LENSES OF UNDERSTANDING: SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED MEANING MAKING IN EDUCATION ABROAD

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The Supervisory Committee certifies that this ***disquisition*** complies with North Dakota State University's regulations and meets the accepted standards for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore meaning making in the context of education abroad. This was conducted through three articles exploring elements of this process, including how programs may be framed through marketing and advising practices; the foundational importance of social and geographic place; the dialectical interactions between embodied experience with conceptual schema, figurative language, and narratives; and the role of student agency within these processes.

The first article explored the relationship between virtual delivery and student development as mediated by embodied experience. Through this analysis, concerns about the possibility for the creation of a simulacrum of education abroad were identified as well as opportunities for deliberate curriculum construction. The second article was a metaphoric analysis of marketing language used by education abroad program providers, exploring common figurative language constructions used to frame understanding of education abroad programs. One form of the journey metaphor and three variations of a container metaphor were identified and analyzed, and implications for practice were outlined. The third article outlined a proposed model for analyzing meaning making: the Kaleidoscope Model. This includes elements of affect, embodied experiences, physical and social place, schema, figurative language such as metaphors, the Social Construction of Reality model, narrative, and the context of reality and virtuality modalities.

This disquisition concludes with an analysis of the insights each article provides into the research questions, implications for practice, and opportunities for future study.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

My study abroad experience began as a freshman when I attended an informational session about opportunities abroad and was drawn to the idea of challenging myself by studying somewhere significantly different from what I had experienced up until then. I had an interest in studying Japanese, but my college did not offer such classes, so a program through the larger University of Minnesota system seemed like an opportunity. While I did receive a brochure made of elegant glossy paper about the program at Kansai Gaidai University, I do not remember much of how the program was described beyond my own vague impressions of what life in Japan might be like as drawn from popular culture. At the time there was no pre-departure orientation and my understanding of the details of the programs were so limited that during the summer my parents had to call my home university to ask for information on how basic features like meal benefits might work abroad. The notice of my acceptance to the program arrived in late May, and the materials indicated which day I should arrive at the Osaka Airport but little else. In this context, it is unsurprising that the lived experience of being abroad was vastly different from what I had envisioned the program might be like beforehand.

In many ways, my experiences fit with the stereotype of a study abroad student in that I was a female undergraduate student of junior standing from the social science major of history: in 2000-01, 65% of those who studied abroad were women, 38.9% were of junior standing, and 20.3% were social science majors (Institute of International Education, 2021). Being in this age range, I was also likely still relying heavily on outside influences as my basis for understanding the world, with my study abroad experiences likely having played heavily into my moving toward having more awareness and agency in the process of meaning making (Barber et al., 2016). Even now, my experiences as a study abroad student and later as a study abroad advisor

influence my assumptions about what education abroad is and should be (Appendix A). As the latter, these ideas form a foundation that is then reproduced and potentially passed to those students with whom I have worked. In this way, socially constructed concepts of education abroad are continually built, rebuilt, and melded through the interactions of participants and those they interact with in preparation for, during participation in, and through reflecting and repackaging their experiences to share with others. This complex set of interactions comes together to create ideas of an education abroad experiences.

Approximately 50,000 students from the United States studied abroad during the 1985-86 school year (Institute for International Education, 2001), a number that increased to 347,099 by 2018-19 (Institute for International Education, 2021). Today, 16% of students pursuing a bachelor's degree participate in study abroad at some point during the degree program, and international students contributed approximately 41 billion to the U.S. economy (Banks, 2019). The scale of participation in these programs indicates a need for understanding the experience of them.

As international education has expanded due to political, economic, cultural/social, and academic drivers (Ogden & Brewer, 2019), the field has also matured, growing expectations for academic and student development outcomes for students taking part in these programs (McKeown et al., 2021). While there is growing research bases in looking at specific outcomes of these programs, such as specific academic outcomes, intercultural competence, and second language acquisition, and institutional outcomes such as retention rates (Ogden et al., 2021), only limited research has been done on how students come to understand their experiences. It is in this context that I examined the ways in which students come to understand their experiences abroad

and the ways in which universities and program providers influence and shape these understandings.

Background

A variety of terms are used to describe internationally based educational experiences. The vocabulary used is an important consideration since it carries with it categorization, entailments and emotions that may shape an understanding of the underlying concept (Wood et al., 2015). For example, the traditional term *study abroad* may carry with it assumptions about a model of studying at a university in a country away from where their home university is located (The Forum on Education Abroad, 2011). This term is not usually used to reference students coming to the U.S. on F or J visas, who are often referred to as *international students* (Banks, 2019) from a distinctly Americentric perspective. In contrast, the term *study away* has been used to indicate study anywhere in the world, including American international students studying away from their home campus somewhere else in the U.S. (Sobania & Braskamp, 2009). The term *education abroad* has gained increasing popularity because it can be used to include learning outside of a formal classroom setting, such as through research, internships, or volunteer experiences abroad (Ogden & Brewer, 2019). For purposes of this inquiry, I will use the term education abroad to refer to cross-cultural programs in which a student studies in a country that is not their home country for either one or two semesters, but that may have varying levels of pre-program preparation, reflective practice, and guided integration (Engle & Engle, 2003).

The purpose and outcomes of education abroad is also a matter of debate. Research in field has looked at benefits of study abroad as varied as personal development, academic commitment, intercultural development, career development (Dwyer & Peters, 2004). Much of this research has focused on areas such learning outcomes and job attainment (Cook-Anderson,

2012), showing the value of the investment by universities, administrators and students in the time and money of the endeavor. One significant figure in the field, Josef A. Mestenhauser (2011), argued that education abroad should be a foundation to university learning, and that globalization of higher education should be based in understanding how culture influences our understanding of each discipline.

Yet in spite of these grand visions, there has been limited exploration of how education abroad is conceptualized by student participants. Due to the common age range of undergraduate students who may be considering education abroad, it is critical to be aware of how such students may be relying on external cues as they seek to understand new concepts. Researchers in the area of self-authorship argue that knowledge is constructed through an interaction between self and others, and that coming to understand this interactive process is foundational to complex thinking (Baxter Magolda, 2003). The model of self-authorship is built on the need for students to develop in three domains: cognitive, or an understanding of how knowledge is created; intrapersonal, an understanding of one's beliefs and values; and interpersonal, the relationship between self and others (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). This description of how reality is created by the intersection of self and others is similar to the social construction of reality model, in which individuals express their understanding of reality, receive feedback from others, and then reintegrate an updated model of understanding (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). If understanding in any of the three areas of self-authorship is lacking, then individuals are likely to rely on external sources for meaning, without the insight to recognize this reliance (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). While college students show progress toward internally centered meaning-making, few students achieve full self-authorship. Indeed, many people struggle with this transition in their 20s and 30s (Baxter Magolda, 2008), and there is significant evidence that

most college students do not achieve self-authorship before graduation (Baxter Magolda & King, 2004).

Within a proposal for internationalizing higher education, Mestenhauser (2011) argued for the importance of gaining a richer understanding of one's own assumptions in thinking: "Cognitive complexity is an ability to think in several patterns (frames of reference) without discarding any that do not seem to fit, and to integrate opposing, inconsistent, or "inconvenient" views." (p. 12). People who encounter marginalization and discrimination or other kinds of challenges to their own internal viewpoints may be more likely to reach self-authorship at an earlier age (Baxter Magolda, 2008). High-impact experiential learning is another way that students are able to develop this understanding, with structured educational practices that spur students to engage critically with perspectives that are inconsistent with previous views being most effective (Barber et al., 2016). However, with this transition taking time, at the start of an education abroad experience students are likely to rely on externally constructed meaning making, using existing lenses to interpret their experiences in another country. As creators and administrators of education abroad, then it is important to understand how existing external framing of education abroad shape students' expectations and interpretation of their time abroad.

Research Questions

When immersing into an education abroad program, students bring with them their own host of expectations and cultural baggage. Marketing, advising, and socially situated explanations of what a program is and should be for them form a complex and continually shifting lens through which students try to make sense of their experiences. In order to gain more insight into the ways that marketing and advising impact how students understand their experiences, I sought to explore four research questions:

1. What conceptions of education abroad are created by program providers and schools through marketing and advising practices?

2. What roles do social and geographic place play in the meaning making development process for students considering education abroad?

3. How might cognitive structures and narratives be interacting with embodied experiences as mediated by conceptual schema in the process of students constructing meaning about their education abroad experiences?

4. In what ways do students play active roles and passive roles in the metacognitive process of meaning making related to education abroad?

Through a richer understanding of these aspects of meaning making, I looked to highlight the ways in which marketing and advising combine to create education abroad and influence the experiences students have during their time abroad, and to open up a dialogue about the information being conveyed in describing these experiences. By gaining a deeper understanding of these interactions, we in the field can begin to wrestle with the lenses that we are creating and how they shape education abroad for students.

Considerations

While research on education abroad is usually not an emotionally fraught area of inquiry there are still a number of careful considerations for conducting ethical research. In starting this research project with an analysis of publicly available data, I avoided some of the potential issues related to research on human subjects, but I recognized that that any data can cause harm. Professionals and students who are a part of the field of education abroad may be impacted by findings from the research that I conduct. The work that I do in more closely considering the practices of education abroad has the potential to highlight criticisms of programs and practices

that are currently happening. In recognition of the this, I plan to use my findings to assist future students, by disseminating my work through publications and conference presentations so as to spur better practices in the field, encourage the development of more intentional support, and to help avoid problematic practices that may currently be used.

One challenge in this project is that having spent over 12 years in the field of education abroad, I am thoroughly embedded within this cultural knowledge. In order to work carefully with my own lens, I utilized memos throughout the process to document my observations, thoughts, and insights (Charmaz, 2006). As a part of this socially constructed observation field, I also recognize that I have my own internal understandings and interpretations, which I worked to note across my research in order to recognize useful insights through documenting and self-reflection (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Further, by utilizing multiple sources of data I watched for negative examples both within and across data sources.

Organization of the Disquisition

The research presented here is in a three-article format, each looking at elements of meaning making in education abroad in a different means. The first article is a position paper titled "Virtual Study Abroad and the Limits of Simulated Affect". This project was a useful starting point for my investigation into the complex relationship between the elements of meaning making. In writing this position paper, I was able to engage in the community of education abroad leadership, looking at the purposes for such programs and hopefully create a starting point for continued discussion on this topic. This also has been important for informing my future work in looking at what program providers frame as the important aspects of their offerings and what aspects of their education abroad programs students identify as significant to how they understand their experiences.

For the second article, I conducted a metaphoric analysis of the language used by four program providers in marketing and advising for education abroad programs. Systematic metaphors and their related underlying thought patterns are temporary alignments within a discursive environment (Cameron & Maslen, 2010), in this case between the marketing language of the education abroad program providers and the reaction of potential participants within a given cultural setting. As such, gaining a deeper understanding into the current practices is foundational to future research on the interaction between the figurative language and underlying schema. For the third article, I conducted a literature review to create a model of meaning making called the Kaleidoscope Model. This model attempts to integrate affective experiences, schema, cognitive structures, and narrative, creating a means that can in part or whole be used to examine how students make meaning of immersive learning experiences. This is both an output of the experience and research from the previous two articles, and a means for continuing to explore this important area of research in the future.

Through these three articles, I looked to establish baseline insights into ways that figurative language supports the development of cognitive structures and related schema within the field of education abroad. From there, I can continue my work toward understanding how such concepts combine to create an understanding of education abroad.

CHAPTER 2. VIRTUAL STUDY ABROAD AND LIMITS OF SIMULATED AFFECT

Study abroad is a high impact practice that offers the opportunity for students to engage with diverse others and apply learned knowledge over a long period of time (Haupt & Ogden, 2019). Unfortunately, the rise of COVID-19 has led to mass cancellations of study abroad programs around the world and forced program providers to lay off significant numbers of staff. With the future availability of international travel at a standstill, program providers and universities abroad have started to offer alternative virtual study abroad and internships, presenting these options as equivalent substitutions to the in-person experiences they are replacing. Yet this pivot to alternative format programs is based in an assumption that education abroad can be replicated in a location-neutral format. As the field of education abroad begins to shift to these new options, it is critical that we carefully consider the purposes of education abroad and the foundational role that embodied affective experiences play in the value of such programs.

Topical Purposes of Education Abroad

Education abroad is a gestalt, the full experience more easily understood than each of the parts individually, and the value of such experiences is also more significant as a whole than disassembled. Within this complexity there are many purposes for education abroad programs argued by stakeholders ranging from policymakers, donors, senior institutional leadership, faculty, parents, students (Ogden, 2017), to international educators themselves. These can include arguments for the value of adding to home school curriculum, cross-cultural learning, enhancing a future career, and student development (Twombly et al., 2012). Student motivations for pursuing study abroad include a desire to build a resume (Dima, 2019), completing courses abroad and language learning (Walsh & Walsh, 2018), enjoyment (Engberg & Jourian, 2015;

Zemach-Bersin, 2009), and growing as a person (Engberg & Jourian, 2015). U.S. policymakers are encouraged to consider the value of citizen diplomacy, global competency, intercultural communication, the benefits for the economy, and national security (Johnson, 2016). Academic departments may focus on language learning and subject-specific learning (Twombly et al., 2012), while leaders and practitioners in the field discuss the importance of global competency and global citizenship (Ramírez, 2013).

Applying human capital theory suggests that education abroad is chosen when there is greater net benefit to these programs over other options (Perna et al., 2015). Yet there has been little evidence that in practice mundane concerns such as time to graduation or future employment impacts student choice in study abroad program (Goldstein & Kim, 2006) but financial and bureaucratic impediments, both perceived and real, have proven a significant barrier to education abroad (Petzold & Moog, 2018; Perna et al., 2015). Instead, levels of pre-college cultural and social capital have been shown to significantly impact whether students are likely to consider study abroad (Salisbury et al., 2009). As one example, students in Romania were shown to pursue education in another country for both the quality of the education and the prestige of the experience (Dima, 2019).

However, while these curricular and capital-building outcomes are important, focusing on them can problematically limit the scope of learning in education abroad (Brewer et al., 2019). When limiting the focus to only learning in the classroom, there is a danger of limiting participant agency and causing faculty and students to ignore the scope of learning and development that happens outside of the classroom.

Education Abroad for Student Development

The hope for personal growth and development is also a significant factor in choosing to study abroad (Petzold & Moog, 2018). This goal has also unfortunately been linked with elements of American colonialism (Ogden, 2008) and the commodification of global learning as an entitlement that serves as little more than a vacation from work at a student's home campus (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). To engage with the intercultural other in a way that moves beyond a colonialist perspective requires wholistic, long-term action, and critically self-reflexive engagement (Adkins & Messerly, 2019), with the possibility of catalytic transformation in understanding and empathy (Colón-Muñiz et. al, 2010). To achieve real growth and development, students must begin to engage with the limits of their current understandings.

Education abroad supports cross-cultural learning, but this must go beyond simply memorizing details about a specific culture and instead create opportunities for developing complex modes of thinking, creating knowledge, and negotiating alternative frames of understanding (Mestenhauser, 2011). This includes coming to an understanding of how their own culture is one of many and gaining the ability to use the same methods of inquiry on the familiar as on the new. Two major developmental theories are often used for understanding such student growth in education abroad: self-authorship theory and transformative learning.

The first theory, Baxter Magolda and King's learning partnerships model for promoting self-authorship, looks at development in three key areas: epistemological, namely coming to understand "knowledge as complex and socially constructed" (2004, p. 41); the intrapersonal, in which the role of self is understood as central in the creation of knowledge; and the interpersonal, the importance of understanding that knowledge is mutually created in cooperation with peers (Baxter Magolda & King, 2004). This model is premised on a constructivist paradigm

that posits that experiences are translated into meaning through the interpretation of the experiencers and developed over time (Baxter Magolda et. al, 2012). Because of the role of the person in creating knowledge, their own characteristics, socialization, and mental methods of making meaning all come to play in shaping their interpretation of their experiences. Learners develop their understanding over time, moving through three phases in each of the principle areas (Baxter Magolda & King, 2004). At first, they rely on externally defined definitions, then they move into a crossroads stage in which they begin to evaluate their knowledge and the relationships between self and others, and finally they progress to the self-authorship stage that is the understanding of contextual meaning and capacity to engage in the construction of self and mutually authentic engagement with others.

Achievement of higher levels of development is not guaranteed, but interactions abroad and with diversity on campus has been shown to support student improvements (Barber, King, & Baxter Magolda, 2016) and the Phase I findings of the GLOSSARI project found a powerful link between study abroad and knowledge of cultural relativism (Sutton & Rubin, 2004). The learning environment, including the expectation of the educators and students, is important for fostering development and students have been found to be increasingly involved in their own development process as they move toward self-authorship (King et al., 2009). In the early stages of progress, scaffolding and ongoing challenges in each of the three key areas has been successful in supporting students development (Baxter Magolda et al., 2012), while those from marginalized backgrounds have been shown to develop toward self-authorship sooner than those from majority groups, likely due to an earlier need to negotiate self in the context of conflicting outside messaging (Barber et al., 2016; Pizzolato, 2003). In the context of education abroad, students in initial stages have been found to avoid engaging with those who are different and

focusing on commonalities in lieu of acknowledging diverging perspectives, but as learners moved into crossroads and self-authorship stages they were able to engage in increasingly complex models of understanding cultural differences (Perez et al., 2015). Yet in all of these contexts, three principles were instrumental: validating the learner's ability to know, situating the learning in the experience of the learner, and building an understanding of meaning as constructed through interaction with others (Baxter Magolda, 2003).

Another common developmental theory applied to education abroad, transformative learning, relies on the experience of the disorienting dilemma, wherein the learner encounters a way in which their existing understanding of the world is insufficient to deal with a new situation (Mezirow, 1991). This challenge forces the learner to confront their existing viewpoint, ultimately coming to incorporate a new way or understanding. This draws on the ways that knowledge has been negotiated through a lifetime of interactions with others, acting and receiving feedback through the dialectical process that Berger and Luckmann titled the Social Construction of Reality (1967). Through years of continual negotiation that which is socially constructed becomes reified into a form of life-world that seems an external unchanging truth, necessitating the sudden shock of the disorienting dilemma to unveil the forgotten subjectivity. Modern life offers more opportunity for interactions with different ways of understanding the world than the idealized village life of the past (Berger et al., 1974), with interactions available in person, the media, and online. The plurality of life-worlds gives the modern person increasing access to a variety of roles and toolkits of possible actions (Coser, 1991). However, these experiences are not badges to be won, but creations in process built on strings of experience (Luckmann, 2008). These socially constructed life-worlds are situated in a stream of time and

consciousness, to be created, destroyed, and remade anew as part of continual ongoing interactions.

