

Socio-political Motivation of Experiential Travel
Education in the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries:
The Grand Tour, World's Fairs and Birthright Israel

Edward Porges

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Reading Committee:

Joy Williamson-Lott, Chair

Maresi Nerad

Ralina L. Joseph

Walter Parker

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Edward Porges

University of Washington

Abstract

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Edward Porges

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Joy Williamson-Lott
College of Education

The purpose of this study is to illustrate that travel as experiential education, though not always obvious, often has political or cultural intent or ramifications. Objectives such as promoting cosmopolitanism, nationalism and imperialism, and colonialism may then become obvious by examination of various experiential education travel programs, past and present. This thesis will examine three examples of travel-oriented experiential education with political and social objectives from three different centuries: The Grand Tour of the 18th century, World's Fairs of the 19th century, and Birthright Israel in the 20th and 21st centuries. These examples were chosen for study to emphasize that 1) travel, despite recently being recognized as such, is a form of experiential education that goes back at least three centuries; 2) experiential travel education perceived to be a cultural or fun experience may have a socio-political agenda as well; 3) experiential travel education can be focused upon different constituencies, from a single person to a small, specific group to the public masses; 4) the Grand Tour, World's Fairs and Birthright Israel change in terms of their original educational mission.

The findings suggest that social and political aims are often incorporated or stated objectives to travel experiential education. In the three examples studied, there are political components to the Grand Tour, World's Fairs, and Birthright Israel. The research also showed that the mission of these first two examples morphed due to changes in the social and political nature of the times whereas the goals of Birthright Israel, given its newness, presently remains the same. Also revealed is that travel as experiential education is not a recent innovation, but by definition, goes back to previous centuries. It is, however, only since the last half of the 20th century that the term experiential education has been recognized and applied. Further, travel as experiential education is universally applicable whether an individual, a group, or the masses.

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Dedication

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Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

The purpose of this study is to show that travel as experiential education, though not always obvious, often has political or cultural intent or ramifications. Objectives such as promoting cosmopolitanism, nationalism and imperialism may then become obvious by examination of various experiential education travel programs, past and present.

Questions addressed in this project are: 1) is travel is a form of experiential education that goes back at least three centuries and, 2) can experiential travel education be oriented to different constituencies, from a single person to a small, specific group to the masses and 3) do experiential travel education programs have underlying socio-political agendas.

This thesis will examine three examples of travel-oriented experiential education with possible political and social objectives from three different centuries: The Grand Tour of the 18th century, World's Fairs of the 19th century, and Birthright Israel in the 20th and 21st centuries. These examples were chosen for study to emphasize that 1) travel, despite recently being recognized as such, is a form of experiential education that goes back at least three centuries; 2) experiential travel education perceived to be a cultural or fun experience may have a socio-political agenda as well; and 3) experiential travel education can be focused upon different constituencies, from a single person to a small, specific group to the public masses.

Although not generally recognized as such until the 20th century, experiential education (EE) has been a concept utilized as far back as ancient Greek times. Numerous philosophers and educators promoted the concept throughout the centuries and up to the present day. Experiential education is now a recognized concept regularly applied to learners of all ages. Experiential education has also been a way of positively enforcing the tenets of a given culture. A culture might be replicated through its politics, which may then be identified as cosmopolitan,

nationalistic, or imperialistic (Hobson, 1902). Our first example, The Grand Tour, began with elements of cosmopolitanism. Scruton suggests that to be cosmopolitan, one must believe in and pursue a lifestyle that shows a familiarity and ability to incorporate the manners, habits, languages, and social customs from other cultures (Scruton, 1982). In the 18th century, the English sent its landed, wealthy sons to the mainland of Europe for up to three years. This became an institution that today we would call Experiential Education. These young men, on the path to becoming gentlemen, learned the graces of dress and dancing in France, viewed the classical arts of ancient architecture, paintings, statuary in Italy, learned other languages, and established political alliances with their foreign peers (Warneke S. , 1995).

