil society

and leaves out the development altogether of individual people or civil society in host communities. This study makes these connections more visible. Through becoming visible, clarity on how study abroad operates in a neoliberal regime is advanced.

This study contributes to the small, but growing, literature critical of how locations outside of the U.S. are impacted through study abroad representation, program design, and in-country practice that is often absent within higher education discourse on the impacts of study abroad, but that does exist within critical service learning, tourism, development, and critical theory literature. The interdisciplinary connections drawn in this study serve as a map to consider normative discourse in unfamiliar ways that add to understandings within each of these fields. Focus on study abroad looking out from communities expands how scholars know and think about study abroad, shifting the discourse to new terrains. This allows dialogue across fields of knowledge into new meanings and understandings (Gildersleeve & Kuntz, 2013).

### **Contributions to Higher Education Practice**

The findings from this study inform recommendations for institutional management of study abroad programs, as well as considerations of leveraging partnerships between study abroad offices and community-engagement offices. By understanding universities as global actors that place students in local communities outside of the fixed spatial location of a higher education campus, the need for intentional practices within study abroad program provision becomes apparent. The recommendations of this study push institutions to include community impact to the basis by which study abroad programs are designed and assessed. In particular, as institutions become increasingly bureaucratized, short-term and traditional study abroad programs are overseen centrally

in study abroad offices. The managerial processes these offices role out should include community considerations in assessment of potential and current study abroad program providers, short-term travel vendors, and faculty proposals. As Apple (2013) also argues, the way in which educational organizations are established closely influences the way in which they can support emancipatory projects or themselves support new inequities. For example, an institutional agenda that only measures impact by outcomes on students may continue to perpetuate extractive practices in marginalized communities, as might occur when a U.S. study abroad program in Thailand only employs U.S. citizens to teach about lived experiences or development challenges in rural communities. Like Giroux (2011), this paper argues that the capacity of universities to foster critical inquiry and social justice is diminished when the values of student as consumer take hold of institutional life. Study abroad offices, as actors within higher education institutions that should be dedicated to the public good, must care for the institutional conditions that produce pedagogies that advance local community interests alongside goals of educating U.S. students. The basis on which institutions are established affects the teaching and learning that occurs within them.

### **Contributions to Teaching and Learning**

Strategies and suggestions for producing mutuality between host communities and study abroad programs via intentional pedagogy and program design are present in the implications. These implications for teaching and learning include decentering faculty on study abroad programs, focusing on communities as knowledge creators, and practices that treat communities as co-learners rather than passive actors to be learned only from or about. Ultimately, faculty must take responsibility to ensure that courses are set up to



share community knowledge and allow local people to share the stage of knowledge production and co-creation. If a faculty person or educational organization sees themselves as the expert whose sole role is share their own expertise, there is an implicit devaluing of community knowledge. To create more equitable and better programing, faculty have to give up control over what constitutes knowledge, decentering themselves as the center of learning (Freire, 1998; 2001). This “breaks the wall” of faculty power that is at the center of the traditional academic model, thereby reciprocal opportunities for learning (Hartman, Kiely, Boettcher, Friedrichs, and Zakaria, 2018, p. 80).

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

### **Introduction**

This literature review summarizes the normative literature found in higher education discourse around study abroad to provide critical readings and counter narratives of dominant discourse. It incorporates a diverse interdisciplinary set of work associated with international development, critical global service learning, and critical tourism studies. This review focuses on surfacing underlying assumptions that, when considered with a critical perspective, complicate the picture of what impacts study abroad has, especially as it relates to host community experiences. Particular attention is paid to illuminating the systems study abroad programs are both a product of and an actor within. In this study, I use the term “study abroad” to describe the specific educational experience that students are engaged in, focusing on programs where students spend between a few weeks and a year studying in a different country and receive credit for the experience at their home institution. “Education abroad” refers to a broader category of programs that students can engage in overseas including research abroad, teaching abroad, internships abroad, or service-learning programs abroad (Twombly et al., 2012). In recent years there has been a steady rise in the numbers of articles that problematize study abroad. Some of these studies touch on the use of study abroad as a tool of U.S. foreign policy, the increasing commercialization of study abroad, environmental impacts of study abroad, and (within critical global service learning literature) an examination of potential impacts of

privileged, industrialized, capitalized countries' students on developing world host communities. This literature review summarizes and expands on this work by drawing on theoretical frameworks not commonly applied in normative study abroad discourse.

### **Positioning of Study Abroad within Higher Education Research**

Today study abroad is seen as the best way for U.S. students to achieve global knowledge and intercultural competence. In the last twenty years the number of U.S. students who participate in study abroad program has tripled (Institute of International Education, 2018). Students at almost any higher education institutions now have opportunities access opportunities to participate in a program and many are actively encouraged by their home institution to do so (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010). Government officials are also actively encouraging this practice. 2006 was the “Year of Study Abroad,” with the U.S. senate putting their support behind this based on a view that “the security, stability, and economic vitality of the United States in an increasingly complex global age depend largely upon having a globally competent citizenry” (United States Senate, 2005, para. 7 as quoted in Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Study abroad has continued to be a focus of federal higher education policy, particularly during the Clinton and Obama Administrations, demonstrated by government backed initiatives designed to encourage more students to participate (Barkin, 2018; Doerr, 2012).

In March of 2014, Michelle Obama gave the following remarks at the Stanford Center at Peking University.

Through the wonders of modern technology, our world is more connected than ever before. Ideas can cross oceans with the click of a button. Companies can do business and compete with companies across the globe. And we can text, email, Skype with people on every continent. So studying abroad isn't just a fun way to spend a semester; it is quickly becoming the key to success in our global economy. Because

getting ahead in today's workplace isn't just about getting good grades or test scores in school, which are important. It's also about having real experience with the world beyond your borders — experience with languages, cultures and societies very different from your own. Or, as the Chinese saying goes: “It is better to travel ten thousand miles than to read ten thousand books.” – Michelle Obama, 2014 (Obama, 2014, March 22).

**Traditional Foci of Research.** Conventional research on study abroad looks at students learning outcomes, how to increase participation rates, and pedagogical considerations about what types of program design best achieve desired learning outcomes (Allen, 2010; Engle & Engle, 2003; Killick, 2013; McKeown, 2009; Rodman & Merrill, 2010; Vande Berg, Paige & Lou, 2012). Research publications are written largely by practitioners, limited to U.S. university programs, and published in education journals focused on student learning (Vande Berg et al., 2012). Studies vary widely in sample size and methodology, typically examine bachelor or graduate degree-granting institutions, and leave community college and graduate experiences largely unexamined (Twombly et al., 2012; Vande Berg et al., 2012). Articles surveyed for this review include those published by professional organizations that service study abroad and higher education practitioners and academics including the Institute of International Education (IIE), the Forum on Education Abroad, NAFSA, the Association of the Study of Higher Education (ASHE), the Association of International Education Administrators (AIEA), and the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U). Within the discourse centered on U.S. student learning, a small body of literature exists that looks critically at learning outcomes, questioning whether study abroad actually measures up to the overwhelmingly positive public and institutional support. This literature was also included and built upon.

**Pedagogy.** Teaching methods and their associated learning outcomes are a common area of debate (Twombly et al., 2012). There is a wide range of research that considers what types of program design and teaching tools lead to the greatest learning outcomes for U.S. students. Twombly, et al. (2012) and Anderson, Lawton, Rexeisen and Hubbard (2006) conducted extensive reviews of study abroad programs learning goals and found four main learning objectives for students: academic and intellectual development, intercultural sensitivity development, individual development, and career development. Most of the research coming out of the research organizations that inform practitioners in the field such as *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, NAFSA, and the Institute of International Education, finds that study abroad impacts U.S. students positively in these domains.

Living in a place that is strange and new can challenge a student's worldview. For this reason, study abroad has become a tool that is believed to facilitate transformational learning (Stephenson, 2002). Study abroad is connected to the following theories of teaching and learning. The idea that immersing oneself into an unfamiliar location is connected to Dewey's (1910, 1933, 1938) work on experiential learning. It also draws on Kolb (1984) and Mezirow's (1990, 2000) discussion of "disorienting dilemmas" and how these help students learn. In host communities students have to cope with challenges that surface assumptions and belief structures that they were not previously aware of. This dis-equilibrium and the associated deep thinking and reflexivity then induces a transformational learning experience (Mezirow, 1990). This process is cyclical and by the end of a study abroad program, a student's perspectives and world view has been transformed. Although it would seem clear that communities and people who interact

with students who are different than them would also been experiencing disorienting dilemmas, little scholarship discusses this. The literature does also not consider whether or not community members want such an experience. The success of study abroad for U.S. students is primarily measured through the success of students emerging “transformed”, typically through self-reports. In general research does not assess success through measures that look at impacts on local people. The ways in which people in host communities are impacted by different types of pedagogy and program design are also rare, which is problematic considering that these tools require host community participation (Collins, 2019a).

***Student Learning.*** Study abroad is not immune from the preoccupation with accountability and assessment in higher education (De Wit, 2002). As a result the most robust debate centers on what and how students are learning through participation, with the goal of these debates being to determine the exact components of a high impact program. In their guide to study abroad, Lidstone and Rueckert (2007) found that students who study abroad experience a wide range of benefits, including academic connections, increased self-confidence, greater networks, and increased international perspective. Barkin (2015) on the other hand found that language deficits, lack of ability to develop relationships, and lack of contextual knowledge and cultural background, can all hinder students’ ability to learn during a study abroad program. How, then, can we know if study abroad is truly achieving the desired outcomes or not?

In 2008 the AAC&U included study abroad participation as one of their high impact practices in *High Impact Educational Practices: What They Are, Who Has Access to Them, and Why They Matter* (Kuh & Schneider, 2008). High impact practices are

educational experiences that make a significant impact on student success in college. Participating in study abroad has been shown to positively impact GPA, graduation rates, and increase academic engagement in students after they return. In an extensive review of studies that show positive learning outcomes for students, Vandenberg et al. (2012) found that impact is more nuanced and less definitive than the dominant narrative would suggest. Although literature typically frames study abroad as highly impactful, even transformational, this often does not hold up under methodological scrutiny. Moreover, student self-reports typically form the basis for evidence of learning. While self-reflection provides great individual level narrative data, it is difficult to generalize this for all students. Most studies focused on participating students who had the predisposition to study abroad in the first place, making the study groups to a large degree self-selecting. Twombly et al. (2012) make a similar case in their review of the field. Woolf (2007) adds that perhaps study abroad proponents have come to take as fact the positive outcomes of study abroad simply through how strongly they are advocated for, not based on empirical research. It seems that study abroad scholars and practitioners often view the act of just crossing a border being enough to transform students into globally literate knowledge workers (Collins, 2019b). In reality the picture is more complicated. Students have to be prepared and equipped to navigate difference. Programs have to design learning experiences intentionally. Power differences impact learning. Study abroad programs sometimes achieve their goals of “transformation”, but often they do not. More than

***Program structure.*** A widely held belief about study abroad is that longer is better, with longer programs offering greater learning for students. However, this is increasingly contested, especially as shorter study abroad experiences are easier for students to

participate in, making them the most likely avenue for diversifying the participant population and increasing the number of students who study abroad (Campbell, 2016). Since most institutions measure study abroad success by the numbers of students who participate, it is arguable that there is a vested interest in showing that short-term programs are equivalently impactful. Although some research indicates that cohorts can allow for greater risk taking and engagement of students, the presence of cohorts can make it harder for students to move outside of the group (Allen, 2010; Ogden, 2007). Barkin (2015) found that programs with a cohort model create “in-group socialization and bonding, with the setting becoming a backdrop to the in-group experience.” Citron & Kline (2001; 2002) describe how this can happen in homestay situations when multiple students with similar backgrounds are placed together in the same household. The “shadow culture” that results further isolates the students from cultural contact with their host community, and cohorts hinder the ability for students to be confronted daily with different ways of seeing and doing.

Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) are often used by researchers to look at how study abroad impacts individual student development. In this process, learning and education are socio-cultural activities, not just individual cognitive processes. Kortegast (2011) demonstrates this in a visual ethnography of 16 undergraduate students studying abroad on a short-term summer program in Valencia, Spain, where learning/knowing is both ongoing and mediated through social participation. This means that how students come to learn and know in Valencia through their study abroad experience is done in partnership with other students they are with, through their own social practices, and interacting with the communities that they are operating in. Kortegast (2011) found that



most of the learning that students participated in that happened outside of the classroom and students often lacked the capacity to negotiate the meaning of their experiences after returning home. This begs the question: where are the host communities in research about social-cultural learning? Are there opportunities for communities to negotiate the meaning of U.S. student presence on their campuses or in their homes?

**Commercialization of Study Abroad.** Study abroad programs in the U.S. developed out of partnerships between U.S. campuses and partner overseas institutions. In the early days of study abroad, U.S. students would typically spend either a semester or a year on a foreign campus. Now programs that are not affiliated with a partner institution and are eight weeks or less are the most common ways that U.S. students participate in study abroad (Institute of International Education, 2018). With the rise of these short term programs and the increasing push to grow the numbers of participating students, intermediary organizations that are often referred to as third-party providers increasingly play an important role in expanding programs and facilitating the process (Bolen, 2001; Barkin, 2018). Although study abroad programs were initially focused predominantly on Western Europe, they have diversified geographically in recent years, with fourteen of the top twenty-five destinations now outside of Europe (Institute of International Education, 2018).

*Table 1 Top 25 Study Abroad Destinations 2017-2018 Academic Year (IIE, 2018)*

<b><u>Rank</u></b>	<b><u>Destination</u></b>	<b><u># of Students</u></b>	<b><u>% of Total</u></b>
	<b>WORLD TOTAL</b>	<b>332,727</b>	<b>100.0</b>
1	United Kingdom	39,851	12.0
2	Italy	35,366	10.6
3	Spain	31,230	9.4
4	France	16,462	4.9
5	Germany	12,585	3.8
6	China	11,910	3.6
7	Ireland	11,492	3.5
8	Australia	10,400	3.1
9	Costa Rica	8,322	2.5
10	Japan	7,531	2.3
11	South Africa	6,042	1.8
12	Mexico	5,736	1.7
13	Czech Republic	4,777	1.4
14	India	4,704	1.4
15	Cuba	4,607	1.4
16	Denmark	4,457	1.3
17	Greece	4,351	1.3
18	Ecuador	4,021	1.2
19	New Zealand	3,777	1.1
20	South Korea	3,770	1.1
21	Peru	3,695	1.1
22	Netherlands	3,437	1.0
23	Argentina	3,422	1.0

24	Austria	3,308	1.0
25	Chile	3,073	0.9
Total		248,326	74.4

Bolen (2001) describes how in the 1980s and 1990s a “mass market for American exchange programs” (p. 185) was created, with prepacked experiences sold to students and institutions. Study abroad program providers market programs to individual students, as well as faculty who lead travel programs. Many campuses have a list of “approved” providers and the study abroad office becomes the gatekeeper to provider programs (Heyl, 2011). The types of programs have great variation, with some offering their own curriculum, while others just act as pass-through organizations that help with the logistics and subcontract to vendors in country. U.S. students can study abroad on programs run through other higher education institutions (university-based providers such as the University of Minnesota or New York University programs), corporate entities (both non-profit and for-profit like the School for International Training (SIT) or the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE)), as well as programs administered directly through a home institution that may be faculty-led, but that are often still contracted through third-party providers (Heyl, 2011; Twombly et al., 2012). Some providers have extensive academic infrastructure while others focus more on the logistics of study abroad. While some third-party providers manage U.S. accredited universities abroad (i.e. AIFS), often smaller providers get their own programs accredited through a different U.S. university school of record or partner with foreign institutions who provide transcript services. For the purposes of this paper, all entities that provide services for a fee that

facilitate a student's studying on a foreign campus that are separate of their home campus are referred to as third-party providers (Heyl, 2011). The selling of these packaged products is what can be referred to as the commodification of study abroad (Bolen, 2001).

### **Community Impact**

Community perspectives on study abroad programs are rare. Wood (2012) looked at this issue, but from the perspectives of program organizers. Stoecker and Tryon (2009) assessed this amongst Malaysian stakeholders in a service project but stakeholders were limited to project staff. Compared to the wide-ranging research on impacts on U.S. students, scholarship on community experience and impact is almost non-existent (Collins, 2019a; Schroeder et al., 2009). In this way, equity between U.S. programs and host communities is diminished. This then can "re-inscribe" inequity programs may actually want to eliminate (Pasque, Carducci, Kuntz & Gildersleeve, 2012). Impacts on communities are not a focus within international education and are currently understudied. The Forum on Education Abroad, one of the primary professional associations for study abroad, started asking members if they "considered and prepared for the environmental, economic and social consequences of their programs' presence in the host country when approving, designing, and managing programs" (Forum on Education Abroad and Michele Scheib, 2018, p. 7) in 2009. Based on the results from their survey, members do not cite community impact as a top concern (Forum on Education Abroad and Michele Scheib, 2018). In 2017, questions related to community impact were broadened to include qualitative responses in addition to yes or no questions, as well as selected approaches to categories of impact pre-defined by the Forum that were defined as environmental, social, and economic impacts. The qualitative responses from

the 2017 survey were not shared in the 2018 report of the survey. Quantitative data from that survey showed that the majority of institutions did not consider the environmental impact of their programs on communities (59%). Educational programming to address sustainability was selected as the most common strategy to minimize negative impacts on the environment (32%). For social impact, most respondents (68%) selected that they created “host partnerships that are ethical, collaborative, and sustainable”. Service projects (53%) were listed as the most common way that positive social impact was facilitated. The majority of respondents (65%) considered economic impacts, but only a third (31%) saw that how money was spent in a community was part of their economic impact. This survey’s responses, as well as its design overall, demonstrates limited conceptions of impact and that many organizations are not critically looking at impact on host communities (McNaughton, 2006). Moreover, the language of the questions with their pre-selected categories offers a limited understanding of what impact could be, does not include ways for community members themselves to give perspectives, and also lacks context available in broader literature from critical service learning and tourism studies that shows the ways that mitigation strategies themselves can do damage; in particular, the challenges of creating reciprocal mutually beneficial service projects (Hartman et al., 2018).

Literature from critical service learning, development studies, and critical tourism studies also give additional context as to what impacts student programs can have. The differing power relationships between students and host community members when economic opportunities are limited in host communities can have deep impacts. Tourism research in particular has found possible negative effects to include economic

dependency on programs, the destruction of the environment, and a lowered self-worth (McLaren, 2006). In these contexts there can be “a considerable spatial redistribution of spending power, which has a significant impact on the economy of the destination” (Archer et al. 2005, 79, as quoted in Schroeder et al., 2009).

Not all impacts are negative. Reynolds (2014) found that a program in rural Nicaragua positively impacted community members through an increase in *confianza* (trust/confidence), a sense of pride, and *consciencia* (awareness). This theme of community pride is present in other research and is linked to community members being actively participants in a program and having a teaching role to students (Collins, 2019a; McClintic, 2015; Ortiz Loaiza, 2018). Students may also provide accompaniment and witness (Morton, 1995). Other benefits might be capacity building, knowledge (especially technology), and positive impacts from the prestige of having foreigners working with local people on projects that were important to them (Heron, 2011). The leveraging by local people of the benefits of outsider visitors has also been found by tourism researchers working in Thailand. Toyota (1998) showed the effects of tourism on an Akha community in Northern Thailand, finding that villagers were not only changed by engagement with the world outsider their community but also actively worked to shape their identity and opportunities through engagement. Study abroad programs must pay attention to whether their programs are impact communities positively or negatively and in what ways. Learning is happening in multiple directions and programs must make efforts to ensure that “local communities are not exploited for education, but rather are empowered through education” (Ritchie, 2013).

## **Critical Readings and Counter Narratives**

In the following sections I apply a series of critical frameworks to the institution and practice of study abroad relevant to considering the impact of study abroad programs on the host communities I spent time in for my study.

**Study Abroad and U.S. Foreign Policy.** Study abroad discourse does not typically critique the U.S. national interests whose interests are often serviced by study abroad, but it should. Reviewing the history of the development of study abroad in the U.S., Zemach-Bersin (2009) finds an intentional effort on the part of the U.S. government to socialize young Americans toward foreign policy goals through the development of study abroad as institutional educational practice. Arguing that study abroad places U.S. students firmly in the thick of international relations, Zemach-Bersin describes how this educational practice has been used as a form of social governance in service to larger agendas. The politicization of study abroad can be seen starting at the end of World War II. New rationales for study abroad emerged, particularly rhetoric promoting greater understanding between nations with the goal of fostering world peace, re-making students into “global citizens” (Grünzweig & Rinehart, 2002; Hoffa & DePaul, 2010). However, a quieter goal of equipping Americans with greater foreign language and intellectual capacity to aid in the Cold War was present (Hoffa, 2007).

In 1965, the Higher Education Act allowed Federal Financial Aid to be used for study abroad for the first time (Mukherjee, 2012). Slowly, study abroad became both an embedded institution within higher education, and a distinct piece of government foreign policy efforts (Bu, 1999; Bu, 2003). Mukherjee (2012) argues that study abroad is another form of hidden curriculum to create a “national security state,” where neo-

liberal/neo-conservative efforts influence discourse on higher education and the value of study abroad to ultimately achieve their own ends (Apple, 2004). In this “hidden curriculum” neoliberal efforts influence discourse on higher education, pushing economic value above anything else. In this reading study abroad host communities become merely an accessory for U.S. foreign policy goals. These sites are ripe for new forms of analysis as the current state of the field does not attend to the flow of power in study abroad (Lefebvre, 2016; Zemach-Bersin, 2009).

Taking Foucault’s (2008) concept of governmentality, we see U.S. efforts to increase governmentality globally via increased language capacity of U.S. students/future knowledge workers who are better able to surveil other countries through their language skills and exploit them economically. One example of this is the federal push to support language education for the purposes of national security. In 1978 President Carter created the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, which recommended increased funding for higher education foreign language and study programs with the explicit view that the public needed to understand foreign languages and cultures to deal with an increasingly interdependent world that required American foreign language and area specialists (American Presidency Project, 1978). In 1979, the Commission released their report *Strength through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability*, stating that training in foreign languages was inadequate, and America was underprepared to meet the necessary security needs (President’s Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, 1979; Salibury, 2011).

In 1991, the U.S. led a UN-authorized coalition force to fight against Iraq in response to the invasion and annexation of Kuwait. This resulted in another federal initiative to



increase the study of Arabic and other less commonly taught languages in U.S. higher education, the National Security Education Act (National Security Education Program, 2018). The creation of NSEP marked a deepening of the linking of domestic language capacity with the goals of the U.S. military and global surveillance (Brecht & Rivers, 2000). Other federal programs funding research and training in areas critical to National Security (including Thailand), such as the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and the Fulbright Program, were administered by the Department of Education or the Department of State. Furthermore, NSEP is specifically funded and administered by the Department of Defense, with intelligence agency officials on its oversight board, and requires of alumni of the program to work for the Department of Defense or another U.S. intelligence agency for at least two years post award (National Security Education Program, 2018) Federal funding continues to support language and study abroad programs to achieve U.S. military, surveillance, and foreign policy goals (Iraq Study Group, 2006).

**Neoliberalism and the Academic Capitalist Regime.** The neoliberal economy, in which the global higher education system participates, perpetuates a system of neoliberal governance, privileging market society and consumerism over communitarian and/or humanistic goals. In this system, private enterprise is encouraged, with the expectation that each individual take personal responsibility and entrepreneurial initiative to thrive. Higher education degree attainment and the achievement of knowledge worker status is now central the achieving economic success and stability in the U.S. These factors are core to the institutional push to encourage students to study abroad. According to Bourdieu (1986), all individuals inhabiting the social world access and use capital in

order to enhance their quality of life. The privilege of studying abroad specifically allows a person to garner cultural capital. This experience can then be utilized in the future and be converted into economic capital.

Although study abroad is understood in large part as having altruistic impacts through increasing cultural understanding, and by extension world peace, it also plays an economic role. This includes revenues to third party providers, host institutions, paid work for local community members, and consumption of local products by visitors. Although it may be unintentional, the practice of study abroad has become one that is framed in explicitly market-oriented and entrepreneurial terms. The experience becomes part of how students sell themselves to employers, their friends, and an embedded part of their identity. Throughout this process, they carry the internalization of what French philosopher Foucault (2008) first described as “homoeconomicus” and “entrepreneurship of the self” helping to transfer neoliberal governmentality into other cultural and historical contexts. Governmentality as defined by Foucault (2008) is the exercise of how people are governed willingly through their participation in the economy. In this context, citizens of all nations increasingly operate in a context where they must generate monetizable value to survive. Taking study abroad as an example, the institution has been expanding under a regime working to create capitalist citizens prepared to work in the global economy. One way we might conceptualize this is through the relationship between study abroad programs and the provision of labor and services by host communities to provide value to these programs.

In this neoliberal context, the theory of academic capitalism offers insight for understanding how study abroad fits into contemporary higher education. At its most

basic level, this theory describes how higher education institutions participate with and in the global economy. First laid out in *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University* (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), it describes the many ways in which higher education is increasingly in service to a capitalistic learning regime rather than a public good learning regime. In their research, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) looked at how research universities in the U.S., the U.K., Canada, and Australia were changing their behaviors. With a specific focus on technology transfer activities, they explained how higher education institutions were increasingly focused on generating external revenue through market-like behavior. Lines between private and public interest were being blurred. Generating a new lens for analysis, the theory of academic capitalism focuses on the commercialization of university activities and the changing relationships between campuses and external markets. Outsourcing in higher education increasingly includes content delivery by third parties. Three ways in which study abroad can be seen operating under an academic capitalism regime are through the marketing of and consumerist approach to study abroad, the rise of intermediary organizations that contract with higher education institutions to provide study abroad programs, and the production of global knowledge workers.

More research should examine the role of intermediary organizations in study abroad with careful attention paid to the benefits that accrue to home and host locations. Under an academic capitalist lens, the contracting of study abroad to external entities to execute educational experiences falls into both market and market-like activities. This engagement impacts how subcontractors, higher education institutions, and host communities interact. Study abroad providers are an integral part of the higher education

ecosystem, but they are not always educational organizations. The role of these intermediary organizations blurs the distinctions between public and private sectors. The study of the study abroad providers practices, values, and impacts is among the most under-researched aspects of the study abroad industry. A 2007 *New York Times* article (Schemo, 2007) first broke the story about how study abroad officers were directing students to programs where the sending institution would receive financial rewards. Schemo (2007) noted that conflicts of interest between higher education institutions and intermediary study abroad organizations have included free or subsidized travel for university officials, back-end office support, financial assistance to market their own programs, and in some cases commissions on enrollment. In follow-on *Chronicle of Higher Education* articles, Redden (2007a; 2007b) argues that higher education institutions use these organizations because of a lack of institutional capacity and to provide students with as many options as possible. This is interlinked with the institutional push to increase the number of students who study abroad as the more options there are the more likely it is that more students can be enrolled. Without these companies, small institutions would face difficulties developing opportunities on their own, particularly to countries outside of Western Europe that are not common destinations for students. Additionally, these intermediary organizations reinforce a stratification system in which the agent of a U.S. institution is at the top of the revenue chain and host higher education institutions and communities have less power. There is a dearth of scholarly research on intermediaries, yet articles like the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reporting by Redden (2007a; 2007b) lend perspective to how this might be happening.

Although these kinds of rewards systems have now been all but eliminated, certain programs are able to enroll higher numbers of students because they are able to support study abroad offices in other ways, including paid site visits for study abroad office school administrators and marketing and enrollment support. Institutions are increasingly looking to centralize study abroad and short-term faculty-led study abroad programs, strengthening an internal managerial system of study abroad administration, representing another incursion of bureaucratic and market rationality. Applying Slaughter and Rhoads (2004) concept of “New Circuits of Knowledge,” whereby faculty power has shrunk with non-faculty professionals gaining influence, we find that administration and third-party program providers are playing a larger role in determining what knowledge is in study abroad programs. Particularly in the case of short-term faculty led programs, faculty are directly solicited by third-party providers both in person and via email and phone calls, and are often offered discounted “familiarization visits” to become familiar with the programs that they can deliver (Barkin, 2018).

Another of the main functions of academic capitalism is to produce knowledge workers. Within this framework, study abroad becomes part of the process by which capitalist workers are produced. Slaughter and Rhoads (2004) argued that this focus on career readiness demonstrates a shift of traditional mandate of higher education and “the idea of a college or university as a space for public discussion, debate, commentary, and critique is pushed to the background. Instead, colleges and universities focus increasingly on preparing students for new economy employment,” (p. 333). The focus on career impact of study abroad shows us how pervasive neoliberal ideology in higher education

has become (Anderson, Christian, Hindbjorgen, Jambor-Smith, Johnson & Woolf, 2015; Norris & Gillespie, 2009; Preston, 2012; Tillman, n.d.).

Foucault (2008) would argue that the neoliberal citizen/student must act as a “homo entrepreneur”, with their worth defined by their human capital, not by their care for their fellow human. Studying the implementation of New Deal economic policies in the U.S., Foucault found that citizens are increasingly pushed to take ownership of their fates through what he termed “entrepreneurship of himself” (p. 228). The self is now a commodity and that commodity must enter the economy as a knowledge worker. In the U.S. human beings have become creatures that are defined to the greatest extent by what their economic value.

The interlinking of study abroad and better employment outcomes after graduation is a clear example of how educational experience provision is influenced by the economy. Employers dictate a need for knowledge workers who can successfully use their intellect and brains to navigate the global marketplace, strengthening the U.S. workforce’s ability to compete in the knowledge economy. Higher education finds itself preparing students for the workforce, rather than for a democratic citizenship, in service to a “hidden curriculum of consumer capitalism,” (Slaughter, 2014, p. viii). In *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State and Higher Education*, Slaughter and Rhoads (2004) conclude that, ultimately, students are both the target market for higher education institutions, as well as what is being sold to as a finished product to employers. Fry (1984) takes this argument further, connecting the identity and value shifts that may occur through study abroad, to the process by which students become comfortable with being workers in transnational corporations, and then through their new identities and

dependencies on employment, they become vested in maintain the socioeconomic structures of neoliberalism that provide them with benefits and security.

Suspitsyna (2012) would say that the focus of institutions on preparing citizens for the workplace is done to the detriment of preparing them for a life as community and civically minded individuals and well-rounded, whole human beings. By focusing on a person's role in the economy instead of in society and within their own communities, we negatively impact our communities. This aspect of study abroad as it is currently operationalized is particularly problematic, as it seems that study abroad on its face emphasizes the notions of "one-world" and "one human race", at the same time as it perpetuates the notion of individuals traveling abroad to accrue experiences, skills, and efficacies that will increase their standing as knowledge workers.

### **Colonial Legacies: Postcolonial, Decolonizing, and Neocolonial Frameworks.**

Postcolonial, decolonizing, and neocolonial frameworks all offer ways to problematize study abroad. These theories can act as tools for understanding how power flows and how people are marginalized in different national and cultural contexts (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998). They can help to unsettle and redefine how knowledge is constructed (Bhabra, 2014). The terms decolonizing and decolonization are beginning to take hold within critical discourse in ways that may be problematic. I want to be attentive not only to deploying these terms for my own benefit while not really doing anything to challenge existing systems, as well as not turning any of these into theories into just another metaphor (Tuck & Yang, 2012). I am not attempting to superficially adopt these terms. Simply using these words does not make me, as a privileged white U.S. citizen of European descent, thriving in country build on chattel slavery and genocide, with the

ability to easily and safely cross most national borders, innocent of complicities in these systems or their legacies. However, in situating this study and the existing discourse on study abroad, these theories are important to engage with as frameworks for analyzing the current global power structures, national borders, and student mobility.