This process of creating an understanding from embodied existence in the world begins before we know enough to recognize the process is happening. Through these affective experiences, a person uses their sensory-motor system to encounter the world, and to create an understanding of how their body functions and interacts with the reality around them (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005). The brain builds up networks of neurons, mapping connections and commonalities, creating abstract concepts that can be used to categorize and understand interactions. At the most basic level, these abstractions, called cognitive primitives, are structures developed in very early childhood to form the basis for understanding "visual perception, motor action, and mental images" (Lakoff, 2012, p. 775). The schema for distinguishing in-out stems from an understanding of the body as separate from objects around it, an idea first formed as a baby exploring the interactions with food and other objects in relation to one's own body (Johnson, 1990). Cognitive primitives expand with exploration to include increasingly complex concepts, such as those related to spatial interactions and force. Different parts of the brain interact to link multiple schemas into interactions of higher understanding, such as how to move one's own body by combining topographic maps of space with knowledge of controlling muscles in space (Lakoff, 2014). Primary schemas also bring entailments of knowledge; for example, when using in-out schema the state of inside is transitive, so if a person is inside a room that is inside a house, the person is also inside the house (Johnson, 1990).

Such primary schema can then further combine, becoming process schema that outline the combination of multiple actions (Lakoff, 2012). The process schema for Purposeful Action presupposes concepts of there being a state before an action, some number of actions done to

change that state, checking for the change to be complete, and a final state of completion (Lakoff, 2014). In this way, the collection of these many schemas into a process schema creates a neural gestalt, wherein the combined whole is more easily understood than each part separately. Indeed, all higher level thinking builds from such basic embodied learning: the physical experience of learning to balance as a small child is foundational to an abstract concept of balance, which we later can use to understand visual balance, color balance, equilibrium, legal balance, and mathematical balance (Johnson, 1990). Each of these forms of balance is assumed to have the same entailments of symmetry, transitivity, and reflexivity. Indeed, cognitive science has shown that the neural connections of these schema are identical, so when used these bound neural circuits fire in identical patterns (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005; Lakoff, 2014). Balance is balance is balance.

Then before a person is able to create deep understanding, they must first experience affect. These embodied experiences are the fundamental input, stimuli to be translated to the meat of the mind and from there into the abstracted understanding (Massumi, 2002). Affect is the most basic level of sensation itself: before language, before schema, and even prior to the categorization of an emotional reaction (Appuhamilage, 2018; Massumi, 1995; Trigg, 2014). The wind on a face and the drop of a stomach on roller coaster are types of affective experiences, the concept itself built on Spinoza's description impact to the body (de Spinoza, 2018). Deleuze further detailed affect as the transition of the body from one state to another, a state of being affected (Dawney, 2013).

As we have seen, the student development theories of self-authorship and transformative learning are dependent on the creation and change of schema, which are themselves constructed

through this embodied affect. In order to nurture such growth then, place and people are a critical form of input for a learner.

Affective Places

Education abroad is predicated on the assumption that there is value in traveling to a new location to learn. Researchers Urry and Larsen described the value of tourism as stemming from "a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 15). Tourists, they argued, are going abroad to interact with unique attractions such as wonders of the world, objects and places that serve as examples of a particular culture, unfamiliar versions of familiar ways of living, and objects that have been given an extraordinary status by signs such as a rock labeled as being from the moon. Students choose to study abroad for similar reasons, including seeking the novelty of a different place and the experience of "actually being" in that new location that can subsume them into a feeling of awe (Thomas & Kerstetter, 2020, p. 109). However, within common tourist destinations, visitors are often served what they have come to see: locals intent on meeting the needs and expectations of the income-bearing travelers create front-stage performances and limit access to authentic back-stage experiences (Urry & Larsen, 2011; Goffman, 1990).

Places are also social constructions, with participants who share a space for a time creating joint knowledge and history of that location (Tuan, 1975). Berger and Luckmann argued that a socially-constructed reality is created in three phases: primary socialization starting at birth, secondary socializations as an individual interacts with new facets of their original context, and transformative interactions with another reality that bring to awareness the subjective nature of a reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Primary socialization can be equated with the schema developed in early childhood, while the secondary socialization would happen when interacting

within fields closely related to that starting point. Transformative interactions, on the other hand, are closer to the disorienting dilemma of Mezirow (Mezirow, 1991), where the existing tool kit of understanding and potential actions unsettle and open up the necessity of new ways of knowing and doing (Swidler, 1986). The destabilization of a subjective reality is not an easy experience, and as such people are usually inclined toward acting in a way that supports the maintenance of their existing understanding. But, while spending time in a place does not guarantee the creation of knowledge of a place, it is often a necessity in order to experience context (Tuan, 1975) and negotiate such profound shifts in reality.

Again, place is both a geographic and social construction. In order to understand the other, we must give attention to them, drawing our mind to observe and interpret (Schütz, 1967). While abroad, people come together in combination with the time and materials of place to create temporary assemblages, with action emergent from the combined trajectories of the included pieces (Marcus & Saka, 2006). These elements combine, divide, and recombine, continually creating configurations of differing assemblages (Nail, 2017), polychronic intersections of the past and present (Hamilakis, 2017). Each combination is an opportunity for the development of new socially constructed realities for the constituent parts. Experiencing affect together is a transformative interaction, whether in the silences and the awkwardness of a tightened posture of reflected trauma (Appuhamilage, 2018), the shifting atmosphere of a playground between children playing in the day and men of unknown motive at night creating and recreating overlapping experiences of place (Simm & Marvell, 2015), or the emergent assemblage of bodies emerging on a dance floor (Gilbert, 2013).

These deep interaction with place and people over time, creating experiences that allow for a continual affect that can reshape existing schema, are critical for student development. A

virtual study abroad program may bring together some elements of a typical study abroad program, such as the student, international interaction, and some elements of a cultural curriculum. However, these virtual experiences are divorced from the affect of existing in an international space and limited in impact both by time and easy escape to the field of a student's primary socialization. Instead of being able to serve as a substitution for in-person study abroad, a virtual study abroad program must be acknowledged as creating another type of assemblage entirely, one shaped by the technology that enables it.

The Danger of Hyperreality

By separating embodiment from education abroad, we risk creating the illusion of a learning experience. In marketing virtual study abroad as a substitute for in-person experiences, we further risk a shift from valuing the learning and development that can come from the programs to instead selling the symbolic power of education abroad as signaling adherence to a global liberal ideal. This is the process of shifting from a reality to a hyperreality, wherein rather than valuing the experience we create value for a simulacrum of the experience (Baudrillard, 1981; Wolny, 2017). With the shift to a consumer perspective on higher education, education abroad has already struggled with the commodification of the global experience (Zemach-Bersin, 2009), with balancing student desire for the benefits of being abroad but distaste for the discomfort of existing in differing ways of living (Ogden, 2008), and with encouraging respectful engagement in the reality of a place that may differ from student expectations (Ramírez, 2013). In fitting with this paradigm of serving customers, satisfaction surveys have often served the purpose of assessment (Sutton & Rubin, 2004). Then instead of troubling a student with dealing with the inconveniences of international travel, the so-called virtual study

abroad offers the opportunity to directly translate money into credentials that can be displayed on a transcript and a resume or curriculum vitae.

To shift schema, students need both support and the opportunity to act freely and encounter disequilibrium, acting outside of their comfort zone, exploring new behaviors, and continuing to encounter the intercultural other in non-classroom spaces (Engberg & Jourian, 2015). But in virtual study abroad, intercultural interactions are enabled through the lens of technology with only the affective inputs of sight and sound, which is molded by a curriculum intended to structure intercultural learning. As society moves increasingly online even in the era before COVID-19, communication is invisibly shaped by the format of the technology. Boyles described unintended problems stemming from the increasing usage of technology in education:

> Relationships that used to be recognized, if not valued, as fundamentally messy, human, and unquantifiable are regimented, sanitized, and surveilled. The myriad ways in which both professors and students are "held accountable" first and foremost not to each other as human beings engaged in authentic relationships, but rather to the online platform that subsumes the "instructor of record," whom students may well never actually meet, are illustrative of the power of automatism in current schooling. (Boyles & Kline, 2018, pp. 60-61)

In creating programs that mediate interaction through educational technology, the international other is in danger of becoming nothing more than a simulacra. That messy whole self can then be deconstructed and filtered down into a marketable online format, able to be disconnected at any time so that the educational consumer may return to a comfortable existing life-world. Instead of creating assemblages with a person with past and present, the intercultural other becomes a service to be dialed up.

Opportunities for Virtual Study Abroad

Returning to education abroad as a means of topical learning, it is in these focused purposes that electronic interactions with the international other in a time of limited travel serves as an effective addition to traditional education abroad programs. First, one of the most significant problems with education abroad programs happens when students are unprepared for their experiences, in some cases leaving with little more than a vague idea of their destination's culture and history (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Structured support and reflection is a critical element for effective engagement with a new culture (Engberg & Jourian, 2015), and pre-departure meeting others and beginning to engage with a specific named local or locals could serve as an important step toward decolonizing education abroad programs (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Such programs could be designed to encourage ongoing contact beyond just single hours of class, perhaps through social media platforms in order to encourage as much transformative interaction as possible. Tellecollaborative exchanges have been shown to be helpful for language improvements in preparation for time abroad, especially for learning dialect forms that help with initial integration (Godwin-Jones, 2016). Small groups of ongoing interaction may encourage the creation of and investment in assemblages, creating more opportunities for shared emotion and affect. Continued contact after return would extend the conception of education abroad participants being an ongoing member of a global community and discourage students from shoe boxing their time abroad as completed accomplishment. Further, the transition between online engagement with the local offline engagement with the larger culture abroad, and then returning to online interaction with the same local would further offer an opportunity to explore how the local is a member of but not the sole representative of their community (Doerr, 2013).

Entirely virtual programs can also offer an opportunity to open access to international collaboration to those who may otherwise experience financial or other barriers to education abroad. Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL) as created by the State University of New York (SUNY) is an example of an entirely virtual approach that incorporates geographically distant participants in coursework (Guth, 2013). It should be noted that the outcomes the COIL model focus on course-specific learning outcomes and building cross-cultural communication skills, rather than student development process. As such this type of virtual engagement would serve well as part of a wholistic curricular approach, especially if mapped with in a particular learning environment (Haupt & Ogden, 2019). However, such programs cannot serve to replace education abroad program for historically underrepresented groups as inclusion means offering underrepresented students the best possible course of study (Hamir & Gozik, 2018), so continuing to expand access to education abroad must remain the primary goal.

Conclusion

Education abroad is inherently disruptive, leading to new ways of thinking and new paths (Brewer et al., 2019). Through participating in programs abroad, students are challenged to engage in transformative interactions, moving from primary socializations into the challenging work of developing new schema. This process requires an intentional and long-term engagement with the affect of people and place. While virtual study abroad can bring opportunities for enriching education abroad programs, we must be careful to recognize both the limits of virtual affect in supporting student development and the danger of reducing education abroad to a commodified simulacra. As such, it critical that the field of education abroad continue to work

toward maintaining the in-person embodied experiences necessary for authentic, respectful, and impactful engagement abroad.

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CHAPTER 3. MAKING MEANING OF THE JOURNEY: METAPHORIC FRAMING OF STUDY ABROAD

Abstract

This study explores the figurative language used by program providers to frame education abroad programs. Understanding novel embodied experiences such as those during study abroad relies on a combination of previous experiences and expectations based on outside information. Promotional language makes use of conceptual metaphors that are rooted in schema and include unstated entailments. By analyzing the figurative language used in marketing and advising language on education abroad program provider websites, this study identifies underlying assumptions inherent to these descriptions. Implications of these practices and uses for further developing such writing as a first step for the educational journey are included.

Making Meaning of the Journey: Metaphoric Framing of Education Abroad

Engaging with the new and unfamiliar is one of the goals and challenges of study abroad (Engberg & Jourian, 2015). Study abroad students seek the opportunity to live in a state of awe from being in a novel context (Thomas & Kerstetter, 2020). Travel is valued because of a perceived difference between an ordinary setting and an extraordinary one that is worth the expense, time, and effort of seeing the location in person (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Signs and symbols are the means by which a person is able to tell when they have crossed over from their regular life (Schutz & Luckmann, 1983). The extraordinary includes seeing unique and potentially famous objects, landscapes and buildings that represent a certain cultural setting, unfamiliar versions of familiar objects, and ordinary lives being lived in unfamiliar contexts (Urry & Larsen, 2011). This disorienting dilemma when a learner encounters contexts where

their existing frames for understanding and action do not suffice opens the opportunity for transformation (Mezirow, 1991).

These interactions cannot exist in a vacuum, both the traveler and the local community bring their own experiences and understandings that influence these events. Raising awareness of education abroad opportunities is needed to connect students with opportunities that with their needs, including identifying fitting target populations, and promoting the timing and costs of programs (Lukosius & Festervand, 2013). But in bringing this new information to students, the framing of marketing becomes a type of hidden curriculum, one in which students learn lessons that may not have been openly intended (Ficarra, 2017). Common photograph styles used for marketing education abroad depict participants using visual shorthand: jumping to denote fun and adventure, horizon-gazing for thoughtfulness and growth, and with arms wide to show celebration and openness (Miller-Idriss et al., 2019). Encoded information can also have negative connotations. Program titles can categorize areas of the world, labeling Africa and Latin America as locations in need of service learning in contrast to the fine arts and possibility of Europe (Ficarra, 2017). Using expected imagery of locations can reinforce Orientalist biases (Mukherjee & Chowdhury, 2014) or further reinforce mental separations between participations and the inconveniences of being abroad, further reinforcing colonial behaviors (Ogden, 2008).

Such critiques of education abroad, often based in Critical Discourse Analysis, identify structural issues with marketing and advising. To compliment such work, I seek to further explore how marketing and meaning making intersect, how embodied experiences are the foundation for figurative language, and how the usage of metaphoric language includes complex entailments that interacts with social context to influence meaning making. This foundation then supports an analysis of education abroad marketing metaphors and other figurative language to

identify schema and related entailments currently in use by education abroad program providers. Finally, I identify potential issues with the implications of such figurative language and potential uses for figurative language as a part of a comprehensive curriculum.

Education Abroad

In the school year 1985-86, approximately 50,000 students from the United States studied abroad according to the Institute of International Education (2001), and by 2018-19 that number had grown to 347,099 (Institute of International Education, 2021). For purposes of this article, study abroad is used to describe programs located outside of the U.S. in which post-secondary students take classes for credit but are not seeking a degree from that institution. While the term study abroad is defined by The Forum on Education Abroad (n.d.) as requiring that such credit result in progress toward an academic degree, determining whether credits obtained on programs are used in this way is beyond the scope of this project. The term education abroad is used to include both study abroad and internship abroad programs. Programs that are primarily focused on volunteering, employment, or mission work are not included in this examination.

Student Development

Study abroad is predominantly an undergraduate activity, with 90.6% of participants in 2019-2020 reported to be in this designation (International Institute of Education, 2021). The Learning Partnerships Model describes how over time people move from externally defined meaning making to recognizing the role that interactions between the self and other play in creating knowledge (Baxter Magolda & King, 2004). This self-authorship stems from learners engaging with the complexity of knowledge in the epistemological, intrapersonal, and interpersonal areas. Scaffolded learning through coursework and practices such as education abroad offered create opportunities for Developmentally Effective Experiences (DEEs) such as

"encounters with diverse others" and the "necessity to rethink perspectives due to tragedy of intense personal challenge" (Barber et al., 2016) that support the creation of dissonance necessary for examinations of previous assumptions. However, while contexts such as experiencing identity and relational dissonance can lead to the development of self-authorship (Pizzolato et al., 2012), Kegan estimated that between one half and two-thirds of adults have not reached the stage of self-authorship (Kegan, 1994).This makes the role of study abroad as a high-impact practice that can support the development of self-authorship valuable (Haupt & Ogden, 2019), and also highlights the likelihood that for undergraduates an understanding of what study abroad is can be heavily indicated by outside influences.

This mechanism for gaining insight and agency in meaning making overlaps with Mezirow's Transformative Learning Theory. Under this framework, the disorienting dilemma in which a learner is confronted with a situation that their previous means of action are not suited to handle, leading to a profound shift in perspective (Mezirow, 1991). This experience must be carefully framed in order for positive change to occur, the discomfort should not be caused by trauma and instead paired with support (Taylor & Baker, 2019). Through this process, the frames of reference by which a person understands the world can be challenged and changed, opening up opportunities for Freire's emancipatory learning and future action (Rennick, 2015).

Both models recognize the role that others play in creating an understanding of the world. The social construction of reality model includes three stages: externalization of internal understandings; objectivation, in which aspects of life are imbued with subjective and jointly negotiated meanings; and internalization, when these negotiated meanings are reinjected (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). A reality cannot be created and maintained by an individual: the life-world is created and maintained through social processes (Berger, Berger, & Kellner, 1974). While

modern life-worlds are increasingly complex, existing concepts of the world within these overlapping realities often developed early enough in a life that individuals have no memory of the primary socialization that is the creation and reification of their reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Wuthnow et al., 1984), leaving disorienting dilemmas and other high impact learning as critical tools for learning and development.

Yet in beginning to be challenged by these disorienting dilemmas, students who are still dependent on external meaning making are likely to fall back on a combination of their own experiences and the meanings being presented to them.

Meaning Making

Education abroad offers the opportunity for interaction with the new; to wrestle with understanding and reacting to extraordinary experiences; and opening the opportunity for participants' awareness and adoption of values, attitudes, behaviors, and norms (Paras & Mitchell, 2020). Meaning making is a complicated process, one in which embodied experiences and the tools of understanding interact dialectically with those around us to negotiate an understanding.

Affect and Place

In order to develop understanding, a person must first experience affect. Embodied experiences are the fundamental input, stimuli to be translated to the meat of our minds and from there into the abstracted understanding (Massumi, 2002). Affect is the most basic level of sensation itself: before language, before schema, and even prior to the categorization of an emotional reaction (Appuhamilage, 2018; Massumi, 1995; Trigg, 2014). The wind on a face and the drop of a stomach on roller coaster are types of affective experiences, the concept itself built

on Spinoza's description impact to the body (de Spinoza, 2018). Deleuze further detailed affect as the transition of the body from one state to another, a state of being affected (Dawney, 2013).

Physical settings can influence the perception of affective experiences, such as the location of an art exhibit influencing the reaction of viewers (Ayling-Smith, 2019) or open-plan classroom designs simultaneously encouraging playfulness and echoing the sharp voice of a teacher (McPherson & Saltmarsh, 2017). Deliberate and long-term engagement with a place can draw out more complex experiences, with participants being able to recognize and interpret their experiences increasingly in context, and group membership can also contribute to shared assessment (Simm & Marvell, 2015).

Schema Development

Affective experiences and the interpretations of emotion form the basis for deeper and more abstract, but fundamentally embodied, understandings of the world around us (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). At the most basic level, these abstractions, called cognitive primitives, are structures developed in very early childhood to form the basis for "visual perception, motor action, and mental images" (Lakoff, 2012, p. 775). Cognitive primitives expand with exploration to include increasingly complex concepts, such as those related to spatial interactions and force. Different parts of the brain interact to link multiple schemas into interactions of higher understanding, such as how to move one's own body by combining topographic maps of space with knowledge of controlling muscles in space (Lakoff, 2014). Primary schemas also bring entailments of knowledge; for example, when using in-out schema the state of inside is transitive, so if a person is inside a room that is inside a house, the person is also inside the house (Johnson, 1990).