However, in the span of about 100 years, the Grand Tour became popular among the recently emerged English middle class as well. Its evolution advanced this new participant class to a greater sense of appreciation of their British culture by comparing their homeland to the less-technically innovative countries they visited and by observing foreign scientific and technical advancements. This educational travel had changed from a broadening, international, cosmopolitan experience to one with a narrower element and perspective of nationalism, which promoted a feeling that one's country is superior in every aspect, and was likely rooted in international rivalry (Newman G. , 1987). This nationalism carried over into the advent of the World's Fair in the mid-19th century.

For our second example, The World's Fairs' leaders designed their spectacle for the masses, and while its founders intended to promote trade among England and other European countries, they also sought to advance a sense of cultural superiority by the host country (Smithhurst, 2001). The competitive nature and success of these fairs became evident as numerous European cities hosted them. With the political advent of western European

colonialism, World's Fairs took on the element of imperialism and colonialism, which became apparent with their numerous exhibits (Greenhalgh, 1991). Colonialism, a practice of domination, involves the subjugation of one people to another. One of the difficulties in defining colonialism is that it is difficult to distinguish from imperialism. Colonialism involves political and economic control over a dependent territory, and has often been used to describe the settlements of North America, Australia, New Zealand, Algeria, and Brazil—places controlled by a large population of permanent European residents (Kohn, 2014). Imperialism, on the other hand, implies that one country exercises power over another, whether through settlement or direct control. Imperialism as a concept has changed over time. The word was not commonly used before the 19th century, despite the English referring to the United Kingdom as “the British Empire.” As Britain began to acquire overseas dependencies, they began to use the concept of empire more frequently, in particular as a system of military domination over territories. The day-to-day work of government might be exercised indirectly through local assemblies or indigenous rulers who paid tribute, but sovereignty rested with the British (Kohn, 2014). As these examples show, the concepts of imperialism and colonialism do differ.

Beginning in the 1800s, Europeans began to seek political and economic control over foreign locations. With the wealth generated by industry, the more powerful nations of Europe wanted to expand their empires. This New Imperialism, motivated by national rivalries, a sense of moral superiority, and the promise of economic growth, came from a desire for territorial expansion. This was most evident with England (Singh, 2001). The proponents of New Imperialism also felt they had the moral right and responsibility to rule over the “heathen, uncivilized” areas of Asia and Africa. They considered imperialism as a way to enlighten and save the native populations from themselves (Smitha, 2016). As this imperialism spread, the

World's Fairs, or Expos as they are presently known, began to reflect this mindset.

Birthright Israel, the third example of travel as experiential education, was designed specifically for a select, small group. As compared to the individual student traveler of the Grand Tour and the middle-class masses of the World's Fairs, Birthright Israel takes young North American Jewish adults to Israel for approximately ten days. This ongoing program, which began in the late 20th century, is intended to inculcate or reinstitute a sense of cultural identity within a specific ethnic population. While the organizers promote the program to instill cosmopolitanism, Gao sees Birthright Israel as overtly nationalistic (Gao, 2009). However, the program's founders and administrators say its intent is to educate the participants to appreciate and understand their heritage (Saxe & Chazan, 2008).

Experiential Education

Experiential education surrounds us daily but few recognize what it is, its impact upon us, and how the concept may be applied to enhance the learner's experience. Experiential education is not a new concept. It has been practiced for thousands of years, perhaps as far back as when humans began to stand upright. Simplistic examples could be strolling through a museum, watching cloud formations, or planting a garden. Grander examples of experiential education could be participation in a group tour, taking a welding class, or attending a conference. However, only over the past century have scholars attempted to define, study and better understand experiential education as a legitimate educational means. Still, the definition of experiential education has yet to reach consensus. Is it a philosophy, a method, both, or perhaps something else? The Association for Experiential Education (AEE) offers this definition:

Experiential education is a philosophy that informs many methodologies in which educators purposefully engage with learners in direct experience and focused reflection to increase knowledge, develop skills, clarify values, and

develop people's capacity to contribute to their communities. Experiential educators include teachers, camp counselors, corporate team builders, therapists, challenge course practitioners, environmental educators, guides, instructors, coaches, mental health professionals ... and the list goes on. It is often utilized in many disciplines and settings: Non-formal education, Place-based education, Project-based education, Global education, Environmental education, Student-centered education, Informal education, Active learning, Service learning, Cooperative learning and Expeditionary learning. (<http://www.aee.org/what-is-ee>, retrieved July 27, 2016)

Concerning this AEE definition, Gass, et al further state that the priority or order in which each professional places these principles may vary. No single term encompasses all the roles of the participant within experiential education. Therefore, the term “learner” includes student, client, trainee, and participant. Gass and colleagues also state that no single term encompasses all the roles of the professional within experiential education. Therefore, the term “educator” is meant to include therapist, facilitator, teacher, trainer, practitioner, and counselor (Gass, Gillis, & Russell, 2012).

For centuries, philosophers, educators, and numerous persons from various disciplines throughout the Western world have commented, theorized, implemented, and supported the concept of EE. I selected seven philosophers who I saw as early experiential educators from the literature because 1) they are representative, chronologically, from the ancient Greek era to present, contemporary thinking about EE; 2) they all subscribed to the basic concept of EE; and 3) these pioneers represent a timeline showing how the experiential facets of education was originally examined and implemented first for young men from their teens to young adulthood, then later applied to children, and finally back to adult learning.

For purposes of this study, I have chosen to categorize EE theorists/practitioners chronologically, as they represent certain ancient Greek philosophies and then move forward to the three centuries in which the Grand Tour, World’s Fairs, and Birthright Israel take place, from

the 1700s to the present. Categorizing chronologically will also follow along the same time frame as these three examples of experiential education.

Educators and philosophers have theorized about education practices for centuries, back to early Greek culture. As we move chronologically to the present, we see the progression from early thinking to contemporary education philosophy as applied to children, youth, and adults. Plato (427-347 BC), born to Athenian aristocracy, was much influenced by Socrates, his tutor. Plato established The Academy (the Greek name of the garden where Plato conducted his school), where he approached education in what today might be referred to as holistic. Plato's educational philosophy broke education into two branches: intellectual pursuits and physical experiences. His goal harmoniously blended the two to create an individual of perfect character. Although perhaps not experimental education by its current definition, the physical side to Plato's education concept might be construed as a precursor to experiential education as we know it today. The Academy encouraged physical education to inculcate moral formation. Plato theorized that society ought to be governed by "philosopher kings" rather than elected by a vote of the proletariat. He proposed the selection of rulers via a multi-year vetting process. The initial candidate pool would represent all citizens and gradually be reduced through rigorous education and a 15-year internship. The successful candidates had to prove themselves to be of flawless public and private moral character. They first studied math, art, philosophy, and physical education. Then, if not culled, they would later receive an experiential education through an internship. Those who proved themselves became leaders of the republic. By contemporary definition, this can be classified as on-the-job experience, cooperative education, and internship, each of which falls under the umbrella and definition of experiential training. Beard and Wilson say, "experiential learning is a client-focused, supported approach to individual, group, or

organizational development, which engages the young or adult learner, using the elements of action, reflection, and transfer.” (Beard, 2013). The common thread between Plato, his mentor Socrates, and Plato’s student, Aristotle, was that each believed that individuals gained education through experience, involvement, and to learning by doing. This then may be construed as among the earliest examples of EE. Despite not necessarily relating to the topics at hand, these scholars built an important foundation in the development and evolution of experiential education.