As European nations sought to expand their profits and needed raw materials and new lands to do so, they looked for access to markets and resources outside of their borders. Thomas (1994) describes colonialism as a process where power, national, racial, and culture inequalities are legitimized through how they are described by people in power. Postcolonial theorists Said (1978), Bhaba (1994), and Spivak (1988, 1993) argue that distinctions between the West and the East are constructed concepts created by Western colonial powers with the intention of justifying the subjugation of and extraction of resources from the East. These scholars argue that although formal colonial rule has ended, real power imbalances exist that are perpetuated by post-colonial practices and economics. Decolonizing frameworks question the interlinking of a lack of modernity with lack of economic development. Centering on the experience of colonization in Latin and South America, scholars of decolonization argue that the dominant narratives that take modernity and economic development as the core of history grossly overlook the impacts of colonialism, empire, and enslavement which are the true creators of income inequality and oppression that exists today. Neocolonialism builds on this, looking at the world after the end of World War II. It takes as its focus how capitalism and globalization are now ways in which previously colonized nations are continuing to be overpowered by economic forces in lieu of direct military or political control (Nkrumah, 1966). In this framework capitalism can be understood as way that



control and access to resources is now enacted, but the actors are economic rather than national forces. Nkrumah (1966) and Chomsky (1979) see the current world order as one where developed economies use capitalism to influence developing ones rather than using overt military control.

In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism . . . the essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. (Nkrumah, 1966, p. 1).

In this reading, capital is used for exploitation of the less powerful. Investment of capital by multinational corporations and non-governmental actors like the World Bank increases instead of decreases economic disparity. This dependency has been theorized as coming directly out neocolonialism (Figueroa, 1966; Stewart, 2012). In this system resources from poorer places, especially from countries in the Global South, flow to those that are already rich, typically in the Global North. Poverty becomes increasingly intractable. Negative impacts of pollution, health inequity, and environmental degradation increases in poorer places.

These frameworks help to look at global economic inequity and impacts of study abroad in local contexts. Study abroad “reflects, reproduces, and participates” in the global economy, and by extension, its related systems of oppression (Zemach-Bersin, 2009, p. 90). These theories allow for deeper understanding of local contexts that infuse study abroad host locations, especially the experience of local community members. As Barbour (2012) asks, what does it mean when U.S. students enjoy a trip to a place where there is an economic and social reality that creates inequities between U.S. and local students? What does it signal when the causes of local labor being undervalued as

compared to U.S. students are geopolitical and economic structures that benefit mostly the Global North? Rarely heard is the perspective of scholars like Ogden (2007), who argues that today's students are exploiters of this structure, occupying a position of privilege as compared to local students.

Study abroad marketing offers examples of these power imbalances. These include discursive practices around how countries in the Global South are talked about and marketed to U.S. students, as well as approaches to study abroad that focus on U.S. student learning with little to no regard to local impact. There is existent research that demonstrates how much of the rhetoric of place that shapes U.S. student understanding of culture in other countries can be traced to colonial tropes (Caton & Santosa, 2008; Sharpe, 2015). Students often come to understand or visualize places in their imagination in ways that are directly tied to the representations of people, places, and cultures established under colonialization (Caton, 2007). There is a growing body of literature that critiques these narratives and representations (Bodinger de Uriarte, 2016; Doerr, 2012; Zemach-Bersin, 2007). Representations of host communities in this way is problematic. Still, this scholarship primarily analyzes the literature and media associated with study abroad through marketing material rather than its practice (Ramirez, 2013).

Bruner (2005) describes how stories about places that student can study abroad are learned through popular narratives, news media, guidebooks, as well as study abroad offices themselves. Some pre-understandings described by Bruner (2005) and experienced by the author from students are while taking them abroad, include:

Balinese master narratives are about paradise, mysticism, and beauty; Egyptian master narratives are about the pharaonic period, the ancient royalty, tombs and pyramids; Jerusalem accounts are about the origins and holy sites of the Judeo-

Christian and Islamic religions; East African stories are about wild animals, wild landscapes, and wild tribes. It is no accident that in Kenya the government bureau in charge of travel is called the Bureau of Wildlife and Tourism. Master narratives give meaning to sites and places. (p. 4).

Established narratives like this have real impacts on student desire and program design. They can inform the meaning students make about their experiences, play in to decision making about itineraries, their own tourist practices, and impact community self-perception (Bruner, 2005). These stories showcase power relations between nations and between different identity groups within nations. Bruner (1991) argues that ideas of authenticity are highly impacted by pre-understandings. Validity in cross-cultural immersion is often decided through having an experience that matches what has been shown about a place or an idea in popular culture. For students, these pre-understandings include those provided by a study abroad office, faculty, and media discourse, embedding themselves in student's heads before they even depart. This can beget a self-perpetuating narrative of believing that something is authentic because you are told it is authentic (Selwyn, 1996). U.S. study abroad students have often experienced master narratives about places that they intend to study in. The existence of these preconceptions plays a role in student expectations.

**Critical Global Citizenship.** Global citizenship is another commonly used, but inconsistently defined, learning outcome of study abroad. The question of whether this term refers to a social justice-oriented definition of global citizenship, a global citizenship for the benefit of those with U.S. citizenship, or one of corporate-value laden global citizenship (with the image of a freshly minted global knowledge worker the mascot of higher education institutions of the future) is unclear. This must be wrestled with by

study abroad scholars. Are we seeking what Barbor (2012) describes, “educational models that foster self-criticism and the decolonization of knowledge,” (p. 3) or are we instead seeking to construct knowledge workers who can use the cultural and social capital gained through a study abroad experience to enrich their own careers and their home country’s economy? Are we enacting a neoliberal agenda via “global citizenship” (Zemach-Bersin, 2011)?

“Well-traveled” is often used as a term that shows a perceived form of sophistication. The associated idea of self as adventurer that study abroad students embark upon is also problematic. Doerr (2012) looks at the “discourse of adventure” in study abroad, and argues that through this discourse, students are made to think that they are adventurous through their study abroad participation. This idea of being special because of being an adventurer in this way lends itself to students not critically understanding the privileges that they may be carrying with them and providing a belief that they will learn best about the world through exploration rather than reflection. It reinforces self-centeredness through worship of adventures rather than focus on one’s own impact. Looking at education as a socializing agent, another outcome of this may be that through participating study abroad, U.S. students increasingly validate their worth through their own privilege to travel, as evidenced by this experience being something that they use to sell themselves to future employers.

In the U.S., this is in marked contrast to perceptions of immigrants’ levels of sophistication, even though immigrants carry with them dynamic experience from places outside of U.S. borders. In *Inside the college gates: How class and culture matter in higher education*, Stuber (2011) found that international experience remains a component

of cultural capital, and that most students who study abroad today are most often members of middle-to-high socioeconomic status backgrounds. Study abroad programs have high costs, especially compared to in-state tuition or community college costs. Cressy and Strubbs (2010) estimated that the typical study abroad semester program in 2008 cost between \$13,000 and \$23,000. Participating in these programs is cost-prohibitive, and for low-SES students taking on debt to participate, this added debt burden has the potential to negatively affect them post-college. As Steinbaum and Vaghul (n.d) show in their work mapping demographic dispersion of student debt crisis, debt burdens and default rates disproportionately affect minority and low-SES communities. This negative impact on the debt burden of low-SES participants, coupled with a social construct that labels individuals with international travel experience (as long as they are not immigrants) as “sophisticated,” demonstrate how study abroad can function a mechanism for social class perpetuation. In this framework, global citizenship is typically seen as something that cannot be attained by never leaving one’s home country, and is not conferred just by immigrating to the U.S.

Mukerjee (2012) and Ogden (2007) have criticized study abroad and global citizenship as new forms of imperialism. Under imperial governance non-western people, or “subjects,” were not seen as or allowed to be “citizens.” They argue that this discursive framework of power and dominance continues to be manifested through the push for global citizenship. Hindess (2002) finds that neoliberal ideology uses the very idea of citizenship to provide a language through which a neoliberal agenda can be enacted and hidden. Arneil (2007) extends this argument to say that global citizenship has become the political face of American foreign policy and neoliberal empire. In this empire, ideas like

“democracy” and “freedom” are assumed to be universal and tied directly to economic and private benefits to be accrued through democratized markets and individual and corporate freedom to pursue economic goals. In this reading, the term “global citizenship” becomes a tool used by industrialized Western nations to push their own economic and political values on less-developed nations. This creates a new kind of empire where the promotion of universal laws becomes a proxy for power and yet another way for the U.S. government to produce global citizens in a way that reinforces its ability to govern and strengthen U.S. global economic dominance.

The history of academic disciplines and foundations in the U.S. is also entangled with a history of surveillance and the promotion of U.S. corporate interests (Berman, 1979; Price, 2016; Steimetz, 2013; Vitalis, 2015). An example of this entanglement can again be seen in programs that work to increase student understanding of and experience in the Middle East. At the end of WWII with the onset of the Cold War, the federal government began devoting resources to support foreign language education as evidenced through the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA). The passage of this Act profoundly shaped foreign language programming in higher education by linking the purpose of education directly to defense and national security (Mahmoud, 2007; National Defense Education Act, 1958). This marked a distinct shift in attitude to the purpose of foreign language study in higher education. In the past, language had been taught for teaching students rhetoric, and to gain understanding and familiarity with “the classics.” Now language learning was being re-imagined as a tool to create global citizens who could be called upon to use these competencies in service to the government, showing how it has

become a striking form of governmentality. Global citizenship in this sense then was necessitated by the need to support U.S. national security.

Mukerjee (2012) argues that global citizenship is an illusion, as unequal power relations are very much present in the world. Instead the push for increasing so-called global citizenship can increase oppression by marking certain privileged bodies as capable of wielding it while other bodies cannot because they are immobile or do not espouse normative western values. Rather than being a citizen of the world global citizenship instead implies citizenship from a place within the Global North with the power and privilege to cross national borders at will. Zemach-Bersin (2009) argues that institutions are using a “depoliticized rhetoric of ‘global citizenship,’” (p. 18), when the use of the term in this context actually describes how cultures are provided for U.S. students to consume. Global citizenship then becomes a commodity to be consumed and obtained only by those who can explore and experience the world through study abroad and other “elitist modes of attaining citizenship” (p. 22). Study abroad “surreptitiously reproduces the logic of colonialism, legitimizes American imperialist desires, and allows for the interests of U.S. foreign policy to be articulated through the specious rhetoric of global universality,” (Zemach-Bersin, 2007, p. 17). While I do not propose that these critical critiques are the only outcome of global citizenship education, the lack of nuanced debate in the study abroad field around these issues reflects that more discussion and analysis of what is produced when global citizenship is something students earn through study abroad. Do communities who host study abroad students also achieve global citizenship through providing learning spaces for U.S. students?

## **Conclusion**

Complicating the typically benign and benevolent view of study abroad highlights how rarely research on study abroad can look critically at this educational practice in new ways that reach far outside of student learning. Study abroad research can benefit by being considered within the critical readings and counter narratives described in this chapter: neoliberalism, academic capitalism, neocolonialism, and global citizenship. The focus on research around study abroad that primarily looks at U.S. students as learners, and not on the global context or communities these students are situated within is problematic. Too much debate within the field is focused on whether or not students are achieving desired learning outcomes and does not examine how study abroad is a tool in service to larger agendas than just the student experience itself. Study abroad is connected to the idea of coming to know another culture, but this can be a real challenge when relations between students and community members are unequal, or when these groups do not engage. If we care about pushing back against the dominate discourse of a student's value as an economic actor, or a country's value as a site for economic opportunity, then it is necessary to shift the conversation. In general, study abroad scholars have yet to challenge normative understandings of study abroad as primarily being about U.S. students, evidenced by the overwhelming amount of literature around student-focused outcomes and programmatic design, to focus on more critical perspectives.

An opportunity to flip this paradigm and to uncover hidden ideologies and little understood impacts exists by turning the analytical lens toward an inquiry on why host communities choose to engage with U.S. study abroad programs and how they are



impacted. In this inquiry, host community members are also co-explorers in study abroad learning, discovering study abroad programs and students who take up residence in spaces that they willingly provide. Within these relationships are complex social interactions that include creation and negotiation of cultural identities, economic transfers, power relationships, and the business practices and processes of higher education program provision. Centering this project on the experience of host communities, who are often invisible in the literature on study abroad, helps to move discourse beyond the expansive research on U.S. student experience, opening up new lines of inquiry to critique and complicate the process students participate in.

### **Chapter Three: Thai Context Considerations**

This chapter contextualizes aspects of Thai history, politics, and economics that shape the context within which U.S. study abroad programs and communities interact. In the following chapter I attempt to describe a range of social, economic, and political factors connected to the dynamics and material consequences of historical and contemporary impacts from neoliberal and neocolonial regimes. These considerations include how neocolonialism and neoliberalism have become a political-economic formation that wield power over people's daily lives, labor, and land through their participation, willing or not, in the production and distribution of wealth. In particular, this chapter details contested notions of indigeneity and ethnic identities central to understanding the social context and pressures that two of the three communities I spent time in are faced with. This is important in understanding my findings around ethnic minority communities leveraging the political and social capital of being affiliated with a foreign higher education institution. Descriptions of domestic economic inequality and labor relations relate to the opportunities that young people navigate in all three communities must navigate as they struggle with connections to home and the need to move elsewhere to have an income.

Located at the crossroads of China and India, Thailand has been exposed to a continual stream of external cultural and political influences. All of the sources referenced within this chapter, aside from a few quotes from my field research, come from English-language sources, primarily written by authors from the U.S. I have made

efforts when possible to incorporate Thai scholars, although these are drawn from Thai academic journals published in English. I owe a great degree of this research to journalistic publications and academic studies shared by the University of Pennsylvania through their “TLC: Thailand, Laos, Cambodia Studies Association” list serve and resources (UPENN, 2019). A range of news articles have been included as well.

### Colonialism in Southeast Asia



Figure 2 CIA World Factbook Map of Thailand (CIA, 2019)

**Origins of the Nation State.** Anderson’s (1983) famous text, *Imagined Communities*, where the emergence of the modern nation state is described as a collective fiction resulting in the construction of what we now understood as nations, was written with Thailand as a primary example. While Thailand was never formally colonized, during

European colonization of other parts of Southeast Asia, both the British and the French claimed large pieces of Thai territory. Their goal was to extract raw materials and develop new markets for products that they could sell. At that time in Southeast Asia, nation states as created and understood by the European Westphalian state system did not exist. The current Southeast Asian nation states and their associated national boundaries (as displayed in the map above of Thailand) were instead occupied by multiple power centers with diverse populations (Andaya & Andaya, 2015; Noor, 2016). The borders that now delineate this map were written in large part through the European colonization of Southeast Asia (Anderson, 1983). In the case of Thailand, the French took over what is now contemporary Laos to the north, and the British occupied the Shan State of the Burmese Highlands. Japan also occupied Thailand for a brief time during World War II.

One of the key legacies of colonialism in Thailand is the construction of the Thai national state and national identity (Anderson, 1983). Across Southeast Asia, national histories and identity are taught as a story that begins with national independence struggles rather than a pre-nation history (Noor, 2016). As Noor describes, most countries in Southeast Asia were named after independence based on the dominant national ethnic group, not the diversity that existed within and across these borders. Lines of division crafted by warring European colonial powers still form a social and political reality between nations, as well as domestic constructions of inter-ethnic difference within the country (Draper, Garzoli, Kamnuansilpa, Lefferts, Mitchell & Songkunnatham, 2019). These have been shown to have been created, at least in part, through strategic actions to construct ethnic difference by British and French colonial actors. As Thailand formed a national identity as a nation state, part of the process of

national integration became the assimilation of ethnic groups. This included a focused effort on the part of the Thai government to create a “Siamese national identity [beginning] in the 1890s focused on a discourse of a core ‘Thai’ community with trans-ethnic qualities, engineered by substantial interventions by the absolute monarchy emphasizing a ‘Thai’ nation” (Draper, Garzoli, Kamnuansilpa, Lefferts, Mitchell & Songkunnatham, 2019, p. 7). These associated stereotypes and ethnic divisions are present today and taught in national primary and secondary curriculum.

Following the setting of Thailand’s national borders, Western concepts of territoriality, nation state, and modernity heavily influenced the ruling elite (Vandergeest & Peluso, 1995). The political boundaries on the above map are maintained by current nations, including Thailand’s neighbors. ASEAN, the regional intergovernmental association of Southeast Asia in which Thailand participates, upholds principals of non-interference between member countries. Thus, in multiple ways, there are barriers to a shared regional community that transcends borders (Noor, 2016). Borders are important in the context of study abroad because this practice presumes the existence of a border, the crossing of which is said to allow students to develop resilience, empathy, knowledge of self and other, and ultimately career marketability. Without borders there would be no need to cross them. Borders are particularly salient now because although Habermas (2001) described a world that is increasingly interconnected, national borders and ethnic divisions are being increasingly being referenced worldwide.

**Treatment of Minorities.** Southeast Asia before colonization was a diverse and interconnected place with multiple power centers, overlapping borders, and cultural linkages (Chaudhuri, 1990). There are over four hundred ethnoreligious groups in the

region (Andaya & Andaya, 2015). As a result of British and French colonialization projects in Southeast Asia, divisive policies, social structures, and “racialized colonial capitalism” were implemented and a racialized hierarchy of ethnicities was created that organized ethnic groups into particular social and economic classes (Noor, 2016). This section only brushes the surface of this history and context, but it was clear particularly in the Karen communities that I spent time in that issues of cultural erasure were real concerns. People I talked to described how the Karen and other minorities are often used as government scapegoats, particularly in relation to the wildfires that were raging in the mountains surrounding Chiangmai while I was there. These stereotypes were talked about by people in each Karen community that I visited, as well as others I interviewed who were ethnic minorities within Thailand.

The Royal Thai Government has worked in variety of ways to erase ethnic identities of minority groups in Thailand (Draper, et. al, 2019). This “Thaification” is both a political and a cultural effort. Politically, this is happening through protecting the power of the monarchy, the bureaucratization of the government, the marginalization of non-Buddhist religious practices (particularly Islam), and pushing all Buddhists to practice the state-sanctioned Thai Sangha (Draper, et. al, 2019). After the 2014 military coup, “Thai” identity and nationalist rhetoric increased, and core stewardship of the nation, monarchy, and religious values were pushed through the 12 Core Values of Thai people (Draper et al., 2019; Royal Thai Government, 2014). The national education system emphasizes central Thai language, Thai-ness, and the Thai monarchy as central to identity as well (Draper, 2019; Diller, 2002).

Integrating minority communities into the economy is another strategy for assimilation, and often used as a mask to hide government land takeovers that seek to gain income from selling natural resources located on lands where minority groups live. Teaks forests, as well as timber resources more broadly, located in the mountainous border region of Thailand and Myanmar, command a high price. Hill tribe communities in these areas live a tenuous existence with no guarantee of keeping their land. The expulsion of the Karen from Thung Yai Naresuan Wildlife Sanctuary (Thailand's first world heritage site) is an example of what is happening to many hill tribe communities throughout Thailand and is an experience that both the of the Karen communities I visited are faced with. Ethnic minority communities are often treated as though they are non-citizen others by the Thai government. The Burmese, in particular, have been subject to a national narrative that describes them as having negative personal and social characteristics, learned by Thai students within the school system (Arnold & Pickles, 2011). Refugees from other parts of Southeast Asia who have fled repressive regimes and sought safe haven in Thailand have added to this discrimination. One of the largest of these ethnic groups is the Karen, who live both as refugees on the Thai Myanmar border, and in communities that predate Thai nationhood. This discrimination and marginalization are interwoven with the remote location of these communities. In Thai the phrase *Khon paa*, which means forest people, also means wild or backward people, and the term for people who live in urban areas, *Khon meuang*, also implies someone is clean, educated, and modern (Deland, 2005; Hirsch, 1990). Remoteness also results in being relatively cut off from the economy. Lack of access to capital, as well as ethnic minority status, can add to the interest of study programs to visit and learn from these

communities. As some of the short-term faculty who have organized programs in Thailand I spoke with said during interviews, these types of communities are can be seen as authentic or more interesting for students and faculty.

### **Economics and Income Inequality in Thailand**

Thailand is currently considered a middle-income country, although there is significant economic disparity within the population. Many jobs do not afford people a middle class livelihood. Prices are rising, but wages are stagnant (Arnold & Pickles, 2011). The current economic structure sources production to places that have the lowest labor costs. Export processing zones and urban areas are places young people are moving to work as a precarious migrant labor force (Arnold & Pickles, 2011). The rural and mountainous communities where research was undertaken are all economically marginalized places. Two of the three communities I spent time in had no cell phone service, with electricity provided through solar cells in the evenings. Small businesses and shops were almost not existent. Extreme wealth disparity within Thailand was continually on display between these communities and the cities of Chiangmai and Bangkok.



Minimum Wage in ASEAN					
Country/Region*	Daily Minimum Wage		Monthly Minimum Wage		Exchange rate (value of 1 US dollar)
	Local currency	In US dollars	Local currency	In US dollars	
Cambodia (US dollar)	-	5.66 (Garment industry)	-	170 (Garment industry)	-
Indonesia (Rupiah)	48,471.8 – 121,601.2	3.42 – 8.59	1,454,154 – 3,648,035	102.74 – 257.73	14401 Indonesian Rupiah
Lao PDR (Kip)	36666	4.33	1100000	130	8402.18 Kip
Malaysia (Ringgit)	30.67 – 33.33	7.64 - 8.30	920 - 1000	229.11 – 249.03	4.06 Ringgit
Myanmar (Kyat)	4800	3.29	144000	98.88	1435.47 Kyat
Philippines (Peso)	256-512	4.80 – 9.61	7680 – 15360	144.14 – 288.3	53.30 Peso
Thailand (Baht)	308-330	9.19-9.85	9,240-9,900	276-295	33.19 Baht
Vietnam (Vietnam Dong - VND)	92,000- 132,666	4-5.75	2,760,000- 3,980,000	120-173	22,783.00 VND

\*Brunei and Singapore do not have a mandatory minimum wage.

With effect from January 1, 2019, Vietnam's minimum monthly wage rate will increase to VND2,920,000 – VND4,180,000

Graphic© Asia Briefing Ltd.

Figure 3 Average Daily Wage in Thailand as of January 1, 2019 (Asia Briefing Ltd, 2019; Rastogi, 2018)

Since the 1970s Thailand has experienced a large degree of social and economic change. Transitioning from a primarily agrarian economy, the country industrialized and developed a significant manufacturing and tourism sector. With the development of a capitalistic industrial economy many people have entered into the middle class, but this has resulted in increased rates of landlessness, underemployment, and poverty. Commercial forestry and the clearing of forest lands to grow rice were some of Thailand's first major industries connected to the modern market economy (Deland, 2005). As a result of this demand by the 1950s, two-thirds of the country was de-forested

and now only 15% of the original forests remain (Deland, 2005; Johnson & Forsyth, 2002). The Thai government has a heavy hand in land management. Policies divide land into either permanent agriculture or forests.

Government relations with minority communities are often tense. Policies have included forcible resettlement, introduction of cash crops like coffee and longgan, and the planting of teak trees for sale (Hirsch, 1990). Although there have been efforts to implement community forests systems, where forests can be managed communally, these rights are continually undermined by state interests that are more interested in commercial opportunities in these areas (Johnson & Forsyth, 2002; Toyota, 1998). Often minority groups like the Karen people, who practice rotational farming in forests for subsistence farming, have been prohibited from continuing these practices by the government who refer to rotational farming as slash and burn (Fox, Fujita, Ngidang, Peluso, Potter, Sakuntaladewi, Sturgeon & Thomas, 2009; Karki, Hill, Xue, Alanguai, Ichikawa & Bridgewater, 2016). Still, the Karen have been the most successful minorities in retaining rights to access forest resources (Sato, 2000).

In the 1980s the devaluation of the Japanese yen via the Plaza Accord led the Japanese to seek manufacturing opportunities in Thailand to access cheaper labor markets. The 1960s to 1980s saw Thailand develop as a tourism hub, partly because of U.S. military presence and then investment in this industry (Kontogeoropolous, 2011). In 1998 the crash of the Thai *bhat* precipitated a global financial crisis. Thailand is deeply entrenched in the neoliberal and neocolonial economy. It is a manufacturing hub practicing Foreign Direct Investment export-oriented industrialization. The driving economic goal of the government is to transition from a labor-intensive low-skill low-

wage manufacturing economy to one that centers on high value production like automobiles, finance, and real estate (Arnold & Pickles, 2011). Thailand's two main economic drivers are currently exports (manufactured goods, agricultural products, and raw materials) and tourism. With the transition to being a middle income country, rates of growth are flattening. Dependence on exports of components parts of the global automobile and electronics industries mean that the Thai government is incentivized to keep the value of the *bhat* low so that exports will not become more expensive, which would incentivize factories to move elsewhere where costs (and wages) are cheaper. Economic analysts see the Thai economy for 2018/2019 as sluggish. The Bank of Thailand recently dropped its key interest rate to 1.75% stimulate growth (Bank of Thailand, 2019).

Low-cost large-scale export production is a key part of the neoliberal global economy. Capital flows to where labor is cheap. Thailand is competing with the labor markets of its neighbors. Moving workers from the countryside to work for low wages in urban centers where most residents actually want higher wages is a new normal in the global economy. Thailand is dependent on contracts from corporations that demand cheap labor. Thus, factory and city labor jobs have low wages, long hours, with little room for advancement. In newly industrializing economies like Thailand, transnational corporations accelerate lower-cost production (Dicke 2003; Gereffi 2005). Growing factory jobs adds to a growing experience of precariousness for workers. Rigg (2016) found that although rural laborers will move to urbanized areas seeking employment, they often do not stay there long term. Wages may be high enough to send home to

parents and other family members, but not enough for a permanent move to an industrial area with a family.

As workers ask for higher wages, to maintain competitiveness Thai manufactures have been found to downsize operations by laying off workers and not paying them, using labor agencies to hire so they are not directly contracting the workers, and outsourcing production for parts to nearby countries to them assemble in Thailand (Arnold & Pickles, 2011; Mountier & Charoenloet, 2007). Less visible during my visits, but still playing a role, are marginalized “surplus populations”, or people in border areas who work precarious and unguaranteed contracts, especially to produce textiles (Arnold & Pickles, 2011). This migrant labor force includes economic migrants from Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia who come into Thailand to work physically demanding and economically marginal jobs in seafood processing and fisheries, construction, manufacturing, agriculture, and household domestic work (Arnold & Pickles, 2011).

The pressures of these impacts from neoliberal and neocolonial regimes were visible in each of the three communities that I spent time in. Examples of these pressures include corporate efforts to get communities monocrop farms with pesticide heavy products, state-sponsored efforts to push production of high value agricultural products like coffee and avocados that locals did not themselves consume, and promotion of small businesses. The pull factor on workers to relocate to urban areas, give up their local culture, and to embrace English (and Thai) as the means to economic success are examples of these systems. Economic opportunities profoundly affect the lives of the people who live in the communities study students stay within. A universal need for financial capital and the side income that hosting these programs generates is important

to communities who choose to engage with study abroad programs. A phenomenon that has been studied by other scholars is the persistence of “survivalist agriculture” and multiple livelihood strategies adopted by rural household (Rigg, 2016). Hosting study abroad students thus becomes one of these livelihood strategies adopted by rural households in my study.

At the same, running parallel to these neocolonial and neoliberalism regimes is the Thai sufficiency economy model and sustainable development movement. Thailand’s model for development is the National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) which was introduced in 1992 as part of the World Summit on Sustainable Development. A key conclusion of the study was “the economy has grown, but society and the environment have deteriorated. This is not sustainable development.” (Sokhorng, 2011, p. 13). The crash of Thai *bhat* in 1998 led the former Thai King to declare his own principles of sufficiency economy as goals for Thai society. A striving for a sufficiency economy oriented life style was something many people I spoke with talked about, but struggled to implement.

**International Development Projects.** Thailand has long been an object of global development project where outside “experts” involve themselves in the work of local government, people, and businesses to “help” them develop (Easterly, 2003; Escobar, 1988). These experts come in many forms: non-profits, social enterprises, corporations, and include higher education faculty and student programs. Higher education institutions become complicit in the development enterprise the moment that they enter communities to teach and share their own expertise (Crabtree, 2008; Reynolds, 2014). This “helping” construct is immediately visible in any program which uses deficit language to talk about

a community as “underprivileged, “needy”, or “disadvantaged” as the reason that they are going there to learn or serve (Brown, 2001).

Understanding the history of the development enterprise is important to critically considering study abroad programs in Thailand. Such programs in the Global South often map on to a global landscape of inequality. This inequality is often part of the learning opportunity that is sold to U.S. students, whether it is to obtain a deeper understanding of development or for the opportunity to have a positive impact. Assessing the development of the history of economic development as a field of study in itself, Galbraith (1979) writes “no economic subject more quickly captured the attention of so many as the rescue of the people of the poor countries from their poverty” (Galbraith, 1979:27, as quoted in Escobar, 1988). In this context, study abroad programs often have a service component. Crabtree (2008) points out that for this reason these study abroad programs very much engage students in the global development complex and all of its history and complexities.

As Escobar (1995) describes, structural development projects enacted by developed nations and corporations following World War II resulted in the establishment of a neoliberal and neocolonial regime whereby nations with minimal financial capital began to be targeted with endless programs and interventions aimed at helping them “develop” so that they could consume goods and produce materials for the world economy.

Articulated around a fictitious construct (“underdevelopment”), a discourse was produced that instilled in all countries the need to pursue this goal, and provided for them the necessary categories and techniques to do so. This course emerged and took shape between 1945 and 1955, in the climate of the great postwar transformations, drastically altering the character and scope of the relations between rich and poor countries and, in general, the very perception of what governments and societies do. The historical roots of this new strategy (“development” are to be found in the

political rearrangement at the world level that occurred after World War II. The notions of “underdevelopment” and “Third World” emerged as working concepts in the process by which the West (and the East) redefined themselves and the global power structures. . .the end of the war had also confronted the advanced countries, particularly the United States, with the need to find overseas markets for their goods, a reflection of the fact that the productive capacity of U.S. industry had nearly doubled during the war period. Economic development, trade liberalization under the aegis of nascent giant corporations, and the establishment of multilateral financial institutions (such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, founded in 1944) were to be the main instruments to satisfy these requirements and advance the new strategy (Escobar, 1995, p. 429-30).

Although development is often articulated as a process of human improvement, in this process of improvement countries needed to transition from agrarian to industrial economies and use (and by extension become dependent upon) financial capital or money. This shift happened alongside the redrawing of the world map post WWII and the construction of the modern nation state. Thus, development is often referred to as “modernization” (Escobar, 1995). The ability to produce and consume goods is central to this system. People the world over are now expected to buy into the belief system that economic markets, consumption, and continued growth produce the best outcomes for the largest number of people. In this way, corporations have often replaced former colonial powers as the determiner of what will be extracted and produced and what kinds of jobs people should have to facilitate this (Chomsky, 1979; Nkrumah, 1966).