Such primary schema can then further combine, becoming process schema that outline the combination of multiple actions (Lakoff, 2012). The process schema for Purposeful Action presupposes concepts of there being a state before an action, some number of actions done to change that state, checking for the change to be complete, and a final state of completion (Lakoff, 2014). Multiple schemas also combine to create frames, or functional clusters that group concepts and parameters to create wholistic understandings (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005). In these ways, the collection of these many schemas creates a neural gestalt, wherein the combined whole is more easily understood than each part separately. Indeed, all higher level thinking builds from such basic embodied learning: the physical experience of learning to balance as a small child is foundational to an abstract concept of balance, which we later can use to understand visual balance, color balance, equilibrium, legal balance, and mathematical balance (Johnson, 1990). Each of these forms of balance is assumed to have the same entailments of symmetry, transitivity, and reflexivity. Indeed, cognitive science has shown that the neural connections of these schema are identical, so when used these bound neural circuits fire in identical patterns (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005; Lakoff, 2014). Balance is balance is balance.

The existence of conceptual schema not only builds from affect, but it also influences the experience as well. Lupyan (2017) found that study participants were able to recognize blurred letters more easily when arranged in meaningful words than in pseudowords, demonstrating how expectation allowed the brain to fill in expectation of experience without participants realizing it had been done. Lupyan (2017) described this effect:

> To get a stronger intuition of the difference between the expectations-aiding-perception account and perceive-what-you- expect account, imagine expecting to taste milk, but taking a sip of orange juice instead. The resultant experience is not

> of tasting milk. Rather, it is of tasting orange juice within a prior expectation of milk–a phenomenologically distinct experience. (p. 803)

In another example, in Russian light blue and dark blue are distinct words, and speakers of the language were found to be able to more quickly identify these colors as compared to speakers of languages that do not distinguish the two colors as separate categories (Winawer et al., 2007). Architecture students were found to have preference for novel aspects of buildings as compared to general students' preference for typical examples, indicating that differing building schema caused students to experience the stimuli in different ways (Purcell, 1986).

Figurative Language

Metaphoric language draws on previous experiences, communicating correlations between past understandings and potential similarities with future experiences (Mezirow, 1991). Through embodied affective experiences, a person uses their sensory-motor system to encounter the world, and to create an understanding of how their body functions and interacts with the reality around them (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005). The brain builds up networks of neurons, mapping connections and commonalities, creating abstract concepts that can be used to categorize and understand interactions. Schemas drawn from embodied experiences form the basis for metaphoric thinking, using the experiences of the physical to create language that enables and constrains understanding of the abstract (Johnson, 1990).

This is evident in the consistent conceptual frameworks at the heart of figurative language such as metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Lakoff, 2012; Lakoff, 2014). For example, if we use the figurative phrases "The ship is coming into view", "I have him in sight", and "That's in the center of my field of vision" these carry meaning because of the shared idea that area of view is something that can include objects (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 30). All three

phrases are built on the conceptual metaphor, THE VISUAL FIELD IS A CONTAINER, which itself is built on a more primary understanding of objects being able to be inside and outside of something else. This in-out schema stems from an understanding of the body as separate from objects around it, an idea first formed as a baby exploring the interactions with food and other objects in relation to one's own body (Johnson, 1990).

As Lakoff and Turner explained: "Metaphors are conceptual mappings. They are a matter of thought, not merely language." What defines such mappings is the complexity of understanding, that entailments of structure, action, and value are linked to the experiences. Through the interaction between the experiences of the self and social feedback, reality is socially constructed and then reified, the means of origin ultimately forgotten (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). When encountering the unknown, schemas and expectations are tested to evaluate effectiveness and understandings updated appropriately (Mezirow, 1991).

Schema and linked conceptual metaphors then also serve as a hidden form of influence and power. Some forms of advertising seek to link positive affect from viewer's historical experiences to products as a means of influencing future impressions of products and thus purchasing decisions (Price et al., 1997). Marketing research has shown that consumers often rely on affective impressions of products in making decisions, and that positive affect increases memory retention. In the context of the unknown future, metaphoric language becomes means of connecting past experience to a possible future (Wyatt, 2004). In the same way that metaphors linking an early internet to an information superhighway brought in questions of how much the government should be linked to the creation of such infrastructure (Wyatt, 2004), commercialization of higher education has led to the concept of education as a product to be purchased and by extension the people and places as commodities (Zemach-Bersin, 2009).

The logic of metaphors is tied to underlying schemas, conceptual models of understanding the world. By linking concepts to schemas grounded in experience, the abstract becomes meaningful. Such powerful linkages become the means by which we interact and understand the world around us, while also serving as a means of influence.

Research Questions

When immersing into an education abroad program, students bring with them their own host of expectations and cultural baggage. Marketing, advising, and socially situated explanations of what a program is and should be for them form a complex and continually shifting lens through which students try to make sense of their experiences. In order to gain more insight into the ways that marketing and advising impact how students understand their experiences, the research questions for this study are thus:

1. What conceptions of education abroad are created by program providers and schools through marketing and advising practices?

2. What roles do social and geographic place play in the meaning making development process for students considering education abroad?

3. How might metaphoric language be interacting with embodied experiences to influence meaning making about education abroad?

Method

This research is based in the constructivist model of grounded theory as outlined by Kathy Charmaz (2006). In contrast with earlier grounded theory that relied on post-positivist perspective, this more recent method acknowledges the role that the researcher plays in cocreating knowledge through the process of engaging with the data (Mills et al., 2006). The research questions shape the initial methods of data collection and initial analysis, but an

emergent analysis defines the direction of the ongoing inquiry (Charmaz, 2006). This is a dialectical process, in which the researcher and the data interact to create a social reality specific to an individual research process (Hallberg, 2006). Systematic metaphors and their related underlying thought patterns are temporary alignments within a discursive environment (Cameron & Maslen, 2010), in this case between the marketing language of the education abroad program providers and the reader within a given cultural setting. It should be noted that my perspective is that of a returned study abroad student and education abroad professional, which overlaps but cannot be said to reflect all or even most possible perspectives from potential study abroad students, even those based in the U.S. Yet it is through these first steps of exploration that a foundation for understanding current practices and future research on the interaction between the figurative language and underlying schema becomes possible.

Data Sources

This textual analysis focused on analyzing the conceptual metaphors used on websites of prominent education abroad provider organizations. To select these providers, I consulted the list of organizations that have been found to meet the Standards of Good Practice for Education Abroad under the Quality Improvement Program (QUIP), organized by the Forum on Education Abroad (2020). This organization is recognized by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission as the Standards Development Organization for Education Abroad and offers this program as a voluntary assessment and quality improvement process. As such, undergoing this assessment indicates that such organizations are signaling their participation in the community of education abroad, and may be considered mainstream institutions for analysis purposes.

Figurative language is reliant on experiences, and factors such as language, experience, culture, political beliefs, and geographic origin can influence the understanding (Gibbs & Colston, 2012). In recognition of my own role in interpreting metaphors and the utility of identifying data sources with commonalities, I further limited the focus of the list to exclude educational institutions based outside of the U.S., those that do not widely serve students outside of their own degree-bearing institution, and those that do not offer programs outside of a limited geographic scope or offer fewer than five program options. Four organizations out of 23 met these criteria (Table 1), all third-party organizations that arrange study abroad options.

Table 1. Education Abroad Organizations Selected for Metaphor Analysis.

Program Provider	Number of Programs	Number of Countries	Program Regions	Headquarters	Years in Operation
Provider 1	210	21	Asia, Europe, Latin America, Pacific	Texas	25
Provider 2	31	5	Europe, Pacific	Massachusetts	50
Provider 3	285	12	Africa, Europe, Latin America	Arizona	25
Provider 4	188	29	Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America, Pacific	Texas	35

Program locations listed are data as downloaded in May 2021. The locations of offerings during actual terms may have been impacted by closures.

Drawing on the work of the Pragglejaz group (2007), I downloaded the content of 970 webpages from the four program provider websites to create a data corpus. I saved each webpage in PDF format to preserve the formatting and layout, noting the placement of the page in the site hierarchy. From the total possible program offerings, this data set is limited to include study abroad and internship abroad programs, excluding gap year, high school, or volunteer-only programs. I included the offerings for the spring 2022 (410 pages) and summer 2022 (318 pages) terms to cover a range of program lengths. In addition, I included all general pages on each site in order to include contextual framing of how education abroad programs are described. Next, I classified each file based on page type, provider, region of the world, term, whether the modality is physical or visual, length as short-term or semester, intended audience, and program experience.

Data Analysis

Analysis of the text consisted of a multiphase, emergent coding process to look for systemic metaphors used across a purposeful sample. Using the random number function in Excel, an initial sample was selected to include a similar breakdown of provider, region of the world, length, modality (Table 2), and page type (Table 3) as the full data set. Before starting the coding process, I identified provisional codes (Saldana, 2021) based on common travel, physical space orientation, and success metaphors that had been previously identified by researchers such as Lakoff and Johnson (2003) and Reddy (1979). During the first round of coding, I identified metaphors and other figurative language such as analogies and metonymy as in vivo code analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2021). Due to the focus on figurative language, I did not require that each line be coded, but instead coded words and phrases holistically as applicable in order to include the authentic terms for further analysis in subsequent passes (Saldana, 2021).

Table 2. Comparison of Data Corpus and Sample, by Provider, Region, Term, & Modality.

Category	Label	Data Corpus		Sample	
		Number of Documents	Percentage of Corpus	Number of Documents	Percentage of Sample
Provider	1	188	19%	14	24%
	2	96	10%	15	26%
	3	388	40%	12	21%
	4	298	31%	17	30%
Region of the World	Africa	23	3%	3	8%
	Asia	33	4%	1	3%
	Europe	558	67%	17	47%
	Global	16	2%	2	6%
	Latin America	156	19%	8	22%
	North America	2	0.24%	1	3%
	Oceania	51	6%	4	11%
Length	Semester	404	55%	18	62%
	Short-Term	327	45%	11	38%
Modality	Hybrid	7	1%	1	3%
	Physical	714	96%	28	90%
	Virtual	25	3%	2	6%

Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding. Program locations listed are data as downloaded in May 2021. The locations of offerings during actual terms may have been impacted by closures.

Table 3. Comparison of Data Corpus and Sample, by Page Type.

Label	Data Corpus		Sample	
	Number of Documents	Percentage of Corpus	Number of Documents	Percentage of Sample
Academics	16	2%	5	9%
Financial	9	1%	2	3%
General Page	71	7%	8	14%
Health and Safety	12	1%	3	5%
Legal Page	9	1%	2	3%
Location Description	111	11%	6	10%
Program Page	729	75%	30	52%
Program Type	10	1%	2	3%

Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

I conducted three rounds of manual coding of the text using Nvivo 1.6.2. This resulted in 134 overlapping codes, including 18 provisional codes that were not found in the data set. I reviewed and grouped the codes, and then identified the most common larger categories for two additional passes to focus on the most common code categories for two more passes. The first focused on coding related to the journey metaphor and the second on container conceptual metaphors. Using axial coding, I continued separating and combining the provisional and in vivo codes, theorizing implied meanings and potential entailments. These rounds were an iterative process (Yu et al., 2011), continuing until I reached saturation as identified by significant ongoing overlap of new data with that already found (Charmaz, 2006).

Findings

Two interlinked metaphorical frameworks were identified: that of journey and multiple versions of container. From there, conceptual metaphors and related entailments were identified, such as STUDY ABROAD IS A JOURNEY and the linked usage of words like steps and tracks. Throughout this analysis, I will follow the formatting convention of identifying conceptual metaphors with capital letters, as used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Such systems of thought are not singular lenses of understandings, but complex and overlapping ways of framing study abroad. Through analyzing each metaphor in sequence, I explore the ways in which these marketing and advising metaphors define and intermingle to frame conceptions of education abroad.

Journey

One of the most common metaphorical frameworks used in education abroad marketing is that of a journey. Because international travel is moving from one place to a destination, the journey concept is in many cases literal. This can be seen in the usage of terms across the data corpus that describe the physical movement itself such as “destinations”, “arrival”, “visiting”, “pre-departure”, “embark”, “visits”, and “tour”.

This literal movement, grounded in embodied experience, is then expanded to form a means for understanding the abstract elements through the power of schema (Johnson, 1990). Reading about program options or talking to an advisor is sometimes described as “first steps”, expanding the concept of a journey from the physical movement from place to place to include the thoughts, understandings, and decisions surrounding the movement itself. Similarly, programs offer academic “tracks”: pre-established paths for moving through the abstraction of coursework. Programs include “orientation” programs that not only help participants to

"navigate" the physical space, but the cultural and social space as well. For one provider, a digital "passbook" includes instructions and digital resources used for program selection and travel planning. While this term overlaps with a literal passbook that might record transactions or a passport that is used to record visas and entry permits, the term is expanded to include usage related to include the research and decision-making steps as part of the journey. While the term "re-entry" is used to describe returning to the physical place of origin, the usage is often extended to include not just that geographic place but also a cultural or social place. The term "ambassador", which is used by one provider as a title for returned students engaging in outreach efforts, is another example of extending terminology. Under this title, returnees are not serving as diplomatic representative from one country to another but instead as a formalized representative from the program to their campus community.

The abstracted concept of a journey includes some common schemas. At the most fundamental, a journey requires the person who is traveling, a destination, and movement from a starting point to that destination. Other entailments are possible, but not required, such as route or itinerary, equipment used for movement, guides or helpers, and obstacles to be overcome. The usage of the three required elements and the inclusion or exclusion of optional concepts then gives us an opportunity to explore the implications of this metaphor in detail.

Students and Participants

When considering a journey, the center of the metaphor is the person who is undertaking moving from one place to another. Notably, the word traveler is used in the sample only twice, and only in quoting from language used by the United States Department of State for travel alerts related to COVID-19 restrictions. Additionally, the term tourist is used only to describe people other than the person who is journeying, such as "Students get to experience life in Kerry and

visit places most tourists never see." Instead, the person who travels is primarily described as either a student or a participant.

Notably, the journey metaphor is not being closely followed in this terminology, as terms such as traveler would be linked closely to the activity of traveling. Instead, the word student links the activity to study and the term participant links to participation. Further, while a traveler is defined by the action of traveling and a student by studying, at least in hope if not actuality, being a participant does not necessitate any action. Both actively participating and passively sharing in an experience suffice, and indeed a person need not even participate willingly to qualify to be termed a participant.

Movement and Action

Much of the language used to describe journeys is similarly passive. For example, this description promises movement through rather than any particular outcome: "Our journey will bring us through locations where famous movies such as Braveheart and PS I Love You were filmed." Many of the verbs that are used for the journey are similarly passive, describing participants as "experiencing" locations or excursions as "familiarizing" them with the location or culture. In some cases, the location itself does something to the participant: "Whether you trek through the sprawling city of Buenos Aires or the narrow trails of Patagonia, Argentina will grasp you with its vibrancy and beauty." Participants are serving as the object to be acted upon, rather than an actor themselves, the journey metaphor extended to include a force gestalt that acts upon a human object moving through physical and cultural space.

More actively, the word "explore" allocates the traveler agency in the travel, while leaving a goal or what might be learned open. What is to be explored includes cities, countries, and regions of the world. Other subjects include socially constructed aspects, such as cultural

landscapes; diversity; and the explorer's own self-identity. Time in an education abroad program, whether in-person or virtual, also offers the opportunity to explore a future career.

Words like "find" and "discover" are also more active, such as "Within the park you will find beautiful botanical gardens and more than 125 species of animals, among them birds, mammals and reptiles that have been rescued." These words also imply a discovery that is new, but such potential findings are already known to locals. This reveals an underlying colonialism inherent to this phrasing: "There's still time to discover the world, from Spain to Costa Rica to Italy!" Such phrasing supports a conception of American students as inherently more important and dynamic than the locals around the world (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Further, while such phrasing is used for destinations around the world, the implications are not universal. For 57% of the programs, this marketing is oriented toward citizens of what was originally a colony to travel to Europe, the site of many former colonial powers. Such wording has different implications in encouraging potential travelers to discover Spain as compared to discover Costa Rica.

Place

Most commonly, the destination described is that of a literal city, country, or region. The term "placement" is also used for housing, as well as internship and research programs. Through a placement, the person is put into a specific physical and social place. Excursions that are included in programs describe another type of journey: going out from the participant's regular program location and then returning to it.

Another type of placement is that of the vantage point, as seen in the conceptual metaphor VISUAL FIELD IS A PLACE. Once in this place, visitors can gain an understanding of the location, culture, history, and people of a location. This includes offering the ability to academically "focus" on topics, gain a "broader view of the world", as well as develop a "global

perspective". It is important to note that while arriving within the visual field is necessary in order to achieve these outcomes, there is no implication that leaving will cause those insights to be lost. Instead, this vantage point is one that is gained by visiting physically and then remains as a mental state. Ways in which study abroad has been linked to viewing locals as Other and interacting via a tourist gaze (Bishop, 2013; Hankin, 2021; Zemach-Bersin, 2009) are through this metaphor potentially supported.

Container

Conceptual metaphors can be either a specific or generic (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). The STUDY ABROAD IS A JOURNEY metaphor is specific, with specific source and target domains. In contrast, the container metaphor is a generic construction that can be applied in multiple ways and includes entailments with similar versatility.

Containers are a type of orientational metaphor, based in embodied experiences such as having an inside and outside of our own bodies, and are also an ontological metaphor, allowing objects to be defined as separate from that around them by the existence of a bounding surface (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). The bounding mechanism introduces a number of logical implications (Johnson, 1990). First, because something either is inside or outside of the defined object, this implies that a thing may either be P or not-P. Second, this dichotomy of state implies that if something is P, then it cannot be also not-P. Therefore, if something is not-not-P, it must then be in a state of P. Lastly, because containers can exist within each other, transitivity of metaphorical containers is logically possible as well. If object A is inside of object B and object B is inside of object C, then A must be inside C as well.

With these logical implications in mind, I turn next to look at three types of container metaphors found in study abroad marketing: PLACE IS A CONTAINER, LANGUAGE IS A CONTAINER, and ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER.

The "PLACE IS A CONTAINER" Metaphor

The first and most simple container metaphor used in the sample is LOCATION IS A CONTAINER. This is seen in descriptions of programs as located "in Costa Rica" or "in Grenoble". In following with the transitivity of containers, program locations may be located within a city, inside a region, which is itself inside of a country.

The dichotomy of containers means that terms such as "re-entry" are relying on an image of having left a space and then entering it again. If our place of origin is P, then when studying abroad we are experiencing not-P. By re-entering P, we are now experiencing not-not-P. This invites the question whether such descriptions might contribute to a sense of discontinuity between experiences that took place in a separate container location and their place of origin.