Moving forward through the centuries, experiential education remained an unlabeled but vital component to learning. Experiential education grew intensely during the Enlightenment of the 1700s. Numerous educators, philosophers, and other theorists thought and wrote about what we now call EE. Among them was the Swiss-born Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), who later lived in France. The writer, philosopher, composer and political theorist was best known for his book, Emile, or On Education, which he published in 1762. The story’s main characters, Emile and his tutor, illustrate how an ideal citizen might be educated. Rousseau sought to describe a system of education that would enable the student to survive a corrupt society. Rousseau believed that the early phase of education should be derived less from books and more from student interactions or experiences with the world, which I perceive as an early perspective of experiential learning. Rousseau concludes the story of Emile with an example of a boy who has been successfully educated as demonstrated through the boy’s experience flying kites. In some ways, this approach is the precursor of the Montessori method. Emile, ... is regarded by some as the first serious work on education (Smith, 2011).

The 1800s saw continued advancement of experiential learning theory and practice. Among these advocates was Maria Montessori (1870-1952), an educator, psychiatrist, scientist,

philosopher, feminist, and humanitarian who was also the first woman in Italy to receive a medical degree. Montessori worked in the fields of education and anthropology and believed that each child was born with a unique potential to be revealed, rather than as a “blank slate” waiting to be written upon. Her main contributions to the work of raising and educating children were in an experiential environment. She encouraged children to explore while their teacher observed and continually adapted the environment so each child could fulfill their greatest potential (The International Montessori Index, 2016.). Even today, many schools and teachers specialize in her methods. This concept of experiential learning has often been expanded to adult learning as well (Swiderski, 2011). Most contemporary adult vocational training programs employ the Montessori method. As the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Union states:

Recent findings show that the attention of adults increases when the senses are involved in a learning activity. Adults learn in different ways. Visual learners are stimulated by images, auditory learners by sound, and kinesthetic or tactile learners through touching, feeling and experiencing. The Montessori method can stimulate the senses and create a ‘sensorial’ learning environment where new information can be more effectively retained. As a practical consequence, the indication deriving from these assumptions show that learning activities addressed to adults should be ‘more active’ and not just theoretical and static.” (Bracchini, 2015)

John Dewey (1859-1952) had a different perspective from the traditional education protocol of his time. Influenced by the work of Rousseau and Montessori, Dewey is considered to have laid the foundation for contemporary experiential education. Dewey held a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University and founded and directed the laboratory school at the University of Chicago. As a public-school teacher, Dewey came to believe that learning came from activity and schooling unnecessarily long and restrictive. He theorized that children should come to school to do things and live in a community that gave them real, guided experiences to foster their capacity to contribute to society. For example, Dewey theorized that students could travel to an historic location and learn by experiencing how people lived (Ainsworth, 1979). Dewey had a

gift for suggesting activities that captured the essence of what his classes studied. Dewey's education philosophy helped promote the “progressive education” movement and spawned the development of experiential education programs and experiments. Dewey's philosophy still lies very much at the heart of many bold educational experiments, such as Outward Bound. Building upon Dewey, Chicago-born Carl Rogers (1902-1987) acquired a knowledge and appreciation for the scientific method in a practical world. While completing his doctorate, he engaged in child study. Rogers' research distinguished two types of learning: cognitive (meaningless) and experiential (significant). The former corresponds to academic knowledge such as learning vocabulary or multiplication tables and the latter refers to applied knowledge such as hands-on learning, which is relevant to EE today. Hands-on learning also applies to adults.

Travel is an experience that only the participant can experience. Travel is experiential education now as it has been in the past. For example, Marc Mancini, Ph.D., professor of travel at West Los Angeles College, encourages students who major in hospitality and tourism to partake in various travel experiences such as embarking on a repositioning cruise ship (Mancini, 2010). After Rogers's death, Harold Lyon, who co-authored numerous articles with Rogers, wrote, On Becoming an Effective Teacher: Person-centered Teaching, Psychology, Philosophy, and Dialogues with Carl R. Rogers and Harold Lyon. This book, published in 2013, presents the final unpublished writings of Rogers and has unique historical value. The book's principal findings of the research show that teachers and schools can significantly improve their effectiveness through programs focusing on facilitative learning.