However, the results have not worked out quite like rhetoric would imply. National economies have grown (Thailand is now considered a middle income country), but gaps within them have widened. The linking of loans with economic access has resulted in limited economic benefits that do not help the poor (Stiglitz, 2002). The Credit Suisse Financial Services group recently reported that Thailand is now one of the most economically unequal countries in the world (“Thailand most unequal country in 2018”,

2018). Some argue that these divisions have increased because of these “modernization” practices (McMichael, 2004; Rogers, 1976) and policies such as “structural adjustment” (Stiglitz, 2002). To respond to the rising tide of inequality, new models of development emerged that focus instead at community-level interventions, especially in rural areas with an increased effort to involve community members in design, implementation, and assessment. Even institutions like the World Bank now talk about participatory development (Bhuvan & Williams, 1992; Streeten, 1997).

### **Authoritarian Government**

Thailand is known for intense *lèse majesté* laws and hundreds of people have been charged with crimes for speaking negatively about the monarchy (Draper et al., 2019; Haberkorn, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2010; Nathanri & Laohong, 2019; Shennon, 1992). Thailand has experienced 25 general elections, 12 successful *coups d'état*, and an additional 7 failed attempts at overthrowing an elected government since establishing a constitutional monarchy in 1932. After the 1973 coup Thailand shifted to a constitutional monarchy from an absolute monarchy. The military has been and continues to be deeply embedded in Thai society (Sripokangkul, Draper, Hinke & Crumpton, 2019). Thailand was mostly recently ruled by a military junta from May 22, 2014 through the duration of my field research. In 2016 the widely beloved 2016 King Rama IX passed away, turning power over to his son who does not command the reverence and love that his father did. During the 5 year duration of military rule, the junta pushed through a new constitution that entrenched military influence in 2017. The first election since the May 22, 2014 coup occurred while I was in Thailand in March 2019. New electoral rules make it nearly impossible for the opposition to overcome the Senate’s vote to form its own government



(Carrico, 2018). The country is currently transitioning back to democratically elected leadership after the 2019 election, although results of the election have been controversial. Recent reporting has found that at least a third of the newly elected senators have ties to the military, meaning that it is unlikely the military control of the state will decrease (Reuters reporters, 2019). With a slim majority in the lower house, Prayuth needed the support of all 250 military-nominated senators to be officially selected as Prime Minister in April, 2019 (Kaewjinda, 2019). After his victory, he called for national unity and his opponent for Prime Minister, Future Forward's Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit told reporters "Dictators cannot resist the wind of change forever."

As Chomsky (1999) described:

Neoliberalism works best when there is a formal electoral democracy, but when the population is diverted from the information, access, and public forums necessary for meaningful participation in decision making. . . the neoliberal system there has an important and necessary byproduct – a depoliticized citizenship marked by apathy and cynicism" (p. 9-10).

This appeared to very much be the case in my limited experience during field research, most clearly demonstrated by Thai instructors I spoke with who cared deeply about their country, but had chosen not to vote in the 2019 election because they believed that the votes were either rigged or they did not know who to vote for. The election results demonstrated that this was not unwarranted, with a third of the elected senators having connections to the military (Tanakasempipat & Thepgumpanat, 2019).

Under the recent military government and continuing after the 2019 election, Thai citizens have experienced varying degrees of censorship. Some scholars have gone as far as to call this a "stifling repression" (Carrio, 2018, p. 647) This includes bans on political gatherings, warnings from military officers against high profile dissidents, to arrest,

imprisonment, and exile (Laungaramsri, 2016; Phasuk, 2018, Vejpongsa & Peck, 2019). Much of this is underreported in the U.S. news. In some cases military government sanctioned killings have been carried out, including the discovery of two dissident's dead bodies stuffed with concrete in January 2019 (SBS, 2019).

Government corruption is real and this context of the potential for reprisal influenced my field research. While I was in Chiangmai in March 2019, the city and surrounding regions experienced some of the worst wildland fires and ensuing air pollution on record. Despite widespread knowledge of the detrimental effect on people's health of the smoke, especially children and the elderly, a national emergency was not declared, nor were efforts to put the fires out made. Faces masks were sold out at many stores, with the more expensive better quality masks unaffordable to those living on a low daily wage. As one community member described:

Why doesn't the government come in and provide air masks to all the residents, particularly children and the elderly? Why isn't this being reported? Because the government doesn't want this to be reported. If they were to do something then it would be to admit that this is a real problem. They don't want news about the pollution to impact tourism. They don't want it to increase election turn out. They want people to remain apathetic. -Resident of local Chiangmai farm

This comment made clear to me the apathy and confusion that many people felt about the government. There was so much frustration, so much anger, but no clear sense of what to do. Casting a vote against the status quo did not hold appeal.

As a researcher working in this context, there was a real need to tread carefully, and to not try and dig deeper into these issues because of the risk that it could cause if a Thai

national was to speak out openly against the military or the monarchy. People expressed their distain with the current government subtly. This political climate affects Thai scholars much more than it does foreign scholars conducting research in Thailand.

During the 2017 International Thai Studies Conference (ICTS) Dr. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti and four other scholars were charged with speaking negatively against the government based on their academic work (Redden, 2017). These charges were eventually dismissed, but this is not an uncommon experience and a real concern for critics of the government (Redden, 2017). The Association for Asian Studies has had reports of scholars being questioned by authorities coming into Thailand, but has stated that no non-Thai citizens have been reported to not be able to conduct their research.

During my research I did not ask anyone directly feelings about the government. One of my host families did have a framed picture of the 1992 Bangkok protests (Shenon, 1992) in their living room and I knew from his biography that he had long been active fighting against government corruption, but this was not something that we discussed. I actively chose not to ask questions to people that would ask them about the government in potentially compromising ways. I did speak more candidly with non-Thai citizen study abroad administrators about how they behaved and operated in this context, and they confirmed that no one wants to get on the wrong side of the military, monarchy, or of the law.

### **U.S. Thai Relations**

Thailand is sometimes referred to as the U.S.'s oldest ally in Asia (Lowman, 2011). Some scholars describe Thailand's current foreign policy as "bamboo diplomacy" where Thailand now is working to connect more deeply with its neighbors to rely less on

Western aid, but other scholars see this as a move to connecting with other authoritarian repressive states that may not questions actions of the military junta. Thailand is a key strategic partner for U.S. economic and military interests. Thai is one of the “critical languages” federal dollars are put toward supporting students to study (National Security Education Program, 2018).

The end of the Cold War saw U.S. foreign policy focus on pushing democracy, economic development, and civil societies in countries where this was in the U.S.’s strategic interest, especially around supporting economic development and the success of corporations. The September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and the subsequent war on terrorism spurred military allegiances. In the 1990s the U.S. was supplying Thailand with a limited amount of foreign aid which could be classified as military or economic. From 1992-2001 this averaged USD\$22.5 million a year. The Bush administration focused on foreign aid programs and international public diplomacy to aid these efforts. After 9/11 this amount doubled to an average of USD\$50.3 a year from 2002 to 2009 and is a reflection of Thailand's perceived strategic importance. Islamic extremist terror movements in Southeast Asia was also a piece of this and Thailand was a part of the so-called “second front in the war on terror” (Gershman, 2002). Regilme (2018) found that the Thai government used this support from the Bush administration to increase domestic state repression against unarmed civilians rather than primarily target non-state terrorist actors. As Regilme (2018) notes and Human Rights Watch (2007) corroborates, one way that the Thai government leveraged this was using anti-terrorism as a proxy for extra-judicial killings of “undesirable citizens” including dissidents and drug addicts. This support from the U.S. allowed the Thai government to use anti-terrorism rhetoric to categorize anyone

that they did not approve of as dangerous and in need of elimination through imprisonment, harassment, and murder (Reglime, 2018). The matters for the context that study abroad programs operate in because the social and economic realities they encounter are situated within wide contexts that include politics of the past, economic realities of the present, and social change. In my own anecdotal experiences teaching study abroad preparation courses to students, U.S. students are typically not aware of this geopolitical context or their government's role in the local context.

### **Education System**

Higher education institutions in Thailand are tightly connected to the political system (Lavankura, 2013). Chulalongkorn University opened in 1917 as Thailand's first formal university. Similar to the higher education system in the U.S., a large part of the social function of the development of universities in Thailand has been to assist with legitimizing elite power via the creation of bureaucracy of elites or *kharatchakarn* (Lavankura, 2013). Within the royal patronage system, civil service was one of the most prestigious forms of work and higher education became a way for people to perpetuate their power and status (Wright, 1998). Following the first military coup in 1932, which placed limits on the king's power and gave more power to the military, one of the laws that was changed was the "the right of the people to access education" (Ministry of University Affairs, 1992, p. 33, as cited in Lavankura, 2013). Thammasat lae Karn Mueng University (the University of Moral and Political Science) was then founded in 1933 to allow a more diverse group of students to access higher education. 1973 and 1976 students protested government oppression on university campuses, allowing higher education institutions to challenge state authority (Somsakdi, 1987). Still the military and

bureaucracy did not disappear and the military took power in 2014. Photos of these student protests were present in one of my homestay host's homes.

Opportunities to obtain higher education credentials outside of Thailand are rare for Thai citizens who are not members of the elite (Fry, 1984). *Chupdua* is a term in Thai that connotes this prestige associated with travelling or studying abroad. Even higher education access itself is limited. The U.S. plays a role in this as a desired place of study for Thai students and through programs that Education USA and Fulbright offer. Many Thai students also seek education abroad opportunities in China, Japan, or other ASEAN member nations. These destinations are typically easier to access and more affordable. Still, in all these cases Thai students who obtain higher education degrees outside of Thailand are typically from urban areas and from wealthy families connected with the military and government. Access is slowly starting to be granted for foreign campuses to set up in Thailand, as part of the government's plan to improve the country's higher education system and fill skills gaps. The idea is that these satellite campuses can help with "Thailand 4.0" and help the country move toward a high tech and skill based economy (Smith, 2017; Thai Embassy, 2019).

**Salience of English.** The salience of English was immediately visible when I arrived in Thailand. In interviews with locals and foreign teachers, I learned that English instruction typically begins in first grade, with almost all public schools offering English. Although many communities in Thai speak languages other than Thai, English is much more widely present than these minority languages that are spoken by communities within Thailand. Lack of representation and instruction in minority languages makes it difficult for these communities to maintain their linguistic heritage. Interestingly, at the

K-12 level English is generally the only other language offered. Japanese and Mandarin, the dominant languages of the two nearby regional powers of China and Japan, are not taught in public schools. While it is possible to make connections between English and the legacies of colonialism, is not as simple as saying English speakers are colonizing Thailand. Rather, I argue that the salience of English is a reflection of neocolonialism and multinational corporations with roots in EuroAmerican dominance perpetuated by, and still privileging, elites in these places. Widespread teaching of English reflects neoliberal and neocolonial paradigms. Within the K-12 and tertiary education systems, English symbolizes the “global”. Although rural schools struggle to find teaching staff, the U.S. government has partnered with the Thai government through the Peace Corp and Fulbright programs which both assist with capacity building for K-12 schools in more remote areas.

## **Tourism**

Tourism is common market development strategy for countries to increase economic growth (Scheyvens, 2002). It is important to recognize that in Thailand study abroad programs operate in an environment where there is significant government effort to encourage non-Thai citizens to come and learn about Thailand. Tourism related income makes up a third of the Thai economy (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017b; Smith, 2017). The Global Travel and Tourism Council report for 2018 found that tourism was worth US\$97 billion last year. It provides 15.5% of employment in the country (Global Travel and Tourism Report, 2018). Thailand is 10th most visited country in the world and tourism is fundamental to many people’s livelihoods. Leakage of tourism dollars, meaning money

spend that is diverted to people or organizations not based in the area visited however dramatically reduce the economic impact for local people.

Foreign tourists are one of the most common sources of income within Thailand and in rural areas tourism is seen as a way to help stabilize local livelihoods and bring levels of development higher (Kontogeorgopoulus, 2017a). Tourism in Thailand grew quickly during and after the 1960s, particularly because of its location as a place for R&R for U.S. military during the Vietnam War (Kontogeorgopoulus, 2011). Tourism brings in money but can have negative impacts. Study abroad programs in Thailand must be looked as operating within the context of tourism there. Between 2010 and 2017 arrivals from tourists in Thailand grew 122% in Thailand (Sangmin Lee, 2018).

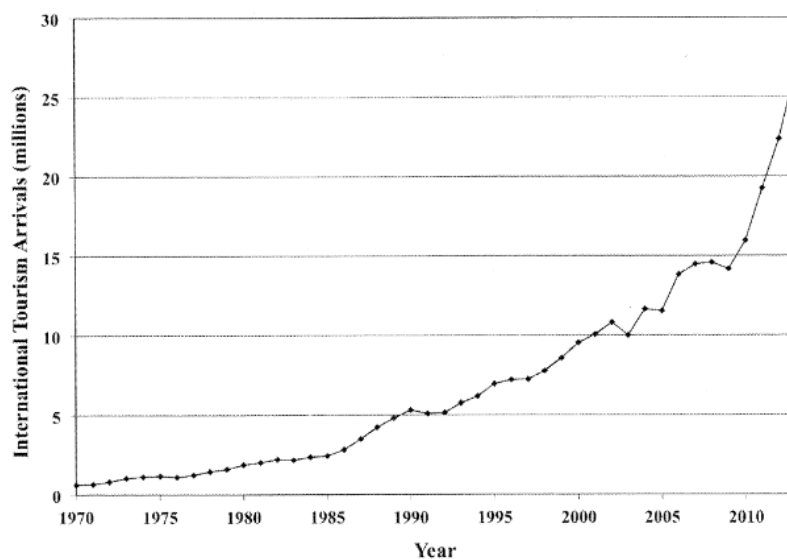


Figure 11.1 International tourism arrivals in Thailand, 1970–2013.  
Source: TAT (1998, 2015a).

Figure 4 International Tourism Arrivals in Thailand, 1970-2013 (TAT 1998, 2015)

Despite Thailand's spot as the 10<sup>th</sup> most visited nation, it maintains an aura of exoticism and a place with ancient culture ready to be consumed. Despite how strong its economy is, it still seems to exist in the Western psyche as a place that is undeveloped



and different (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017). What is interesting about tourism is that rather than being a physical product that is produced, it is often the “culture” of a place that makes it a tourist destination. The view of Thailand as an “underdeveloped” country has led to large numbers of volunteer tourists, another reality than local communities must content with (Guttentag, 2009). The Thai government is actively working to push tourists to areas that are less visited and less economically developed. However, white foreigners, or *farang*, in Thailand are often seen as violating local culture. There are current campaigns underway on billboard and signs that push for the respect of local culture, particularly religion.



Figure 5 Picture Advising Against Commodification of Religion (MyBangkok, 2019)

Despite these tensions, rural and remote areas benefit economically from travelers in ways that are often otherwise unavailable in the economy. It is a complex relationship. Even Buddhist monks in northern Thailand are negotiating benefits from tourism to increase revenues (Sangmin Lee, 2018).

**Ethnic Minorities and Cultural Commodification for Tourism.** The Thai government is actively involved in promoting ethnic diversity as something for tourists,

including the 1998 Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) “Amazing Thailand” and 2002-2004 “Unseen Thailand” campaigns (Draper, 2019). Through the influence and drive for ever increasing economic input from tourism, culture has become a commodity (Boonratana, 2010; 2012) . Within Thailand a new word for culture, *watthanatha*, has been created to represent what culture is. People in the Karen communities I visited spoke about how with this marketing and demand for ethnic experience, many communities have lost their culture, and places have become increasingly commercialized. This is the reason that two of the three communities I visited chose to abstain from hosting tourists, instead only opting to host groups with an education purpose.

**Community-based Tourism.** Community-based tourism (CBT) in Thailand originated in Mae Hong Son province, arising out of community concerns over impacts from tourist visits that included social, environmental, and cultural factors (Khaokhrueamuang, 2013). Locals were being excluded from decision making and impacts were not what they wanted. CBT works to ensure community management that support positive outcomes for the environmental, social, and cultural sustainability (Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen & Duangsaeng, 2013). It has become form of tourism that local governments encourage communities to adopt as an income generator (Boonrata, 2010).

**Homestay Economics.** Before the year 2000, homestays were uncommon in Thailand (Kontogeorgopolous, 2014). Although homestays as part of study abroad are little studied, information on homestays in Thailand exists within tourism literature. This existing infrastructure of hosting, where tourists are engaged in homestays, is central to

the landscape that study abroad programs enter. Communities who host students are already familiar with the concept of hosting tourists and the impacts, good and bad. In 2005 the Office of Tourism Development began oversight over homestays and published the first government set homestay criteria standards. These were most recently updated in 2012 (Homestay Tourism in Thailand). These criteria were practiced by one of the communities that I visited.

Tourism Authority of Thailand Homestay Standards	
•	Standard 1 Accommodation (10%) The house is a proportion. There are toilets and toilets clean. A home or community corner.
•	Standard 2 Food (10%) Type of food and raw materials used for cooking clean, drinking water and clean food containers, kitchens and hygienic kitchen appliances. Kitchen appliances are hygienically clean.
•	Standard 3 Safety (10%) Prepare for First Aid there are security guards.
•	Standard 4 Hostess friendliness (10%), hospitality and familiarity. Creating Knowledge Exchange Activities In the way of the community.
•	Standard 5 Tour (10%) There is a clear tour guide that is accepted by the community. Entertainment Travel Information Homeowners are local guides. Coordinate with local tour guides.
•	Standard 6 Natural resources and environment (10%). Or nearby. Tourism has a plan or measures to conserve natural resources. To reduce the impact of tourism and reduce global warming. There are activities to reduce the impact of tourism. To conserve natural resources and the environment and reduce global warming.
•	Standard 7 Culture (10%) Cultural Preservation Local tradition keeping the community alive is a normal routine.
•	Standard 8 Value creation and value of products (5%).Community products for souvenirs, souvenirs or souvenirs. Value creation and value of the product. Have value-added products and the unique value of the community.
•	Standard 9 Management of homestay (20%). There is a board of directors of the homestay group. Rules of the Board There is a fair distribution of benefits. Pre-paid and pre-paid reservation. Clear and current fee details and services.
•	Standard 10: Public Relations (5%). Have to publish public relation about homestay and tourism.

*Figure 6 Thai Government Homestay Standards (Thai Homestay Standards, 2019)*

Kontogeorgopoulos et al. (2015), note that other rules that govern certified homestays are that hosts must:

Sleep under the same roof as guests, maintain a maximum capacity of 4 homestays rooms, register with the department of tourism, use the homestay as supplemental

rather than primary source of income, and receive remuneration from guests in exchange for services provided” (p. 34).

According to Kontogeorgopolous et al. (2015), Thailand may have the most detailed homestay standards in the world. In small communities there are often not hotels, so homestays become the only option for accommodation. I saw this in all three communities that I visited, where local government officials, as well as Thai people who wanted to learn more about the sustainable agriculture practices of these communities, were staying in homestay accommodation too.

Not only foreign tourists participate in homestays. Middle class Thai people who live in cities are also participating (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2015; Peleggi, 2002). In small communities that are not hotels, so homestays were the only option. I saw this in all three communities I visited, where local government officials, as well as Thais who wanted to learn more about the sustainable practices of these communities, were visiting. My hosts were not only hosting U.S. study abroad students, they were hosting fellow Thais, as well as workers from other Southeast Asian and other countries who were there to learn.

In tourism marketing, travel apps are increasingly selling idea of living like a local through articles like 10 ways to act like a local, eat like a local, dress like a local (Polson, 2016). This is new; travel used to be about having an exotic experience, now it’s about having a regular day in the life of a regular person in a place which is not your regular life. This new form of exoticization and feeds the need for the middle class to differentiate themselves (Polson, 2016; 2018).

## **Education Abroad Industry in Thailand**

According to the Institute for International Education 2018 report, less than 3000 U.S. students studied abroad in Thailand on a credit-bearing course in the 2016-2017 academic year (IIE, 2018). Thailand is considered a “nontraditional” destination for students. However, these statistics do not capture all of the students who travel there for educational experiences, including students who travel there on faculty-led courses where credits are awarded in house rather than through a third party provider, as well as increasing numbers of high school students looking for opportunities to travel abroad on gap year programs that are not credit bearing in Thailand such as through Rustic Pathways or Where There Be Dragons. The freedom of movement that U.S. citizen students enjoy to cross borders must be understood within the reality that Southeast Asian student citizens do not enjoy the same freedoms related to mobility.

## **Chapter Four: Methodology**

### **Summary of Methodology**

This study was designed to explore how host communities are impacted economically through hosting study abroad programs. It exists as a lived inquiry that I (the researcher) have been participating in throughout research development and design well before I entered the field to collect data. This lived inquiry informed research design, data analysis, implications, and recommendations. As a lived experience that unfolded over multiple years, my research categories developed with the research, not before (Tsing, 2017). In this study, I utilized a critical ethnographic design to structure data collection and analysis, with focus on both the social institution of study abroad as it is operationalized within the U.S. higher education context, as well as the specific context in the communities I visited in Northern Thailand. This approach has embedded within it a number of key processes and ethical commitments, particularly that the goal of the work is to provide insight into flows of power, that the knowledge produced is “partial” (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008), that the work was continually reflexive, and analysis of a local phenomenon provide insight that could be put in to higher education practice. It is also important to note that my engagement in this research process itself reflects the theoretical frameworks that this project emerges from.

My own engagement in this process is a component of my negotiation of a neoliberal world order in which I myself have to create a justification for my work as a knowledge worker, in which the completion of a PhD is a key tool. The labor and work of third-party providers who operate as intermediary organizations within the provision of global education programs exists as places of work where I myself have found a career niche. Finally, the existence of borders and the unequal ways in which labor is valued globally reflect a post-colonial world order of which I have been positively impacted through the privileges that I carry with me anywhere I go.

The central research question guiding the study was: In what ways are economic opportunities and behaviors of communities that host U.S. study abroad programs altered through interactions with study abroad programs? In addition to the central research question, I also explored the following sub-questions:

- 1) How do host communities experience and come to know study abroad programs?
- 2) How does hosting and teaching students affect their everyday, lived experiences?
- 3) What opportunities exist for communities to shape what relationships with study abroad programs look like?

In keeping with an ethnographic approach, I entered the field without hypothesized answers to these questions. Instead I followed diverse lines of inquiry throughout my field work to answer these questions, surface new ones, and learn things all together unexpected.

**Inception of Research Questions.** I spent the summer of 2017 and 2018 leading immersive study abroad field programs in China with high school students and high

school educators. These experiences were central to the conception of my research questions, stemming from homestays in rural Yunnan, Jiangxi, and Qinghai provinces where the presence of our group elicited intense curiosity. Crowds of people would stop to talk to us, take pictures of us overtly and covertly, and stare intently with what sometimes felt like open hostility. During a stay in a Tibetan community our presence drew unwanted attention from the local police and we were asked to leave by a community partner. Knowledge that our group was in the area would sometimes pass to our hosts even before we arrived via social media posts on WeChat and Weibo. I speak conversational Mandarin and have spent around five years living in greater China. I had led other study abroad programs in China previously during 2009-2012, but in urban areas, not rural areas where people have rarely encountered non-Chinese citizens. These experiences led to deep questions about what our impact was, and how we were being experienced and perceived by the communities that we entered. As I developed this line of inquiry, however, I decided that I wanted to consider these questions in a context where the presence of foreigners and foreign research was not a political issue that could compromise community members who I spoke with. Home-hosting in China, and providing services to study abroad programs, often exists in a tenuous legal framework that few understand, even local authorities. Talking with a foreign scholar can be extraordinarily risky, as I was aware of second-hand from a Tibetan-American colleague who was briefly detained during his own research there. His U.S. citizenship provided safe exit from his brief detention; some of his interviewees were not so lucky. Thus, I decided to apply these research questions to another context where the potential harm and



risk to research participants would be minimal, but insights could help better understand this phenomenon.

### **Ethnographic Approach**

I chose ethnography to make the familiar within my own institutions and culture strange by critically questioning ways of doing typically taken for granted in study abroad practice. This approach is influenced by Rabinow's (1986) work on anthropologizing the West and the goal of questioning normative ideologies of the U.S. The goal in this is to question dominant discourse and practices taken for granted as "normal" or "universal", and uncover how the institution of study abroad is linked to particular social practices and forces. "The other promise of anthropology. . .[is] to serve as a form of cultural critique for ourselves" (Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p. 1). Incorporating reflexive inquiry into my methodology, the findings shared as result of my study seek to disrupt tacit power relationships and inequalities reflected by the absence of community impact and experience as a normative component of program discussion, design, and assessment. Critical ethnography focuses on challenging the status quo and in "breaking with conventional ethnographic practices of detachment, its particular interest is activist collaboration with oppressed groups" (Lather, 2001, p. 479). With this in mind, and in light of the continued desire of study abroad programs to run programs in developing communities in the Global South, I conducted research in minoritized environments in Northern Thailand rather than in an urban context. This choice must be considered with awareness of my own power as a White scholar from the U.S. which allowed me access

to the communities I worked. While actively working to create a critical project that will push for greater mutuality in relationships, this privilege of mine must be acknowledged.

This project was designed to be done in a partnership with a local study abroad program provider with a wide network of community partners. Approaching my questions through existing relationships between this provider and their partner communities allowed entry to ongoing relationships with communities that had hosted programs for nearly twenty years. This approach required attention to the broader phenomenon of study abroad in Thailand and its situation within the larger context of the global study abroad industry. Additionally, I paid close attention to the neoliberal, neocolonial, and embedded power structures within Thailand that study abroad programs operate within and that host communities must also navigate. This larger consideration of context and meaning became another layer of perspective taking as a part of the ethnographic process.

As an ethnographer, I approached my work not to reflect an empirical reality, but to describe the world as it might be. This does not mean that this was not methodologically a rigorous project but instead, one that reflects a reflexive science. As Cornwall describes, there is a value in “‘appropriate imprecision’ (you don’t need to know things exactly in order to know that there’s a problem) and ‘optimal ignorance’ (you don’t need to know everything in order to begin to be able to act)’” (Cornwall, 2018, p. 6). We when we assess research through continually evolving bodies of knowledge and experience, we continue to arrive at other understandings as has happened, and continues to happen, throughout this process.

***Attention to Power.*** Attention to and interest in the presence of power and its impacts was central to this study. Although study abroad is understood to be deeply linked to the idea of coming to know another culture, this learning is fundamentally mediated by power structures. Like Freire (1970), I believe that power shapes what we know and how we come to know it. It helps to create social structures and social systems that enable uneven access to resources and power. One manifestation of this are opportunities for U.S. higher education students to engage in study abroad programs in places where local peers do not experience the same opportunities (Giroux, 2011). Another manifestation was my own entry into these communities which was granted through the power and privilege that I hold. Throughout the process I continually worked to see how power might be operating within society, as well as through my own actions. Actively focus on this is important because through seeing and naming something comes the opportunity to resist or change it. Power maintains national borders, it maintains wealth, and it maintains poverty. Asymmetrical economic relationships between and within countries are visible manifestations of power. All of this plays an integral role in mediating how study abroad unfolds. Power also affects my positionality as researcher from the U.S. and as a White woman.

I looked at power from three analytical lenses. The first was attention to the entangled histories of colonialism in Thailand, in the Academy, and within Ethnography. The second was through how neoliberal economic practices affected individuals and communities I encountered. I paid attention to how livelihoods were being shaped by engagement with capitalism and neocolonial business interests via study abroad program

learning provision services that communities provided. Third I paid attention to how academic capitalism was visible in the processes and approaches that study abroad providers took as they went through the day to day operations of their programs. Through these three frameworks of power I worked to uncover and surface different understandings of study abroad as both a system and a practice. Methodologically and theoretically, I also paid attention to power via a research practice of bricolage (Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg & Monzó, 2017), aiming to shift knowledge production from originating from and living within in the academy to emerging from the stories and experiences of community members I spoke to and interacted with. This power is apparent in that my dissertation written from data collection will be published, at least in a library, and enter academic discourse. My social location and identity have an “epistemically significant impact” on my claims, especially as it relates to how I get listened to (Alcoff, 1992, p. 7). This is something that remains a continual reflection point.

### **Dissertation Setting**

**Thailand.** Thailand became the setting for my study for the following reasons. First, I wanted to go somewhere I had a degree of situational awareness of and experience in previously. I spent time in Thailand as a tourist during times I lived in Taiwan and Macau, studied Thai briefly, and took coursework on Thai economics and development as a graduate student. Next, I wanted to conduct my study in country considered to be in the Global South because of questions I had around using destinations that were economically less affluent to impact the desired learning process and associated

outcomes of perspective shifts via “disorienting dilemmas” central to transformative learning (Kolb, 1984; Mezirow, 2000). In my own experiences with short-term study abroad program development, I experienced multiple faculty and administrators say that these disorienting dilemmas often seemed easier to make happen in locations in the Global South because differences in material wealth were one of the most challenging things for U.S. students to cope with, thus eliciting student self-reports of the experience being profoundly impactful, which was how they measured success. Especially in short-term faculty led programming, faculty increasingly travel to places that they know little about and rely almost entirely on third-party providers to organize their programs (Barkin, 2018).

Barkin (2018) describes this as the “discourse of going” and attributes it to the growing number of faculty who travel to places that they are not deeply knowledgeable about. Thailand was an important site for this type of research as many of the critiques around the “discourse of going” or “student as consumer” model have parallels in the tourism market there. The interplay between student and tourist is one that I wanted to explore, especially because it is something that I have seen sold as a curriculum. “I’m a traveler not a tourist” is a slogan and a teaching tool I saw employed by multiple third party providers, often in tandem with an Iyer (2000) essay on *Why We Travel*. In this reading, somehow being a traveler rather than a tourist was inherently “better” because the traveler embraces that other places will be different than home and never thinks that home is better, whereas a tourist does not. There are many ways that this framing has

bothered me and in the context of this study I was curious to see if communities saw a difference between students and tourists.

Finally, feasibility was a key factor. My local program partner was willing to host me and let me conduct research with their approval. This again reflects my privilege. During early conversations about my interest and their work I found that their model of experiential education was similar to the work I had done in China and I felt confident in my ability to conceptualize program operations and day to day experiences on course for that reason. I was able to make three trips to Thailand between July 2018 and March 2019 for a total of two months of field research. The first two visits were conducted in partnership with my local program partner and the third took place shadowing a separate third-party provider program. With the goal of creating a set of best practices for U.S. institutions and faculty managing programs in the Global South to consider, I approached my research as a way to explore how, as a practitioner, someone might try to understand community impact when assessing a program in a place that they have limited understanding of.

**Research Partner.** Thailand Abroad Experience (TAE) is twenty year-old study abroad program based in Northern Thailand. By forming a relationship with TAE I was able to co-explore my research questions with staff interested in the research open to sharing their own experiences and perspectives, as well as the potential for programmatic interventions as a result of the findings. This partnership helped my research immensely by facilitating connections with key community members, providing historical information, and helping me to get answers to follow-up questions. TAE operates both

semester and short-term programs, with three different academic focuses for their semester programs. Programs are typically designed as a series of field courses where students are taught through “community-based courses” that link formal academic curriculum including readings and papers with “intensive study of place” (Ritchie, 2013, p. 3). I also chose TAE because commitment to communities that host their students was front and center in their mission statement. This work was grounded by the concept of participatory rural development (Chambers, 1992). Their pedagogy explicitly worked to have community voice central to curriculum, having community members work co-creators and co-teachers (Ritchie, 2013). This level of intentionality offered a great starting point to consider my research questions in a best practices context. The goal of programs was to be empowering to host communities and actively worked to “intentionally invert the usual knowledge/power hierarchy in these sorts of exchanges” (2013, Ritchie, p. 1).