A second form of PLACE IS A CONTAINER is EDUCATIONAL UNIT IS A CONTAINER. This includes the physical boundaries of the university and the space within a class or classroom. Learning can take place either inside or outside of the classroom. One of the program providers uses the term "study center" to describe the location established for instructional and administrative purposes within a location. Academic programs or fields of study are another educational unit that serve as a container, such as offering program tracks "in the health fields". The root of the term internship comes from the Latin word "internus", meaning "situated inside" (Oxford University Press, n.d.). Careers are another container related to education abroad, as seen in discussions of "within the international education field" and learning that leads "into your future profession".

One mechanism for entering an educational unit is through the process of enrolling, as seen in the phrase “Students enroll directly in at least 1 course”. It is through formalized processes that aspects of one educational unit transfer to another educational unit: “Ultimately, each university will determine how ECTS credits will transfer into a student's degree program.” Again, this language represents classes and programs at a student’s institution of origin as separated from those at the institution abroad.

One other related use of the container construction is in TIMEFRAME IS A CONTAINER, which describes location temporally instead of spatially. This is seen in phrases such as “In the second term”, “a range of program options in spring, fall, and summer”, or “You may participate in the Spring + Fall OR the Fall + Spring sessions”. This construction also intersects with other containers, such as in this sentence describing a course: “Centered not only in the current status of the economy but also in the historical evolution of the country from 1939”, which situates the course content as being within both a state of economic being and temporal continuity.

The “LANGUAGE IS A CONTAINER” Metaphor

Another common conceptual metaphor is LANGUAGE IS A CONTAINER. This is most commonly used to describe programs or courses that take place “in [language]”. Classes are taught “in Spanish” and coursework can be taken “in French”.

The phrase “language immersion” expands this metaphor, moving from a non-specific container to one that implies that LANGUAGE IS A BODY OF WATER. A linked metaphor, CULTURE IS A CONTAINER, is seen with phrases like “within your host culture”. This metaphor also demonstrates a parallel CULTURE IS A BODY OF WATER metaphor with phrases such as “immersion into local culture”. Entailments of these liquid-based metaphors may

include a demarcation between a P state that is dry and a not-P state that is wet, a feeling of being completely surrounded, and perhaps support for concepts such as culture shock that could be linked to the idea of a sudden transition between states. One provider repeatedly reused wording drawing on the metaphor CULTURE IS A CAVE such as “Here you will delve not only into Spanish culture but Basque culture as well”. This carries similar separation, while offering potential entailments of depth and hiddenness, as well as the potential to be looking for resources or hidden treasure.

Language and culture overlap in usage, with the name of a language often serving to describe both. One program was described as offering “everything a student needs for complete Spanish immersion”, including availability of “courses in Spanish language and culture”. The description of this program in Valparaiso later clarified that culture courses could be taken in English, while the option also exists of “enrolling in Spanish language and culture courses”. This usage is a form of metonymy, where a part is referred to in place the whole, though it is not clear whether the language or the culture is considered to be the larger whole. Such substitution may imply a transitivity: that immersion in language necessarily results in immersion in the culture and vice versa. However, such equivalency has been shown to not be a universal link (Watson & Wolfel, 2015).

The CULTURE IS A CONTAINER metaphor also brings in implications of a dichotomy between cultures, including phrasing such as “intercultural competency skills” and coursework promising to help students “gain cross-cultural understanding”. Focusing on locations as central to their region opens causes issues of reductiveness (Bishop, 2013). The P or not-P conception runs the risk of minimizing awareness of the diversity of perspective and experiences within a culture, essentializing members of the community as automatically representative of others

within the cultural container. Further, such conceptions may ignore the cultural perspectives that study abroad students bring with them to their interactions in this space. While students may be immersed, the language does not specify if they are submarines (temporarily surrounded but distinct), washcloths (a one-directional absorption), or drops of dye (a bidirectional interaction) within the body of water.

The "ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER" Metaphor

Another area of conceptual metaphors is PROGRAM IS A CONTAINER. This can be seen in phrases such as "As a student in our program" and "10 spaces available in the winter program". Explanations of cost are framed around the question of "what's included", with most common answers including tuition, classes, housing, and pre-departure orientation. Excursions are an example of leaving a physical place while still being within the program container. The language around cost also uses this metaphorical structure, such as tuition being included in a program cost. Policy language outlines the logistics of entering and exiting a program container, as can been seen in the term "the final deadline to withdraw from any [provider] program". Gaining access to a program may be dependent on a previous status, such as the requirement that an applicant "be in good academic and disciplinary standing".

A more dynamic version of this container metaphor is ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER. For example, "the first step in planning", "be in direct communication", and "engage in collaborative and comparative analysis of the topics being studied" indicate activities that a person can take part in. Through participation, one enters the activity container: "participate in a hands-on research project" or "participating in a law internship abroad".

In fact, the level of passivity or activity of the term participant may partially depend on whether a person is a participant in a program or a participant in an activity. Imprecision in

metaphoric language is seen in other cases as well. Language around “Diversity, Equity & Inclusion” and “inclusive society” indicates a goal increasing access to a container without specifying whether presence in such containers would require separation from previous containers, inclusion of them within the new container through transitivity, or some other mechanism. The encouragement to “go beyond” specifies the action of moving outside a container without specifying what is being left.

Discussion

In this study, I analyzed the figurative language used by education abroad providers to identify common metaphoric constructions used in marketing for study abroad and internship abroad programs. Journey and container metaphors are used extensively, forming a framework for understanding the movement of students between physical and social locations.

In some ways, the messaging of these two types of metaphors are in conflict. The journey metaphor places the emphasis on the movement, while a container metaphor is defined by the demarcation between inside and out. In both metaphors, these providers are offering the opportunity to move through or enter physical or social locations. What both lack is much direction on the purpose or goal of education abroad.

Any language selected to describe programs will have varying levels of appeal to recipients. In this context, the figurative language used to frame these potentially novel experiences becomes important to conversations of access and equity. Study abroad can be seen as an opportunity to observe, interact, participate, or embrace a local culture (Streitwieser & Light, 2018). Differences in social and cultural capital related to diversity, class standing, gender, and major have been shown to correlate to students expressing an interest in study abroad (Salisbury et al., 2009; Sample, 2013). The ways in which aspects of programing are

characterized as matching student expectations and needs impact whether education abroad and specific programs seem appropriate for them. In this way, the goals and outcomes of an education abroad program are especially salient to consider. Language and culture are containers for immersion, but, likely because learning to speak fluently or become culturally competent are as much dependent on student action as program access, providers do not make such a promise. Curricular and career tracks are also opportunities, but again starting on a path does not guarantee reaching a particular destination. Entering the visual field, thereby gaining insights such as a global perceptive, are the closest to being promised outcomes. This is possible both because the vagueness of terminology (Vandermaas-Peerler et al., 2020) and because such a quality is as much a form of cultural capital as a specific skill. Through the usage of these metaphors, outcomes can be implied without being directly promised.

While linguistically having labels for locations, languages, and activities is necessary for communication, the dominance of containers may imply a clarity of geographic and social place that does not exist in reality. Indeed, wrestling with the ways in which place, language, and culture overlap and defy clear definition may be one of the most important opportunities in education abroad. Marketing of education abroad often paints locations and people as a product for sale, rather than a place and peoples to be engaged with humbly (Zemach-Bersin, 2009), a schema that describing programs as containers reinforces. This is further reinforced by the frequent use of the term participant, a label that puts the recipient of the marketing within the program without asking any effort in learning, communicating, or contributing to a local community.

Exploring such elements of a hidden curriculum brings up questions of what we should do with this information. Options range from making no changes, adjusting practices to attempt

to remove the usage of identified metaphors, eliminating marketing entirely, or bringing the elements that have been hidden into the open and using them more transparently (Martin, 1976). Indeed, by recognizing the constructions that are in use, possibilities open up for utilizing metaphoric language in deliberate ways to support more accurate and effective expectations of what an education abroad experience might be. The figurative language used in marketing and advising has the opportunity to communicate that education abroad is dynamic and active, or that it takes place in containers in a way that offers a depth of cultural understanding and perspectives on the complexity of intersectionality. Instead of creating expectations of shallow passivity, immersion can be described as a rich intermingling of cultures that creates continuity, both during and after the program. Goals can be more clearly elucidated and what actions are expected of a "participant" can be outlined. Though awareness of the implications of figurative language currently in use, humility and reflexivity on global education becomes possible. When approached with deliberate care, this language can be used as first steps for encouraging cognitive, physical, and affective understanding in the education abroad journey, from first steps to re-entry.

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CHAPTER 4. MEANING MAKING FOR IMMERSIVE LEARNING EXPERIENCES: THE KALEIDOSCOPE MODEL

Abstract

Learning is inherently linked to the meaning that learners make in unfamiliar contexts. Whether in physical settings such as a study abroad program or virtual learning classrooms, understanding of the new is built on previous embodied experiences mediated through schema. Tools such as metaphors and narratives allow for further abstractions, supporting higher reasoning, while also becoming means of discursive negotiation. Exploring such interactions requires acknowledging the complexity of circumstances, and the ways in which meaning is made both deliberately and reflexively, with what was socially constructed disappearing into a reified existence. The Kaleidoscope Model of Meaning Making is a bricolage of current research, incorporating embodied experience, affect, place, schema, cognitive structures such as conceptual metaphors, the social construction of reality model, and narratives. Significant work exists in exploring individual elements, which I use in creating an integrative framework for future analysis of these complex meaning making processes. Implications include the opportunity for further exploration of agency and structures of power in the meaning making process.

Meaning Making for Immersive Learning Experiences: The Kaleidoscope Model

Learning is inherently a process of experiencing the unknown, taking in that which has not been experienced before, and then making meaningful and thereby known. Our existing knowledge is both a framework of understanding and a kind of baggage that we carry, one that impacts how we interpret new experiences (Simm & Marvell, 2015). Meaning is made in the intersection between experiences and the experiencer, understandings built up over a lifetime

(Johnson, 1990; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Mezirow, 1991). However, this reality that is made is often not recognized as such (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Kegan, 1994). That which has been experienced becomes obvious, a way of being that seems to make sense in its familiarity. While abstractly we may recognize the differences of the world, it is through experiencing that we are able to truly understand. Berger and Luckmann (1967) described this, "I am conscious of the world as consisting of multiple realities. As I move from one reality to another, I experience the transition as a kind of shock" (p. 21). Through these experiences of disjunction between expectation and experience, new ways of understanding how reality is created become evident (Baxter Magolda, 2014) and new knowledge and skills are possible (Mezirow, 1991). In this context, understanding the ways in which learners make sense of new experiences is critical.

Study abroad programs are one example of a context for an immersive learning process, wherein experiencing the new can lead to new understandings (Simm & Marvell, 2015). Over the last few decades, there has been dramatic growth of such programs: during the school year 1985-86, around 50,000 students from the United States studied abroad (Institute of International Education, 2001), but as of 2018-19 that number had increased to 347,099 (Institute of International Education, 2021). Such programs offer opportunities for gaining knowledge and skills, as well as developing attitudes and dispositions (Vandermaas-Peerler et al., 2020). At the same time, there continues to be considerable debate over the intended outcomes, mechanisms, and success of learning in this context (Chwialkowska, 2020; Ogden, 2008; Streitwieser & Light, 2018; Sutton & Rubin, 2004; Twombly, 2012).

Study abroad is not the only way in which learners experience the new as a means of enabling education. The growth of virtual and augmented reality modality for education also brings a similar yet different type of immersive experience, wherein students learn in virtual

contexts that do not yet have the technical ability to fully reproduce reality (Al-Jundi & Tanbour, 2022; Marshall et al., 2019). Milgram and Kishino (1994) outlined a virtuality continuum with the real environment at one end and a fully virtual environment at the other, shades of augmented reality (AR) and augmented virtuality graduating though a mixed-reality middle. While this continuum was originally intended as a framework for visual displays, with the growth of technologies such as specific AR hardware to potentially ever-present social media presence on cell phones, this scale has become more useful for consideration of learning contexts from reality to virtuality. The term "immersive learning" is primarily used by virtual reality (VR) researchers, but for purposes of this writing, will be used to include both ends of the virtuality continuum to explain and illustrate learning contexts.

In this article, I first briefly outline two areas of theory and their gaps before outlining a framework for exploring meaning making in immersive learning experiences across the virtuality continuum. Through the Kaleidoscope Model of Meaning Making, I attempt to make sense of the dialectical relationship between embodied experiences, schema, the cognitive structures of figurative language, and narratives in novel educational contexts. At the conclusion of this article, I outline opportunities for potential expansion, exploration, and assessment of this proposed model.

Method

This article is a theoretical literature review that draws on a wide body of work to put forth one possible synthesis (Callahan, 2010; Torraco, 2005; Wilson & Anagnostopoulos, 2021). The Kaleidoscope Model is a framework intended to be used in part or whole for further analysis of meaning making in the developing context of immersive learning. Drawing on the theories, methods, and data of included primary research studies, this is a metasynthesis of the work that

can itself be used and evaluated for utility and validity (Bondas & Hall, 2007). The goal of this work is to propose a set of tools by which meaning making can be interrogated, one that enables a more comprehensive understanding than each of the component parts (Zhao, 1991).

This metasynthesis project is a constructivist work, recognizing the role that I as the researcher play in identifying, reviewing, and weighing the included works. As such, I note that I have been a study abroad student, administrator, and program leader. I have also been both a learner and instructor in virtual contexts. The assemblage of this model has come together over the course of over ten years, drawing on work across sociology and education primarily, as I explored the ways in which areas of theory support, overlap, and contradict each other. It is a journey through my own embodied experiences, an exploration of one way to make meaning by use of theoretical tools. It is an act of bricolage, attempting to recognize the complexity of making a reality without stripping the messiness of the act of meaning making over time (Kincheloe, 2005). It is a task of complexity, drawing on my own experiences and my interpretations of those experiences to attempt to reverse engineer the lens I use to interpret that understanding. It is an attempt to use the tools of meaning making to make meaning of that process.

Kaleidoscope Model of Meaning Making

The Kaleidoscope Model (Figure 1) is a model of the meaning making process in immersive learning experiences, one that includes the embodied affective experiences situated within geographical and social space. These inputs form the basis for conceptual schema and frames, which themselves are the foundation for cognitive structures of figurative language such as metaphors and narratives. As I will outline, this is a dialectical process: affect is the foundation for the schema formation that supports the cognitive structures and language, but

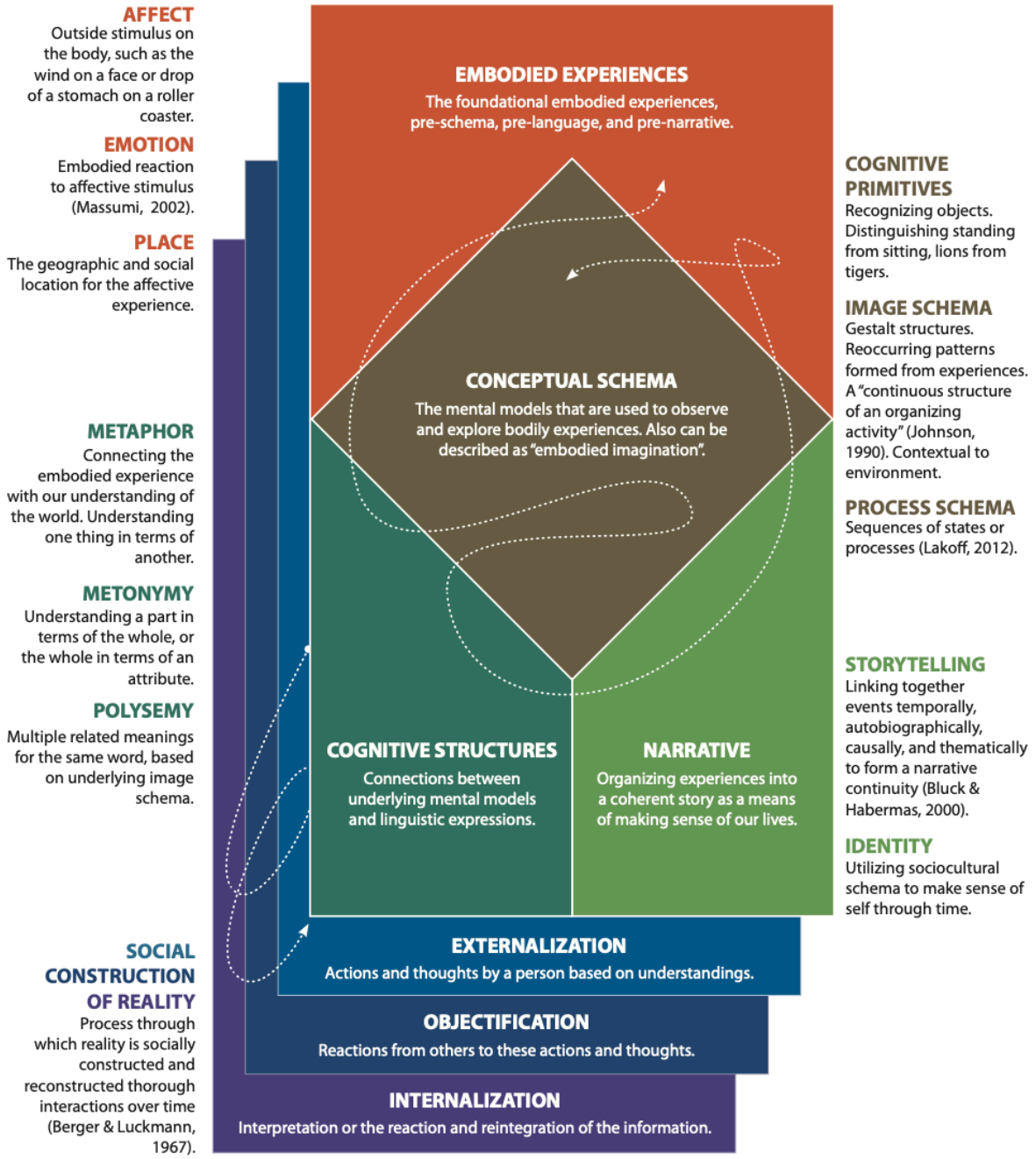

Figure 1. The Kaleidoscope Model.
Note: A conceptual framework for exploring how embodied experiences are interpreted through the lenses of figurative language and narrative as formed and mediated by conceptual schema.

narratives, cognitive structures, and schema also function as lenses by which individuals understand and interpret their affective experiences. Because of this ongoing interactive relationship, considering the process of meaning making on all four levels is important for addressing questions of both individual agency in this process and the ways that institutional and cultural structures enable and constrain this process.

Affect

Experiences are inherently complex, being made up of both bodily experiences and an understanding of these sensations built from a lifetime of learned mental models mediated though the agency of the individual. At the most basic level, the body is subject to external stimuli mediated through the senses (Forgas, 2001). This "affect" is an inherently slippery concept, existing as a pre-linguistic experience, one that can only be partially translated to a linguistic description (Appuhamilage, 2018). Affect combines the physiological reactions to the outside events and objects, creating a combined body and physical response where the line between the experience and personal reaction blur. Trigg explained that "'affect' can signify an unconscious, pre-discursive bodily response in quite precise terms: the beat of the heart; the rush of the blood to the face; the flow of tears from the eyes" (2014, pp. 5-6). In this way, affect can be considered a state of being (Hemmings, 2005), the degree of physical arousal (Holahan et al., 2019) or simply as the intensity of an experience (Massumi, 2002).

Affect can be experienced in many ways by a person, and various groups have different interpretations of affective experiences. For example, a study on the exercise experiences of 881 middle-aged and older women found a preference for positive/low arousal such being calm and peaceful, in contrast to previous research on younger women who showed preference for positive/high affect experiences such as being extremely happy, enthusiastic, and energetic

(Holahan et al., 2019). The researchers theorized that these differences support previous research showing a presence in this age group for low-intensity exercises such as walking. Art is another area heavily dependent on affective experience. Ayling-Smith (2019) described her reaction to seeing the textile piece "Mendings IV" in the exhibit titled *Trauma. Grief. Loss: The Art of Bereavement in 2015* as "I responded to it physically as well as emotionally. It certainly hit me in the gut, right at the heart of my being. It took my breath away, which made me breathe with shallow breaths, using only the top part of my lungs causing me to be physically still, and quiet, to contemplate it." (p. 5). One purpose of art, Ayling-Smith argues, is to communicate the affect of the artist to the viewer.

In a VR or AR context, affect is most commonly generated by remote or mechanical visual, auditory, touch, and kinesthetic inputs (Marshall et al., 2019). A range of research is being done on adding olfactory and taste experiences to virtual environments by chemical and electrical means (Skarbez et al., 2021), but visual, auditory, and haptic sensations remain the primary affective inputs (Al-Jundi & Tanbour, 2022). The fidelity of these inputs is dependent on such features as the field of view and frame rate for visual stimuli, sound latency and audio resolution for auditory, and the degrees of freedom and force of haptic feedback for touch. While an alignment between embodied sensations and virtual input is most commonly the intended result for the sake of verisimilitude (Slater & Sanchez-Vives, 2016) and to avoid unintended motion sickness (Martirosov et al., 2022), in much the same way as a roller coaster plays with the senses, deliberate usable of misalignment is sometimes used as well (Marshall et al., 2019). For example, sounds may be perceived to come from points of visual stimulation thereby impact perceptions of touch, such simulating a sense of crunchiness.

Affective experiences are considered in some schools of theory, such as those of Spinoza, Nietzsche, and Deleuze, to be inherently political (Gilbert, 2013). This is because affect is an embodied phenomenon, tied to the politics of the body. Appuhamilage (2018) used ethnographic research in Sri Lanka to explore how bodies "present knowledge (of trauma)-in-action (e.g., the way bodies shrink, expand, distance from, or come closer to other bodies)" (p.7). In talking with a woman named Padma about her missing husband in a previously war-torn area, Appuhamilage felt the bodily tension, the hands clasped around her waist, the woman's gaze on the road as she talked about how she hoped her husband would return along that route. In response, Appuhamilage felt her own throat choke and lean forward, sharing the bodily sensations that she described as bodily loud in moments of silence.

In a similar way, one Khmer family in Cambodia described the importance of dance to a family who had used amnesia of their autobiographical details such as their name and family history (Hamera, 2002). The parents who had lived through genocide by the Khmer Rouge feared even records of their story on tape recorders and as written notes because of the role those items had played in the purges. Instead, they used traditional dance as a means of transmitting an embodied experience of both their cultural history and the trauma of loss that transcended language. In another example, the modern dancer, Antonin Artaud, is noted for having expressed his experience with being involuntarily committed through a demonstration of the manic energy that he could share affectively with the audience (Blackman, 2011).

Emotions and Subjectivity

The word affect is sometimes used interchangeably with emotion (Gilbert, 2013), but theoreticians such as Massumi (2002) argue that the affective experiences should only refer to the intensity of the bodily experience and must be separated from the internal understanding and

value placed by the mind that is emotion. This is a fine distinction between the physical sensation and embodied reaction to the experience, in which the body reacts to a sensation as positive or negative, as helpful for survival or not, or by initiating useful sensations such as the flight or fight reaction (Adolphs & Damasio, 2001). In this model, affective experiences can be understood to be an objective embodied experience, with emotions the subjective interpretation.

The distinction between the objective and subjective can be further subdivided into epistemological and ontological contexts (Searle, 1997). Epistemological subjectivity might be better described as an epistemological judgement, as these kinds of statements are a manner of opinion with no single truth or falsehood possible. An example of an epistemological judgement is expressing an opinion about which of two artists is better at their craft. In contrast, a statement might be epistemologically objective if the statement could be considered a matter of historical fact that is independent of a personal opinion.

Ontological objectivity and subjectivity are related to the question of whether a participant is required for the existence of the phenomenon (Searle, 1997). The existence of a mountain does not require the existence of an observer (though arguably an observer might be necessary for a mountain to be defined as such), but a sensation of pain does. In that way, the mountain is considered ontologically objective, while the pain is ontologically subjective. The complexity of these distinctions stacks. One might make epistemologically subjective (judgement) comparisons between ontologically objective mountains, or epistemologically objective (fact) statements about pain that is ontologically subjective.

Virtual settings are similarly complex. Dreams and hallucinations are examples of non-digital virtuality, experiences that are not physical (Johnson, 2002). In order to have predictable reactions and causality, a computer-simulated place must be programmed with such functionality

(Soraker, 2009). While it can be argued that a VR is dependent on an observer to be a place (Yoh, 2001) (ontologically subjective), the physical existence of the technology that holds and generates the affective inputs of the place does not require an observer to exist (epistemologically and ontologically objective).

Within this system of distinctions, affective experiences are physical, requiring ontologically subjective participants experiencing the affect phenomenon in order to exist. Because basic affective experiences are not yet interpreted by the mind, they are observer-relative but not yet a matter of subjective understanding (Searle, 1997). Emotion is one of the fundamental means by which we interpret affective experiences (Massumi, 2002), making emotion the epistemological judgement of an ontologically subjective experience. Moods are a similar concept, considered to be long-term state rather than being a transitory reaction. Moods can impact the affective experience in a wide variety of ways, with a negative mood having positive impacts including improving memory retention (Forgas, 2013) and causing more attentive cognitive processing (Matovic & Forgas, 2018). Moods can also be understood as a resource: in a series of four studies, research participants in a good mood were found to be more interested in reviewing reliable feedback about their weaknesses as a learning goal, while those in a bad mood focused on affect-improving information about their strengths (Trope et al., 2001). Moods and emotions can also impact each other, with moods impacting the likelihood of certain emotions and strong emotions having the potential to become a mood (Forgas, 2013).

Affect researchers commonly reference six core emotions considered to be universal: “anger, joy, surprise, fear, sadness and disgust” (Wetherell, 2015, p. 143). However, the ideas of various emotions are inherently historically and socially located, with even the word “emotion” being popular within our current modern age (Trigg, 2014; Lakoff, 2015). Researchers propose

other terms to be used when discussing other historical contexts, such as feelings for research on Middle English literature and passions for usage by early modern scholars. Affective experiences, such that of art, are also impacted by the recollections and history of emotions (Ayling-Smith, 2019). One person's sensation of grief in the face of a particular piece of art is not the same as that of another.

Because of the role that emotions play in interpreting affective experiences, categorization of emotions is one way of controlling the experience itself. Wood et al. (2015) explain this idea, "We propose that humans developed the emotion language in large part to explain, control, and ultimately, inhibit, theirs and others' affective states." (p. 274). Some argue that emotions themselves are inherently a product of a social context (Young & Gilmore, 2013), making the question of where affect, emotion, and mood are situated an important consideration.

Place

The location where affect and related emotions occurs is an important aspect of the experience. At the most basic level, this means the physical setting of the affective experience, such as the architecture of a kindergarten being used to invoke a welcoming affect for students (Kraftl & Adey, 2008) or an open classroom design both enabling feelings of freedom and highlighting oppressive expectations (McPherson & Saltmarsh, 2017). The affect from art is also impacted by location:

> The way the work of art is shown in exhibition, whether white cube space, crypt, library, or derelict building, and the atmosphere or affectivity of the space will have an impact on the way the work is perceived and the reaction of the viewer. The curatorial vision of the way the concept of the exhibition is presented has the

> ability to change the way in which the work is able to connect with the audience. (Ayling-Smith, 2019, p. 8)

The space in which a person experiences the phenomenon is part of the affective input.

Travel and study abroad are a notable example of fields effecting an affect. Strong emotions have been shown to have a positive impact on an amygdala's activation for memory creation: emotional experiences are known to be related to sharp and vivid memories (Adolphs & Damasio, 2001). Traveling to encounter the unfamiliar is often a goal, with reactions ranging from excitement to overwhelmed (Simm & Marvell, 2015). Seeing wildlife in person or seeing a sunset over a famous canyon and feeling emotions of awe (Hicks & Stewart, 2019), using a touchscreen to learn more about names of those held at an internment camp (Sumartojo & Graves, 2019), or experiencing sensations of danger and fear while visiting the site of a natural disaster (Martini & Buda, 2018) are all examples of memorable affect made possible by travel.

The definition of place in an augmented or virtual sense is a complex one, bringing in questions about the difference between a virtual location created in a physical location using architecture or a visually identical one created with code and accessed through screens (Johnson, 2002). Place also brings in the questions of who is in the location to experience it. Affective inputs are separate from having a sense of an embodied self, which is dependent on features such as the representation of the environment and presentation of avatars to represent a self (Girvan & Savage, 2019). Imagination plays a critical role in bridging the gaps in sensory inputs and helping to support a sense of presence in virtual settings, supporting the translation from data stored in potential to being experienced by a person, the combination of the experience with a place and time creating an actuality (Yoh, 2001). Through the inputs of sense, combined with the imagination of the participant, AR and VR experiences can spark emotive responses in users.

A second difference between reality and virtuality is in the nature of agency and structures within the setting. While a person may be meaningfully limited in their choices by social and physical structures within a real environment (Giddens, 1993; Sewell, 1992), a range of options for action exist. Within a virtual environment, anything that can be programmed can be possible, and all options for action must have been actively created by programmers (Slater & Sanchez-Vives, 2016). Opportunities for action may range from extremely limited to offering options that do not exist within physical reality, such as flight without assistance of an airplane. The Reality-Virtuality Interaction Cube model is an expansion of the Virtuality Spectrum in the context of human robot interaction (HRI), adding dimensions for expressivity of a robot's model and the flexibility of control to better analyze the interaction between reality and virtuality modalities (Williams et al., 2019).

Shared Affect

Location means not only the physical geography, but also the social position as well. Affect is a relational phenomenon, in which the affect is created by the interaction between individuals and each other or objects (Wetherell, 2015). Bourdieu's concept of "fields" is a useful tool for defining boundaries (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Fields are relationally defined, existing as a space in which a set of people exist in a social relation while competing for some stake in their relative standing. A university classroom, an office, a religious organization, or athletes competing for a victory all have a shared set of expectations and behaviors (habitus) and goals to be vied for (capital). Fields can be overlapping and temporary, with individuals coming together to form fields and then moving away to other fields. Bike messengers that work within the fields of large cities have described their experiences of competing with cars and pedestrians for space to travel in notably affective terms: states of flow with in the busy

environment, the thrill of movement through traffic, and the danger of obstacles are all made possible by the physical and social field they work within (Kidder, 2011).

The immediacy of affect can also be considered in a pre-linguistic context of immediacy and temporality. One way this happens is that individuals can come together in the form of temporary assemblages (Fox & Alldred, 2015). These assemblages are usually an ephemeral experience that include people and objects, defined by a purpose of creating or doing something. Gantt-Shafer (2019) described how in 2017, the Million Women's March formed a kind of assemblage, in which intersectionality, affective experience, and emotion were used to create a coalition meant to achieve a protest purpose. Critical emotions that contributed to the formation of this assemblage included anger, disapproval, and hope. Chants and music served as centering points, creating a shared sense of purpose and changing negative emotion into what participants described as hope. However, while many of the study participants reported feeling solidarity, one African American woman recognized the fractured nature of the group, split along race lines, disrupting the shared experience, and causing a negative affective experience. Laughter is another kind of shared affect common in assemblages, one that Van Ramshorst (2017) found to be a valuable component and coping mechanism for Central American migrants to the US. Shared joviality served to reinforce the sense of a shared group identity and a shared hardship within experiences of individual hunger, fear, and boredom. In another example, Wacquant (2006) experienced how bodily knowledge is also transmitted through group practice, body-to-body, by synchronized drills at a boxing gym, motivated by a state of "collective effervescence" (p. 116).

Physically situated groups of travelers together may also be considered assemblages, such as tourists and hosts working in a tourism industry (Urry & Larsen, 2011), or more complex

groups such volunteers working with a local project. When assemblages form only within the group, the impact of the affect may be limited by a bubble effect (Simm & Marvell, 2015). Photography and social media are a means of sharing affective experiences with those who are not present in person, and growing internet access increasingly allows for such shared experiences to happen in the moment (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Awareness of the role of photography in representation and memory may also impact the affective experience in the moment, with travelers seeking the kinds of experience that they want to remember. The value placed on visual media may even cause travelers to forgo affective experiences that impact other senses, such as flavor, touch, or smell.

Social processes are significant for AR and VR learning environments as well. Embodiment in this context can be considered a combination of virtuality, place, and the human element of experience (Johnson, 2002). It is a matter of design whether a virtual place is private or shared publicly, a decision made for the purpose of the virtual space that may be at odds with the preferences of the participants (Girvan & Savage, 2019). Social and parasocial mechanisms that have been found to contribute to learning in a virtual environment include anthropomorphization, politeness, gestures, and relationships (Schneider et al., 2021). Elements of emotional design have been shown to improve learning retention (Mayer & Estrella, 2014), and a sense of embodiment from the environment and usage of avatars combined with the opportunity to communicate with other users creates collaborative learning and a sense of immersion (Girvan & Savage, 2019). In another experiment, researchers found that a sense of presence in a VR setting was associated with lower rates of cybersickeness, an outcome that is theorized to be linked to an environment taking attention away from other sensations of the body (Weech et al., 2020).

Planning may facilitate the creation of certain assemblages, but there is not a guaranteed outcome. Examining written reflections from a study abroad program in Barcelona, Simm (2015) found a recurring theme of the separation of self and other. Some students felt included in the local culture, describing their experience as welcoming, while others felt the sense of other leading to a feeling of perceived threat. Ongoing shifts in the make-up of an assemblage impacted the affect of locations, such as when the positive feeling of being a playground with children playing was later replaced with discomfort when students returned to find "very seedy men" (Simm & Marvell, 2015, p. 608).

When successful in integrating into a cross-cultural assemblage, students experience their time abroad differently. Seventeen university students were in Brussels, Belgium, when the airport was subject to a terrorist bombing and the leader, after ascertaining the safety of the group, took the opportunity to examine the experience of the students as they remained on-site (Gleye, 2017). One student described being part of a memorial, experiencing the range of emotion from the anger of youth, untranslated conversation having the tone of being at a wake, and coming to tears upon hearing a spontaneous chorus of the song *Hallelujah*. Most notably, another student described feeling unity: "I felt something in the air that cannot be transmitted over the internet or over television. I felt strength. The power of people coming together to look after each other and become determined to move on and become better is something that is indescribable" (Gleye, 2017, p. 22).

Further, the affective impact of locations changes over time as well. As students gained an affinity for the locations, they progressed in their understanding of place, noticing and experiencing the new location differently (Simm & Marvell, 2015). Returning to the United States, students who studied in locations with a higher cultural distance were more likely to feel

reverse culture shock affect such as being disconnected, and emotions such as irritability, distress, and boredom (Gray & Savicki, 2015).

In the virtual context, differences in available information impact the ways in which individuals interact with each other, demonstrating the utility of such affective input as facial expressions and touch (Slater & Sanchez-Vives, 2016). At the same time, virtual spaces like forums were identified as being opportunities for participants to more accurately share emotions, such as around gender identities, when such intimate information might endanger existing social realities connections (Trnka, 2021). A clinical psychologist discovered that control of virtual place can extend or, in an outcome she considered surprising and less than ideal, substitute for physical place in serving as a location for therapy. A virtual self, embedded in social contexts that may extend to the physical, can motivate actions within the virtual context, such as players of *gacha* games purchasing loot boxes to create and maintain an aesthetic assemblage (Woods, 2021).

Affect is the foundation for understanding, physical sensation that is interpreted by the one who experiences. These inputs are situated in place, both geographic and social. On such a base, an understanding is made and generalized as schema.

Schema

From physical experiences, we build up an understanding of the world around us, one that is inherently embodied (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Our eyes take in lights that varies in wavelength, which is then perceived by our retinas, and then processed by our minds. Early science considered colors to be intrinsic properties, but the development of physics led to the deeper understanding of light refraction. Today we understand that colors are a combination of the wavelengths of light, the reflection from an object, the environmental lighting surrounding

the reflection, the absorption by the cones in the eyes, and circuits of the brain that interpret the data (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). The wavelengths themselves are an ontologically objective reality, but the perception of color requires an observer to define (Searle, 1997). Colors appear differently in dusk than they do at noon, and it is through the mind that we are able to understand that the emerald, sage, lime, and olive are all shades of the color green (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

Fundamental categories encoded in neural structures, such as those related to sight, visualization, and spacial-motor functions, are called cognitive primitives or cogs (Lakoff, 2012). Cogs are developed early in life, as a child learns to initially interact with the world around them. Lakoff (2012) described cogs as including "structures like Source-Path-Goal, Containment (with Interiors, Exteriors, and Boundaries), Contact-Noncontact, Near-Far, Around, Along, Across, In Front Of, Behind, Beside, At, Toward, and so on" (p. 775).

Schema (plural: schemas or schemata) is another term used to describe these categories, with the exact definition of the term dependent on the type of research being conducted (Johnson, 1990). Schema theory may include definitions as expansive as objects, places, events, or even social fields. Early work in this field relied on the concept of prototypes, with schema defining objects that to greater or less degree might hold a similarity to the idea of their type (Purcell, 1986). For purposes of this model, I use the definition of schema that Mark Johnson introduced in his book *The Body in the Mind* (1990), which ties schema to the embodied experience. In this definition, schemas are neither specific truth statements nor limited to mental images of specific things. Instead, schemas are abstractions of embodied experiences, such as the mind taking the experience of having seen many faces and creating an abstracted concept of a face from which new faces may be recognized.

More complex cognitive structures include process schemas, which are understandings of how sequences of action are likely to occur (Lakoff, 2012). A process schema may include entailments such as starting state, actions, an expected outcome, and alternative possible results. Notably, any function of an item should be considered ontologically subjective because the idea of action and outcome is an observer-relative proposition (Searle, 1997). Such understandings might be considered the foundation for Bourdieu's concept of habitus, "systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72) that are not discrete systems of rules but ways of understanding and interacting within a particular social field. Bike messengers in New York learn to navigate by ignoring signals and instead watching the flows of traffic (Kidder, 2011). Wacquant (2006) described rewriting his bodily schemas in a boxing gym as an effort to modify his bodily schema from a reaction of showing pain to a reaction of hiding the pain and continuing to fight, even without conscious understanding of the decision to do so.