The way we are set up now is that all of our programs are community based; all of our courses are designed to incorporate a community. We go there and ask “What is your story? What is the story of this? What are issues that you are struggling with that you want to communicate?” I tell students “Give up your savior mentality. I tell them your role is to listen”. I had a really profound experience 10 years ago. Northeast Thailand is very poor. This place called the moon river was damned. It was ecological disaster. Every indicator you could look at was a disaster. It’s a big river. What happened was that a very rich ecological fishery was decimated. I was there with students in this village. They were asking “Where is everyone?” Well, no is here

because there are no jobs, everyone has left. There was this fish market that has now closed down. Students were asking, “What can we do?”, and one of the local NGOs has this conversation with them. “Don’t Do. Americans do enough; you need to listen to their stories. This helps give them voice, that’s what matters.” That itself is an act of service. How do you teach students this? They want to take steps. So the whole thing we talk about with our students, “You are here to listen to people’s stories, that’s what we build the whole program around” – Interview with TAE Director

This quote reflects the conceptual paradigm in which TAE programs operate.

Students are taught early on that they are there to learn, not to change communities.

There is a clear focus on eliciting stories and giving community members space to narrate the story of their community and values.

### **Data Collection**

During my research I moved in and out of fieldwork. As a *bricoleur* engaged in data collection in real time, I moved between methods rather than assuming that there was a universally “correct” approach to data collection and sense-making. Like Steinberg (2010) describes, I “tinkered” and continually reinterpreted what I found. Tinkering is a process “involving construction and reconstruction, contextual diagnosis, negotiation, and readjustment” (Kincheloe et al., 2017, p. 245). Put more simply, the complexities of research and analysis negated my ability to fully plan in advance and I became a “methodological negotiator” (Steinberg, 2010) as the days unfolded. Throughout I sought to understand my questions and their answers in ways that decentered students and focused instead on the lived experiences community members were negotiating. I did use



widely accepted qualitative methods including interviews, observations, and ethnographic field notes, but I continually questioned them as I engaged in them (Viruru & Cannella, 2006). This approach allowed me to use a variety of approaches to work in the fluid and unpredictable experience of being in the field as I moved through the project. As I went I slowly cataloged recurring themes in field notes. I continually modified my questions to ask about emerging ideas.

My three field work visits spanned nine months in time, ultimately resulting in data from three communities that host study abroad programs. Within this document, I have chosen to privilege quotes from my host families because I spent the majority of my time in the field with them and I wanted this project to center on host community experience. These were also the relationships that I spent the longest time cultivating through my participation in the homestay economy and as a guest of my host families and where I conducted in-depth interviews. Field work occurred during a three-week stay in July 2018, a four-week stay in November and December 2018, and a two-week stay in March 2019. The first two visits were organized in partnership with my local partner program provider, and the third visit was conducted through accompanying a program of a different third-party provider. Throughout my research I continually sought input and perspective from a diverse set of informants, questioned what I was learning, and paid attention to how my encounters and the knowledge I was receiving were entangled with other phenomena (Ingold, 2011; Said, 2012). Interviews with TAE and other study abroad program administrators, as well as local NGO-workers, were used primarily to

further contextualize what I was hearing from community members and added important details to contextual information.

Several methods were employed in this research. As part of my research design, I limited U.S. student feedback and perspectives. I conducted four in-depth interviews that spanned multiple days with each of my four host families. Over 60 semi-structured, unstructured interviews, and informal conversations were conducted with other community members, study abroad program staff (primarily Thai), faculty who had organized short-term travel in Thailand, local government officials, and U.S. educational diplomatic program personnel. Two in-depth interviews were conducted with two students who were staying with each of my host families in Community 2, but those were the only student perspectives included. These in-depth interviews helped add nuance and perspective to my considerations of the student as consumer model and associated implications. The majority of unstructured and informal conversations were not recorded and were captured as field notes. As data collection unfolded, the units of analysis became the “indeterminate encounter” (Tsing, 2017, p. 131). While my research and findings are not necessarily a scalable project, they do provide rich insight into potential forms of community impact and how U.S. higher education institutions and third-party program providers might consider restructuring their own programs and operations.

### **Fieldwork**

**Visit One.** On my first field work visit I spent a week conducting interviews and observing the delivery of programs at my study abroad program partner’s campus. Then I spent five days travelling to and staying in Community 1, followed by four days in

Community 2. During each of these community visits I stayed with local families and conducted interviews with my home stay families, other host families nearby, and local government offices. I hired a translator for my time in Community 1 and contracted my home-stay brother as my translator in Community 2. Additionally I spent time in Bangkok and Chiangmai observing these urban environments and talking with residents. After this field work experience I decided to focus my second trip in Community 2 due to its proximity to Chiangmai and the availability of my host brother to act as a translator. I spent a lot of time on this trip building relationships with Thai TAE-administrators through conversations and shared meals. I got to know my host families through simply spending time in their home, attending church, and engaging in conversation. I also connected on Facebook and Instagram to future host siblings for Visit Two.

**Visit Two.** On my second visit I spent two weeks in Community 2 and two weeks on the TAE campus. While in Community 2, I stayed for one week each at two separate home-stay homes. I had met each of these families before during Visit One, so this was my second time getting to know them. I worked to build relationships primarily through listening and engaging with household chores. Washing dishes and cleaning the kitchen were key to this. I also played with young children and watched TV with my hosts in the evening. As time allowed, I conducted in-depth interviews with both host families and participated in daily life. Although students from my study abroad program partner were not present while I was there, both families I stayed with hosted other guests multiple times while I was present. I spent my time hanging out, working on my host families farms, and slowly conducting interviews with other community members.

**Visit Three.** My third field work trip was not one I anticipated when I originally designed my research. After conducting my second field work trip I received an invitation to accompany a separate third-party study abroad program provider on a short-term study abroad program. This research trip involved primarily participant observation for four days in a third community while they hosted this U.S. student group. I conducted interviews with local community members and an in-depth interview with my host family. I conducted participant observation of the program while it was based in Chiangmai. A Thai field instructor acted as my translator. The relationship that the Thai field instructor had with the community was my entry point into building relationships and I acted as I had on previous visits, helping out in the kitchen as much as possible, washing dishes, and being present to set around the fire and drink tea.

### **Connections to Indigenous Methodologies**

In many ways my critical research methods parallel indigenous research methodologies. Focusing on listening, and on having community members drive the stories that they told me is similar to indigenous research methods that center oral tradition as knowledge. Through listening and coming to know, rather than coming into to prove something, I worked in ways that indigenous scholars also do to listen understand (Wilson, 2008). Also important to the indigenous methodologies is the naming of postcolonial impacts and efforts to decolonize. Although I hesitate to use this term because I cannot escape my privileges that I hold as a result of colonial legacies, my work did seek to make visible these flows of power. Social inequities that result from historically rooted legacies were real in the communities I spent time in, particularly the

Karen ones. These efforts are found in indigenous methodologies that work to challenge and demonstrate how indigenous people are marginalized (Nicoll, 2004). Finally, centering my project on community voice also connects to the efforts to center indigenous knowledge (Wilson, 2001).

### **Participant Observation**

Participant observation was the primary way that I gathered data. This allowed for interaction and observation of communities at the same time (Atkinson & Hammersly, 1998; Brockman, 2011). As necessitated by the limitations of my budget and time available, this was a short-term participant observation project. Short-term participant observation meant that I was not able to hang out and slowly build relationships with community members. Instead I focused on lived experience, situated conversation, and situated action (Brockman, 2011). As a participant observer, field notes were the key way that I captured my data, writing about what I was seeing and noticing at in the evening, and occasionally during the day (Montgomery & Bailey, 2007). As a participant observer, I spent time in each community as a homestay guest and a program participant. Although I was not in communities 1 and 2 when U.S. study abroad programs were present, I did engage with the content delivery that they would provide to students, and participated in the visit of another education program while I was there. As a visitor to community 3, I arrived and participated as a member of a visiting U.S. study abroad program group. During field work I practiced “engaged listening” (Forsey, 2010), having daily conversations about life, the community, people’s lives, and just paying attention as I participated. These conversations, snippets of daily live, and insights provided rich data

that were not part of a formalized interview process, but provided crucial pieces of information.

### **Interviews**

Interviews were “unavoidably collaborative” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Central to my success were interviews with key informants my study abroad program partner connected me with. Interviews took a variety of forms, including initial interviews with TAE program staff via Skype from the U.S. Interviews with host community members occurred both formally and informally, including in-depth interviews over multiple days with the four homestay families I stayed with. These interviews focused on the local context, experiences of and impact from hosting study abroad students, and perceptions of these programs. Interviews were semi-structured with open ended questions and included questions about what they loved about their communities and what they desired for their community’s future. Additionally, in between and after visits two and three, I interviewed variety of other informants including U.S. Fulbright and Peace Corp program participants, academics, fellow U.S. researchers who work on studies in Thailand, faculty who had led study abroad programs in Thailand, and other third-party program provider staff and instructors.

### **Descriptions of Communities**

I conducted field work in three separate communities in Northern Thailand that host U.S. study abroad students. The details of these communities, including names of individuals, have been changed to mask their identity. The northern part of Thailand has the largest concentration of indigenous people, with Karen communities comprising the

largest group (Andaya & Andaya, 2015). Two communities were long term partners for TAE and the third had not hosted students from TAE, but did host other U.S. study abroad programs. There were no hotels or formal guest houses in any of these communities. All three of these communities hosted multiple education programs and other groups each year. All were located in rural areas with an agrarian/community forest interface. Visits by non-residents to the three communities took place in the form of day trips and student homestays. None of the villages depended solely on visitors for income; it was supplemental rather than a primary source. Community 2 was primarily ethnically Thai; Communities 1 & 3 were ethnically Karen. Communities 2 & 3 explicitly choose not host tourists; Community 1 hosted both students and tourists. Community 1 was predominantly Christian; Communities 2 & 3 were predominantly Buddhist. Each community was located in a different province with Northern Thailand.

In this study, I use the term community to refer to both a location based and an interest oriented grouping (Hartman et al., 2018). I paid attention to particular spaces where encounters between study abroad programs and residents took place and became “productive spaces” (Gildersleeve & Kuntz, 2011, p. 17). For my research, the three communities I spent time in are both geographically bound, as well as constructed through hosting non-Thai visitors. I do not use the term community to imply homogeneity. While I was in the field my research unfolded in such a way that the concept of community was complicated over and over. One example of this were connections I found between members of the communities and the other three

communities of my study, especially around seed-saving and sustainability practices.

They were also connected by working with the same study abroad programs.

Community is an emergent and fluid/dynamic social phenomenon. Another way that I conceptualized community is through interactional field theory (Olson & Brennan, 2017). In this understanding of community, social interaction facilitates the emergence of community. From an interactional field perspective community does not inherently exist. In this model community is a social phenomenon that emerges when individuals within a place “act collectively across different social fields to address common, general, place-relevant matters” (Olson & Brennan, 2017, p. 10; Kaufman, 1959) Thus in my study the community in many ways was generated through the encounter between people locally engaged with host U.S. student groups, U.S. students, and study abroad program providers. As such, I become part of the community through my affiliations with study abroad program providers. This facilitated entry to conversations with local residents willing to engage and perform the work needed for the student groups who come to visit. My individual presence then became part of this permeable web as I participated as a member of that community for the time that I was doing fieldwork. In considering community agency, I looked at the adaptive capacity of the people connected to the study abroad program’s capacity to manage, utilize, and enhance their resources through this interaction (Bridger, Brennan & Luloff, 2011).

**Community 1.** Community 1 is located within a National Park in a village in a rural mountainous area of Northern Thailand that requires a four-wheel drive to reach. There are no paved roads, only solar powered electricity, no indoor plumbing, and no internet or



cell service. Two homes in the community have land-lines for phone service. The community has around 300 people, or 100 households, and limited local job opportunities. The members of Community1 identified as Karen and practice Christianity. Income is derived primarily through rotational farming and weaving. The community practices shifting cultivation of farms known as *rai mun wian*, or rotating upland fields, as well as *ta su chi chu*, or mixed farming, where farming mimics nature and there is great diversity in what is grown. Leadership was appointed in the past, but is transitioning to the younger generation with the election of an incoming young village chief who will start his term next year. Youth who want to attend high school have to attend boarding schools in a nearby town during the week, returning home on the weekends. The majority of young people moved to cities to work lower-wage jobs in factories or the service industry. Few are moving back. The community also practices community-based tourism, receiving additional income from hosting tourists during the dry season. TAE typically brings student groups there 2-3 times a year for four days at a time. The community occasionally hosts other student groups. All community members were supposed to host, although families were able to opt out if they did not want to host, or they did not have appropriate infrastructure for hosting. In general, participating families hosted about 15 nights a year, mostly tourists who wanted to experience life in a hill tribe community.

**Community 2.** Community 2 is a primarily ethnically Thai community of around 5000 people that is part of a larger sub-district a few hours from Chiangmai. The community is a primarily large-scale agricultural production center, although with the

larger size there were local jobs in restaurants, small shops, government, and local level health care. Cell phone service was widely available and the majority of homes had electricity and indoor plumbing. Families owned their homes and the land that they farmed outside of the forest. In years past food was mostly gathered from local fertile forests, but had transitioned to larger scale industrial agriculture to supply a large Thai agri-business corporation that asked them to grow crops that required heavy pesticide use in the 1960s. In the 1990s, as a result of increased cancer and other health programs, local activists pushed out this corporation in many parts of the community and began growing crops organically, as well as engaged in polycropping rather than monocropping. Local forests were given by the government to a logging concession at one point, and the community has been engaged in a back and forth struggle over their community forests. Recently, all local families who could demonstrate residency were given designated access to specific areas of community forests to gather food from. This arrangement was aided by a recent government project to map and assign all land within Thailand using GPS mapping and remote sensing. In this community, people who engaged in hosting visitors were members of the local organic and sustainable agriculture co-op. Pesticide-using community members were typically not invited by the co-op to host students in their homes, but they were invited as speakers and experiential activity leaders. The community had a strong local K-12 education system that youth could participate in without needing to leave home. As a result of successful sales of local agricultural products, young people who had left to work in cities are returning to resettle in the community. The host families in Community 2 host visitors frequently and host for a few

nights of almost every week. Visitors come from all over Thailand and the world to learn about their co-op and successes with organic farming

**Community 3.** Community 3 was located in national forest close to a major roadway along a narrow valley with a stream passing through it. Community members identified as Karen and Buddhist and talked about deep connection to the forests. The population of the community numbered around 100 people and included a small monastery. According to oral history, the families of the village had settled in the current location in the early 1960s. Even though the community has been settled in the area since then, a logging company was granted a concession to log in their area in 1986. Much of the forest that they depended on for their livelihood has since been destroyed. In 1992 a national park was established in the area that their village was located and the government has been working to evict them since that point. They received official village level recognition in 2003, but still struggle to retain their land rights. Fights with the national park over their right to live on the land where they are have happened with the national park multiple times and are still in process. The older generation was a mixture of Thai and non-Thai citizens. My host father described how when he was young, he had to go and register with the Thai government to formally file for citizenship. Not everyone had done this out of fear that the government would expel them rather than actually grant them citizenship. Estimates done in the late 1990s determined that only 50-60% of Thailand's ethnic minority hill tribe members, such as the Karen, had official Thai citizenship (Kanok & Benjavin, 1994; Ritchie & Bai, 1999).

Villagers described how the wildfires that were currently raging while I was there on my third visit were caused in large part by the dryness caused due to logging and that instead of taking responsibility the government blamed them, calling Karen people “destroyers of the forests”. Subsistence farming provides most of the food for the community, as well as a small cash income to purchase additional goods. The community relies on the local forest for sustenance and materials and recently began honey and soap production as additional income sources. Slowly they have been transitioning to the production of other commercial products, including weaving, tea, mushrooms, honey production, and soap making.

Education was talked about as one of the most valuable things that can be purchased. Young people who want to attend high school have to leave the community to attend boarding school in a nearby town. Despite the lack of jobs, many young people return to the community after high school or college to continue living with their families and participate in the honey and soap production enterprises. The older generation there expressed deep concern about they lose of their culture if they lose the land they live on. As a result of their success retaining their rights to their land and their traditional farming practices, they are now on the radar of other communities who want to learn from their success. Study abroad programs from the U.S., Canada, and Japan are frequent visitors, as well as NGO and governmental visitors. Most families host 1-2 times each month for 2-3 nights.

## **Researcher Positionality**

**Rejecting Objectivity.** I approach my research with the belief that researchers, no matter how hard they might try, cannot be objective. They also cannot escape their privilege, particularly when scholars from the Global North conduct research in the Global South. Although I began this research without a hypothesis as to what would be the answers to my questions, I entered the field with pre-existing perspectives, including skepticism about the benefits of capitalism, concerns about the roots of global economic inequity, and a view that community is not a central concern within study abroad (Steinberg, 2010). I also entered the field with the privileges that come with being White, a U.S. citizen, and affiliated with a higher education institution. This does not mean that products of my research are not “trustworthy”, but that they are embedded in the particular social context and constructs of the researcher (me) and their audience (Anderson, 1989). To check my own presupposition and biases throughout the data collection process I sought to continually be reflexive and critical about my own biases and perspectives that I was bringing (Clifford, 1983). As a White academic from the U.S. working in Thailand, however, I cannot escape the legacies of global structural inequity that go hand in hand with my own privileges. My findings are not objective, they are not definitive, and they capture at most a “partial truth” (Clifford, 1986, p. 6). My connection to the field program administration, as well as my return and follow-up, are connected to this. These connections are also reflective of my privileges as a researcher from the U.S. who gained easy affiliation to TAE and who interests were supported and validated by the TAE administration.

Research is never objective, being embedded in the researcher's social reality and context (Saukko, 2003). Assessing my research, I take to heart Lather's (1986a) perspective that validity should include catalytic validity or "the degree to which the research process re-orientes, focuses, and energizes participants in what Freire (1970) terms 'conscientization'". In this sense, validity has been achieved if research participants emerge from the project with an enhanced sense of self-understanding and self-determination. The challenge of working to create mutuality between host communities and study abroad programs is one that I wanted to achieve but I am hesitant to say that through this research process I did. I do not think that the people with who I spoke and who shared their time with me emerged with an enhanced sense of self. In this way, I believe that they gave more than they received. The clear lines of what services I was able to pay for – hosting, meals, experiential activities – helped to assuage this unevenness but it exists nevertheless. I worked to assess my research validity using Saukko's (2003) concepts of multiple validities including dialogic, deconstructive, and contextualist. Triangulation between my field notes, interviews, and artifact analysis allows me to substantiate or negate the validity of the themes that I found in my analysis. I also triangulated my research through what I found through other academic research, as well as checking with research participants, and ISDSI program staff.

My approach to research includes the perspective that research itself is a social construct (Canella, 2014) and that "truth-making" cannot be entirely separated from power or ideology. Truth is nebulous. As we construct and co-create our own realities we also create our own truth. Thus methodology or data analysis does not equal truth. We

make decisions, process information, and find new truths within the parameters of our own minds. My reflexivity is informed by Bourdieu's understanding of reflexivity that I myself am a social actor in a social field under analysis and part of this social field is a post-colonial and neoliberal world order (Bourdieu, 1992). I am not arguing that this takes away from the truth-making I am working on within this project, but rather that the truths I uncover are specific to my experiences and active participation within the research that unfolded. Research neutrality is impossible and I have to acknowledge that I engaged in this project ultimately because it helps to serve my in own negotiation of self-entrepreneurship.

**Lived Experience.** I first realized that study abroad was a money making operation in a Mandarin class my senior year of undergraduate studies. I had spent my junior year as a study abroad student on a CIEE program in Taiwan, an experience I deeply appreciated and learned from, but that had come at high financial cost. My primary purpose in going to Taiwan was to improve my Mandarin skills. While there I took courses as part of the CIEE curriculum through the Mandarin Training Center at National Chengchi University. The majority of my classmates were not CIEE students, were not from the U.S., and were only taking courses at the Mandarin Training Center. I wondered how they had gotten to Taiwan and how they were affording the costs, but I never asked them directly. Later I realized that they had just enrolled directly in the language school at a fraction of what CIEE charged when I was discussing this question with a Japanese classmate in my Mandarin course back at home on my undergraduate degree-granting campus. My Japanese classmate laughed at my question and pulled a book out of his backpack to

enlighten me. While the book was in Japanese, it did not take long to figure out that the content inside it was a detailing of locations throughout Taiwan and China where you could directly enroll in Mandarin classes, sign up in to live in university dormitories, and do so without needing to go through a university study abroad office.

The big difference of course was that my college campus would only accept credits from a recognized study abroad provider and these language training centers did not pass the muster of being transferrable to count as my required courses, despite that fact that when approved by a program like CIEE they would transfer without a problem. I realized that in the future I did not need to go through a study abroad office in order to study on a foreign campus; I could just seek them out directly from the school. That following summer, with the help of a Chinese friend from the city of Tianjin where I wanted to study, I enrolled directly in language program on the Tianjin Normal University campus.

Later, after starting my doctoral program, I got a job at a business school. I started out in a role that was specifically to help Chinese students acculturate, or if I am more honest, to try find strategies to get the students to perform and assimilate in ways that the school wanted. I soon realized there was little critical concern for the half of the student body that were coming from China, and no questioning of the problematic ethics of recruiting students you had no desire to teach, or help to find employment after graduation. There was also a surprising lack of interest in the intercultural learning that these students could provide in a business school, with China being the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest global economy, and in a school which prided itself on its global programs and thought all students should participate in a short-term faculty led study abroad course.



Within a few years I was involved in the operations for short-term MBA travel programs. Although I didn't have the positional authority to challenge curriculum, I was invited to co-lead these programs as a support person. Programs were always less than two weeks in length and tied to a course that covered a variety of international business and project management topics. While in this role I accompanied programs to Israel, Indonesia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Myanmar, and Vietnam. Each of these classes taught me something and I gained a deep respect for the faculty who had the ability to engage with students 24/7. This was another key insight from this time; that not all teachers have the emotional energy to do that or the ability to treat students as co-explorers rather than as a "sage on the stage".

As the number of programs I co-led grew, I began to question more and more what was being taught when the only places we visited were successful Fortune 500 business offices or start-up incubators. Questions about what really made a difference in the quality of life for the most people were absent. Who was being marginalized was never talked about. Relationships were not forged with locals. We never took public transit. More and more I engaged in debate with faculty and administrative leadership about the design of these programs, but justifications kept coming down to the argument that there were students who were simply so challenged by setting foot into another country that it would be impossible to ask them to do more to engage, even by something I believe so is so fundamentally universally important like taking public transportation. It was against the institutional mantra to question concepts like the triple bottom line approach (people, planet, profit) to offer up that the idea that perhaps people and planet were rapidly losing

to profit as long as profit continued to be a value (Giridharadas, 2018). Thus, content never deviated from celebrating the successes of Fortune 500 companies or marveling at robust start-up ecosystems in places that felt far from home, but were actually not all that different from one another. I began to question the underlying practices of study abroad as it relates to issues of economic impact (leakage, only seeing the positives of global growth, a savior mentality toward economically under resourced communities), voice (primarily hearing western educated high level leadership, lack of local perspectives, program design by the program vendor), and sustainability (cost, food waste, travel for such a short trip).

I noticed that in coursework leading up to, during, and after these programs there was little content or discussion about development policies and politics, global structural inequity, or the power and privilege of a U.S. passport. Another moment on one of the last programs I participated in shook me deeply. It was during the 1-day service project that would take place at the end of the program. The majority of the time program leadership wanted this to be done in the context of poverty, and for this to engage students directly with local people who would be the receivers of a service. At the recommendation of the third-party provider who had organized the program logistics, the group settled on a visit to an orphanage in a rural area a few hours outside of Yangon. In a collective outpouring of guilt masked as altruism, after serving lunch and taking endless photos, the group filled the donation bucket with around \$2000 U.S., the average annual income in the area at that time. What did that signal to the people who ran the orphanage? At the time this orphanage tourism deeply upset me, but I didn't have the language or

knowledge that I do to challenge the plan when it was developed, or to engage the group in meaningful discussion about this issue.

This experience was the spark that led to wanting to unpack what was happening in the global business of study abroad provision. The \$50,000 costs for a group of 20 students to go on a 2-week trip to a location in a “developing market”, when most of that money never reached local businesses or people, did not feel right. I did not come to this work with the theories on hand to understand what bothered me about my own study abroad experience or my experiences running short-term study abroad programs organized by for-profit third party providers. Instead it was these experiences and dilemmas of my own work that motivated me to try to better understand what was happening through finding theories to apply. My own lived experience and what I questioned as a result of that – questions about power, narrative, hypocrisy, development, lived experiences – led me to the theoretical frameworks that I use to analyze my data and the questions I want to be attentive to and better understand. Neocolonialism is particularly salient as I see more and more how corporate power is shaping the world. There are so many legacies of institutionalized racism connected to legacies of European expansion and conquest, but what I see happening now, what is continuing to drive opportunity and inequity, is the power of profit. This dream empowers some currencies and devalues others. The U.S. national narrative of one working hard and then succeeding often makes it difficult for us to see that. Or maybe we do not want to see these inequities; we do not want to believe that it is not just the lazy that fall behind and get destroyed.

During the writing of my proposal, I ended up working in the sales department of a local travel company who won the bid for a major national museum to manage their student programs. This furthered my understanding that much of the education abroad industry is about profit and this means that the idea of global education becomes an idea that is sold. This museum was selling their brand, asking for royalties from a third-party provider who was now using their logo to further legitimate a perceived value of this educational experience. This museum is not alone in this endeavor. National Geographic, one of the master narrators of crafting stories of place, contracts with Putney Student Travel to deliver their National Geographic branded student experiences. In my experience at this third-party provider, sales were the foundation of the business, not education or even community impact. I saw this in how they sold programs to schools, the no-holds-barred approach to sending as many students as possible, the silence around community impact, and the absence of any feedback mechanism for communities, or training for field instructors. It was all business, couched as global citizenship development. Global citizenship and cultural immersion were sales tactics. I witnessed how this small business (sending around 1000 students on global programs a year) was being challenged by larger companies. As the education abroad industry continues to consolidate, middle schools and high-schools are practicing institutional isomorphism as they seek to give future college freshman a global learning experience before they even walk onto a college campus. Global travel and global service are increasingly assumed to be something all students must have as part of their preparation to get into college, and are absolutely something that every college graduate should have before going to work.

As I work to expose the structures and processes of study abroad through my critical work, I am attentive to my own social location and personal history. I am the research instrument and what I am entering into research to critique is something I am already inextricably interlinked with (Tyler, 1991). Reflexivity and understanding my own positionality in this project has been an active, ongoing process at each stage of research. My research interests themselves stem from experiences as a former study abroad student, study abroad instructor, study abroad administrator, and study abroad salesperson. For the past ten years I have worked in the field of global education including managing short-term travel programs for a business school, creating and selling short-term student travel programs, teaching short-term study abroad programs as a teaching assistant and instructor, and participating in the development and teaching of an undergraduate global citizenship course taught on campus to support students study abroad experience.

In thinking about the impacts of study abroad on host communities, I have also been profoundly influenced by the experience of working for many years in an institution that hosted an enormous percentage of international students. There I experienced how U.S. higher education institutions themselves function as study abroad destinations for international students, as well as the impacts on that institution from such a large number of international students. In my experiences, U.S. higher education administrators and faculty do not typically afford international students on our own campuses the level of interest, support, or coddling that we provide U.S. study abroad students with in other contexts. I have witnessed how international students often failed at making local friends,

creating sub-cultures in similar ways to U.S. study abroad students do in foreign contexts. In these cases, international students are often criticized much more harshly than U.S. students when considering the challenges they face coping in new environments abroad.

It is important to acknowledge that my status as researcher gives me no more access to truth than it affords anyone else. As I engaged in this process I continually questioned what right I have to represent the experience of someone other than myself (Mantzoukas, 2004; Viruru & Cannella, 2006). I acknowledge the impact of my own socialization into the academy and traditional notions of qualitative data collection and analysis. To challenge traditional research hierarchies I did not commit to any one set of practices as a critical inquirer. I scrutinized and interrogated the process throughout my process, including the knowledge being produced (Steinberg, 2010). As Lather (1991) argues, to engage in such research is to be “paradoxically aware of one’s complicity in that which one critiques” (p. 10). The questions I am living in my project are a result of all of these experiences.

### **Data Analysis**

As a researcher I was less interested in impartial representation than in “mapping plausible realities” (Gildersleeve, 2018, p. 695). I worked to “understand, in partial and temporary kinds of ways, the making of the human as it unfolds across intersecting lines of flight with difference, diversity, and immanence” (Gildersleeve, 2018, p. 695; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Attentiveness to power, as operationalized in my analysis through capital, led to the research questions that framed the present study. My data analysis and findings operated rhizomatically, whereby my research questions were the jumping off

points for insights and plausibilities (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Through the research process I lived my research question in multiple directions and conducted formal field research three times (Lather, 1986b). Each component of field research unfolded differently, with the main focus of my inquiry being on relationships between three host communities and study abroad programs that they hosted. Lines of flight (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) moved my research into many directions including local level systems of distributive benefit, leveraging of the social and political capital of affiliation with higher education institutions by local communities, and the emerging market of the experience economy. Rather than a linear approach to my research questions, I followed multiple threads, approaching my questions and the phenomena I am interested in a variety of ways.

During my first field work visit I recorded the majority of my interviews, transcribed, and then analyzed them in Dedoose. During this process I arrived at initial themes and subthemes, which remained consistent throughout my subsequent field visits. While analyzing my data in Dedoose, however, the limits of software analysis for my research became clear. Many of my interviews were translated into English by an interpreter, thus making text by text analysis of responses less useful. A large part of my data was also contained within field notes. Tagging themes from field notes in a software program also did not serve the analytical process as much as simply highlight and then memo-ing from my notes. As a result, I used Dedoose to identify initial insights, but hand-coded and analyzed my interviews transcripts and fields notes without the aid of Dedoose following my second and third field world visits. I also began to record interviews less often as I

was often outside of a formal interview setting with my host families and wanted to interview them as unobtrusively as possible.

**Ethical Considerations.** I want to acknowledge the critiques that often the Global North is somewhere we (being academics from the U.S., Europe, or Australia) theorize and the Global South is where we get data. Taking heed of Spivak (1998, 1993), I do not intend this project to speak for anyone. What I share is speaking through my own experience and I was unable to escape my racial, national, and educational privileges. I had access to the communities that I spent time in as a result of these privileges and it is unlikely that people would have refused to speak with me because of these privileges. I have no illusions about speaking for anyone or of giving voice and I resist the idea of doing so. I do see the value of the concept of witness, the value of having students learn stories, of pausing and reflecting and considering other people's lived experiences. It is important to pay attention to and see how power operates in ways that often harms people. I am hesitant to say that I offered anyone witness, but I did uncover partial-truth about how communities are impacted economically (in many forms) through their engagement with the global education economy. Ultimately the goal with this is to take these findings back to the Academy to challenge taken for granted aspects of business practice to ensure that communities are seen as equal stakeholders with as equal right to be positively impacted by these programs as students are.