Schemas are a matter of investigation and imagination (Johnson, 1990). At the most fundamental level, understanding a thing requires the activation of the neural substrates used in experiencing the thing (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005). Our brains are able to move from the sensation of affect and transform the data into categorical gestalt structures, thereby making sense of the sensations of our body (Johnson, 1990). This is a richly rational process, building on what we have known to bridge the gap between body and mind to create conceptions of an embodied experience. These gestalt structures are as a whole more complex than the parts, Johnson argued, creating a rich mental map that becomes inherently linked with previous experiences and, as I will explore, tied to linguistic description.

Schemas bundle together into constructs called frames: a multimodal understanding of related semantic roles (Lakoff, 2014). Frames are functional clusters of the mind, in which

related schemas group together for a wholistic understanding, with imagined simulation of the concepts and grouped parameters (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005). The seeing frame is a conception that includes "The Viewpoint, The Viewer, Eyes, Light, The Directing of the eyes, The Act of Seeing, Things Seen, [and] The Gaze (the link from the eyes to the thing seen)" (Lakoff, 2014, p. 2). These frames are organized in the brain as domains and embodied neurocognition researchers have found that neurons link embodied experiences with schema and linguistic structures:

> From a neural perspective, the elements of a schema are neural ensembles (called "nodes"), linked together to form a "neural gestalt." A neural gestalt is defined by very simple activation strengths and threshold conditions: each semantic role node, when activated, activates the whole schema node, which in turn activates all of its role nodes. (Lakoff, 2014, p. 5)

These nodes allow for complicated affective experiences to be understood as a whole via categories (Lakoff, 2014). Once binding circuits have connected such nodes, neuron fire together during an affective event, making the embodied experience perceptually a seamless whole. Indeed, the bound nodes are functionally identical within the brain.

Critically, neurons function multimodally, meaning that neurons may fire with different frames depending on the context (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005). People with synesthesia, who have connections between different realms of knowledge such associating numbers with colors, are one example these links between schemas. Massumi (2002) argued that syntheses are only abnormal in their awareness of the links between abstractions. Many links between schema exist, such as positive moods leading to assessment of truth statements being skewed positively (Koch & Forgas, 2012).

This is not a one-directional relationship. As I will explore next, schemas are not only built on the experience of affect, the binding circuits of a neurological gestalt mean that schemas can impact the experience of affect as well.

Schema and Affect

Conceptual schemas are cognitive structures of the brain that build into categories and understandings of embodied affective experiences, a process that exists as an inverse relationship as well: research has shown that the schemas we bring impact the experience of affect itself, serving as a kind of lens of interpretation. A study by Lupyan (2017) used an eye test mechanism to compare research subjects' visual recognition of blurred letters when placed in combinations meaningful words as compared with pseudowords. The letters composing the meaningful words were not only more easily recognized when blurred at the same level, but the subjects perceived the letters in the meaningful words as equally blurred to the letters in pseudowords when in fact the pseudowords had been adjusted to be sharper. Participants were able to use their previous experience to detect letters more effectively if the letters matched patterns that they had experienced before, and their expectation of the physical experience allowed them to fill in for missing physical experiences without them realizing that they had done so. Lupyan's (2017) conclusion on this effect:

> To get a stronger intuition of the difference between the expectations-aiding-perception account and perceive-what-you- expect account, imagine expecting to taste milk, but taking a sip of orange juice instead. The resultant experience is not of tasting milk. Rather, it is of tasting orange juice within a prior expectation of milk–a phenomenologically distinct experience. (p. 803)

In this way, previous experiences, mediated through the categorization of schemas, can change what we perceive as an immediate affective experience.

Other research supports this bidirectional relationship. Experiments using quick electrical pulses have shown that while the body can feel sensations lasting as little as half a second, sensations from outside the body are perceived as happening earlier in time that they actually occurred (Massumi, 2002). Other research on free will looked electroencephalograph readings of study participants who were directed to move a finger and note the time they had decided to do so based on a moving dot. The researchers found that the decision had been made 0.3 seconds before the participants consciously recognized doing so. Massumi (2002) theorized that this is due to the fleeting nature of the present, and indicative that intensity of an affective experience is necessarily tied to the interpretation and potential for action built on the pathways of the brain.

To return to the example of colors in a cultural context, Russian speakers who use separate words for light blue and dark blue, were found to be faster at discriminating those colors versus their ability to distinguish terms for colors that are not conceptually different categories (Winawer et al., 2007). In another example, Purcell (1986) found that architecture students put greater emphasis on novel interest markers in assessing examples of building as compared to general students, who preferred more typical examples. He hypothesized that the shared experiences and deliberately cultivated schemas of the architecture students caused them to experience the same stimulus in different ways, making different aspects of the buildings more salient and enjoyable than what they would have experienced otherwise. Reis et al. (2015) experimented with introducing messaging of self-compassion to female athletes, finding that those who had been exposed to the campaign experienced less shame and negative affect as compared to those either introduced to messaging of self-esteem or in a control group that only

journaled. Advertising is another area where the relationship between schemas and affective experience has been explored and the link utilized: by leveraging the categories inherent in cognitive schemas, advertisers are able to link positive affective impressions from consumers' autobiographical histories to products being sold (Price et al., 1997).

Thus, it is important to consider the power inherent to the schemas that a person develops. Significant work has been done in Critical Theory and Queer Theory contexts, looking at how dominant social powers may impact the relationship between affective experiences and our emotional response to them (Hemmings, 2005). Cultural messaging can serve as both a negative influence, creating shame and disgust in our physical experience, and a positive influence, serving a reparative function that moves from a culture of fear to a perspective of hope (Wiegman, 2014). The structures of power are built from our understanding of the social context of information, blending what we experience with ideas gained from those we trust to be knowledgeable. Wetherell (2015) explained:

> We seem to be drawn to, empathize with, and are most likely to copy, imitate and share the affect of those we affiliate and identify with, and those whom we recognize as authoritative and legitimate sources. Context, past and current practice, and complex acts of meaning-making and representation are involved in the spreading of affect, no matter how random and viral it appears. Shared identification makes actions and affect intelligible and forms the basis for the discursive territory of 'reasonable' versus 'unreasonable' emotion, 'rational' versus 'irrational' crowd action, and 'considered' versus 'involuntary' or 'automatic' behaviour. Identity, affect, legitimacy, and social practice are closely woven together. (p. 154)

For this reason, it is important for us to consider how the messaging impacts the meaning making process for immersed learners, especially when they are confronted with a new cultural field.

Cognitive Structures, Figurative Language, and Metaphors

Language is a translation of schemas into a symbolic medium of communication (Pearlman, 2014). As Giddens (1993) explained, "[L]anguage is a (a) skill, or very complex set of skills, that is possessed by each person who 'knows' the language; (b) used to 'make sense', literally, as a creative argument of an active subject; something which is done, accomplished, by the speaker, but not in full cognizance of how he does it" (p. 102). Words are a representation of the underlying schemas and may have fuzzy boundaries, with questions of what qualifies as tall or as a bird in common conversation subject to negotiation (Lakoff, 2018). In the same way that schemas require the use of imagination, categorizing via language has been shown to involve mental simulations (Matlock, 2004). As one example, researchers explored how language in storytelling is tied to mental simulations of the described story and found that after reading about slow travel or difficult terrain study participants were statistically slower to respond to prompts than those who read about fast travel or easy terrain (Matlock, 2004). Their conclusion was that the participants' reading about travel slowly resulted in their brains simulating the experience of slow travel.

Cognitive structures are the link between schemas and language. One example is the in-out/container schema (Johnson, 1990). Due to our embodied experience, concepts of what are inside and outside of our bodies is a fundamental experience. This translates into the schema of in-out: we experience moving air, and food and water into our bodies, with other fluids and substances moving out. Our bodies move into and out of clothing, rooms, and buildings. We transfer objects into and out of containers with our hands. The physical experience of in-out

gives us a conception of entailments for what it means to be inside or outside of something, including 1.) that being contained is a state of being sheltered from outside forces while 2.) simultaneously being limited to existing within that location; that 3.) this limitation translates to a state of location within the other item, and that 4.) it often also means a state of concealment or non-visibility; and 5.) that this is a transitive property such that if we are in a room and then room is inside a house, then we are also inside the house.

From the concept of in-out comes the concept of a container, which has many uses and entailments (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). A bucket and a city are both containers that can hold something inside of them. There are also other more abstract concepts that serve as containers. A visual field is a container, which is why these sentences make sense: "This ship is *coming into* view. I *have* him *in* sight. I can't see him–the tree is *in* the way. He's *out* of sight" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 30). Events are another kind of container, supporting statements about *going to* or *being in* an event. States of being are another container, ones where it makes sense to say *being in* love or *coming out* of a coma.

Ideas are yet one more kind of container, which is why we can talk of *getting* our thoughts *across* and *giving* someone an idea (Reddy, 1979). Because of the existence of this conceptual metaphor, we often assume that it is possible to clearly and reliably convey information from one person to another (Lakoff, 2014). However, the reality of communication is that the schemas of the recipient is at least as important as that of the sender in whether the information will be successfully understood as intended (Reddy, 1979). These are all examples of figurative language, using entailments of schemas to bring hidden meaning to words and phrases (Giddens, 1993). Language is difficult to divide into literal and figurative categories, due the nature of all words being tied to these complex neurological constructs. Even statements as

simple as saying “I haven’t eaten” make assumptions about the timeframe for the truth value of the proposition.

Researchers in the field of conceptual metaphor theory have identified ways that cognitive structures are expressed in language, including metaphor, metonymy, polysemy (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), idioms, proverbs, and irony (Raymond W Gibbs & Colston, 2012). Conceptual metaphors are, at their most basic level, a way of understanding something in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), and are often referenced in this field using an all-caps structure of CONCEPT IS REFERENT. As with the in-out schema, primitive metaphors may be considered to link directly to affective experiences. Some metaphors related to experiences of thinking and feeling seem to develop pre-linguistically, as Neumann (2015) found by comparing 106 metaphors such as CONTROL IS HOLDING and finding similar usages in the typologically and etymologically distinct languages of German and Japanese. The sensation of UP stems from the embodied experience of gravity and forms a basis for a number of cognitive structures. Because HAPPY IS UP, these metaphors make intuitive sense: “I’m feeling *up*. That *boosted* my spirits. My spirits *rose*. You’re in *high* spirits.” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 15). In a similar way, CONSIOUSNESS IS UP (Wake up), HEALTH IS UP (He’s in top shape), HAVING CONTROL IS UP (I have control over her and I’m on top of the situation), MORE IS UP (My income rose), HIGH STATUS IS UP (He has a lofty position), and GOOD IS UP (Things are looking up) (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003).

More complexly, experiential gestalts are ways of understanding a sequence of events (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). When talking of a disagreement using an ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, we attach entailments from the concept of war to understand the conversational interaction in more complex terms. The interaction then takes on those entailments of conflict,

with attack and defense and a winner and a loser. Having an understanding of war with multiple conflicting sides who are working toward a victory, using methods of attack and defense, gives a structured expectation for actions within an argument. Certain actions are seen as logical within this metaphor, and actions have expected sequencing and outcomes.

Cognitive structures are the means by which we bridge from affect and schema into high level meaning making. As infants, we gain the ability to walk, thereby learning an embodied but not yet named understanding of balance (Johnson, 1990). This is another gestalt structure in that we have a knowledge of the schema of balance that is easier understood as a whole than broken into pieces. From this structure, we can apply this concept to recognizing other kinds of balance: visual balance, color balance, equilibrium, psychological balance, mathematical balance, and complex an idea as justice in the form of legal balance. Abstract thinking on topics as diverse as emotional regulation (Lakoff, 2015; Wood et al., 2015) and morality is conceptualized this way (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). As another example, in a review of their own and others' research on links between bodily and moral cleanliness, Lee and Schwartz (2011) found bidirectional links between figurative language and underlying scheme: namely, that engaging in cleaning practices resulted in participants feeling less guilty (clean body leading to perceived clean conscious) and after being asked to deliver a lie through either voicemail or email, participants rated corresponding cleaning products such as mouthwash or hand disinfectant more highly (dirty conscious leading to desire to clean body).

Language and Affect

Cognitive structures and language are inherently tied to geographic and social place. Speakers of English categorize colors into seven groups, while Russian speakers use separate categories for light blues (*glouboy*) and dark blues (*siniy*) (Winawer et al., 2007). The key

concept of *ki* in Japanese—denoting aspects of self, including physical energy, mental ability, mood, breath, vitality, mastery of self, and spirituality—conceptualizes the relationship an energy moving between a self and the cosmos (McVeigh, 1995). There is no equivalent term in English, leading to questions of whether differing concepts of the self/not-self distinction might have impacted relative collectivist and individualistic cultural practices.

Because of the interaction with underlying schemas, the language we use can have significant impacts on our understanding and experience of the world. At the most basic level, some schema categories are defined within specific linguistic fields. Japanese language makes use of extensive counter classifications, using different words to count numbers, days, thin versus flat objects, and large versus small animals. The counter *hon* is used for long, thin objects such as sticks, pencils, ropes, and trees (Lakoff, 1989). It also is used for more abstractly long and thin items such as martial arts contests (because of the use of staffs and swords), rolls of tape (due to the appearance when unrolled), telephone calls (because the transversal over wires), movies (due to the reels), and hits in baseball (due to the connection with the bat). As another example, translating the complexity of emotions into language has been shown to decrease intensity, and Wood et al. (2015) went so far as to propose that the categorization by language serves a regulatory function on affect.

The language used to frame study abroad has been researched in a few ways. There has been some discussion of the need for more universal language to use for framing study abroad programs based on program purpose, time abroad, and other program inclusions (Engle & Engle, 2003). The use of the word "study" in study abroad has been noted as framing this travel as distinct from tourism (Doerr, 2013). On the other hand, terms such as "global citizenship" may glorify the act of traveling while parochializing the experience of locals. Critiques of the rhetoric

of study abroad include questioning how the use of marketing photographs that nearly exclusively show scenes outside a classroom might give the impression of vacationing, and pushes for students to go "somewhere" instead of "somewhere specific" might lend to conceptions of a home and away dichotomy (Bishop, 2013; Haynes, 2011). Repeated descriptions of study abroad locations as cultural centers or the heart of the region may be implicitly promising a learning that extends beyond the location of study, whether such curriculum is available or not.

Virtual places have an additional level of complexity, as those who exist in a virtual space also exist in a real space (Kosar & Amoori, 2018). This dual existence creates a trialectic relationships between the virtual, real, and a third space of that spans both. The concept of a virtual hand draws on the physical experience of having a hand to create a means of interaction within the virtual space (Pietroszek, 2018), and the description of the internet as an information superhighway draws experience of movement via roads and bridges (Wyatt, 2004).

Metaphors hold a particularly strong influence on understanding when a concept is new or abstract. When researchers taught hypertext to 127 seventh-grade students, those who were instructed using a book metaphor 74.2% created linear structures while 84.8% of students who were taught using a city metaphor created non-linear structures (Merdivan & Özdener, 2011). Programmers make decisions on how to store information based on metaphoric labels, such as stacks where the last items added to the stack are expected to be accessed first in the same as one would interact with a stack of papers (Videla, 2017). Metaphors describing Internet access as a type of utility have framed the service as a decentralized function and supported the idea of paying for measurable amounts of usage (Lindh, 2016).

Discourse

Because of the link with schemas, conceptual metaphors can be a tool of influence and power. By describing a "labor market", companies can come to view workers as something to be purchased and a cost to be minimized (Lakoff, 2014). George Lakoff (2006) argued that differences in understanding the metaphor NATION IS FAMILY are central to political conflicts in the United States. When talking about citizen brothers and sisters or the sons and daughters we send off to war, Lakoff explained, progressives viewing the family as something to be supported and nurtured. Conservatives, on the other hand, understand family to be a hierarchical moral structure. These elements of language can be understood as not just the words themselves, but as the intersection between thinking actors and the discursive structures of the society around them (Giddens, 1993). Language arguably can simultaneously enable action while also shaping schemas.

Speech acts make sense within a social context and serve as a means of creating and reproducing that community (Freeman, 2013). Reality is not a single universal experience but it instead located within specific social fields (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) and language is the means by which agents construct, rewrite, and maintain that social reality (Freeman, 2013). Cameron et al. (2009) explained this process thusly: "At the heart of a complexity/dynamic systems approach lies an understanding of linguistic and cognitive phenomena as processes, flows, or movement, rather than as objects" (p. 64). It is in language that we open ourselves to negotiation of schema and frames for understanding the world.

The social construction of reality model is a useful means of discussing this process (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Typifications in this model are arguably a type of schema, in which we have abstracted categories that we use to understand our daily interactions. These

understandings of the world are developed first through primary socialization as a child and later revised through a process of secondary socialization, negotiations between a self as a thinking actor and surrounding society. These negotiations are a three-step process: first, through *externalization* a person puts forth some understanding of the world, and then through a dialectical process of *objectification* receives some feedback from outside. The person then completes the process by the third step of *internalization*, taking the feedback and reintegrating it into their understanding of the world. One challenge of this process is that it is largely invisible, with socialization happening as a child obscuring the ongoing negotiation. A social reality is negotiated and then reified, seeming to exist independent of the participants. Constructions of thought that are ontologically subjective appear instead to be objective, matters-of-fact instead of schemas of the mind.

As adults learn, they move from thinking of epistemological, intrapersonal, and interpersonal knowledge as universal truths to gaining an awareness of these elements as at least partially internally created (Baxter Magolda & King, 2004; Baxter Magolda, 2008). This is a long-term process and development in each area may happen at different speeds, such as students in college learning to value their own ideas in the classroom while still relying on external opinions for potential career decisions (Baxter Magolda, 2014). Most college students have not been shown to reach self-authorship by the time they graduate, but scaffolded high-impact activities that force students to wrestle with information that challenged previously held views have been shown to be effective in developing self-authorship (Baxter Magolda et al., 2012; Barber et al., 2016; Engberg & Jourian, 2015; King et al., 2009). Through a disorienting dilemma, encountering that which one's schema are not prepared to address, and then reflecting

on those experiences as a form of validity testing, the assumptions of that reality become apparent and new ways of thinking become possible (Mezirow, 1991).

In these ways, cognitive structures serve as the bridge between schemas and language. Metaphors and other figurative language enable higher levels of abstraction based on experiences of the body, but such tools are also structures that enable and limit understanding. Through interactions with the social world around us, our reality or virtuality is so shaped and reshaped dialectically. This mechanism also includes yet one more rich tool for meaning making: the stories we tell ourselves.

Narrative

Another lens influencing the making meaning of immersive learning experiences is narrative. This can draw directly on affective experiences, as Massumi (1995) described:

> Both levels, qualification and intensity, are immediately embodied. Intensity is embodied in purely autonomic reactions most directly manifested in the skin-at the surface of the body, at its interface with things. Depth reactions belong more to the form/ content (qualification) level, even though they also involve autonomic functions such as heartbeat and breathing. The reason may be that they are associated with expectation, which depends on consciously positioning oneself in a line of narrative continuity. (p. 85)

Life narratives are a way for people to understand such complex affective experiences as loss within war and trauma (Appuhamilage, 2018). Bluck and Habermas (2000) argued that narratives are a type of life story schema, because schema can be defined as an active means of organization based on experience. In this model, the important element is the organizational structure rather than the linguistic element because of how narrative is used in this way to make

sense of a disorientingly large number of life events. Narratives are built using the tools of categorization drawn from master narratives, themselves formed and replicated through social interaction (Hammack, 2011).

There are four ways that narrative can be used to impose structure on events. The first is to create temporal coherence, stringing together events of a life in a way that make sense in order of time (Bluck & Habermas, 2000). A timeline often starts near birth, and includes events selected in chronological order to explain the coherence of life up to the current point (Köber et al., 2015). The second way narrative imposes structure is by combining this simple ordering of events with cultural expectations for a biography, creating autobiographical coherence (Bluck & Habermas, 2000). These normative expectations are based in a particular cultures expectations of what life events should happen, when, and in what order. Within Western cultures there are even expectations about when a biography should be formalized, such as creating a resume as a means of formalizing a work narrative. Different cultures have variations in the expected elements and timelines for a life narrative, meaning that while a person has some agency in developing their life story schema, it is usually guided by and situated within the structural expectations of their culture. The sense of having a life plan can be a source of confidence within one's place in a particular social field but feeling that one is lacking a life plan or is behind on the intended plan is a source of anxiety a frustration (Berger et al., 1974).

A third way of making meaning is causal coherence: taking disparate life elements and linking them tougher into an explanation of causality (Bluck & Habermas, 2000). Also called causal-motivational coherence, this type of narrative makes an argument about what events caused other events to occur (Köber et al., 2015). These events may happen with large gaps of time between, but can be brought together as a means of making sense of discontinuity (Bluck &

Habermas, 2000) or as a means of establishing and pursing future goals that align with past events (Mcadams, 2006). If a story doesn't seem to follow a logical structure, wherein events support an outcome, the story may seem incoherent or pointless. Lastly, narrative can be used to create thematic coherence, with events selected to support a particular lens of understanding about a life (Bluck & Habermas, 2000). This type of narrative ties events to building and supporting the idea of a personal identity that a person (Köber et al., 2015), a process I will explore more in the next section.

Narratives are created within specific paradigms of understanding, cultural contexts that support the creation of understandable stories (Mcadams, 2006). Individual narratives may draw on existing master narratives in particular cultural contexts, which already exist in frameworks, offering expectations related to categories such as race, nationality, class, and gender (Hammack, 2011). Through this method, people are able to integrate the social-level expectations with personal experiences. In this context, the means in which individual narratives are constructed and then, through the social construction of reality process, externalized, objectivized, and internalized is important to understand (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) term this process the social interactional approach, wherein narratives are emergent from social interaction.

Again, I return to the point that narrative is also a tool of agency. Bourdieu (1977) described three kinds of capital: financial, social and cultural capital. Financial capital is the ability to draw on financial resources, while social capital includes the relationships and social ties a person can access. Symbolic resources can also be gathered, including control of areas such as philosophy and science through oral storytelling, writing and other forms of record. As such, the stories told exist in that discursive crossroad of being told through a person and

simultaneously as the cultural capital of being the ability to tell a story and have it accepted. Gergen and Gergen (2011) commented on this power: "[W]e may gain leverage by viewing experience not as something we *have* as a private possession, but something we *do* in relational participation" (p. 380). The act of the storytelling is not only a retrospective means of making meaning, but an act of creation, as the narrative and the self come into being through the process of telling (Noy, 2004).

Various people have an ascribed authority to create narratives. The study and interpretation of history by historians is a process in which they use their authority to argue for a narrative that gives form and meaning to past events (Mouzakitis, 2015). The selection of events and their interpretation in context is a way of making meaning. Research interviews are another area where the interviewer is a part of the conversation, with their own verbal and non-verbal contributions, contributing to the creation of a narrative whole (de Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). As a result, awareness of practices of research, habitus in interview methods, and relativity authority of roles is important for understanding how a narrative may emerge collaboratively.

Identity

Narrative is a tool for meaning making, and one other aspect of narrative is making sense the person making the meaning. By developing a narrative sense of autobiographical coherence, a person creates a concept of themselves as their own designated project (Berger et al., 1974). This sense of self-identity is again a usage of schemas, categorizing a self within sociocultural schema (Noy, 2004). A self might be described as existing simultaneously in a present narrative that is in process of being written, a past that is conceptualized through the tools of narrative

discussed in the previous section, and a future that exists in a construction of narrative expectation (Freeman, 2013).

The schemas of social roles are one kind of narrative done in the present. The socio-psychological model of identity outlines a self as composed of a social identity, a personal identity, and an ego identity (Cote & Levine, 2002). Roles are located in the social identity, the strategic work of presenting the self in the personal identity, and the work of the individual in defining their identity. When a person is acts in a way specific to a role, they engage in appearances, attitudes, and behaviors that they think are socially acceptable for that role (Coser, 1991). Both the retail worker engaged in serving a positive customer service behaviors and the consumer engaged in shopping are superficial roles, which for some is a form of relief as neither has to bring in the full entailments of their self to the interactions (du Gay, 2004). We have access to toolkits based in culture, strategies of action and ritual, to address challenges (Swidler, 1986). A role can also be performed through ongoing tools, such as by the creation and maintenance of a personal homepage (Cheung, 2006). As with conceptions of reality, roles can also become reified when participants become unaware of the socially constructed nature (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Specific to certain fields, people may fulfill a variety of roles across a day moving into and out of roles as they cross between fields located at work, at a doctor's office, and at home. In assuming a role, a person is objectifying themself, taking on removing their whole self from the actions in favor of taking on behaviors that they think are appropriate for the typification that is the role (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Modern life is peculiarly differentiated, wherein people engage in a plurality of life-worlds or fields, with different expectations for living in each of these contexts (Berger et al., 1974). Individuals must learn to navigate the challenges of role

segmentation, meaning they must learn not only the appropriate behaviors for a role but when to enact the role and how to navigate times where expectations overlap or conflict (Coser, 1991). A person learns to take on what they believe the perceptions of others are, in order to understand how their actions might fit or not fit within particular roles (Freeman, 2013)

Narratives and Affect

The immediacy of affect again becomes significant when a person performing a role sees themselves through a mirror, photography, or video (Massumi, 2002). In that moment, the person takes on the perspective of an imagined third-party viewer and compares the image of the social role they are attempting to perform with the realty of their appearance. This looking-glass self is simultaneously three parts: the person as observer of themselves, their simulation of a third party's judgement, and their own reaction to that imagined perception (Cooley, 2006). Further, the person may either believe their own performance in the role or may feel that they are engaged in a kind of masquerade (Goffman, 1990). The body is a point of centrality, the mediation an experienced past and an anticipated future (Maan, 2010). Affect is the foundation, braided into narratives of understanding about the world and self.

A person's narrative can also be a form of identity capital, with some identities lending their holders advantage and power (Cote & Levine, 2002). This can take the form of tangible resources, like memberships within organizations or credentials awarded, or it can be more intangible as agentic resources like perceived locus of control or self-esteem. On the opposite side, some roles are not deliberately chosen or may not feel escapable. Rankine (2014) described her experience as a black American:

> A friend argues that Americans battle between the "historical self" and the "self self." By this she means you mostly interact as friends with mutual interest and,

> for the most part, comparable personalities; however, sometimes your historical selves, her white self and your black self, arrive with the full force of your American positioning. Then you are standing face-to-face in seconds that wipe the affable smiles right from your mouths. What did you say? Instantaneously your attachment seems fragile, tenuous, subject to any transgression of your historical self. And though your joined personal histories are supposed to save you from misunderstandings, they usually cause you to understand all too well what is meant. (p. 14)

Categories of race, class, ethnicity, gender, citizenship, sexual orientation, and others may be seen by others as conflicting with attempted roles (Cote & Levine, 2002). If others refuse to accept a person's participation in a particular role, even the role of "person" itself may come to feel in question (Freeman, 2013).

Judith Butler questioned the reality of gender categories with the question "The body may be postoperative, transitional, or post-operative; even 'seeing' the body may not answer the question for *what are the categories through which one sees?*" (Butler, 2007, p. xxiv). It is in these intersections that the concept of categories being ontologically objective comes into question. Bodies and selves exist whether someone is there to observe them or not, but the construction of those categories is dependent on observation and negotiation. A person facing challenges to their identity may react with "passive compliance or active adaption" (Cote & Levine, 2002, p. 148). It is perhaps in the points of confusion and disunity that narrative is most able to serve as a tool of agency and self-coherence, answering the question of who the question of who a self is with the answer: "I am the one who provides meaning for my experiences" (Maan, 2010, p. xviii).

Again, the social knowledge of roles is specific to particular fields. Likewise, the *situation knowledge* that is an understanding of the branching web of possible actions and likely outcomes within a particular location is gathered over time, assessed, and utilized by active agents (Freeman, 2013). Another challenge of the modern world is in how likely it is that a person will encounter scenarios where their role is unclear.

Narratives, Real and Virtual

Study abroad meaning is impacted by narrative in a variety of ways. At the most basic, narrative is often metaphorically linked to travel (Mikkonen, 2007). Ideas of moving from one location to another are often viewed as a way of conceptualizing change and development, so it is not surprising that students view study abroad as an opportunity for personal growth. Reflective journaling such as outlined by the experiential learning cycle to include concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation (Kolb & Kolb, 2009) as a tool for making sense of experiences is one tool for meaning making in study abroad. However, this also brings challenges as travelers may assume that the narrative structure that they have seen in media automatically translates to their personal experiences: namely, that temporal order translates to causality (Mikkonen, 2007).

Similarly, in virtual contexts narrative is useful for making sense of action. A sense of presence in a virtual context can be understood as a sense of being within a specific virtual place, an experience interlinked with both affect and narrative (Troxler et al., 2018). A pilot study found indications of a link between the inclusion of narratives and increased presence within a VR game that tasked the player with protecting human survivors against zombies. In the context of a virtual museum, guide avatars were found to be effective in invoking affect about the displays by including emotions and storytelling (Sylaiou et al., 2020). At the same time,

cooperative narratives requires both a collective recognition of and willingness to follow the format of shared frames. As one example of where participants may fail to do so, a 2001 study of virtual worlds found that one unique marker of the format was a refusal of participants in public rooms to follow traditional narrative forms: instead of conversation following conversational forms with a beginning and end, the conversation exists in an ongoing and overlapping middle (Webb, 2001).

The ability to create each of the four types of narrative coherence does not develop concurrently (Habermas & Köber, 2015). Temporal coherence requires only memory for sorting and may even begin before a person's active memory based on related family stories, with the bulk of development happening between the ages of 8 and 16. Autobiographical coherence develops largely between the ages of 12 and 20 as we transition from adolescence into adulthood. Thematic coherence has been shown to continue developing into middle adulthood. As autobiographical reasoning has been shown to temper disruptions in maintaining a sense of self (Habermas & Köber, 2015), it is unsurprising that college students may wrestle making sense of immersive experiences.

When undergraduates study abroad, there are several aspects of identity that they have been found to commonly re-evaluate. Most commonly, traveling to another country is when students become aware of their role as an American, both in how they behave and in how others abroad interact with them (Dolby, 2004). A group of 26 students who studied in Australia wrestled with having this role viewed as their primary identity, as well as coming to understand that they had only limited ability to define what an American identity might entail. Likewise, Irish-American students studying in Ireland struggled with encountering local indifference to a heritage they had held as important aspects of their identity (Jewett, 2010).

The identities that students carry in reality may appear or disappear within a virtual classroom setting, such as a student describing themself as a persistent math learner based on overcoming struggles in a combination synchronous and asynchronous learning experience (Daher & Awawdeh Shahbari, 2020). Factors such as the pre-existing sense of identity, the virtual classroom design, the role of the teacher were possible factors in the creation, maintenance, or loss of such identities. Further, in reality, identity is inherently linked to the body, with performances of identity incorporating appearance and props (Goffman, 1990), but within a virtual setting the available of such tools varies by setting (Schultze, 2014). Avatars become a tool for this performance of identity, with some users attempting to reproduce aspects of their identity from outside of the virtual setting, while other used the appearance of their avatar to construct aspirational identities. Uniqueness of appearance, or at least inclusion of items not available to new players, served as a cultural capital within the setting.

Both real and virtual experiences offer a chance for meaningful change. Returning to the experiential learning cycle, Kolb argued that one important foundation for metacognition is for learners to create a self-identity as a learner (Kolb & Kolb, 2009). By creating this identity, the person takes on expectations of continually following the learning cycle and failures are simply another step in the recurrent process. This moves a person from a fixed mindset to a learning identity. Immersive learning may also offer an opportunity for students to encounter alternative narratives, allowing for greater insight into the creation of identities and narratives and the development of self-authorship (Perez et al., 2015). The creation of identity capital (Cote & Levine, 2002) through learning in novel physical and virtual spaces may give students additional authority in propagating new roles within old social fields.

Discussion

Meaning making is a complex process. Affective experiences form the foundation, with experiencing bodily sensations that are interpreted through emotional reactions. These sensations are specific to social fields and can develop in short-term assemblages. From affect, we form schema in our mind to make sense of these categories of sensation, processes of action, and neurological gestalts allow us to form complex connections. Language is a means of describing these cognitive structures, and figurative language like metaphors allow us to move from embodied understanding to abstract ideas. Narrative is another kind of schema, making sense of sequences of events through time, theme, and causality. Our own identity is a central identity, defining the multitude of ways that we may interact with the socially constructed reality around us.

This paper explored ways in which place interacts with meaning making, using the examples of study abroad for reality and virtual learning for virtuality. While this is a convenient distinction, there is overlap between the two contexts. Today, the internet is available in most places across the world, making most in-person experiences inclusive of the augmentation of social media. Travelers not only frame images of the place they visit but frame themself within this place (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Virtuality is at this point aspirational due to the limits of affect simulation, with the sense of the physical world continuing (Marshall et al., 2019). At the same time, there are elements of meaning making that are different across the Virtuality Spectrum. When experiencing reality, there is an immediacy of affect that ranges across the full range of senses and resulting emotions. Within virtuality, there are elements of design the permeate the interface and means of action, as well as emergent behaviors possible as users make use of the

systems in ways that may exceed that design. In this way, elements of agency and structure are key components of analyzing the interaction between place and meaning making.

The Kaleidoscope Model is one way in which the complex dialectical elements of meaning making can be explored. One limitation of this framework is that it draws on literature that is available in English, published by English-based publishers. This research primarily includes theory and research from the fields of education and sociology. Additional insights might be gained by exploring theory available from additional cultural and theoretical contexts.

A key benefit of this structure is in the modular structure, in which elements can be used as a focus while retaining a recognition of the other elements. Focusing on identifying conceptual metaphors that may interact with language around a learning context may form a context to further exploration of related narratives in the same context. A look at identity formation in a virtual context may benefit from comparison with identity formation in a reality setting. A snapshot of interactions within a particular time and place may be later expanded to look at historical context for the creation of such a social reality and factors in continued development.

These four elements are important lenses that empower us to make meaning of immersive experiences. Situated in place, and both empowered and shaped by social structures, meaning making is a complex process. I hope that in this model supports further exploration of how meaning is made and how to further empower learning in settings across the virtuality spectrum.

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CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

Education abroad has ballooned in the past decades, becoming a significant element of learning for many university students. These programs offer students the opportunity to move toward self-authorship, an insight into how knowledge is formed through the intersection between self and social knowledge. This process is a complex dialectical one, in which experiences and expectations intertwine, with marketing and advising playing an authoritative role in messaging what programs might be (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). I am in my own way still wrestling to make sense of my own experiences as a college student in Japan. The path that I have walked in becoming an administrator, program leader, and researcher on this topic has lent me more tools but also brought forward more complexity.

Through these three articles, I sought to explore four research questions:

1. What conceptions of education abroad are created by program providers and schools through marketing and advising practices?

2. What roles do social and geographic place play in the meaning making development process for students considering education abroad?

3. How might cognitive structures and narratives be interacting with embodied experiences as mediated by conceptual schema in the process of students constructing meaning about their education abroad experiences?

4. In what ways do students play active roles and passive roles in the metacognitive process of meaning making related to education abroad?

Next, I walk through each article and how it relates to these research questions.

Article 1

The first article, “Virtual Study Abroad and the Limited of Simulated Affect”, was one of my first reflections outlining the link between learning, development, and embodied experiences. These issues became increasingly salient in the period of COVID-19 closures and shifts in the field of education abroad, resulting in the need for more deliberate choices in program design. This paper was started in the spring of 2020 as more and more program providers began to promote so-called virtual study abroad programs as an alternative to in-person experiences. As abroad program after program cancelled during spring 2020, program providers and universities looked for ways in which to keep international learning opportunities available for students. This rapid pivot in modality was largely framed as a necessity and an opportunity for increasing equity for those who had not been able to participate in education abroad previously (Kastler & Lewis, 2021). Yet, while some program providers argued that the outcomes of individual classes could be reproduced online, there was little discussion of the role that embodiment and the engagement of students in long-term geographic and social places as a means of exposing and shifting schema. Further, there was little time for discussion of the potential limitation of such programs in being able to reproduce the experiences they replaced.

To explore this link, I reviewed existing literature on student development, focusing on the theories of self-authorship and transformative learning due to their prevalence in the field of education abroad. In doing so, I identified how both of those theories rely heavily on students becoming aware of their own existing schema being located within specific cultural contexts, and the role of ongoing interactions in the process of shifting and creating new schema. Through the process of writing this article, I identified ways in which program modality might impact the learning experience of education abroad and differentiate between social and geographic place in

that process. Further, I outlined potential problems with supporting student development if the relationship between embodied experiences and learning is overlooked. Throughout my reading, I began to recognize the dangers inherent in the proposed to shift to online programs, wherein the programs were being offered as a means of completing education abroad that had become a hollow simulacra of the previous experiential learning experience. As such, I argued for the importance of remembering this link, and the limited opportunities that a virtual alternative might provide.

Article 2

The second article, "Making Meaning of the Journey: Metaphoric Framing of Study Abroad", is my effort to further explore the information about education abroad programs that is being communicated through figurative marketing language. This research project was based in the constructivist model of grounded theory as outlined by Kathy Charmaz (Charmaz, 2006), in which I downloaded and coded the metaphoric language used by four education abroad providers. Marketing and advising serves as a hidden curriculum, with framing and tools that students may carry into and beyond their program participation. It is important for educators to be aware of what is being communicated in order to consider whether this language is in sync with the learning outcomes for the program as a whole. Additionally, it is important to acknowledge that marketing and advising are exercises of power that may be imposing an understanding on the marketing audience. This means that what is communicated about education abroad is communicated both directly to the students, and indirectly through others who have heard the same messaging. For this reason, educators and program providers must reflect on whether what is being communicated is responsible and ethical.