How I represent the communities I visited has been a something I have thought deeply about. Although my research methods were ethnographic, data presentation is less so. I am less interested in representing the communities I was in and more interested in



representing the study abroad industry from the perspective of community impact to reflect back to the world that I am participant in the oddities and contradictions inherent in the field. I took very few pictures and none were of people. I recorded only interviews where people were clear that they were being recorded and what the purpose was for. In many cases it seemed as though the whole premise of my project was difficult for people I was speaking with to understand. Many people had come to study their sustainability practices and their culture, but no one had come to learn about their experiences hosting students before. In these cases, I limited myself to notetaking and field notes.

Throughout I was reliant on the services of a translator to assist in interviews with community members who did not speak English. In Community 1, I hired a translator who had worked in the area for over 30 years and knew both TAE and the community members. He accompanied me throughout my interviews and translated them for me. I also interviewed him about his experiences working with TAE and the changes that he had seen in Thailand and the community over time. In Community 2, my host brother in my first homestay and my host sister in my second homestay both spoke English and acted as translators for me with other family members. In Community 2, other members of the co-op, as well as Thai visitors, also spoke English and I was able to discuss the program with them directly. In Community 3 I was reliant on a local Thai instructor who acted as a translator for interviews with my host family and the local youth group. My host father and siblings also spoke limited English and we had some simple conversations using a mix of Thai and English as well.

**Research Relationships.** My main concerns with research participant relationships were reciprocity, power, and surveillance. My research was absolutely dependent on having people who were willing to engage with me and participate in my project. The success of my final product would impossible without them and the success of this project is absolutely a reflection of my privilege. How do I repay them? Using Lather's (1986a) concept of catalytic validity, one way that I could have done this would be to inspire my research participants through their engagement with the project. I do not think this occurred through the process, although people were quite willing to engage with me and talk about their experiences working with study abroad programs. Instead the way that I approach reciprocity through my research product is to advocate for programmatic interventions that make relationships between students, programs, and host communities more equitable. This I can do.

There is also the impact of my White, Western, and nationality privilege. I have experienced these in Thailand, as well as other parts of the Southeast Asia. All of these things mean that in many ways the relationship between observer and observed is at the outset uneven. I did not want my project to in any way become a "invasive stretch of surveillance" through my inquisitiveness and insertion of myself and my research into hosts' lives (Lather, 2001, p. 483; Foucault, 2000). With that in mind, I spent a lot of time just engaging in day to day activities with host families and not pestering them with questions. Although they are not credited in the byline of this sole authored document, the people that I spoke with and who were willing to engage with me in multiple ways deserve to be credited as the the co-authors of this project.

## **Limitations of Study**

There are a number of limitations of this study. First, the study explored community perspectives in three specific “communities” during a fixed period of time.

Generalizability is limited. My positionality influenced my perspectives, collection of field notes, and analysis of the data. People may not have been fully honest. Communities may have worried about providing negative feedback that would get back to program organizers and hurt their feelings, or if they felt economically dependent on the program that giving such feedback would jeopardize their relationship with the program. In my short time it was clear that there is so much I don't know about social relationships, potential divisions, alliances, and back stories. I was an outsider. Gaining an adequate understanding of the local context or power relationships within the community was a challenge. I do not speak Thai and was limited to who I could talk to and was not able to corroborate if translators translated everything that was said and what may have been lost during the translation process. In Thai culture communication is often indirect in order not make oneself or another “lose face”. I also did not talk to or spend time with anyone who had chosen not to ever host, and interviews with people who had hosted before but were not currently hosting were limited.

## **Chapter Five:**

### **Introduction**

The work was guided by the following central research question: In what ways are economic opportunities and behaviors of host communities altered through interactions with study abroad programs?

I also worked to answer three related sub-questions:

- 1) How do host communities experience and come to know study abroad programs?
- 2) How does hosting and teaching students affect every day, lived experiences?
- 3) What opportunities exist for communities to shape what relationships with study abroad programs look like?

In this chapter I present the findings that emerged from my research. This study was undertaken as a critical ethnography, with field notes, observations, and interviews with community members and local Thai study abroad program administrators and field instructors constituting the majority of the data. Additional interviews with non-Thai program staff, other study abroad program providers, and U.S. sponsored cultural exchange programs such as EducationUSA, PeaceCorp, and Fulbright also provided important contextual information. These interviews were used to supplement, extend, and contextualize information gathered from fieldwork. Through the findings presented I hope to address a gap in the literature about impact of study abroad programs in the Global South. Since this study is situated within a limited scope of three communities

visited during July 2018 – April 2019, I do not intend to imply that these findings are generalizable for all situations. Rather I hope that through providing context-specific findings, these can be considered and built upon as community impact becomes a growing focus of study abroad assessment and research. Recommendations shared in Chapter 6 encourage study abroad program providers and professional organizations to include community outcomes as a component of assessment. I hope the findings shared may provide important insights into impacts and associated best practices. As I detail here, there are insights from specific aspects of program design and community management of these programs that play a critical role in creating a predominantly positive experience for the three communities as narrated through their reflections. These findings inform the specific recommendations I provide later related to institutional and pedagogical practice.

*Table 2 Host Community Demographic Summary*

<b>Community</b>	<b>Population of the town where host homes and speakers were located</b>	<b>Participated in the tourism economy</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Race/ethnicity</b>	<b>Length of time hosting study abroad programs</b>
Community 1	Approximately 300	Yes via a governmental approved community-based tourism (CBT) Model	Within a national park	Predominantly Christian Karen	~20 years. First groups were TAE programs.
Community 2	Approximately 5000	No	In a lowland farming area	Predominantly Thai	~20 years. First groups were TAE programs.
Community 3	Approximately 100	No	Within national forest land on the border of a National Park	Predominantly Buddhist Karen	~10 years. Hosting groups began with a Japanese professor and now host based on relationships with individuals, not programs.

During my field research I stayed with four separate families and visited eight additional homes. In each location I relied on my hosts to assist me in finding people to talk with. In total I spoke with 26 community members, often more than one time. I conducted in-depth interviews with my 4 hosts over the duration of time I spent with them. All of the communities and homes I visited have been hosting students for multiple years. Community 1 & 2 had been working with TAE for close to twenty years. Community 3 had been hosting paying visitors for at least ten years.

**Learning the process.** When asked how many students they had hosted, none of my families or those that I interviewed was able to put a number to this. Many laughed when I asked this question, making gestures to implying that the scale of hosting was immense. This laughter showed me that the experience of hosting study abroad groups is significantly different now than when it was the first few times that they had hosted. Each of the families had photos of some of the early students who had visited them, but they said that they no longer print photos like this. While it's true that part of this is because cellphones have become the new ways that we document, I see this as my hosts not taking photos of students anymore because the experience had lost its significance. The process of hosting had become routine and there was no longer a need to document it. Rather than narrating their experience through relationships individual students, people in Community 1 and 2 talked about study abroad students through reflections on their relationship with and affection for program leadership and field program staff of TAE. The program director of TAE had long-standing friendship and relationships with the people who hosted. Through bringing student to their homes for twenty years, the community had come to deeply know goals of the program and the curriculum and articulated similar goals to TAE when they explained what hosting students looked like. They knew the arc of the learning that students received, felt that it was a good representation of what they were up to, and said that this followed mostly a similar pattern each time students were present.

One of my host sisters had grown up having groups of students come to her home to learn from her father. As she grew up and went to college, she had the opportunity to

deepen her own English language skills and define her own agribusiness model. When she returned home she began teaching her own content to students who visited and this became a central piece of the curriculum and the learning experience. This relationship was one she had grown up together with. When TAE first began coming to Communities 1 & 2, there were not any other study abroad programs, or other educational organizations coming that were asking for similar services. In recent years, however, both communities are increasingly being approached by other study abroad programs and educational organizations to host students. Through learning and co-creating an educational provision process with TAE, people in both communities now know how to facilitate a particular type of learning experience for U.S. students.

In Community 3, the context for hosting is different in that the community does not have a long-term study abroad program provider partner. Still in this community hosts also did not recall the details of individual students and instead talked more about relationships with local Thai field instructors who worked for multiple third-party providers or specific faculty who had come multiple times. These instructors came to Community 3 multiple times a year with different groups from multiple organizations. In partnership with these Thai field instructors, people learned what educational visitors were looking for. Over the years they had come to know the process of hosting groups so well that they created their own agenda and learning schedule for visitors.

### **Summary of Qualitative Themes**

In this chapter, I present the three main themes that emerged during thematic data analysis of my field notes, interviews, artifact analysis, along with quotes from



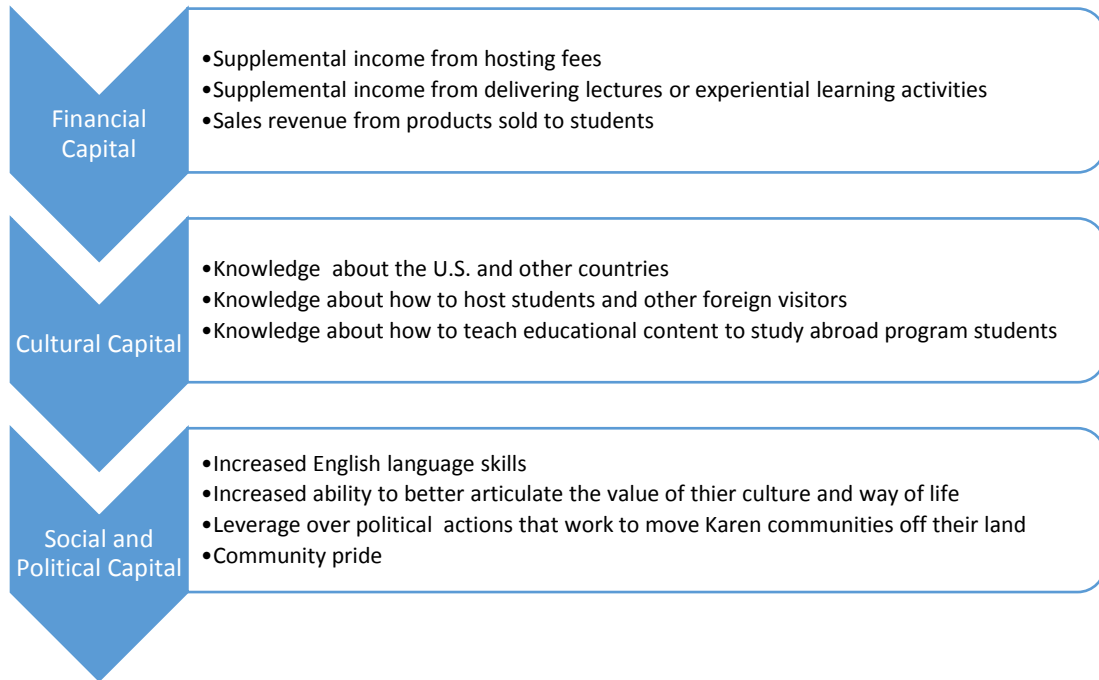
participants that support these themes. I initially coded data in Dedoose, but after an identification of overarching themes, I switched to hand coding. The findings that ultimately emerged are those which “rose to the top” and that have implications for institutional practice.

From my coding and analysis, I developed the following themes:

- Economic impacts and varieties of capital
- Systemic factors and programmatic interventions that put power in the hands of the community
- The work of hosting

The first and third themes, economic impacts and varieties of capital, and the work of hosting, answer my overarching questions on the ways in which economic opportunities and behaviors of host communities are being altered through interactions with study abroad programs. The sub-question of community agency and power in shaping relationships with study abroad program providers is answered by part by the third theme of the systemic factors and programmatic interventions that I found. Finally my other sub-questions of how host communities experience and come to know study abroad programs and how hosting and teaching students affects every day, lived experiences are answered throughout all three themes.

## Theme 1: Economic impacts and varieties of capital



*Figure 7 Economic Impacts Overview*

When I initially conceptualized this project I had been thinking of economic impacts primarily in terms of financial capital, but through my conversations and observations it soon became clear that there were other forms of capital that communities were receiving or were enhanced through engagement with the program. One of the first things that I learned was that the community members I spoke with enjoyed hosting students and did so because they wanted to. They were not forced, coerced, or economically dependent on student visitors. Stories shared about programs that visited each community were universally positive. I wondered at first if this was because people were concerned about negative feedback getting back to program leadership and causing them to stop visiting. After I realized that TAE was not the only organizer who brought groups to these

communities I understood that there was not a concern about losing the revenue from this relationship. There was actually more demand for hosting than the community had the capacity for. In the case of TAE and Community 1 & 2, it was clear that those I spoke with held deep affection for the program director, as well as the field instructors who travelled to the community with students. Many people, especially in Community 2, wore TAE branded t-shirts during the duration of my stay.

Wearing branded clothing really struck me as being reflective of the positive emotions they had around TAE programs and pride that people took in being affiliated with their work. Another way that I understood this as a positive relationship was through the opposite way in which people talked about tourists and the impacts from tourism. People shared negative stories of things that had happened in their own communities in the past or in communities nearby. There was a clear distinction between how people talked about tourism compared to working with students. Students were learners. As one of my host fathers said, “students have a different purpose than tourists, they come to learn. Tourists come to learn too, but also many just want to take photos and go hiking. They don’t care about the Karen culture”.

The perspective of my host father was echoed by others that I spoke with about what made student visitors unique. From this perspective, it was the focus on learning that differentiated students from tourists. Students were coming to learn, not just consume an experience, and community members like my father were there to teach. The teaching aspect, and the attentiveness to the learning by students, felt different to community

members than what many had experienced from tourism. In this way, the experience became generative instead of exploitative.

Still, money came up too in conversations, although benefits beyond money came up more frequently. In all three communities, people talked about the positive impacts of additional income from gained from hosting or teaching students. As I analyzed these positive factors, I categorized non-financial capital as either cultural capital or social and political capital. Both of these categories represent knowledge, skills, and connections that people were able to leverage that helped them succeed in the economy. Cultural capital was the familiarity with cultures and practices worldwide that shaped the behaviors of visitors to Thailand, or places with more or less economic power, and implied the opportunity to be globally connected and savvy. Knowledge of different cultures, particularly people's preferences and habits, created opportunities for people who engaged with the study abroad economy to potentially deploy these skills for employment, as well as facilitated hosting of additional groups. All of my host parents talked with pride about things they had learned about other cultures and why people acted the way they did. Although I did not see all these forms of capital deployed, I inferred the potential for deployment, as it seemed the people I spoke did as well. This knowledge was actively being sought and talked about as a benefit of hosting study abroad programs. Although it is impossible to attribute interaction with the program as the sole reason that any of these benefits were received, through talking about these as positive impacts from hosting, it was clear to me that community members viewed them as connected. It is possible that people played down the value of the money because they did not want to

appear as if they were participating for a primarily financial reason, but across the board the first thing people talked about when I asked them what they got out of engaging with study abroad programs was the value of cultural exchange.

**Financial Capital.** Financial benefits that communities received primarily came from payments for providing housing accommodations and meals for student students. Sometimes they also received payment for teaching services when community members delivered lectures or shared local knowledge on a particular topic. Prices were set ahead of time by the community and communicated up front before a family confirmed that they would be able to host. Payment for providing accommodation, meals, lectures, and other experiential learning activities like a guided hikes, wild vegetable foraging, or farm tours typically happened the last day of a program before the group prepared to depart. Money was paid to a designated person who acted as the financial broker and the accountant. Services were recorded on in a ledger and families were paid directly after a group had left.

Although they did not say that they hosted primarily for the money, each of my homestay hosts talked about that they appreciated the additional income they made from hosting groups of students. All four of my host families described how it was increasingly expensive to live Thailand and that they were actively engaged in minimizing the amount of money that they spent. Through these conversations I learned that the income that people made was used to increase their savings. There was an active community bank or savings program in all three places and people were able to make a small interest rate on savings as well. Based on conversations with community members

on average income in each of the communities visited, financial remuneration was equivalent to the average daily minimum wage for one person. Even if the amount was small, by continually hosting over multiple years, it seems that families are able to significantly increase their savings capacity.

Early foreign visitors to all communities were primarily NGO and development organization staff who had come to support their work in sustainable agriculture and community development. One of my host brothers described how when his parents first started hosting foreign guests, they did not ask for any payment. Eventually this became resented and it was difficult for families to create clear boundaries around what was fair. Eventually the community came together to determine a price and institute a standard cost for visitors including NGO staff. Today payment received is perceived as fair and set collectively. According to one of my host brothers in Community 2, once a system for payment was formalized, it was seen as recognition of the work of community members and was also a form of respect.

What a fair price is can be difficult to determine and the cost of time spent in a community can play a role in where study abroad programs decide to take students. In the case of TAE, leadership described that they believed this was best determined by the community, and that so far they had never tried to negotiate down a price that a community had set. In the case of other another study abroad program provider that I spoke to, however, they had chosen not to visit places or return to places where the price for hosting services was higher than another location. This reflects two different business models, where TAE put value on the long-term relationships with communities that host

its students, as well as the critical importance of their particular stories, experience, and knowledge to a defined curriculum. The business model of the other program was based on a curricular design where they could show up in any community, and as long as students had a chance to live with local host families, then there would be a value. In this case cost became an important factor in deciding which communities that they chose to bring programs to learn in.

Student group presence also provided a market for products being produced in the community. The potential purchasing power of students as costumers for local products was discussed by people in all three communities, as well as program staff of other study abroad program providers I spoke with. In Community 1 & Community 3, students were taught about and encouraged to buy locally made products at the end of their stay. In Community 2 students frequented a café run by a younger generation who had returned from jobs in urban areas. These were people in their 30s whose experience growing up had included their own parents hosting foreign guests throughout their lives. The café that this group had opened, which was operated collectively by a co-op of “the younger generation”, was visited by the majority of groups of visitors to the community. These customers made up a significant revenue stream by purchasing coffee and snacks, which I witnessed during daily visits to the café while I stayed in there for three weeks. In Community 1 and Community 3, homes were located in the forest away from a commercial center, so selling directly to consumers like the students meant that the community did not need to sell first to middle people who then marked the price up.

Sales to students offered an additional revenue stream whenever they hosted groups and efforts were made to ensure that there was ample stock of product before groups came.

The purchasing power of students was a particularly tricky area to navigate for communities, however, because study abroad programs would stop bringing students if the community pushed them too hard to purchase. This situation had resulted in two program providers I spoke with pulling out of other communities where sales pitches were direct and aggressive. One program leader described how families in one community set up tables in student bedrooms with items for sale. They later decided to stop bringing students to this community as direct result of this.

The economic impact of study programs could pose a challenge when community members beyond just host families wanted to receive financial benefits from the program. As one Thai field instructor described:

Families learn over time that the students have money. Essentially sometimes what we are developing is tourism. When that happens sometimes the police want a cut. Although this much more common in Lao, it also happens in Thailand. We cannot ethically pay of the local police in order to be able to host a program somewhere. We don't want people to become dependent, but the more that we come back the more that it's possible that might happen – Non-TAE Thai Field Instructor

This quote is reflective of one of the key dilemmas that study abroad providers face. Their presence offers a revenue stream that can be significant in communities that are economically marginalized. There is a perception that U.S. study abroad groups have a lot of money. This potential consumer market is one that many people cannot help but



want to go after because they need money to survive in Thai society. There can be corruption within local government as well, where power brokers in communities may ask for a financial payment to facilitate the ability of an outside group to spend time a community. This type of corruption is not something that U.S. study abroad program providers or higher education institutions want to have anything to do with.

Additionally, in part through interacting with student programs, some community members had generated successful entrepreneurial ideas such as cafés in Communities 1 & 2 that produced products that could be sold to Thais as well as foreigners. Café owners were attentive to what products students and other visitors bought. The opportunity to sell goods was a way to increase the amount of money that students spent on site. In Community 1 & 2, TAE had assisted with business plans and marketing material development for the cafés. TAE also provided a market place for these and other partner communities to sell products and produce in Chiangmai, offering additional benefits to having a relationship with the program. TAE partner communities had more formalized relationship with TAEs, but impromptu opportunities for business development assistance existed as well. During my visit to Community 3, one of the faculty on the program offered to develop a future student project at their home institution in the U.S. to help the community with their honey and soap sales.

**Cultural Capital.** Bourdieu (1986) describes “cultural capital” as capital that allows the holder familiarity with knowledge, practices, lifestyles, and cultural components considered of value in a particular culture. The benefits of being familiar with American culture, as well as the culture of other countries like Japan and France,

came up again and again when I spoke with community members about why they enjoyed hosting. By becoming familiar with global cultural capital this knowledge became something community members were able to transact with to make connections with people that they hosted. The people in each community who had the strongest English language skills became the default point person for initial inquiries about study abroad programs visits. This knowledge gave them the potentially powerful gatekeeper role and appeared to result in better employment opportunities. While I did not see cultural capital being deployed in depth, I saw the potential for communities to utilize this capital, and the benefit of cultural familiarity was talked about by everyone I spoke with. In this way hosts are leveraging this “intercultural competency development” just as much as students (Polson, 2016). All four of my host families talked about the value they placed on intercultural learning. The ability to engage comfortably with foreigners and gain English language skills were the two main cultural capital benefits that community members spoke about and that I observed them utilizing. Community members got to learn in depth about the U.S. through their extended engagement and engagement with *farang*.

As one of my host sisters described, with enough contact with foreigners community members lost their shyness. Comfort with foreigners was not limited to U.S. students, and included Japanese, French, and Canadian visitors that my hosts told anecdotes about. Being able to speak and converse in English meant people were more able to communicate with visitors from multiple nations, became more employable (as evidenced by the higher paying jobs that English speakers in the community held), and

(as community members self-reported) ultimately more prepared to face the economic, social, and political pressures that their communities were undergoing.

Communities were not limited in their interactions with outsiders to only U.S. student programs; people from all over the world and all over Thailand were visiting. Students made up around one quarter of the self-reported visits in each place, with NGOs, government agencies, tourists (in Community 1), and other not-study-abroad learning organizations also visiting. I saw this accumulation of intercultural competence, or global cultural capital accrual, occurring through hosts becoming familiar with diversity between and within nations, particularly the culture of nations that wielded significant economic power. Cosmopolitanism is a concept that many institutions, including my own, hope that study abroad returnees attain, and it is often associated with corporeal mobility (Petzold, 2017), but this is not the only way it can be attained. Villagers saw their interactions with students as interactions with the larger global community. Through becoming connected to the wider world through hosting study abroad programs and other visitors, community member themselves were also becoming globally mobile. Three of the four host families I stayed with had travelled to countries outside of Thailand. The idea that these places were somehow cut off from transnational mobility, as I had mistakenly assumed, was a false binary. Through their connection with the global development industry community leaders in each place had opportunities to leave Thailand to visit neighboring Southeast Asian nations, Japan, and occasionally the U.S. or Europe. Connections with study abroad programs appeared to strengthen this as it

provided more globally mobile community members more connections to leverage in other places.

Another cultural capital benefit people talked about was challenging notions of Western superiority. In interviews, this was intertwined with community members' opportunities to travel to the U.S. I heard my host brother tell a story multiple times about how impacted he was by his time in the U.S., where he was exposed to the reality that significant poverty exists there, and that many Americans lacked basic life skills knowledge he took for granted before leaving his home. When he was hosting groups, these anecdotes appeared to provide a context that he could draw on to feel confident in what he was saying, and in the life path (becoming a farmer) he was proud to have chosen. This confidence may have helped him feel like the U.S. students had something to learn from him.

When I went to the US I learned that developed countries weren't really like what I had imaged. In Thailand we sell for exchange, but in the U.S. people beg. I thought, wait, what?!, this is a developed country, what is going on? What have they lost? These skills are important for your life...Prehra used to say "When we develop the new generation will lose wisdom. Because of all of the ready-made food, people will never know how to cook it". I never understood this until I went to the U.S. and I saw some people who are begging in the crosswalk. Here people know how to sell vegetables to exchange for money; in the U.S. people just know how to stick on labels. We [in the community] have so much wisdom and skills. This made me understand more and I know how rich in knowledge my parents are. That's why I

decided I would go back home and do something with my parents and work on our land. – Host brother Community 2

My host brother had left his home town to go to college in Chiangmai. After college he had stayed in the city working for a construction company. While he was living there he applied for an exchange program to work for a year in the U.S. Although he had grown up poor, his family had never struggled for food or shelter, and took pride in their work. In the U.S., many of his co-workers his age at the farm did not know how to cook, a kind of basic knowledge whose absence shocked him. He also saw visible manifestations of poverty and marginalization that he perceived as bleaker than anything he or anyone he knew had experienced. This experience made him realize how rich he was simply through what he knew how to do and how to make; he would never go hungry and he would never have to beg.

This corporeal mobility had other benefits. My host sister, who had recently started a farming related business in the community, and who had spent six months in another country as part of a European grants program, talked about another way that this broader perspective gave her pride.

When I was young we had foreigners and no one could speak with them. If we can speak we can send the true message about our community because we know what we are doing here. We should do something and we have more experience than we know. And also we can make people understand that we can do more than just farm. We can go places outside of Thailand. I wanted to prove this to my friends and the younger

generation. We are more than your image of what a rural farmer is. We can go anywhere – Host Sister, Community 2

This quote represents both my sister's experience growing up with strangers who she lacked the ability speak with and how she herself eventually learned English and found herself in places far from home. This ability to travel to a place outside of her hometown was something she was deeply proud of and that meant her opportunities were greater than the circumstance she had been born in to. At the same time, the way that she talked about these experiences appeared to give her pride in where she came from and that there were potentially new ways to take on an identity of being a farmer and to launch new businesses.

**Social and Political Capital.** Each of my homestay hosts, as well as other community members, talked about how they learned new terminology and ways of describing the value of traditional knowledge and practices through interaction with study abroad programs. These terms and concepts were then leveraged when talking people from outside of their community, both foreign and Thai, about the value of their lives and their communities. Specific examples shared included things like describing specifically how traditional rotational farming practices were sustainable and did not hard the environment, helped maintain biodiversity, and help facilitate economic self-sufficiency.

Each community shared specific examples of how the connection to a foreign higher education institution allowed them to push back against government or corporate actors who were trying to influence them. Examples of how this had happened in other communities were shared by program staff from my partner institution.

What is the buy in from communities to host or participate? If the community doesn't buy in we don't do it. We do ask them why do you do this and what we have consistently had people tell us over the years is that they learn about themselves by teaching our students, they learn how to articulate their key issues by teaching our students, sometimes its dramatic. We used to have a course on human rights and rivers. The Tom River is a river that the government keeps trying to put a dam on and the dam will destroy this beautiful vibrant ecosystem. So one time the village head said, "Can I take photos of your students being taught on the river by the village elders about our indigenous traditions and our community? Can I use these when I go talk to parliament about why this river needs to be conserved"? I said yes, and they did, and they were successful. They may have been successful anyway without us, but he certainly felt that having government legislators see that this a place of international interest, that students are flying from across the world to learn from this community, was valuable. – Anecdote shared by TAE program director

This quote, from a conversation I had with TAE's director, initially dumbfounded me. I had not expected that communities would recognize the prestige currency that hosting U.S. students and then deploy it to fight for the preservation of their environment. As I continued my research I found the use of the perceived prestige of foreign higher education to fight government actions echoed by others. This is supported by Heron (2011), who describes the reputational benefits and credibility that other communities have experienced through having foreigners present. The use by community members of highlighting relationships with foreign higher education institutions (not just U.S.,

European, or Australian institutions, but also Japanese) as leverage against the state was an unexpected finding that emphasizes the enormous social and political capital higher education institutions the Global North hold. Through these small communities demonstrating to government actors that they possessed knowledge that U.S. students and academic faculty wanted to learn from they were able to resist some changes their communities. This incentivized community leads to keep encouraging host of the study abroad programs.

My host father in Community 1 talked about how he deployed academic and technical jargon that he had learned about the specific type of agriculture that he practiced in his own battles with government officials. Although he had grown up knowing that the way his community farmed and practiced agricultural production was sustainable, he had never been asked to articulate it, or interacted with people who had studied long term impacts of this agriculture, before academic programs came to stay with and learn from him.

Every year it seems like our issues with the National Park are resolved and then it comes back to the government trying to declare the area a national park and push the villagers out. They rotate government officials and a new person comes in and wants us out. Now we can explain to them ecologically why what we are doing is sustainable. Students ask us all these questions that we had never realized people don't know to the answer to, like that everybody knows that a 5-year fallow cycle is more sustainable, but of course the students don't know that. The government officials don't know it either. We can teach them too. – Host Dad Community 1

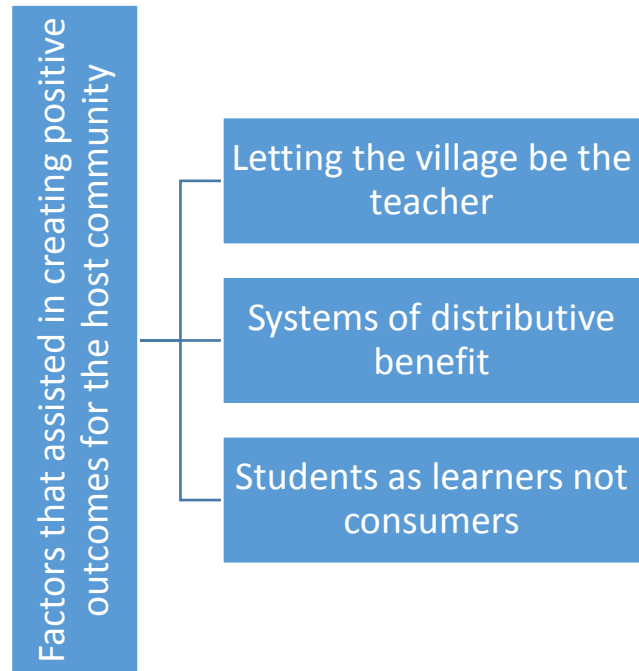


Community 3 described how they attributed their successful fight to stay on their land to the relationships that they had with foreign scholars and student visitors. According to my host father, these visits appeared to demonstrate to government officials that they had a legitimate claim to retain their land rights and that they should be allowed to stay in their village. For Community 3, this translated into attitudes toward higher education attainment. Across the board, parents were encouraging their children to go college, and to obtain advanced degrees if they were able to do. They had seen firsthand the power that academic credentialing could provide and parents wanted their children to wield this power as well. My host father in Community 3 emphasized how local families were actively working to build local capacity to promote full and effective participation in a wide range of domestic and international policy processes relevant to them through education. This social and political capital accrual by communities and the leveraging of this capital appeared to be a key impetus of engaging with the economy of study abroad.

This raises the question of what type of responsibility a study abroad program should hold when it is moving into communities with this kind of power. As detailed in the Thailand context chapter, within Thailand higher education attainment is still very much an opportunity limited to members of the elite. Opportunities to study overseas are even more limited, and students who do have the opportunity to study on foreign campuses typically return to Thailand and succeed in the neoliberal economy with easier social mobility than others who have not studied overseas. The way that foreign higher education institutions are treated reifies this unequal privileging of particular forms of knowledge and experience. However, through partnering with U.S. study abroad

programs, I found that these often marginalized communities are leveraging these relationships in ways that subvert this traditional model where only elite urban dwellers have access to higher education proffered social and political capital. In particular, the Karen communities have had to fight against their marginalization by linking into larger discourses and connecting with U.S. higher education institutions via hosting study abroad students allows them to do so. Through these impacts, are U.S. study abroad programs providing leverage and power to marginalized communities, or are they reproducing uneven global power relations? In this case this power was productive, not only repressive, but this does not mean that this is always the case. This power needs to be acknowledged and carefully attended to by study abroad programs.