In my initial findings, common conceptual metaphors related to journeys and containers are serving as both means of understanding affective experiences but also as ways of obscuring what experiences and outcomes participants can expect from education abroad programs. Additionally, I found that container metaphors are used as means of describing geographic and social locations, topics of learning, and the programs themselves. As I will outline below, this research was able to identify linkages between experiences, but further research is needed to delve into questions of student agency in the metacognitive process.

Article 3

It may seem odd for the third article of this dissertation to be a literature review, rather than the first. The article, "Meaning Making for Immersive Learning Experiences: The Kaleidoscope Model", is not the first version of a literature review that I have done, nor second, nor the third. Rather, this project has been an act of bricolage, a process of continuing to return to the literature to avoid a monological understanding and instead attempting to pursue the complexity (Kincheloe, 2005). Throughout my writing, experiencing, and researching, I have continued to refine and change the Kaleidoscope Model. Through this constructive process, I have assembled a proposed model of meaning making that integrates affect, schema, cognitive structures, and narrative into an interlinked look at how each element interacts with each other and with the social setting through the Social Construction of Reality process to create and change an understanding of the world (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

The most recent addition to this model is expanded consideration of educational modality. In exploring whether the context for study abroad might be similar or different from other settings, I recognized that I needed to give additional thought to the impact of reality and virtuality on experiences. Opportunities for virtual education abroad programs are increasing

(King et al., 2021; Liu & Shirley, 2021; Prevratilova, 2022; Urueta & Ogi, 2021) and the experiences of physical reality are increasingly connected to others through technology (Urry & Larsen, 2011). In some ways, integrating virtual into the Kaleidoscope Model seems like it might be contradictory to the concerns I raised in the first article, but it is through the further reflection from writing that article that I realized the importance of including this element of modality. Through recognizing the different ways in which reality and virtuality link to affect, and thereby to schema, conceptual structures, and narrative, we are able to better utilize the elements of embodiment for educational growth.

Integration

While the intention of this research was to explore the ways in which participants make meaning of their experiences in study abroad, the implications of this work are wide. First, while education abroad is notable for a potentially clear break between previous experiences and new, such breaks in social reality can exist within one country or within one city, given different social fields. Novel embodied experiences are opportunities for transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991) and the growth of self-authorship through the glimpse behind the curtain of how meaning is made (Baxter Magolda & King, 2004). Such experiences become an opportunity also to create new kinds of knowledge in conversation with others from outside of those who we have previously constructed our realities (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Second, while virtual learning has been in use for decades, COVID-19 caused a sudden transition to more widespread use of this modality in education. This makes questions of how the setting interacts with learning and meaning making more urgent to consider. Specifically, how can virtual learning support learning in ways that are similar to reality-based settings? How can we look for new ways of teaching in virtuality, unencumbered by assumptions of the physical

world? Additionally, virtual learning offers a promise for improving access to educational experiences, but equity cannot be assumed. There is a difference between someone wanting to sell something and there being value in buying it. Therefore, we must be careful to consider what pitfalls we might miss if we assume that virtual can be a direct replacement for physical setting. Instead, we should consider what opportunities there are for us to create new ways of learning, and how we can empower learners in this process.

Third, the elements of the Kaleidoscope Model are a means for exploring how affect, schema, cognitive structures, and narratives interact to enable and constrain the meaning that is made of the experiences. This model also opens questions of how students make meaning and have meaning imposed upon them. Examples of structures that may influence this process include past experiences, cultural expectations, framing from education abroad program providers, and interactions with others before, during, and after participating in a program. These understandings can be deliberate in marketing and advising, as well as unintended reproductions of framing that exists within a social context. As such, it is important to continue to explore what framing is used for immersive learning experiences, what role students play in the meaning making process, and how we can continue to support learners in this process.

Future Research

The scope of the research in article two was necessarily limited for this dissertation, so a wide range of opportunities for future research remain. First, a number of other metaphors were seen in the data set, including gatekeeping, value, and variety. Gatekeeping language outlines who allows access to physical and cultural spaces, value language frames possible motivations and outcomes of study abroad students (Zemach-Bersin, 2009), and discussion of variation build a narrative of difference that may counterbalance implications of homogeneity inherent to

container metaphors. By continuing to code and reflect on these additional codes and how they intersect with what has been already identified, a deeper understanding of the conceptions of education abroad would be possible. Secondly, because I coded each file by page type, provider, region of the world, term, modality, length, intended audience, and program experience, there is an opportunity to look for whether metaphors are more common within specific categories over others. Third, the data set for this research focused on education abroad programs available to U.S.-based students looking to study or intern abroad. An analysis of similar language from additional cultural perspectives may yield valuable contrasting constructions. Marketing language and advising language in this study are grouped together for purposes of identifying conceptual metaphors used across publicly accessible documentation, however additional analysis of the differences and similarities with the target audiences and page purposes would allow for a deeper analysis of the purpose and implications of the language being used.

Fourth, this research project focused on the conceptual metaphors of education abroad and did not include any analysis of narratives in use. This may partially overlap with the findings as narratives can be understood as a life story schema, but the narrative framing would be able to explore more explicitly what kinds of temporal, autobiographical, causal, and thematic coherence are being promoted for education abroad (Bluck & Habermas, 2000). This is also an area in which it would be possible to look more closely at the ways in which students make sense of their own self and their role in creating a self in this context. Students have been found to struggle with making sense of these experiences (Dolby, 2004; Jewett, 2010). There is also the opportunity to support student agency in identifying the role that students have in cocreating narratives for their programs and self (Noy, 2004).

Fifth, there are questions of to what degree students are reproducing the metaphors and narratives that they have encounter in how they describe their own experiences. Analysis of student writing, photography, and videos in use as testimonial artifacts on program provider websites also offers an opportunity for analyzing how language, schema, and embodied experiences combine to socially create and propagate concepts of education abroad over time. Students are called up to participate in the creation and propagation of messaging about education abroad through photo and video contests (Hankin, 2021). These contests are in some cases explicitly themed, but even when not, looking back on previous winners may reinforce conceptions of education abroad. Additionally, in creating such products, students are not only competing for potential prizes, they are also supporting the creation and maintenance of their own cultural capital: the value of education abroad as mythologized by participants.

Lastly, my research has been primarily focused on meaning making by student participants, but another important factor is the stories that professionals in the field tell themselves and others. What are the metaphors and narratives in use by staff and administrators for making sense of and justifying the investment in their own work? How does this compare with what is told to students?

Conclusion

Through my work in exploring individual aspects of the Kaleidoscope Model, I have assembled a theory of elements that maybe be influencing meaning making for students in education abroad. By arguing for a stronger understanding of the relationship between affect and understanding, researching the systematic metaphors in usage in education abroad, and by exploring the creation of meaning around study abroad program through my research, I have begun to create a deeper understanding of student experiences thereby opening up the

opportunity to improve practices within the field, avoid unintended imposition of meaning, and assist students with more effective and enriching education abroad.

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APPENDIX A. POSITIONALITY MEMO

Writing a positionality statement requires looking at our own lenses, stepping outside of our metaphoric ocean and thinking of the ways that the water we have been swimming in might be forming a lens that frames how we perceive the world around us. In this spirit, I recognize both the necessity of this continual practice and the impossibility of recognizing all of the ways in which my experiences might hinder or help this research project.

To start at both the most basic and most complicated, I am a white woman from the mid-western U.S. To have studied abroad and worked abroad is indicative of my own privilege, opportunities stacked on each other like two mirrors reflecting infinitely: While I was not able to afford the private school I had originally hoped to attend, my choice of a public school meant that I was able to take out a loan that sent me abroad, and though my parents did not necessarily want me to leave for so long to a country so far away, they were still willing to co-sign a loan to make it possible. Due to my having taken Advance Placement classes in high school, I had the space in my schedule to be able to take classes that were not required and still graduate on time, and I had internalized a liberal arts model of education that allowed me to take this time for personal development instead of graduating early. As a woman, there is more cultural acceptance of taking time for personal development through something like studying abroad. My K-12 educational background allowed me to develop the skills needed to attend college and the framing of education as a necessity to motivate me to make it happen. Additionally, coming from the American educational system, I had both the push to want to explore this opportunity and the pushy self-confidence to think I could travel abroad and be welcomed. These events happened within a background of privilege, and undoubtedly shape my assumptions about what education abroad is and should be.

Yet any set of contexts is itself shaped by increasingly complex contextual backgrounds, a fractal extending backwards throughout time and place. A few years ago, I learned that I am the granddaughter of a member of the White Earth tribe, a connection I did not know about because of the practices of adopting out children to white families, and a complicated series of events from my childhood that furthered these disconnects. This revelation contextualized assumptions about me based on my appearance, Japanese people attempting to be inclusive by asking if I might be haafu (half-Japanese) and an American coworker assuming that I must have chosen Japan for studying abroad due to heritage. It is through those events that I have wrestled with the ways in which a self is socially created, not only in our direct discursive interactions but also in the invisible thoughts and assumptions of those around us weaving a web of self that we can only indirectly recognize. While I cannot deny the privilege that I have benefited from throughout my life, I also cannot quantify the ways in which I may have been the recipient of unknown assumptions and lost heritage. It is in this that I recognize that developing the Kaleidoscope Model is also a way of wrestling with the complexities of assumption and how we make sense of the world.

Studying abroad for me was an opportunity to step outside of the world of what I had known and a chance to look at my own assumptions with a fresh set of eyes. In experiencing a place where people did not hold the same ways of thinking, I had the first chance to experience how worlds are socially constructed with a nearly adult mind to consider what was happening. This shifted my understanding of how history, my undergraduate major, is created through rewriting and ultimately led me to pursue a career in the field of international education. As such, I recognize that there is an assumption that education abroad can be a positive and enriching experience, an assumption that I must actively work to recognize and account for as I work on

examining the ways in which these experiences are sold to students and socially created as an ongoing process. As much as there can be benefits to creating rich and caring connections across peoples, there is an inherently colonial foundation behind that American students might be welcomed in other parts of the world under the banner of education. Further, my motivations and experiences of my time abroad are tied to my own positionality, and each student will have their own that they bring to experiences. In that way, while it is possible to find themes across providers and students, it will not be possible to create an abstracted and neutral report. This work is being created within my constructivist perspective, and my own self is inherently a thread in the tapestry being created through the process of analysis.

Further, my more than 12 years of experience as a study abroad advisor has led to my being socialized into the field of education abroad, causing me to form my own set of schema about types of experiences, programs, and what students commonly cite as the benefits and challenges of their time abroad. During this time study abroad has changed, becoming a more formalized field with professional guidelines and norms, and the experience of a student today is not the experience during my time abroad or that of students fifty years previous. My experience across this development allows for me to bring greater nuance to breaking down the words of program providers but also means that I must continually check my own assumptions so as minimize the reproduction of unexamined existing systems. To do this, when coding, I reviewed the coded phrases that have been decontextualized for themes, and then revisited the content in order to create disjunctions between the material and my default interpretations. I also continually be created memos to reflect on my assumptions and regularly questioned how the elements of my positionality were influencing this project. In stepping back to look for the ways in which aspects of existing systems of understanding are reproduced in my own thinking, I have

sought to include my own understandings, continued and newly formed, as important threads of this research.

APPENDIX B. COUNT OF PROGRAMS OFFERED

Table B1. Count of Programs Offered, Organized by Location and Term.

Program Provider	Spring 2022 Term Locations*							Summer 2022 Term Locations*						
	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin Amer.	North Amer.	Pacific	Virtual	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin Amer.	North Amer.	Pacific	Virtual
Provider 1	0	4	81	23	0	9	8	0	2	55	19	0	1	8
Provider 2	0	0	15	0	0	4	4	0	0	7	0	0	0	1
Provider 3	5	0	99	23	0	0	1	0	0	113	38	0	4	2
Provider 4	4	13	64	15	1	24	0	4	12	23	18	1	9	0
Sum of Program Count by Location and Term:	9	17	259	61	1	37	13	4	14	198	75	1	14	11

* Program locations listed are data as downloaded in May 2021. The locations of offerings during actual terms may have been impacted by closures.

APPENDIX C. CODES

Table C1. Provisional Codes for Article 2.

Code	References	Files
Container Metaphor (IS)	251	47
BUILDING (IS)	27	18
Conduit Metaphor\IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	22	16
Metonymy\INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE	15	3
Orientational Metaphor\FORESEEABLE FUTRUE EVENTS ARE UP-AHEAD	12	3
Orientational Metaphor\TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT	6	3
Orientational Metaphor\MORE IS UP-LESS IS DOWN	5	4
Conduit Metaphor	3	3
Experiential Gestalts\LIFE IS A STORY	5	4
Metonymy\THE PART FOR THE WHOLE	3	3
Orientational Metaphor	3	3
Orientational Metaphor\GOOD IS UP-BAD IS DOWN	3	2
Metonymy	2	2
Structural Metaphor\TIME IS A RESOURCE	2	2
Container Metaphor (IS)\AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER	1	1
Experiential Gestalts	1	1
Lexical	1	1
Ontological Metaphor	1	1
Ontological Metaphor\THE MIND IS A MACHINE	1	1
Orientational Metaphor\A JOURNEY DEFINES A PATH	1	1
Prototypical Causation\CREATION IS BIRTH	1	1
Conduit Metaphor\LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS	0	0
Conduit Metaphor\TIME IS MONEY-A VALUABLE RESOURCE-LIMITED COMMODITY	0	0

Table C1. Provisional Codes for Article 2 (continued).

Code	References	Files
Metonymy\OBJECT USED FOR USER	0	0
Metonymy\PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT	0	0
Metonymy\THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT	0	0
Metonymy\THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION	0	0
Ontological Metaphor\THE MIND IS A FRAGILE OBJECT	0	0
Orientational Metaphor\HAPPY IS UP-SAD IS DOWN	0	0
Orientational Metaphor\HAVING CONTROL IS UP-BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN	0	0
Orientational Metaphor\HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP-SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN	0	0
Orientational Metaphor\HIGH STATUS IS UP-LOW STATUS IS DOWN	0	0
Structural Metaphor	0	0
Structural Metaphor\ARGUMENT IS WAR	0	0
Structural Metaphor\LABOR-ACTIVITY IS A RESOURCE	0	0
Prototypical Causation	0	0
Prototypical Causation\EVENT EMERGES FROM STATE OF MIND	0	0
Prototypical Causation\THE OBJECT COMES OUT OF THE SUBSTANCE	0	0
Prototypical Causation\THE SUBSTANCE GOES INTO THE OBJECT	0	0

Table C2. In Vivo Codes for Article 2.

Code	References	Files
Container Metaphor (IS)\Places are Containers	246	43
VariationDiverse	103	39
JOURNEY (IS)\Explore	69	37
Connections	83	36
Container Metaphor (IS)\Schools are Containers	94	33
Container Metaphor (IS)\Activities are Containers	156	32
Orientational Metaphor\Within	95	30
Gatekeeping	85	30
Orientational Metaphor\Wide is More	42	30
JOURNEY (IS)	90	29
JOURNEY (IS)\Navigation	78	27
Value	96	25
Container Metaphor (IS)\Centerness	50	25
Experience	64	24
Container Metaphor (IS)\The visual field as a container object\Vision	52	22
Container Metaphor (IS)\The visual field as a container object\SeeObserve	48	22
Container Metaphor (IS)\Places are bodies of water	44	22
ChangeEvolve	37	22
Container Metaphor (IS)\Languages are Containers	62	21
Give and Take	40	18
Orientational Metaphor\Up is More	37	18
Overwhelming - Exciting	30	18
JOURNEY (IS)\Discover	25	18
Gatekeeping\Boundaries	30	16
JOURNEY (IS)\Departure-GoOut	42	14

Table C2. In Vivo Codes for Article 2 (continued).

Code	References	Files
Opportunity	26	14
VariationDiverse\Unique	22	13
Complete-Comprehensive	21	13
Orientational Metaphor\Move Forward	20	13
JOURNEY (IS)\Visit	19	13
Support	30	12
JOURNEY (IS)\Vantage Point	28	12
Grow-Creation	17	12
Container Metaphor (IS)\Time Periods are Containers	16	12
JOURNEY (IS)\MovementStop	39	11
Orientational Metaphor\Orientation in Space	16	11
ExpectUnexpected	12	10
Place-Placement	37	9
JOURNEY (IS)\PlacePlacement	19	8
Mix-Combine-Integrate	11	8
Container Metaphor (IS)\Places are caves - delve	8	8
BUILDING (IS)\Build	12	7
Analyze\Decision - Commitment	7	7
Gatekeeping\Choose-Choice	20	6
Container Metaphor (IS)\The visual field as a container object\Goal-Aim-Target	16	6
Emotions	14	6
Gatekeeping\Separations	11	6
Container Metaphor (IS)\The visual field as a container object	8	6
Analyze	7	6
Emotions\DesireWant	6	6

Table C2. In Vivo Codes for Article 2 (continued).

Code	References	Files
ExpectUnexpected\familiarize	6	6
Action - No Action	11	5
Orientational Metaphor\Orientation in Time	10	5
Pursue - Seek	8	5
Authenticity - Traditional	7	5
Overwhelming - Exciting\Intensive	7	5
Concentration-Intensity	6	5
Connections\Meet	6	5
Mix-Combine-Integrate\Customize	6	5
Impacting	5	5
Reality - Virtuality	11	4
Value\Increase - More	11	4
Flexibility-Fluidity	10	4
Orientational Metaphor\Over - On	8	4
Imagine	7	4
Orientational Metaphor\Under	6	4
Concentration-Intensity\Challenge - Difficulty	6	4
positive impact	6	4
Orientational Metaphor\Brighter is Better	5	4
Connections\Communities	4	4
Follow Adhere	13	3
Analyze\Awareness-Knowledge	7	3
Mix-Combine-Integrate\Continuity	5	3
Container Metaphor (IS)\Places are bodies	4	3
Gatekeeping\Guest - Host	4	3

Table C2. In Vivo Codes for Article 2 (continued).

Code	References	Files
Limits	3	3
Overwhelming - Exciting\New-Old	3	3
Pure	3	3
Container Metaphor (IS)\Open-Closed	3	2
Container Metaphor (IS)\The visual field as an object	3	2
Orientational Metaphor\Depth	3	2
Translate - Convert	3	2
Carry	2	2
Give and Take\Ownership	2	2
Reality - Virtuality\Live Like...	2	2
Orientational Metaphor\Above is Success	3	1
Source	2	1
Understand	2	1
BUILDING (IS)\Foundation	1	1
Ontological Metaphor\Pursue your studies	1	1
Orientational Metaphor\Hotter is Better	1	1
Belief	1	1
HelloGoodbye	1	1
Landscape	1	1
Value\Goals	1	1