## Theme 2: Systemic factors and programmatic interventions that put power in the hands of the community



*Figure 8 Systematic Factors and Interventions Summary*

### **The Community as Knowledge Creator or “Letting the Village be the Teacher”.**

The second theme that emerged from all host community interviewees was the value that people placed on serving as co-educators. The valuation of their knowledge through the sharing it with students was something people I spoke with talked about being rewarding. When they described themselves, they talked about how they were teachers to the students and talked about what they taught them. The importance sharing this knowledge appeared to be connected to the absence of working age children who had moved to urban areas for better job opportunities. Since their children were not home to learn this knowledge, some families talk about how they were worried it would disappear. In this

way teaching students meant that their knowledge had a greater chance of lasting into the future, even if it wasn't knowledge that their children wanted. As one of my host fathers described:

We are so happy to share our local wisdom; we don't want it to disappear. Our kids are away studying or away working. We don't want this knowledge to be lost. We want to show our children that our way of life works. You can produce your own food. You can live simply and you can be happy.

This quote reflects the sense of pride that my host father found in his own life and how important it was to pass on that knowledge. He missed his children who had moved away, and seeing their struggles trying to succeed economically in the city, he felt like they were missing something. Through teaching about what he valued about his way of life to students he was finding a way to share these insights.

Another of my host fathers talked about how he didn't resent that life was different now than when he was growing up, but that he still did not want to lose their traditions and culture. He said, "It's normal of the world to develop. The world is changing, but we want to keep knowledge". This reflects the very real struggle that small agrarian communities face as the labor market changes and the knowledge economy takes central stage. Although we need produce to survive, being a farmer is not a lucrative job. Young people increasingly move to cities, seeking jobs as knowledge workers, rather than laborers. Older adults, however, see this going hand in hand with cultural erasure and are trying to figure out how to retain their traditional wisdom and knowledge as the world changes. Being asked to teach this knowledge becomes a way to retain this.

Another way that I found being in the position of the teacher impact communities is flipping the paradigm of who gets to perform expertise. As one field instructor noted, “we have had villagers also talk to us about how they are used to having experts come in and tell them what so to do, so having westerners come in a position of learning from the community rather than being told what to do is huge”.

This positioning of community members as experts may be particularly important in a context where all of these communities have spent years engaged with NGOs and developmental organizations that have come in to try and help them navigate economic and environmental change. Instead of being in a position of receivership, communities are now those who can impart wisdom of how they have developed and navigated the challenges of doing so in a way that preserves the environment and their values.

Finally, the importance of being a teacher also came up as mattering in that through their teaching community members were able to push their own values and agenda around environmental sustainability. All three of these communities lived in ways that are closely connected to the natural environment and challenging big agribusiness and pesticide use was something they felt passionately about.

My sister talked about this multiple times, both as a critique against the pressure that many people felt in the community to continue using pesticides to grow crops because they had an easy market to sell products that way, as well as the actions of large seed companies that criminalize seed saving and other anti-market practices. She was invested in her community and her own work in agriculture as part of a larger mission to change the system. As she said, “I am really happy to share with students and then they return

and the share what they took home and how they have changed their own community.

One student went back and started a CSA, another started teaching organic farming at a local school.”

Although these are two small examples, her anecdotes of students who had visited, and then returned home to make their own impacts on the food system and the environment where things that she felt personally connected to and that her own talks and teachings to students about her work had helped play a role in inspiring them to be a part of the same movement.

Throughout TAE courses, students learned content via multiple modalities. Anthropological field methods, ecological field surveys, language immersion, and host family interviews were the most common ways that students engaged with learning from host community members. Program staff reported that each of these ways of learning improved engagement of students with community members and allowed for different ways that host community residents could engage with the program. Homestays were framed with the purpose of learning about a family’s life. For families this gave purpose to bringing students on errands or accompanying them as they carried out their daily routine. For students this purpose have them an entry point for conversations.

Anthropological field methods aid in this as well and gave students a focus of looking at family and community organization. This also offered a roadmap for what to talk about with family members and they had to observe, hang out, and learn about people’s lived experiences for course assignments. Throughout my interviews, when I asked about what

students did while they were staying in family's homes, people would say that the students "took notes just like you do".

Course content that focused ecological place-based learning also played a key role in community engagement. In this content in particular community members were the experts. They taught students about growing seasons and what was harvested when, measures that were taken to deal with pests, how plants grew, how produce was used after harvest, as well the importance of their connection to place and the connection of place to their culture. One of my homestay fathers brought me to his farm and instructed me in what makes a Karen farm, talking in particular about the process for growing mountain rice, field preparation, the importance of fire, and how to manage a controlled burn. While there showed me how more than 45 species of edible plants were grown in a small area and showed me rat traps and other natural methods like birds and plants he used to protect his crops. It was clear that he was the expert and that this was not the first time he had given this lecture. On course students have the opportunity to help their families planting and harvest crops depending on the season. To do they work side by side with their host families and utilize their basic language skills. This also helps students gain the confidence to communicate and allows basic conversations and continual opportunities for this to happen.

Field instructors who were fluent in minority Non-Thai languages were crucial to this process. TAE actively recruited native speakers of minority languages such as Karen, which allowed community members who did not speak Thai to communicate with the students. The course design was flexible which allowed field instructors to rotate based

on location. Instructors who were native speakers of local languages were present at all times. This feature of this program was described by program staff as playing a key role in communicating with community stakeholders. The interaction with academic faculty from the U.S. and Thailand may have contributed community members of a sense of pride in their local knowledge. Through a pedagogy that included social, environmental, and cultural learning exercises a wide range of teaching and learning opportunities were present from students and community members. Community 1 and 3 in particular talked about how teaching students helped their goal to showing that human beings and nature can co-exist. In the words of my host father, “No forests, no life”.

**Systems of Distributive Benefit.** One of the most surprising findings was the presence of systems of distributed benefit that helped facilitate equity. Many Thai people feel there are too many tourists. Some communities have chosen not to engage with the tourism economy. Other communities are reliant on tourism for economic development. The three communities I visited are doing something different – they are engaging students instead of tourists. They do not want tourists to come and consumer their culture, but they are interested in cross-cultural exchange and see great value in it.

Each community approached hosting students in different ways but three had systems of distributive benefit. Each system was managed differently but all served the same purpose. A system of distribute benefit facilitates was transparency around the economic impact of visitors by having set public prices and the opportunity for anyone in the community who wants to host or engage with visitors can do so. Community 1 operated under a community-based tourism (CBT) framework, where everyone in the village was



expected to host students and tourists. The local CBT governing board managed the que of families and tracked payments. The CBT set a standard price for housing and food and collected 20% of earnings for the management of the program and as an emergency fund community members were able to borrow from if they needed. This was done so that supplemental income was dispersed evenly between families, and so that no family felt too much of a burden by being asked to constantly host. Families hosted tourists under the same system. Tourists typically only spent one night in the village and were primarily interested in trekking the surrounding hillsides and seeing wildlife.

The hosting process was described to me as follows:

Who hosts when study programs comes to town depends on the number of the students as assignments are made based on the que. If there are 30 students who come then pretty much everyone hosts because the village only has 25 families. All visitors who do a homestay go through the que, tourists and members of NGOs who visit do as well. When groups come they call the chairperson or the café owner who has a landline before they come and confirm the dates, how many students, how many nights, etc. Then he tells the que managers and the que managers determines housing, which house, rotates the que, next time it will be the next member, and so one. Before the visiting groups leave the village he will take the community bill to ISDSI staff.

No one pays their host directly. – Hosting process Community 1, Interview with Village Chief and Que Manager

The CBT management board in Community 1 had five paid positions: the village head man, the CBT coordinator, the finance person, and the two que managers. The board

rotated local guides who took people hiking or led students on experiential activities as well. 15% of the revenues are returned to a CBT fund. At the end of the year remaining funds are used for infrastructure improvement like forest fire protection or trail maintenance. The CBT coordinator role lasts for 4 years. The current selection of the CBT head is from the younger generation and a deliberate choice by the older generation that they want young people helping them to manage their community. They want the younger generation to learn how to take control. He graduated from college, speaks Thai, can drive, and can use computers. He has a different experience from the headman and knows more about knowledge from the outside according to what the village chief told me.

Community 2 did not have a formal CBT board, but was working on a system to implement something similar to manage visitors and had begun their own system for tracking to ensure transparency. They did not foresee wanting to host tourists at any point and had engaged Thai academic researchers in Chiangmai during their decision making process. Based on recommendations from trusted Thai academics, as well as community sentiment, they decided to explicitly ban the creation of tourism infrastructure. To find hosts, the local organic co-op and the homestay coordinator solicited families to see if they would be interested in hosting students. There were a few families who hosted consistently, but the coordinator had a difficult time expanding the hosting pool. Hesitations to hosting that were described to me were because of the added work hosting required, as well as stress created by having a foreigner as a houseguest.

The de-facto homestay coordinator described the system:

Our system is set up this way. Of 100 bhat, 80 bhat goes to host and 20 bhat goes to the co-op. Of that 20 bhat, 70% is saved for other activities of the co-op, 15% is a dividend that is split among all members of the community (even those who do not host), 15% goes to pay the salary of the que manager – Homestay Coordinator, Community 2

The model of Community 2 was particularly interesting to me because while they sometimes struggled to find hosts, everyone in the co-op received a stipend from the hosting of groups by other families. There were a few core hosts in the community who were actively engaged in hosting frequently. While these hosts received the majority of the payment, some of the payment was still reserved for the larger collective. Community 2 was the only predominantly ethnically Thai community within the three communities I spent time in, was located within a bigger town that had more jobs, and there were generally more economic opportunities. In this context, people were less interested in hosting, but still benefited from having visitors.

Community 3 also did not host tourists, only students and people interested in local culture and sustainable agricultural practices. They did not have a formalized system for tracking visitors, but opportunities to host were open to all members of the community. This was the smallest community I visited, with only around 100 residents. The local youth group managed the assignment of guests. Since the community was small typically all homes who wanted to host during a study abroad program visit were able to do so.

Families received 100% of the payment for hosting guests and additional fees for teaching and experiential activities went to the youth group fund.

Overall, I found that systems of distributive benefit helped to mediate negative impacts from programs by creating transparency and the opportunity for all interested families to participate. They facilitated increased resident control in managing the economic and social impacts of hosting students. This contributed to community member agency.

The existence of these systems often reflected strong local government with minimal existing corruption. As a TAE field instructor described:

It feels very special in the places we go. There is a level of organization that is unique. Community varies a lot place to place so we try and build across existing networks. Every village we go to has formalized CBT networks in one sense or another. Communities that have those institutions in place can long term handle issues much better. It helps minimize inadvertently making problems and eliminates or minimizes corruption in families. – TAE Field Instructor

TAE was the only one of the program providers I spoke with who described making choices about where to bring students based on such an infrastructure. I interpreted a few reasons for this. First, TAE was locally based study abroad program provider with a long-standing program and long-standing relationships. They had learned through experience why their programs in particular communities failed and others succeeded. They were attentive to not wanting exacerbate existing inequalities or create new ones. These systems, where the local government, community members, and outside organizations

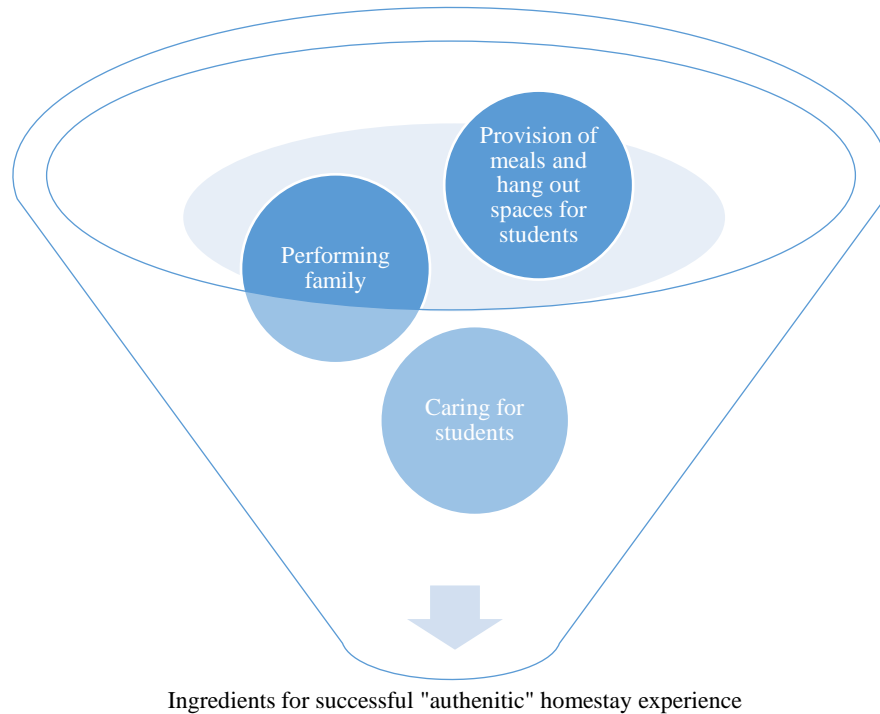
were transparent with each other, had better outcomes. Other program providers likely were not aware of the nuances of local level governance and were not staying in communities long enough to understand them.

**Treating students as learners not consumers.** Thai families, especially in rural areas, have cultural norms that are different than what U.S. students are used to. Attire was one of the most commonly talked about values and this meant that students needed to wearing clothes that covering the majority of their skin, were not to touch someone of another gender, and needed to be deferential to people who were older than them. The ability of students to appropriately model these cultural norms was critical to host family satisfaction. Program providers shared example of communities who rejected hosting programs again if students did not model appropriate behavior that acknowledged these norms. Study abroad program providers I spoke with each shared anecdotes of how this had happened in other communities they had visited in Thailand. All of the families that I interviewed described how well students did respecting local culture and that this was part of why they enjoyed hosting students from TAE. When discussing this, the comparison point was clearly tourists who community members saw as not being willing or able to engage in ways that required them to match these community norms. Ultimately the ability to do so appeared to be seen by community members as a form of respect by the study abroad program provider and students.

To do this, students had to be trained in cultural competency and bought into acting according to this rules. For TAE, students went through a month long process of orientation and cultural and language training in an urban area before they travelled into

rural areas. For the other program I shadowed, the lead faculty person had lived in Thailand previously and prepared students before they arrived. For TAE students, the extended language and cultural preparation was critical. Students lived with urban Thai homestay families during their first month before going to more rural areas. By the end of that month, they had learned to practice these values and were ready to spend time in homes in rural areas. Language skills were also key to cultural preparation and student engagement. Other scholars have also found that language ability skills are one of the most important factors in students being able to connect with locals (Barkin, 2015; Vande Berg et al., 2012). TAE focuses strongly on language courses and this clearly made a difference in their ability to operate in culturally appropriate ways in the community. Through their engagement in cultural norms a safe space for cross-cultural engagement emerged.

### Theme 3: The work of hosting



*Figure 9 Components of the Work of Hosting*

It became clear during my research that hosting visitors had become a form of work in these communities. People willingly chose to engage with this economy to accrue the forms of capital described previously. This was not always easy work and hosting students could be challenging in multiple ways. Even though TAE students were well prepared and had basic language skills, hosting a student was an intimate experience that not everyone in the community was interested in having. Form of labor related to hosting that I witnessed fell into three main categories: provision of meals and living space, provision of caring labor, and the performance of family.

The use of homes as places where commercial activity occurs is not new. In Thailand I observed homes being used for small scale manufacturing, food production, and as shops. Now homes are becoming places where families can sell space and “learning opportunities” to study abroad students. Through this they gain access to an additional economic resource that they can achieve while still retaining their regular income from other work. This phenomenon is not limited to study abroad programs, with homestay tourism, as well AirBNB and the experience economy increasing the number of people engaging with the hosting economy (Polson, 2018). Many study abroad practitioners see value in homestays because students can get to know “real” people from a location and learn about their culture directly.

The staged intimacy of the experience, where students have to figure out how to engage with unfamiliar people, possibly eat food they would not otherwise choose to eat, sleep in arrangements they are not used to, and use bathrooms that may not automatically flush, or that they have to squat on to use, challenges students in ways that proponents of study abroad say help students grow. Language skills are generally found to greatly improve in a homestay environment, especially when family members do not speak any English and can only communicate with students in their own language. While this limits the ability of students to communicate, the challenge becomes to learn from families with limited verbal communication abilities, and to manage discomfort in this uncomfortable environment. I have heard the value of this referred to by faculty as “getting comfortable being uncomfortable”. This staged intimacy, which is often acutely challenging for study abroad program students, was discussed as a great benefit to students by all practitioners I



spoke with, and was opposite of the description by families of the ways that they worked to make students as comfortable as possible. This intensity, and ultimately the intrusive quality of the interaction offered in homestays, is what separates them from other type of accommodation. This is central to the expectations of a homestay (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2013).

**Meals and sleeping accommodations.** The first way that the infrastructure of home hosting was constructed was through the provision of food and a place for students to sleep. A variety of food was prepared to match student needs. Every time a new student arrived, families had to take into consideration their dietary needs and likes and dislikes. In Community 1, which operated under a formalized CBT model, there was a required way to make food approved by the government. To participate as a host families had to follow guidelines for meals that they prepared. Each meal had to comprise of a vegetarian dish, an egg dish, and a meat dish. Meat was consumed more frequently with visitors than families typically consumed themselves. Before each group would come, the CBT board would meet to talk together about which house the guests should go to, how many houses in total would need to be provided, which visitors needed some type of special food. These dietary needs came in three broad categories: vegetarians, allergies, and aversion to spicy food. Since the relationships with the program were so personal, they would consult with the instructors about this to understand the situation in more detail.

For example, some student might say that they were vegetarian because it meant that it was less likely that they might be offered a meat dish that they were uncomfortable eating. In that case, having small amounts of meat in the dishes that they were served

would not be a huge program. The same was often true for allergies, especially to gluten. The CBT board noted that if a student could not eat anything then they would serve them instant noodles as a last resort. In the two communities that did not have a formalized CBT board, meals varied more based on the preferences of the hosts. In both communities much of what was served was harvested that day and people ate what was available in the local environment and what was in season. This was time consuming and often still needed tweaking to meet student dietary preference needs. In talking with families it was clear that they had learned that visitors were picky and there were many things to accommodate. Vegetarianism was the most difficult part of food provision. It not only required additional planning, but became a performance of accommodating a dietary need in a way that did not make the student feel like it was a big deal. When one of my homestay sisters picked me up to stay with them they asked if I was a vegetarian. When I said I was not they cheered. They had recently just said good-bye to a student who had been a vegetarian. In this way, families were learning one of the key requirements of study abroad program industry – providing acceptable nourishment for students.

Families had to provide spaces for students to sleep, hangout, and do their homework. My four host families had all changed the spatial layout of their homes to better facilitate spaces for students to hang out and to sleep. These spaces were used to host other guests as well. Families kept certain spaces in the home just for their families, with student bedrooms separate from the area where the family slept together. Often traditionally communal areas of the home, like the living room or kitchen, became homestay space

and family members bedrooms became private space. It was clear that for community members, home space and private space were not the same. There were specific spaces in each home where I was allowed to be and then specific space that people had carved out for themselves where visitors were not invited.

This specific set up of space to host was not something that all U.S. faculty appreciated. As one faculty member said of their own stay in Community 2:

When we stayed there it felt very much like they were set up to sleep guests. One house even had instructions. Students asked if this was a homestay since this is something that they do so regularly. This was not the kind of experience or family structure that we like to have students experience. – U.S. faculty member who had done a homestay with students

This anecdote represents a key challenge for homestay communities. The organizing of public and private home spaces for the management of and service to visitors challenge guest perceptions that the lives they are entering are “authentic”. Students and faculty often want to feel like they are special and not participating in something that might be transactional. However, faculty or student ideas of how local people live are not necessarily the reality of host people’s lives. Kontogeorgopoulos et al. (2013) found similar results when interviewing tourists and their perceptions of homestay families.

As an example, in the U.S. the idea of families eating together is imbued with a high degree of value on the performance of what it means to be a strong family unit. In everyday life, however, not all families eat together. Reasons could include a schedule conflict, family dynamics, or dislike of someone’s cooking. In two of the four families I

lived with parents and their adult children ate separately and cooked different food although they shared the same kitchen. In one of these homes the wife would not eat with us, leaving only the father to eat with guests. In the other two families the whole family ate together. In the U.S. the idea of shared meals can be seen modeling what a functional family looks like. In reality, some people do eat this way, but others do not. Family is lived in diverse ways, but there can be a specific expectation as to how guests want to experience it being performed when they are being hosted. Homestay programs desire homes where student eat with their families. As families learn the desired experience of study abroad programs for student, provision of the family meal becomes part of the hosting infrastructures that are more successful based on student and program satisfaction.

**Caring labor.** During my homestay experiences, the focus was on my/student comfort no matter how hard I tried to decline this care. Families focused on making sure that I had opportunities to learn about their lives and participate in farm work and other activities. Although these were daily routines, adding me to them took additional effort. The provision of a homestay for me also necessitated that hosts engage in enactments of daily life and home life that took longer because they were teaching and sharing them with me. This too became a form of labor. Even though my families worked to show me their daily life and include me as a member of the family, they also went out of their way to care for me. Thus, they straddled a line of providing an experience that connected me to their daily lives where they were not just serving me, but felt a real need to make sure that I was cared for and my needs were met. This is an example of how families had

learned another form of labor that they needed to provide for the homestay experience to work. If the experience became all about my comfort and not about engaging in their lives, then the provision of learning experience would not succeed. If I (or a student) was not cared for and something went wrong then the experience failed as well. Families who were successful long term hosts had learned how to navigate this and to perform both hosting and enactment of family at the same time.

Other researchers have found that homestay hosting takes considerable patience and “emotional labor” (Hochschild, 2003). Families who participate in hosting students have to demonstrate to students that they care about them and are interested in them. Program instructors and faculty want families who were good at engaging students. This desire/need for host families to be always engaged and interested in students was also a form of labor. Students were more satisfied when families acted like they were excited to host them. In reality, no one knows each other until the precise moment when families and students meet. Relationship building begins the first moment people encounter each other. Families were asked not to treat students like guests, but they cannot escape that these students are guests, so navigating the performance of that family experience while still caring for the students becomes another form of the labor of hosting.

**Performing family.** During my time being hosted, I considered U.S. normative conceptions of family, as well as conceptions of family as they operated locally. Each of my host families was structured differently but all were married and all had children. In talking to faculty who had led short term programs in Thailand, one thing that came up for them was a desire to be hosted by an “authentic” family and that not all felt like they

had that experience in some of the communities I visited. Therefore, I suspect that the performance of family to match U.S. program faculty and students may also become a form of work. Within the very provision of a homestay, the terminology implies that a student will be staying with a family. Students are told to refer to family members as ma and pa, brother and sister, auntie and uncle, and grandma or grandfather. Yet at the end of the day, they are not family and students remain outsiders. Still, in Thai culture, family extends beyond just the nuclear unit in ways that may be difficult for U.S. students to grasp. This may be exacerbated by the short duration that students spent in the communities, with the typically length of stay being three-four days. I asked families about how they felt about the students calling them Ma and Pa, and they did not find that odd, although my host siblings, who were in their 30s with young children, preferred being called brother or sister. In all of the families which I stayed the main hosts were couples in their sixties with adult children.

For students, as reported by host families and field instructors, this performance of family and care by their families could be profoundly meaningful to them. Students would get often get emotional when they said good bye at the end of their stay. Sometimes students would return with their own parents years later. This was touching for some hosts, but the display of emotion made others uncomfortable. One of my host sisters mentioned multiple times how students would cry when they departed and how strange she found the display of emotion because she had not gotten attached. For hosts, the performance of family and care occurred for anyone that they hosted, whether they felt connected to them or not. This was an important aspect of the local culture, to

perform care and to be connected in community with visitors. Sometimes younger family members would stay connected to students via social media platforms like Facebook, but typically connections only lasted the duration of the stay. In this way caring became a form of work that hosts engaged in while a study abroad program was active, but after students left this performance of caring ended. This does not mean that the provision was not real, but that to some extent it was something that was performed.

**Authenticity.** A desire for an “authentic experience” was talked about by each of the three faculty I spoke with who had run short-term programs in Thailand and wanted their students to have “authentic” homestays. In their view this meant homestays where a family was excited to have them there, they were warm and welcoming, the family ate meals together, and the study abroad student was unique for them, not just a blip in a sea of foreign student faces. At the same time, while they wanted some discomfort for students, they also wanted them to be cared for. In this way, faculty appeared to want hosts who were “authentic”, but also who were savvy and had the cultural capital to be able to manage student needs, to themselves not be shy, and to express warmth and welcome. In some way it seemed as though the intimacy of the encounter was imbued with the idea that this intimacy made it authentic. The desire for authenticity, and the need for hosts to deliver, this is part of the economy of study abroad program provision.

This raises the question of what exactly study abroad programs are asking homestay communities to provide. Safe accommodation and meals are services that are easy enough to put brackets on and to have a clear mechanism to assess if these requested items were delivered or not. With more nebulous concepts like conversation, care, and

the experience of being integrated into a family it becomes more difficult to assess if these have been provided and raises questions of what study abroad programs and students should feel like they have a right to receive during an experience like this. Does anyone even have a right to make a judgement like this and then determine the value of the homestay based on that? This is not to say that local families were faking the embrace of student into their homes, but rather than sometimes the desires of U.S. faculty and students may have created additional work for them in performing a homestay experience.

In some ways homestays commercialize intimacy (Bialski, 2012). This comes into tension with ideas of authenticity where there is an expectation that education is not a commercialized experience. This means that homestays must perform authenticity through not referring to hosting as work or that they participate for financial capital. Those who host in a way that shows that they are doing it primarily to earn money fail to meet these unspoken expectations of the experience. If hosts do not provide the type of experience that a program is looking for then they lose the opportunity to engage with study abroad programs. Homestay provision infrastructure creates a space where desires for an elusive authenticity come up against consumer mentalities of wanting one's needs met on one's own terms. There is tension between desire for authenticity and a desire for hosts to serve our needs because they are being paid, after all. It is in this context that performing the provision of cultural exchange has become a new form of work.

The challenge of this work is that the families must both perform multiple types of care for students at the same time as they must mask any desire to do so for commercial



reasons. They have to navigate their family from completely becoming a place that primarily exists for outsider consumption, something people in each community expressed that they did not want. They must deny any economic reason for hosting, even if that is the case, because study abroad program participants do not want to feel like they are being hosted for an economic reason.

## **Discussion**

These findings show that study abroad host communities are very much caught up in the global economy and participation in study abroad program provision represents a form of self-entrepreneurship. Student presence provides new markets for products, influencing the continued growth of consumerism despite communities' efforts to resist this in other ways. Homestays are pedagogically valued by study abroad providers, but are directly connected to inequalities exacerbated by the neoliberal economy. Throughout my research it was difficult to draw a clear line between when communities were being altered through their interaction with study abroad programs and when they were being altered by shifting economic opportunity. In Community 2, the founders of the town coffee shop figured out how to make a café by watching YouTube videos. Technology is changing how students engage with communities and how communities then portray themselves. Technology is changing how students engage with communities and how communities then portray themselves. When I left my first home stay at Duangkamol's to return to Chiangmai, her next guest was a staff member on a famous British cooking show. That visitor was travelling around learning about indigenous food culture and posted about her visit on social media using hashtags like #localfood #farmlife and

#sustainable. I saw some of those hashtags being incorporated into marketing and branding of the local café.

In Community 2, the founders of the town coffee shop figured out how to make a café by watching YouTube videos. Technology is changing how students engage with communities and how communities then portray themselves. When I left my first home stay at Duangkamol's to return to Chiangmai, her next guest was a staff member on a famous British cooking show. That visitor was travelling around learning about indigenous food culture and posted about her visit on social media using hashtags like #localfood #farmlife and #sustainable. I saw some of those hashtags being incorporated into marketing and branding of the local café.

There can be a tension between communities being incentivized to hold on to a performance of underdevelopment, tradition, and cultural representation to remain places that study abroad programs want to visit and learn from. Study abroad program provision in these communities straddles a tension of being authentic and unique, with the non-market aspects of daily life needing to reflect an ethos that says they are not being marketized in service to education. The familiarity that comes with extensive experience hosting meant that host families had learned what the role was that they were being compensated to do, but they could not let their interactions with students appear transactional. If authentic daily life was not performed then the educational experience failed. Performing family was not a requirement of TAE, but the desire for this came up from students, other study abroad faculty, and other study abroad program providers. Students and faculty did not want experiences to feel transactional or that the hosts were

not really interested in them. Although study abroad students are continually asked to get comfortable with being uncomfortable, sitting with the possibility that their presence is simply another form of work for a host is not one that many students or faculty are ready to accept.

Communities experienced a wide range of benefits that they were able to leverage or had the potential to deploy through engaging with the study abroad economy. Benefits were not limited to only financial capital, but included cultural and social and political capital. Communities with developed systems of distributive benefit provided impactful learning environments for students and positive outcomes for community members. This echoes Crabtree's findings on global service learning programs (Crabtree 1999, 2008, 2013). From these findings I hypothesize that the existence of cohesive community governance is critical to ensuring that relationships between study abroad programs and communities can be mutually beneficial.

Community benefits and community experience must become a component of study abroad program assessment. Instead of asking communities to better support us, we need to ask students to adapt to where they are going. Communities must be seen and treated as stakeholders and co-creators of programmatic knowledge (Collins, 2019a). Intercultural competence, worldliness, and other associated learning outcomes are not only being produced in study abroad students, they are also being produced in community members. Considering that higher education institutions often say that they exist to serve the public and have missions that discuss the public good, community impact of study abroad must be paid attention to.

I did wonder, however, if study abroad programs unintentionally play a role in social stratification. Although there were no direct findings related to this in my research, I could see how this might be happening. Although participation in teaching and hosting study abroad students is theoretically open to any, the ability of families to participate may be greatly correlated to their existing socio-economic position. In all the families I stayed in, someone within the family had had opportunities to travel outside of Thailand. This was not the case for all community members. Who gets left out? What happens to communities who may want to host programs, but cannot due to methamphetamine, other safety issues, or lack of connections or location in an “inconvenient” place? We need to ask ourselves, if homestays and cultural immersion are a valuable part of a study abroad, do students live primarily in more affluent homes, so that poorer people do not receive any economic benefit and income inequality is worsened? Are local voices primarily wealthier members of the community? These questions need to be grappled with and managed to ensure that community impact is done in a way that benefits the greatest number of people and does not only benefit a few.

## **Chapter Six: Implications and Possibilities**

### **Introduction**

The findings of this study show that the three host communities I visited are impacted in multiple ways by engagement with study abroad programs. In communities like those of my study, participating in the global study abroad economy has become an additional means of accruing forms of capital that can assist in navigating a neoliberal world. Providing services to study abroad programs has resulted in new forms of work that community members learn to provide, including navigating common dietary and emotional needs of U.S. college students, how to meet the pedagogical desires of program instructors, and what types of infrastructure requirements for safety are required by administration. Benefits that community members receive in return are varied. Financial capital received from hosting assists in increasing household income. Learning about the U.S. and other home countries of visitors helps community members learn global knowledge and perspectives. Karen communities described leveraging the perceived prestige of hosting faculty and students from higher education institutions outside of Thailand to assist in battles with government policy makers. Although specific impacts will differ from place to place, I believe that these findings have implications for program design, study abroad offices processes, third party provider assessment, and study abroad professional organization best practices.

In the case of the communities visited during the course of my research, engagement with this economy was a distinctive choice by community leadership. Systems of distributive benefit within these communities created transparency around financial benefits of hosting and the opportunity to participate in hosting was open to all families according to self-reports of community leaders. TAE, the program partner I worked with, works to only bring programs to communities that have this type of system because they have found that it minimizes negative impacts that might occur. Findings also show that pedagogical practices can help facilitate parity of participation by community members in curriculum design and delivery. These pedagogical takeaways align with Giroux's (1991) notion of border pedagogy and focus on the power of education to enhance equality and public life. The capacity of universities to foster critical inquiry and social justice is diminished when values of the market take hold of institutional life. We must care for the institutional conditions that sustain pedagogies that advance public interests and study abroad needs to be included in this (Giroux, 2011).

Implications described work to apply my finding to the broader study abroad context to increase such outcomes by providing specific recommendations for practice. The (usually) free movement of Global North students into communities that often do not enjoy the same freedom of movement has inherent responsibilities therein to facilitate reciprocal partnerships. The explicit focus on study abroad to benefit U.S. students needs to shift. In this chapter I detail possible institutional, pedagogical, and rhetorical approaches to study abroad that can assist in facilitating reciprocal relationships with host communities. It is important to note that this study took place in a specific-type of study

abroad experience, a short-term community based learning program, but I believe that recommendations are applicable broadly.

### **Inclusion of Community Impact in Best Practices Work by Study Abroad Standards Organizations**

One of the first steps in normalizing considerations of community impact would be to explicitly name this as one of the outcomes of study abroad and to include it in both high level and organizational level discussions. In particular, I recommend that the Forum on Education Abroad and NAFSA begin including this in their best practices. From this study it is clear that host communities are impacted by engaging with study abroad programs. Knowing this, the industry of study abroad as a whole should incorporate community impact into a more holistic picture of study abroad. In particular the Forum on Education Abroad and NAFSA should include community impact as a significant component of best practices training, as well as an area to include in research considerations. These institutions should play a role in helping third party providers and U.S. higher education institutions think through and assess how their programs impact individuals and communities.

**Forum on Education Abroad: Standards of Good Practice.** Founded in 2001, the Forum on Education Abroad is considered the standards development association for study abroad. They are a recognized Standards Development Organization (SDO) for the field of education abroad by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission. With this authority, it is their “responsibility to monitor changes in our field of professional practice and to maintain, update, and promulgate the Standards of Good

Practice for Education Abroad accordingly” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2019). To this purpose they develop and disseminate the “Standards of Good Practice”, as well as resources and training. They also advocate for study abroad and promote its value, and “engage the field in critical dialogue to benefit students” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2019). They operate both as an open resource for anyone with materials available on their website, as well as provide additional materials only available for paid institutional memberships. They currently have over 800 institutional members. However, as reflected by the quote above, often the focus is primarily on U.S. students.

The current standards of good practice is divided into the below categories.

Standard 1: Mission and Goals

Standard 2: Student Learning and Development

Standard 3: Academic Framework

Standard 4: Student Selection, Preparation, and Advising

Standard 5: Student Code of Conduct and Disciplinary Measure

Standard 6: Policies and Procedures

Standard 7: Organizational and Program Resources

Standard 8: Health, Safety, Security, and Risk Management

Standard 9: Ethics

To develop these standards the Forum works to incorporate new knowledge and best practices shared through their network of members, as well as insights gathered from a bi-annual *State of the Field* survey that surveys study abroad practitioners nationwide. The goal of these standards is to specify the:



Minimum requirements, quality indicators, and a framework for continuous improvement for education abroad for U.S. postsecondary participants. They are applicable to undergraduate, graduate, professional, and continuing education, whether for credit or not for credit” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2019).

In 2009 the Forum *State of the Field* survey began asking respondents if they “considered and prepared for the environmental, economic and social consequences of their programs’ presence in the host country when approving, designing, and managing programs” (Forum on Education Abroad and Michele Scheib, 2018). Since the Forum began asking this questions, community impact has yet to come up as a top concern for member institutions, although it is something that many do consider (Forum on Education Abroad 2018, 7). Until 2017, questions concerning community impact were answered quantitatively with yes or no responses. In 2017, options expanded to include pre-determined strategies for addressing these categories identified by the Forum, with open-ended questions allowing for specific concerns not captured by the quantitative survey. Institutions are to some extent considering impact in programming, but many do not consider impact at all.

The absence of community impact is visible in a few different ways with the Forum’s documents and practices. The way that equity is defined relates specifically to the U.S. student population. Examples include:

Equitable (having or exhibiting equity), equity (creation of opportunities for historically underrepresented populations to have equal access to and support to participate and succeed in educational programs, equity-minded (aware of and willing to address equity (3.2.15) issues), ethics (moral principles that govern a person's behavior or how an activity is conducted)” (Forum on Education Abroad, 2019).

Although community is not explicitly exempted from these definitions, the reference to students under equity creation is reflective of a focus on students that likely helps

perpetuate the lack of awareness on host community impact from organizations who look to the Forum as the standard maker.

I have the following recommendations for the Forum on Education Abroad.

1. *Include community considerations in a more robust way in the bi-annual survey.*

From the most recent survey, community impact was defined as environmental, social, and economic. Options with each category were predefined, however, which limits options for what might fall under these categories. The survey also does not gather specific details around what steps programs may be doing to limit negative impacts or enhance positive ones. The qualitative responses to this survey likely provide rich detail but these are not shared. I recommend that the Forum expand upon the current questions to tease out the difference between considering and taking action, as well as analyze and share the qualitative response data to these questions in a more robust format.

2. *Add a standard on community impact to the standards of good practice.* Recent Forum on Education Abroad annual conferences have been taking up community impact and organizational responsibility directly, but community is still missing from the standards and trainings. I recommend that the Forum go through the process of developing a 10<sup>th</sup> standard specifically on community impact. Another option would be to add a community impact lens to each of the 9 existing standards.

3. *Continue to encourage research that challenges normative understandings.* I also recommend that the Forum continue to encourage research that does not focus on

U.S. students. The number of critical sessions at the annual conference appears to be increasing and the Forum could help catalyze this work by promoting it, particularly for the 2020 conference “Education Abroad at a Crossroads: Actions for a Sustainable Future”. White papers, special issues of *Frontiers: The Journal on Education Abroad* on community impact, and a section on their website on this would also help to promote this research.

**NAFSA.** NAFSA provides professional training to study abroad and international student and scholars higher education administrators. It is the largest study abroad related professional organization in the U.S. and celebrated its 70<sup>th</sup> year anniversary in 2018 (NAFSA, 2019). The initial focus of the organization was to support higher education staff professionals who worked with international students who had come to the U.S. after World War II and was originally supported, in part, by the U.S. Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs. In 1976 the State Department expanded the scope of the funding for NAFSA, including study abroad in its purview of expertise and support (NAFSA, 2019). NAFSA articulates the value of global education both to increase cultural understanding to support world peace, as well as the importance of the role of international education for national security. The largest undertaking related to study abroad it organizes is the annual NAFSA conference, where study abroad and international student support staff typically go to network, learn new trends in the field, and share best practices. NAFSA also lobbies in for policies that support and fund study abroad in Washington D.C., runs trainings, and provides research materials to members.

My main recommendation for NAFSA would be for the organization to make a concerted effort at its annual conference to highlight critical perspectives that challenge normative understandings of study abroad for professionals who work in the industry and may not often be asked to take a critical perspective and seek opportunities to problematize their own work. The mater narrative of study abroad is of altruistic motives and positive outcomes. They do not critique the larger systems, U.S. national interests, or neoliberal paradigms serviced by these programs. As an organization that is front and center with government support for study abroad, it might be difficult for NAFSA to do this, but if they did the impact would be far-reaching.

**Consider Adopting the Fair Trade Learning Rubric.** A tool for the Forum on Education Abroad, NASFA, as well as individual campuses could be utilizing the Fair Trade Learning Rubric, available through Campus Compact (Hartman et al., 2018). The Fair Trade Learning Rubric takes reciprocity between higher education programs and communities at the primary goal and focuses on aspects of this such as economic equity, equal partnership, mutual learning, cooperative and positive social change, transparency, and sustainability (Campus Compact, 2019). Starting from this end goal can help to create programs that pay attention to where money is flowing and ensure community members are fairly compensated. Community effort is key to the success of programs and this should be front and center. This rubric can also be a way for programs to assess if both students and community members are prepared to mutually engage in equitable cross-cultural exchange. Feedback from homestay hosts showed that a student being prepared for cross-cultural engagement was the crucial to host satisfaction with the

program. Payment for host families and experiential activity leaders also reflects an honoring of the labor of community members. Reflecting on what something like a system of distributive benefit looks like, on what might constitute truly fair trade learning, has the potential to reshape education. This can also help push back against neoliberal paradigms and add to the conversation within the field of post capitalism politics (Gibson-Graham, 2006). Through these efforts economic systems and relationships that resist capitalist exploitation can be supported and encouraged.

### **Inclusion of Study Abroad as a Part of the Public Impact of Higher Education**

A mission of community-engagement is at the core of many higher education institutions. They typically have non-profit status, implying that their purpose is more than just revenue generation (Hartman, Morris-Paris & Blache-Cohen, 2014). For some institutions a legacy of land grant status requires a community serving mission. In others leadership demands it. Olson and Brennan (2017) define university-community engagement as:

The process by which members of the university and the local public communicate and interact in order to apply their respective knowledge, skills, abilities, and resources to enhance local well-being and to meet common, general needs within the particular locality.

This definition reflects a place bound understanding that would not include study abroad as a component of this public impact and engagement. The Carnegie Foundation, however, defines community engagement as:

Collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity (Campus Compact, 2019).

This definition encompasses a global vision and one which I encourage institutions to adopt when thinking about community engagement and how it relates to study abroad. Too often conceptions of community engagement do not extend to locations where students study abroad (Hartman et al., 2014). We should still consider this a form of institutional impact and pay attention to the role students play in the communities they temporarily reside in. Although intermediary organizations are implementing their own programs, participants remain students of their U.S. based home institution as well. By accepting and then transferring courses into accepted credits toward degree, encouraging students to participate, selecting the vendors who provide these experiences, and working to prepare and help students process the experience after they return, higher education institutions are one of the stake holders in community impact. This is an important consideration for institutions as leadership lays out mission and vision statements that incorporate ideas and efforts toward concepts like the public good, global citizenship, and community engagement. We should look at study abroad as part of the “institution as citizen” (Thomas, 2000) model where institutions do not just facilitate civic responsibility and development of students, but are themselves civic actors.

### **Higher Education Institution Study Abroad Managerial Processes**

Universities have institutional logics and these common norms and processes drive how they operate (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). Shifting institutional logic can help ensure that mindsets of reciprocity and civil society drive actions. Individual behaviors are informed by belief and structures that we may not notice that we have internalized. Often faculty, administrators, and students are hesitant to discuss study

abroad as an industry. It is framed and narrated as an educative process, critical for students, and capable of creating a more just and loving world under the cosmopolitan framing of global citizenship. When we drill down in the managerial economy of education abroad, however, it becomes very clear that is very much an industry. Higher education institutions themselves may not be profiting from the commercialization of education abroad, but the intermediary organizations who have sprung up to meet both the need and demand for education abroad programs often are.

**Critically assess third-party provider partnerships, especially on short-term faculty led programs.** There has been rapid growth in the number of third-party providers, especially those that do not act primarily as educational organizations in recent years. On longer programs, U.S. higher education institutions will usually screen third-party providers to ensure that the program meets academic standards. This is not the case typically for short-term program provisions. These shorter programs, which are often faculty led, have much of their program design organized by these vendors. Vendors often subcontract and take a large chunk of student fees for their own revenue stream. Many of these companies are for-profit. In these cases, community impact rarely merits concern by vendors. To ensure mutually beneficial outcomes, faculty and administrators organizing short-term programs must pay attention to how their course is structured and who locally is benefiting from this revenue.

Higher education institutions have huge amounts of leverage over third-party provider behavior and practices. We must challenge inherited epistemic hierarchies and consider how to bring different knowledge systems into what we consider to be valid knowledge.

Through business process we should work to produce and distribute resources equitably. The role of third party providers in study abroad is complex and will likely continue to increase (AIEA, 2011). The gap between rich and poor may not be as intractable as we assume if our organizations can make steps to minimize their participation in this process. Procurement policies should include considerations of how third-party providers spend funds in country in such a way that critically considers leakage and where and to whom money is flowing. Within the operational structure of selecting third party providers, higher education institutions should considering finding ways to assess community impact and commitment of providers to mutually beneficial relationships. The Fair Trade Learning rubric could again be helpful in this.

In the case of TAE, program leadership and faculty feel accountable and responsible for the curriculum and their mission of community benefits works to ensure that on the ground teaching and learning is in line with these course goals. As third-party providers continue to take center stage in program provision, U.S. faculty and administrators who are not familiar with the context of where a program is operating, are leaving responsibility for program design, and by default pedagogy, to organizations that do not have an explicit educational purpose or mission (Barkin, 2018). This presents a significant problem. Faculty must pay attention to the practices and mission of their third-party providers, paying special community voices and compensation. Faculty must develop their own understanding of community-based learning and the kind of curriculum, pedagogy, and partnerships that maximize reciprocity.



Some of these recommendations come up against the rising managerial economy of study abroad. However, the findings shown from this research show that study abroad programs have impacts on the communities that host them. Considering impact on host communities and working to understand the outcomes of these partnerships is essential to a more holistic understanding of what kind of an impact U.S. study abroad programs are having. It is challenging to find third-party providers who have a clear mission and vision. Those who apply principles of community-based learning, with a focus on reciprocal relationships, are even rarer. Taking mutually beneficial outcomes as the primary goal of a study abroad program may take more time and require more effort, but this allows for more equitable outcomes.

### **Applications for Pedagogy**

The focus of increasing the impact of study abroad should not be increasing the numbers of participating students. I argue that they should instead be looking at how to ensure programs have positive impacts for communities that host programs. Pedagogical design should work to ensure that dispositions and attitudes are fostered that allow students and faculty to work engaged in mutually beneficial ways. The focus of pedagogy should not be primarily around satisfying student desires. Students should be taught humility. Different ways of being and knowing should be encouraged and taught through the voices and lived experiences of community members. Critical reflexivity should be at the core of programs and the associated power and privilege that comes with corporeal mobility should be paid attention to (Hartman et al. 2018). Trust has to be cultivated and

stewarded. Assumptions and ways of doing that stem from U.S. institutions or study abroad programs should always be questioned.

**Decenter faculty on study abroad programs.** Faculty must take pedagogical responsibility to create courses that center community knowledge (Canning, 2007; Collins, 2019a). Stop attributing different status to different types of knowledge (Saltmarsh, Hartley, & Clayton, 2009). The university should not be the outside expert coming in. Program design should allow for community members to share the stage and acknowledge that community members are experts as well (Hartman, 2016). This is not to say that faculty expertise is not central to program design and execution, but rather that it is one of many sources of knowledge that are available when students leave the classroom. Study abroad programs have to share the stage of knowledge production and co-creation. If a faculty person or educational organization sees themselves as the expert whose sole role is share their own expertise, there is an implicit devaluing of community knowledge (Fraser, 2009). The decentering of faculty voice to allow community voice in also creates a space for students to feel empowered in directing their own learning (Freire, 2001; Hartman, 2016). To create more equitable and better programming, faculty has to give up control over what constitutes knowledge, decentering themselves as the center of learning (Freire, 1998; 2001; Giroux, 2011). As Hartman et al. (2018) argue, this may be “disorienting as it often “breaks the wall” of authority and expertise created by the traditional academic model” (p. 80).

The impact of this model can clearly be seen through the experiences of communities that have maintained long-term relationships with program providers like TAE.

Community members find the exchange valuable because they are co-instructing students, as well as learning new knowledge alongside them. Looking to host communities as the source of knowledge aligns with Freire's ideas of dialogue as a situated, opened-ended exchange between people. Dialogue itself creates relationships and these shape and respond to the context they are generated within. Faculty and institutions must work toward greater inclusion of community voice in curriculum.

**Prepare students to take community comfort as a priority, not their own desires.**

The findings of this study around the value that communities put on hosting students because their knowledge was at the center implies a need for a shift away from the consumer model of education to one where the community can ask things of students that make community members and hosts comfortable rather than students. In the communities surveyed this included students dressing a particular way, being willing to eat local cuisine as much as possible, learning at least rudimentary local language, and respecting hosts privacy. In student preparation, focus on students' ability to be self-aware and able to self-witness. Educators and administrators laude the developmental benefits that students experience through a study abroad experience. The disorienting nature of the experience, the need for students to challenge ways of knowing and open themselves up to new possibilities is something that we see positively impacting their resiliency, their intercultural competency, and their identity. Focusing on community comfort will add to these outcomes.

## **Discourse and Rhetoric**

The production and circulation of discourse is one way through which power is enacted (Escobar, 1988; Bourdieu, Thompson, Raymond & Adamson, 2011; Foucault, 1980, 2008, 2013). To shift the normative understanding of study abroad away, faculty and institutions need to pay careful attention to terminology that they are using to describe and represent program outcomes. For example, if educational programs come from the perspective that the world is their classroom, what does this mean? Does the external world just exist for the use by students for their learning? Are we asking if we are invited in? Thus, a final recommendation from this work is that study abroad practitioners and participants engage in a critical epistemic interrogation with the conceptual frameworks and rhetoric with which study abroad is supported. While global citizenship and cosmopolitanism are worthy goals, there should be a consideration of the privileged mobilities that U.S. study abroad students are trafficking in which make these concepts inherently privileged and limited. Not all mobility is treated equally and as long as a program does not expose or challenge this then it is unlikely that students will emerge from the experience aware of the necessary contextualizing of the experience. Certain nationalities and types of workers (i.e. expatriates and study abroad students) are celebrated as “globalizing”, while within their own domestic context, low-wage workers and immigrants are often treated as parasitic. The movement of study abroad student bodies from the U.S. to different countries is lauded as creating “global citizenship” while immigration of students and workers from elsewhere into the U.S. is often treated as a threat. These “regimes of mobility” (Schiller & Salazar, 2013) entangle communities

with the global economy in diverse and unexpected ways. They are shaping the very borders that students cross in order to obtain global citizenship and cosmopolitan skill sets. The constant framing of study abroad as practice through which students achieve this, and not highlighting value of diversity at home, exemplifies how these privileged mobilities come to be. These questions should be discussed and taught so that practitioners, faculty, and students are aware of and able to see them. Through naming that community impact is real organizations can begin to see it.

## **Conclusion**

We should treat the asking of people in host communities, to open their homes, their lives, and their communities our students, as a profound responsibility. Relationships should be facilitated in a way that realizes maximum benefit for host communities. Efforts to critically assess and reimagine the current orientation of study abroad discourse and practice are growing, and the changes or reformulations that are possible and desirable will depend on the commitment of professional organizations, higher education institutions, and third party providers. We should also look beyond an ethical obligation to consider impact to include the need to challenge the new American religion of profit over people (Giridharadas, 2018). Global issues such as widening inequalities between the rich and poor were evident in the communities I spent time in for the study, as well as within my own community. These should be included in the discourse around the purpose of global education (Giroux, 2003). I recognize that these recommendations challenge some of the dominant paradigms of study abroad. As supporters and advocates for

learning through study abroad, we must persistently attend to the complexities and tensions that characterize this practice.

A study abroad practice that simply treats host communities as sites primarily for facilitating learning for the benefit of U.S. higher education students does not serve the public purpose of education or the realities of our entanglements. My fieldwork was ultimately conceived of as a way to explore how host communities experience study abroad programs and findings make these connections more visible. By seeing and naming comes the opportunity to resist and change this. Through becoming visible, I hope that these findings can create a space for further research in this area, and interfere in a dominant discourse that does not often look at study abroad program impact from this perspective.

## References

- Alcoff, L. (1992). The problem of speaking for others. *Cultural Critique*, 20, 5-32.
- Allen, H. W. (2010). What shapes short-term study abroad experiences? A comparative case study of students' motives and goals. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 14, 452–470. doi: 10.1177/1028315309334739
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Alsayyad, N. (2001). *Consuming tradition/manufacturing heritage: Global norms and urban forms in an age of tourism*. Routledge: London, New York.
- American Presidency Project. (1978). *Jimmy Carter: Executive order 12054—President's Commission on foreign language and international studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=30692>
- Andaya, B. and Andaya, L. (2015). *A history of early modern Southeast Asia, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism*. London; New York: Verso.
- Anderson, C., Christian, J., Hindbjorgen, K., Jambor-Smith, C., Johnson, M. & Woolf, C (2015). *Career integration: reviewing the impact of experience abroad on employment*. Retrieved from [https://www.capa.org/sites/default/files/Career\\_Integration\\_Booklet\\_lowres.pdf](https://www.capa.org/sites/default/files/Career_Integration_Booklet_lowres.pdf)
- Anderson, G. L. (1989). Critical ethnography in education: Origins, current status, and new directions. *Review of Educational Research*, 59(3), 249–270.

- Anderson, P.H., Lawton, L., Rexeisen, R.J., and Hubbard, A.C. (2006). Short-term study abroad and intercultural sensitivity: A pilot study. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(4), 457- 469.
- Apple, M. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum*, 3rd edn. New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M. (2013). *Can education change society?* New York: Routledge.
- Arneil, B. (2007). Global citizenship and empire. *Citizenship Studies*, 2(3), 301-328.  
doi.org/10.1080/13621020701381840
- Arnold, D., & Pickles, J. (2011). Global work, surplus labor, and the precarious economies of the border. *Antipode*, 43(5), 1598-1624. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00899.x
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1998). *Key concepts in post-colonial studies*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Asia Briefing Ltd. (2019). Minimum Wage in Asean. *Asia Briefing Limited*. Retrieved from <http://gpmminstitute.com/home>
- Associated Press. (2019). Newly appointed Thai senate includes many soldiers, police. Retrived from <http://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2019/05/04/army-drops-charges-against-soldiers-who-kill-6-in-temple/>
- Atkinson, P. and Hammersley, M. 1998. Ethnography and participant observation. In *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. Edited by: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. 110–36. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bank of Thailand. (2019). Press Release on the Economic and Monetary Conditions for



- May 2019. *Bank of Thailand*. Retrieved from  
<https://www.bot.or.th/English/Pages/default.aspx>
- Barbour, N. S. (2012). *Global citizen, global consumer: Study abroad, neoliberal convergence, and the Eat, Pray, Love phenomenon*. Oregon State University. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Retrieved from  
<http://ir.library.oregonstate.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1957/30087/BarbourNancyK2012.pdf.pdf?sequence=1>
- Barkin, G. (2015). In the absence of language: Modeling a transformative, short term abroad experience. *Teaching Anthropology*, 4, 51–64.
- Barkin, G. (2018). Either here or there: Short-term study abroad and the discourse of going. *Anthropology of Education Quarterly*, 49(3), 296-317.
- Bayles, M. (2014). *Through a screen darkly: Popular culture, public diplomacy, and America's image abroad*.
- Becklake, S. and Ferguson, L. (2017). Mothering tourists: a feminist political economy of tourism homestays in Guatemala. Paper prepared for the European Conference on Politics and Gender 2017. Cited with author permission.
- Bennett, M. J. (1986). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In R.M. Paige (Ed.), *Cross-cultural orientation: New conceptualizations and applications*, University Press of America, New York (1986), 27–70.
- Berman, E. (1979) Foundations, United States foreign policy, and African education, 1945-1975. *Harvard Educational Review*, 49(2), 145-179.

- Bhaba, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. Routledge, New York.
- Bhambra, G. K. (2014). *Connected Sociologies*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Bialski, P.(2012). *Becoming Intimately Mobile*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Bolen, M. C. (2001). Consumerism and U.S. study abroad. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 5(3), 182–200. doi: 10.1177/102831530153002
- Boonratana, R. (2010). Community-based tourism in Thailand: The need and justification for an operational definition. *Kasetsart Journal, Social Sciences*, 31, 280-289.
- Boonratana, R. (2012). Nature of community tourism enterprises and the economic and other implications for Thailand's local communities. *Asian Profile*, 40(3), 249-270.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, P., Thompson, J. B., Raymond, G., & Adamson, M. (2011). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brecht, R.D. and Rivers, W.P. 2000. *Language and national security in the 21st century: The role of the Title VI/Fulbright-Hays in supporting national language capacity*, Dubuque, IA: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company.
- Bridger, J. C., Brennan, M. A., & Luloff, A. E. (2011). The interactional approach to community. In J. Robinson, Jr. & G. Green (Eds.), *Introduction to community*

- development theory, practice, and service-learning* (pp. 85-100). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Brown, D. (2001). *Pulling it all together: A method for developing service-learning and community partnerships based on critical pedagogy*. Corporation for National Service, Washington, DC.
- Bruner, E. (1991) Transformation of self in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18, 238–250.
- Bruner, E. (2005). *Culture on tour: Ethnographies of travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brux, J. and Fry, B. (2010). Multicultural students in study abroad: Their interests, their issues, and their constraints. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 14(5), 508–527. doi: 10.1177/1028315309342486
- Bu, L. (1999). Educational exchange and cultural diplomacy in the Cold War. *Journal of American Studies*, 33(3), 393–415.
- Bu, L. (2003). *Making the world like us: Education, cultural expansion, and the American century*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Campbell, K. (2016). Short-term study abroad programmes: objectives and accomplishments. *Journal of international Mobility*, 4(1), 189. doi:10.3917/jim.004.0189
- Campus Compact. (2019). Carnegie Community Engagement Classification. *Campus Compact*. Retrieved from <https://compact.org/initiatives/carnegie-community-engagement-classification/>

- Cannella, G. S. (2014). Qualitative research as living within/transforming complex power relations. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(7), 594-598.
- Carlson, J., Burn, B., Useem, J., and Yachimovicz, D. (1990). *Study abroad: The experience of American undergraduates*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Carrio, K. (2018). Red Bangkok? Exploring political struggles in the Thai capital. *Critical Asian Studies*, 50(4), 647-653.
- Caton, K. (2007). Marketing the Other for study abroad: A postcolonial analysis. *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, TBA, San Francisco, CA Online*. Retrieved from [http://research.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/1/7/3/0/5/p173053\\_index.html](http://research.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/7/3/0/5/p173053_index.html)
- Caton, K., & Santosa, C. A. (2008). Closing the hermeneutic circle: Photographic encounters with the other. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(1), 7–26. doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2007.03.014
- Chambers, R. (1992). *Rural appraisal: rapid, relaxed and participatory (IDS Discussion Paper)*. Institute of Development Studies.
- Chaudhuri, K.N. 1990. *Asia before Europe: economy and civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1979). *Profit over people: neoliberalism and global order*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.
- Chowdhry, G. (2008). Edward Said and contrapuntal reading: Implications for critical

- interventions in international relations. *Millennium London London School of Economics*, 36, 1, 101-116.
- Citron, J. L. & Kline, R. (2001). From experience to experiential education: Taking study abroad outside the comfort zone. *International Educator*, 10 (4), 18–26.
- Citron, J. L. & Kline, R. (2002). U.S. students abroad: Host culture integration or third culture formation? In W. Grünzweig & N. Rinehart (Eds.) *Rockin' in Red Square: Critical Approaches to International Education in the Age of Cyber-culture*. Münster: Lit.
- Clarke, I., Flaherty, T. B., Wright, N. D., and McMillen, R. M. (2009). Student intercultural proficiency from study abroad programs. *Journal of Marketing Education*, 31(2), 173–181.
- Clifford, J. (1983). On ethnographic authority. *Representations*, 2: 118–46.
- Clifford, J. (1986) Introduction: partial truths. In J. Clifford & G. E. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography* (pp. 1- 26) . Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cole, S. (2007). Beyond authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(4), 943-960.
- Collins, L. (2019a). Letting the village be the teacher: a look at communitybased learning in Northern Thailand, *Teaching in Higher Education*, 24:5, 694-708, DOI: 10.1080/13562517.2019.1579708
- Collins, L. (2019b). Reconsidering intercultural competence development through study

- abroad. ACPA Thought Papers. Retrieved from  
<http://www.myacpa.org/publications/thought-papers>
- Cornwall, A. (2019). Acting anthropologically. *Antropologia Pubblica*, 1(4), 3 - 20. ISSN 2531-8799. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1473/anpub.v4i2.134>.
- Crabtree, R. (1998). Mutual empowerment in cross-cultural participatory development and service learning: lessons in communication and social justice from projects in El Salvador and Nicaragua. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 26, 182–209.
- Crabtree, R. (2007). Asking hard questions about the impact of international service learning. *Conversations: On Jesuit Higher Education*, 31, 39–42.
- Crabtree, R. (2008). Theoretical foundations for international service learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 15(1), 18–36
- Crabtree, R. (2013). The intended and unintended consequences of international service-learning. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, 17(2), 43–66.
- Cressey, W. & Stubbs, N. (2010). The economics of study abroad. In Hoffa, W. & DePaul, S. (Eds.), pp. 253-294. *A history of U.S. study abroad: 1965 – Present*.
- Deland, D. (2005). The political ecology of deforestation in Thailand. *Geography*, 90(3), 225-237.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia / gilles deleuze, félix guattari; translation and foreword by brian massumi*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dewey, J. (1910). *How we think*. Boston: D.C. Heath and Company.

- Dewey, J. (1933). *How we think: A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and Education*. New York: Collier Books.
- De Wit, H. (2002). *Internationalization of higher education in the United States of America and Europe: A historical, comparative, and conceptual analysis*. West Port, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
- Diller, A. V. N. (2002). What makes central Thai a national language? In C. Reynolds (ed.), *National identity and its defenders: Thailand today*. Bangkok: Silkworm, 2002.
- Doerr, N. (2012). Study abroad as ‘adventure’: Globalist construction of host–home hierarchy and governed adventurer subjects. *Critical Discourse Studies* 9(3), 257–268
- Dolezal, C. (2015). The tourism encounter in community-based tourism in northern Thailand: Empty meeting ground or space for change? *Austrian Journal of South - East Asian Studies*, 8(2), 165-186. doi:10.14764/10.ASEAS-2015.2-4
- Duncan, A. (2011). *Improving human capital in a competitive world -- Education reform in the U.S.* U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/news/speeches/improving-human-capital-competitive-world-education-reform-us>
- Draper, J., Garzoli, J., Kamnuansilpa, P., Lefferts, L., Mitchell, J., and Songkunnatham, P. (2019). The Thai Lao – Thailand's largest unrecognized transboundary national ethnicity. *Nations and Nationalism*, <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12523>.

- Drucker, P. F. (1959). *Landmarks of tomorrow*. New York: Harper.
- Drucker, P.F. (1992). The New Society of Organizations. *Harvard Business Review*, Sept-Oct.
- Easterly, W. (2013). *The Tyranny of experts: Economist, dictators, and the forgotten rights of the poor*. New York: Basic Books.
- Engle, J., & Engle, L. (2002). Neither international nor educative: Study abroad in the time of globalization. In W. Grünzweig and N. Rinehart (Eds.), *Rockin' in Red Square: Study Abroad in a New Global Century Critical approaches to international education in the time of cyberculture* (pp. 25–40). Munster, Germany: Lit Verlag.
- Engle, L., & Engle, J. (2003). Study abroad levels: Toward a classification of program types. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 9, 1–20.
- Escobar, A. (1988). Power and visibility: Development and the invention and management of the third world. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(4), 428-443.  
doi:10.1525/can.1988.3.4.02a00060
- Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the third world*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Foran, H. (2015). Host experiences of educational travel programs: Challenges and opportunities from a decolonization Lens (Order No. 1606218). Available from ProQuest Central; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (1756271141).  
<https://search-proquestcom.du.idm.oclc.org/docview/1756271141?accountid=14608>.



- Forsey, M. (2010). Ethnography as participant listening. *Ethnography* 11 (4): 558–572.
- Forum on Education Abroad. (2018). State of the Field. Retrieved from  
<https://forumea.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/ForumEA-State-of-the-Field-18-web-version.pdf>.
- Foucault, Michel. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972–1977*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M., Senellart, M., & Collège de France. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Foucault, M. (2013). *Archaeology of knowledge*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.
- Frohlick, S., & Harrison, J. (2008). Engaging ethnography in tourist research: An introduction. *Tourist Studies*, 8(1), 5–18.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797608094926>
- Fox, J., Fujita, Y., Ngidang, D., Peluso, N., Potter, L., Sakuntaladewi, N., Sturgeon, J., Thomas, D., (2009). Policies, political-economy, and swidden in Southeast Asia. *Human Ecology Interdisciplinary Journal*. 37(3):305–322.
- Fraser, N. 2009. *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalizing world*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Friedman, T. L. (1999). *The Lexus and the olive tree*. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux.
- Friedman, T. L. (2005). *The world is flat: a brief history of the twenty-first century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

- Freire, P. (1970). Cultural action and conscientization. *Harvard Educational Review*, 40 (3), 452-477.
- Freire, P. (1998). *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Freire, P. (2001). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Fry, G. (1984). The economic and political impact of study abroad. *Comparative Education Review*, 28(2), 203-220.
- García, N. A., and N. Longo. (2013). Going global: Re-framing service learning in an interconnected World. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 17 (2): 111–136.
- Gershman, J. (2002). Is Southeast Asia the second front? *Foreign Affairs*, 81(4), 60-74. doi:10.2307/20033240
- Gildersleeve, R. E., & Kuntz, A. M. (2011). A dialogue on space and method in qualitative research on education. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17(1), 15-22. doi:10.1177/1077800410389440
- Gildersleeve, R. and Kuntz, A.M. (2013). Dialogue as a requiem for analysis. *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, 13(4), 263-266.
- Gildersleeve, R. E. (2018). Laziness in postqualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 24(9), 694-703. doi:10.1177/1077800417744579
- Giridharadas, A. (2018). *Winners take all*. Knopf: United States.
- Giroux, H. (1991). Border Pedagogy and the Politics of Postmodernism. *Social Text*, (28), 51-67. doi:10.2307/466376

- Giroux, H. (2002). Neoliberalism, corporate culture, and the promise of higher education: the university as a democratic public sphere. *Harvard Educational Review* 72(4): 425- 463.
- Giroux, H. A. (2011). *On critical pedagogy*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Gilpin, R., & Gilpin, J. M. (2000). *The challenge of global capitalism: the world economy in the 21st century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gibson-Graham, J. (2006). *The end of capitalism (as we knew it) a feminist critique of political economy*. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Grünzweig, W., & Rinehart, N. (2002). International understanding and global interdependence: Towards a critique of international education. In W. Grünzweig *Rockin' in Red Square: Critical approaches to international education in the age of cyberculture*. Münster: Lit.
- Guttentag, D. A. (2009). The possible negative impacts of volunteer tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 11(6), 537-551. doi:10.1002/jtr.727
- Habermas, J. (2001). *The post national constellation: political essays*. MIT Press.
- Hammer, M., Bennett, M., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring intercultural sensitivity: The intercultural development inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 421-443.
- Hartman, E., Morris-Paris, C., & Blache-Cohen, B. (2014). Fair trade learning: Ethical standards for international volunteer tourism. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 14, 108 – 116.

- Hartman, E. (2016). Decentering self in leadership: Putting community at the center in leadership studies. *New Directions for Student Leadership*, 150, 73–83.
- Hartman, E., R. C. Kiely, C. Boettcher, J. Friedrichs, and R. Zakaria. (2018). *Community-based global learning: The theory and practice of ethical engagement at home and abroad*. 1st ed. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, LLC.
- Heron, B. A. (2011). Challenging indifference to extreme poverty: Considering Southern perspectives on global citizenship and change. *Revue Éthique et Économique / Ethics and Economics*, 8(1), 109–119.
- Hirsch, P. (1990). *Development dilemmas in rural Thailand*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hochschild, A. (2003). *The managed heart: The commercialization of human feeling*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hoffa, W. (2002). Learning about the future world: International education and the demise of the nation state. In W. Grünzweig & N. Rinehart (Eds.) *Rockin' in red square: Critical approaches to international education in the age of cyber-culture*. Münster: Lit.
- Hoffa, W. (2007). *A history of U.S. study abroad: Beginnings to 1965*. Carlisle, PA: Forum on Education Abroad.
- Hoffa, W. and Depaul, S. (2010). *A history of U.S. study abroad: 1965-present*. Frontiers Special Publication. Lausanne, Switzerland: Frontiers.
- Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (1991). *Cultures and organizations* McGraw-Hill London.

Holstein, J., and J. Gubrium. (1995). *The active interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Human Rights Watch. (2007). *Thailand's 'war on drugs'*. Retrieved from

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2008/03/12/thailands-war-drugs>

Human Rights Watch. (2010). Descent into chaos: Thailand's 2010 red shirt protests and the government crackdown. *Human Rights Watch*. Retrieved from

<https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/05/03/descent-chaos/thailands-2010-red-shirt-protests-and-government-crackdown>

Huntington, S. (2004). The Hispanic challenge. *Foreign Policy*, March/April, 30–45.

Ingold, T. 2011. *Being alive: Essays on movement, knowledge and description*. New York: Routledge.

Institute of International Education. (2018). *Open Doors 2018*. New York: Institute of International Education. Retrieved from <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Open-Doors>

Iraq Study Group. (2006). *The Iraq study group report: The way forward - a new approach*. Retrieved from <http://www.bakerinstitute.org/files/1044/>

Iyer, P. (2000). *Why we travel*. Retrieved from <http://picoiyerjourneys.com/index.php/2000/03/why-we-travel>

Johnson, C. and Forsyth, F. (2002). In the eyes of the state: negotiating a “rights-based approach” to forest conservation in Thailand. *World Development*, 30(9), 1591-1605.

- Jotia, A., and K. Biraimah. (2015). Crossing the North-South divide: A critical analysis of study abroad programs to emerging nations. *Comparative Sciences: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, 26, 125–151.
- Kaewjinda, K. (2019, May 14). Newly appointed Thai Senate includes many soldiers, police. *AP News*. Retrieved from <https://www.apnews.com/71cdcec5a2514fba8512b7419684a882>
- Kanok, R. and Benjavan, R. (1994). *Shifting cultivation in Thailand: its current situation and dynamics in the context of highland development*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Karki, M., Hill, R., Xue, D., Alanguai, W., Ichikawa, K. and Bridgewater, P., eds. (2016). *Knowing our lands and resources: indigenous and local knowledge and practices related to biodiversity and ecosystems services in Asia*. Task Force on Indigenous and Local Knowledge Systems Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. Retrieved from <http://lib.icimod.org/record/32746>
- Kaufman, H. F. (1959). Toward an interactional conception of community. *Social Forces*, 38(1), 8-17.
- Kauffmann, N.L. & Kuh, G.K. (1985). The impact of study abroad on personal development of college students. *Journal of International Student Personnel*, 2(2), 6-10.
- Kauffmann, N, Martin, J., Weaver, H., and Weaver, J. (1992). *Students abroad: strangers at home. Education for a global society*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, Inc.

- Khaokhrueamuang, A. (2013). Sustainability of rural land use based on an integrated tourism model in Mae Kampong Village, Chiang Mai Province, Thailand. *Geographical review of Japan series*, 86(2), 157-173.
- Killick, D. (2013). Global citizenship, sojourning students and campus communities. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 18(7), 721–735.
- Kincheloe, J. L., McLaren, P., Steinberg, S. R., & Monzó, L. (2017). Critical pedagogy and qualitative research: Advancing the bricolage. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (5th ed.) (pp. 235-260). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Knight, J. (2004). Internationalization remodeled: definition, approaches, and rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8, 5-31
- Kontogeorgopoulos, N., Churyen, A., & Duangsaeng, V. (2013). Homestay tourism and the commercialization of the rural home in Thailand. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 20(1), 1-22. doi:10.1080/10941665.2013.852119
- Kontogeorgopoulos, N., A. Churyen, and V. Duangsaeng. (2015). Homestay tourism and the commercialization of the rural home in Thailand. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 20(1): 29–50.
- Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (2017a). Finding oneself while discovering others: An existential perspective on volunteer tourism in Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 65, 1-12. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2017.04.006

- Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (2017b). Tourism in Thailand: Growth, diversification, and political upheaval. In *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism in Asia*, edited by C.M. Hall and S. Page, 149-163. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and*
- Kortegast, C. A. (2011). *Picturing learning: A visual ethnography of social learning during a short-term study abroad program* (Order No. 3473043). Available from ProQuest Central; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global; Social Science Premium Collection. (896475469).
- Kuh, G. D. & Schneider, C.G. (2008). *High impact educational practices: What they are, who has access to them, and why they matter*. Washington, DC: American Association of American Colleges and Universities.
- Larsen, M., ed. (2016). *New directions and strategies for community engaged scholarship: International perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Lather, P. (1986a). Issues of validity in openly ideological research: Between a rock and a soft place. *Interchange*, 17, 63-84.
- Lather, P. (1986b). Research as praxis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56, 257-277.
- Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.
- Lather, P. (2001). Postmodernism, post-structuralism and post (critical) ethnography : Of ruins, aporias and angels. In *Handbook of Ethnography*, edited by Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L., 477–492. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage



- Laungaramsri, P. (2016). Mass Surveillance and the Militarization of Cyberspace in Post-Coup Thailand. *Australian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 9(2): 195-214.
- Lavankura, P. (2013). Internationalizing higher education in Thailand: Government and university responses. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 17(5), 663-676. doi:10.1177/1028315313478193
- LeBaron, M. & Pillay, V. (2006). *Conflict across cultures: A unique experience of bridging differences*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Lefebvre, H. (2016). *The production of space*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.
- Lidstone, A., & Rueckert, C. (2007). *The study abroad handbook*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Long, J., Vogelaar, A., & Hale, B. W. (2013). Toward sustainable educational travel. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 22(3), 1-19. doi:10.1080/09669582.2013.819877
- Lowman, W. (2011). Reinvigorating the U.S.–Thailand alliance. The Heritage Foundation. Retrieved from <http://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2019/05/15/newly-appointed-thai-senate-includes-many-soldiers-police/>
- Mahmoud, A. (2007). *Arabic and national language educational policy*. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4781.2007.00543\_10.x
- Mantzoukas, S. (2004). Issues of representation within qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(7).
- Marcus, G. E. , & Fischer, M. M. (1986). *Anthropology as cultural critique: an experimental moment in the human sciences*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Marginson, S. (1999). After globalisation: emerging politics of education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 14(1), 19–31.
- Marginson, S. (2013). The impossibility of capitalist markets in higher education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 28(3), 353–370.
- Marginson, S., & Considine, M. (2000). *The enterprise university*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McFarlane, C. (2006). Crossing borders: development, learning and the North – South divide. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(8), 1413–1437, doi: 10.1080/01436590601027271
- McKeown, J. S. (2009). *The first time effect: The impact of study abroad on college student intellectual development*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Mezirow, J. (1990). *Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood: A Guide to Transformative and Emancipatory Learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Mezirow, J. (2000). *Learning as transformation: critical perspectives on a theory in progress*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- McNaughton, D. (2006). The host as uninvited guest: Hospitality, violence and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(3), 645–665.
- McLaren, D. (2006). *Rethinking tourism and ecotravel*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Montgomery, P., and P. H. Bailey. (2007). Field notes and theoretical memos in grounded theory. *Western Journal of Nursing Research* 29 (1): 65–79. doi: 10.1177/0193945906292557

- Morton, K. (1995). The irony of service: Charity project and social change in service-Learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 2: 19–32.
- Mukherjee, M. (2012). U.S. study abroad from the periphery to the center of the global curriculum in the information age. *Policy Futures in Education*, 10(1), 81.  
doi:10.2304/pfie.2012.10.1.81
- My Bangkok. (2019). Don't buy or sell Buddha. *My Bangkok – Land of Daily*. Retrived from <https://www.mybkk.com/dont-buy-or-sell-buddha/>
- National Defense Education Act. (1958). *National defense education act of 1958*, Pub. L. No. 85864, 72 Stat. 1580.
- Nathanri, C. and Laohong, K. (2019, May 10). Pai Dao Din, 5 PAD leaders walk free. *Bangkok Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/politics/1675360/pai-dao-din-5-pad-leaders-walk-free>
- National Security Education Program & Institute of International Education (2018). *Boren fellowships*. New York, N.Y.: Institute of International Education.  
Retrieved from [https://www.borenawards.org/system/files/resource-attachments/2018%20Boren%20Awards\\_1.pdf](https://www.borenawards.org/system/files/resource-attachments/2018%20Boren%20Awards_1.pdf)
- Nicoll, F. (2004). “Are you calling me a racist?”: Teaching critical whiteness theory in Indigenous sovereignty. *Borderlands* 3(2). Retrieved from [http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2\\_2004/nicoll\\_teaching.htm](http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/nicoll_teaching.htm).
- Nkrumah, K. (1966). *Neo-colonialism: The last stage of imperialism*. New York: International Publishers.

- No Author. (2018, Dec 8). Report: Thailand most unequal country in 2018. *Bangkok Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.bangkokpost.com/business/1588786/report-thailand-most-unequal-country-in-2018>
- Noor, F. (2016). *The discursive construction of Southeast Asia in 19th century colonial-capitalist discourse*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Norris, E. M., & Gillespie, J. (2009). How study abroad shapes global careers. *Studies in International Education*, 13.
- Obama, M. (2014). First lady remarks at the Stanford Center at Peking University. *The White House Office of the First Lady*. Office. Retrieved from <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/03/22/remarks-first-lady-stanford-center-peking-university>
- Ogden, A. (2007). The view from the veranda: Understanding today's colonial student. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 15, 2-20.
- Olson, B. and Brennan, M. (2017). From Community Engagement to Community Emergence. *International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement*, 5(1), <http://journals.sfu.ca/iarslce>
- Orphan, C. M. (2018). Public purpose under pressure: Examining the effects of neoliberal policy on regional comprehensive universities. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, 22(2), 59-102.
- Ortiz Loaiza, P. (2018). Guatemala: Host organization struggles with – and volunteer

- contributions to – capacity building. In R. Tiessen, B. J. Lough, & K. E. Grantham (Eds.), *Insights on International Volunteering: Perspectives from the Global South* (pp. 23–35). Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos.
- Pasque, P. A., Carducci, R., Kuntz, A. M., & Gildersleeve, R. E. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry for equity in higher education: methodological innovations, implications, and interventions*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.
- Peleggi, M. (2002). *The politics of ruins and the business of nostalgia*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- Pettigrew, T. F., and Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751–783.
- Petzold, K. (2017). Cosmopolitanism through mobility: Physical-corporeal or virtual-imagined? *British Journal of Sociology*, 68(2), 167-193.
- Phasuk, S. (2018). Unending repression in Thailand four years after the coup.: hopes dim for democratic restoration. *Human Rights Watch*, May 21, 2018. Retrieved from <http://hrw.org/news/2018/05/21/unending-repression-thailand-4-years-after-coup>
- Polson, E. (2016). *Privileged Mobilities: Geo-Social Media, Professional Migration, and a New Global Middle Class*.
- Polson, E. (2018). 'Doing' local: Place-based travel apps and the globally networked self. In Papacharissi, Z. (Ed.), *A networked self: Platforms, stories, connections*. London, UK: Routledge
- Pratt, M. L. (1992). *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*. London: Routledge.

- President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. (1979). *Strength through wisdom: a critique of U.S. capability, a report to the president from the president's commission on foreign language and international studies*. Washington, DC: USGPO.
- Preston, K. (2012). *The impact of studying abroad on recent college graduates' careers: 2006-2011*. Retrieved from <http://www.iesabroad.org/system/files/recentgraduatessurvey.pdf>
- Price, D. (2016). *Cold war anthropology*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Rabinow, P. (1996). *Essays on the anthropology of reason / paul rabinow*. Princeton, NJ; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press.
- Rastogi, V. (2018, Aug 14). Minimum Wage Levels Across ASEAN. Retrieved from <https://www.aseanbriefing.com/news/2018/08/30/minimum-wage-levels-across-asean.html>
- Redden, E. (2007a, August 14). Study abroad under scrutiny. *Inside Higher Ed*. Retrieved from <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2007/08/14/abroad>.
- Redden, E. (2007b, August 20). The middlemen of study abroad. *Inside Higher Ed*. Retrieved from <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2007/08/20/abroad>.
- Redden, E. (2017, August 21). Thailand Files Charges Against Conference Attendees. *Inside Higher Education*. Retrieved from <https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2017/08/21/thailand-files-charges-against-conference-attendees>

- Reuters reporters. (2019, May 14) . List of 250 senators published, a third linked to military, police. *Bangkok Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/politics/1677448/list-of-250-senators-published-a-third-linked-to-military-police>
- Reynolds, N. (2014). What counts as outcomes? Community perspectives of an engineering partnership. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 21(1), 79–90.
- Rigg, J. (2006). Land, farming, livelihoods, and poverty: Rethinking the links in the rural south. *World Development; World Development*, 34(1), 180-202.  
doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.07.015
- Ritchie, M. (2013). Sustainability education, experiential learning, and social justice: Designing community based courses in the Global South, *Journal of Sustainability Education*, 5, 1–13.
- Ritchie, M., & Bai, Y. (1999). *Demographic and social survey of tribal people: analysis of existing data*. Chiang Mai: Center for the Coordination of Non-Governmental Tribal Development Organizations (CONTO) and World Concern (Thailand).
- Rodman, R., and Merrill, M. (2010). Unlocking study abroad potential: Design models, methods and masters. In Hoffa, W. and DePaul, S. *A History of US Study Abroad: 1965-Present*, pp.199-251). Carlisle: PA.
- Royal Thai Government. (2014). NPCP Announces 12 National Core Values to Reinforce Country. Retrieved from

<https://moltol42.wordpress.com/2014/08/12/ncpo-announces-12-national-core-values-to-reinforce-the-country/>

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Said, E. W. (2012). *Reflections on exile: And other essays*. London: Granta.

Salisbury, M. H. (2011). *The effect of study abroad on intercultural competence among undergraduate college students* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Iowa, Iowa City. Retrieved from [search.proquest.com/pqdtft/docview/879830525/1386CAD9FD04C036A47/1?accountid=514556](http://search.proquest.com/pqdtft/docview/879830525/1386CAD9FD04C036A47/1?accountid=514556).

Saltmarsh, J., Hartley, M., & Clayton, P. (2009). *Democratic engagement white paper*. Boston: New England Resource Center for Higher Education. Retrieved from [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=2ahUKEwj2jtnRjLDjAhUaHM0KHe2yBJUQFjAAegQIAhAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Frepository.upenn.edu%2Fcgi%2Fviewcontent.cgi%3Farticle%3D1252%26context%3Dgse\\_pubs&usg=AOvVaw1H0gYcbYIKOB8Jy\\_DRqUbd](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=2ahUKEwj2jtnRjLDjAhUaHM0KHe2yBJUQFjAAegQIAhAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Frepository.upenn.edu%2Fcgi%2Fviewcontent.cgi%3Farticle%3D1252%26context%3Dgse_pubs&usg=AOvVaw1H0gYcbYIKOB8Jy_DRqUbd)

Sato, J. (2000). People in between: conversion and conservation of forest lands in Thailand. *Development and Change*, 31, 155-177.

Saukko, P. (2003). *Doing research in cultural studies: An introduction to classical and new methodological approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

SBS News. (2019, January 21). 'Laos doesn't look that safe now': Thai anti-monarchy activists stuffed with concrete. SBS News. Retrieved from



<https://www.sbs.com.au/news/laos-doesn-t-look-that-safe-now-thai-anti-monarchy-activists-stuffed-with-concrete>

Schemo, D. J. (2007, August 12). Study abroad, gifts and money for universities. *New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/13/education/13abroad.html>

Scheyvens, R. (2002). *Tourism for development: Empowering communities*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited.

Schroeder, K., C. Wood, S. Galiardi, and J. Koehn. (2009). First, do no harm: Ideas for mitigating negative community impacts of short-term study abroad. *Journal of Geography*, 108 (3), 141–147.

Schiller, N. & Salazar, B. (2013). Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39:2, 183-200,  
DOI:10.1080/1369183X.2013.72325

Selwyn, T. (1996). *The tourist image: Myths and myth making in tourism*. New York: Wiley.

Sharpe, E. K. (2015). Colonial tendencies in education abroad. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 27(2), 227–234.

Shenon, P. (1992, May 20). Military crackdown in Thailand blunts protest against army rule. *New York Times*. Retrieved from  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/20/world/military-crackdown-in-thailand-blunts-protest-against-army-rule.html>

Simmons, A. (2014). *The impact of long-term study abroad on the development of emotional-social intelligence in undergraduates* (Order No. 3681772). Available

from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (1655904433). Retrieved from  
<http://du.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/du.idm.oclc.org/docview/1655904433?accountid=14608>

Slaughter, S., & Leslie, L. L. (1997). *Academic capitalism: Politics, policies, and the entrepreneurial university*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic capitalism and the new economy: Markets, state and higher education*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Smith, B. (2017, June 6). Thailand to open up to foreign higher education institutions. *The Pie News*. <https://thepienews.com/news/thailand-open-up-to-foreign-institutions/>

Smith, V. (2017). Tourism in Thailand: Growth, diversification, and political upheaval. In *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism in Asia*, edited by C.M. Hall and S. Page, 149-163. Abingdon: Routledge.

Somsakdi, X. (1987). *Government and politics in Thailand*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Sokhorng, K. (2011) *Baseline study for ecotourism development in Mae Hong Son, Thailand. Final mission report by Thailand community based tourism institute (CBT-I) for the United Nations joint program on integrated highland livelihood development in Mae Hong Son, Output 1.3, Ecotourism*. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/10749019/Baseline\\_Study\\_for\\_Ecotourism\\_Development\\_in\\_Mae\\_Hong\\_Son\\_Thailand](https://www.academia.edu/10749019/Baseline_Study_for_Ecotourism_Development_in_Mae_Hong_Son_Thailand)

- Spitzberg, B. H., & Changnon, G. (2009). Conceptualizing intercultural competence. In D. K. Deardorff (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of intercultural communication*, pp. 2-52). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Spivak, G. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C Nelson & L Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, pp 271 -313.
- Spivak, G. (1993). *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. London: Routledge.
- Sripokangkul S., Draper J., Hinke. C, Crumpton, C. (2019). The military draft in thailand: A critique from a nonkilling global political science perspective. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 31(1), 39-59. doi: 10.1080/14781158.2018.1493447
- Stiglitz, J. (2002). *Globalization and its discontents*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Steinberg, S. R. (2010). Power, emancipation, and complexity: Employing critical theory. *Journal of Power and Education*, 2(2), 140–151.
- Steinmetz, G., ed. (2013). *Sociology and empire: The imperial entanglements of a discipline*. Durham: Duke University Press
- Stephan, W. G., and Stephen, C. W. (2000). An Integrated-threat theory of prejudice. In S. Okamp, (Ed). *Reducing prejudice and discrimination*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 29, 4, 559-576.
- Stephenson, S. (2002). Beyond the lapiths and the centaurs: Cross-cultural “deepening” through study abroad. In W. Grünzweig and N. Rinehart (Eds.), *Rockin’ in Red*

*Square: Critical approaches to international education in the time of cyberspace*, pp. 85–104.

Stewart S. (2012). Problematizing racism in education. In: Vicars M., McKenna T., White J. (eds) *Discourse, Power, and Resistance Down Under. Transgressions* (Cultural Studies and Education), 88. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.

Stoecker, R. and Tryon, E. (2009). The unheard voices: community organizations and service learning. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 103.  
doi:10.1080/00220670903352387.

Stuber, J. M. (2011). *Inside the college gates: How class and culture matter in higher education*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books.

Tanakasempipat, P. and Thepgumpanat, P. (2019, May 14). A third of Thailand's appointed senators linked to military, police. Reuters. Accessed from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-election/a-third-of-thailands-appointed-senators-linked-to-military-police-idUSKCN1SK12J>

Tampkin, E. (2019, May 7). Northern Thailand was once a paradise. Now forest fires have made the air worse than Beijing's. The Washington Post. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/05/07/northern-thailand-was-once-paradise-now-forest-fires-have-made-air-worse-than-beijings>

Thai Homestay Standards. (2019). Thai Homestay Standards. Retrieved from <http://www.homestaythai.net/?lang=eng>

- Thomas, N. (1994). *Colonialism's culture: anthropology, travel, and government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Thomas, N. (2000). Institution as citizen. In T. Ehrlich (Ed.), *Civic responsibility and higher education* (pp. 63-97). Westport, CT: Oryx Press
- Tiessen, R. & Grantham, K. (2016). Overview: North-South student mobility in Canada's universities. Issue Briefs on North-South student mobility. Universities Canada. Retrieved from <https://www.univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/north-south-student-mobilityoverview-jan-2017.pdf>
- Tiessen, R. Lough, B. and Grantham, K. (2018). Insights on international volunteering, Perspectives from the Global South. *Journal of Global Citizenship and Equity Education*, 6(1).
- Tillman, M. (n.d.). Impact of education abroad on career development. Retrieved from [https://www.aifsabroad.com/advisors/pdf/Impact\\_of\\_Education\\_AbroadI.pdf](https://www.aifsabroad.com/advisors/pdf/Impact_of_Education_AbroadI.pdf)
- Thornton, P., Ocasio, W. and Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure, and process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Toyota, M. (1998). Urban migration and cross-border networks: A deconstruction of the Akha identity in Chiang Mai. *東南アジア研究*, 35(4), 803-829. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2433/56664>
- Tsing, A. (2000). The global situation. *Cultural Anthropology*, 15(3), 327-360. doi:10.1525/can.2000.15.3.327

- Tsing, A. L. (2015). *The mushroom at the end of the world: On the possibility of life in capitalist ruins*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Tuck, E. and Yang, K. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. 1(1), 1-40.
- Tyler, S. A. (1991) A post-modern in-stance. In L. Nencel & P. Pelus (Eds.) *Constructing knowledge: Authority and critique in social science* (pp. 78 - 94). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications
- Twombly, S. B., Salisbury, M. H., Tumanut, S. D., and Klute, P. (2012). Special issue: study abroad in a new global century--renewing the promise, refining the purpose. *Ashe Higher Education Report*, 38, 4, 1-152.
- University of Pennsylvania (2019). TLC List Serv. Retrieved from <https://web.sas.upenn.edu/tlc/>
- Vande Berg, M., Connor-Linton, J., and Paige, M. R. (2009). The Georgetown Consortium Project: Interventions for student learning abroad. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 18, 1-75.
- Vande Berg, M., M. Paige, and K. Hemming Lou. (2012). *Student learning abroad: paradigms and assumptions. In student learning abroad: What our students are learning, what they're not, and what we can do about it*, 3-28. Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Vandergest, P., & Peluso, N. (1995). Territorialization and state power in Thailand. *Theory and Society*, 24(3), 385-426. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/658074>

- Vejpongsa, T. and Peck, G. (2019, May 29). Thai musicians in exile for their songs fear for their lives. *AP News*. Retrieved from <https://apnews.com/9e3a92e4a6084d2dbc01907513d68085>
- Vitalis, R. (2015). *White world order, black power politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Viruru, R., Cannella, G. S. (2006). A postcolonial critique of the ethnographic interview: Research analyzes research. In Denzin, N. K., Giardina, M. D. (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry and the conservative challenge* (pp. 175-192). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, S. (2001). What is Indigenous research methodology? *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 25 (2), 175-179.
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing Co.
- Wood, C. (2012). Community impacts of international service-learning and study abroad: An analysis of focus groups with program leaders. *Partnerships: A Journal of Service-Learning and Civic Engagement*, 2(1), 1–23.
- Woolf, M. (2007). Impossible things before breakfast: Myths in education abroad. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11 (3/4), 496–509, doi:10.1177/1028315307304186

- Zemach-Bersin, T. (2007). Study abroad & global citizenship: It's all about U.S. in *Critical literacy: Theories and practices*, Ed. Lynn Mario T.M. de Suoza: University of Nottingham, Center for the Study of Social and Global Justice, UK.
- Zemach-Bersin, T. (2009). Selling the world: Study abroad marketing and the privatization of global citizenship. In R. Lewin (Ed.), *The handbook of practice and research in study abroad: Higher education and the quest for global citizenship* (pp. 303–320). New York: Routledge.
- Zemach-Bersin, T. (2011). Entitled to the world: The rhetoric of U.S. global citizenship education & study abroad. In V. Andreott (Ed.), *Postcolonial Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education*. Routledge: Francis and Taylor Group.



## Appendix A

### Data Collection Summary

Field Work	Communities visited	Length of time	Data Collection
Visit 1	Community 1 Community 2 TAE Campus	4 days 4 days 1 week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Home stays with a family in Community 1 &amp; Community 2</li> <li>•In-depth interviews with personal host families in Community 1 &amp; 2</li> <li>•Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with other homestay families and community members in Community 1 &amp; 2</li> <li>•Semi-structured interviews with local government and CBT program coordinators in Community 1</li> <li>•Structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews with TAE program staff</li> <li>•Participant observation, artifact analysis (photos, curriculum), and field notes</li> </ul>
Visit 2	Community 2 TAE Campus	2 weeks 2 weeks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Week long homestays with 2 families</li> <li>•In-depth interviews each family</li> <li>•Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with other homestay families and community members in Community 1 &amp; 2</li> <li>•Structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews with TAE program staff</li> <li>•Participant observation, artifact analysis (photos, curriculum), and field notes</li> </ul>

<b>Visit 3</b>	Community 3 Chiangmai	3 days 1 week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Home stay with a family</li> <li>•In-depth interview with host family</li> <li>•Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with other host families and local youth group</li> <li>•Shadowed program throughout duration of 1-week Chiangmai and homestay components</li> </ul>
----------------	--------------------------	------------------	--

### Summary of Who was Interviewed

Role	Number of People
U.S. Faculty who had led short-term study abroad programs with a third party provider in Thailand	3
TAE administrative staff	12
TAE local field instructors	5
TAE foreign instructors	3
Non-TAE third party provider administrative staff who run programs in Thailand (4 programs)	4
Non-TAE local field instructors	6
Families who hosted me (4 families)	14
Other homestay families in Community 1 (4 families)	5
Other homestay families in Community 2 (1 family)	1
Other homestay families in Community 3 (3 families)	3
CBT governing board and coordinator in Community 1	3
Other Thai and foreign visitors to Community 2 while I was present	10
U.S. study abroad student and Japanese study abroad student staying in Community 2 while I was present	2
Additional third party program providers high level administrative staff who run programs globally	4

<b>PeaceCorp, Fulbright, and EducationUSA staff and grantees in Thailand</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Local Thai residents of Chiangmai , Mae Hong Son, and Bangkok including restaurateurs, farmers, seed savers, students, UN staff, gov't employees, and social enterprise workers</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>~90</b>