Outward Bound, a well-known outdoor travel experiential program, was founded in 1941 in England by Kurt Hahn. Hahn instituted a program to train young seamen to survive the harsh conditions at sea. Outward Bound has grown such that seventy-five years later it now focuses on

extended wilderness expeditions that take students into wilderness environments to help individuals discover strengths they did not know they had. It is a confidence-building experience, using EE. Outward Bound semester courses offer alternatives for college-age students who seek education beyond the traditional classroom environment and for those who want to learn by doing (Smith, Knapp, 2011). Today's Outward Bound programs are clear extensions of incorporating Plato's and the other theorists mentioned who embraced the concept of a physical, experiential component to education. Hahn had no compunction about his inspirations for his program. "We have stolen from everywhere, from the Boy Scouts, from Plato, from Goethe. You must harvest the wisdom of a thousand years." In other words, he highly valued these student experiences as important educational components, whether in a laboratory, outdoors or traveling, just as philosophers had suggested over the centuries. Hahn's quote about Boy Scouts and Plato appeared in an article written by Bill Moyers, famed journalist and associate director of the Peace Corps, and published in an article about the Peace Corps for his University of Texas Alumni Magazine (Moyers, 1961).

A final example of a major influence in the field of experiential education is Rachel Carson (1907-1964). In 1962, she published Silent Spring, which had a major impact upon experiential environmental education. Silent Spring principally focused on the powerful—and often negative—effect humans have on the natural world. But, she clearly expressed her views on education several years earlier, in an article published in Woman's Home Companion, "Help Your Child to Wonder," in 1956. The article encouraged parents to explore nature with their children. Carson believed that learning came from direct outdoor experiences that engage the senses and develop an emotional connection with nature. Educators today recognize her approach to learning as a predecessor to what is sometimes called "place-based" education

(Warren, 2012). Experiential education has matured and morphed over the centuries. From these earlier philosophies, new experiential approaches continue to evolve that enable us to respond and adapt to educational changes. Both the public and private sectors now incorporate innovative EE approaches to ensure they meet the needs of today and tomorrow's students. From the earliest Greeks to today's educational leaders, the ever-growing incorporation and refinement of experiential education into curriculum, the workplace, and the personal growth fields will continue to morph into tomorrow's educational protocol. Many other pioneers and practitioners have contributed to the field of experiential education as well. In summary, according to Jay Roberts, professor of education at Earlham College in Indiana and researcher of education theory and philosophy of experiential education, says that EE is a transformative experience where one must get out of their comfort zone of language, culture, politics, religion, and so on (Roberts J. , 2012).

Travel as Experiential Education

I chose three experiential education examples, the Grand Tour, World's Fairs, and Birthright Israel to demonstrate that travel was and continues to morph into a championed component of experiential education. Rare is the person who believes that travel is not an educationally worthwhile experience, especially when programmed into a curriculum, formal or otherwise. Some early educators incorporated travel into their curriculum to maximize learning. The foremost spokesman for the revolt against mere book learning in the 1500s was the Frenchman, Michel Eyquem (1533-1592), generally known as Montaigne. He developed a pedagogy amply reflected by his saying, "A mere bookish learning is a paltry learning." Montaigne believed students needed,

some direct adventuring with the world, a steady and lively interplay with common folk, supplemented and fortified with trips abroad. Such contacts with mundane concerns serve not only to put an edge on the learner's faculties; they will appraise him of other people's humors, manners, customs, their politics, theology, and jurisprudence, their social system, and their public works. (Meyer, 1972:231)

Francis Bacon, another philosopher of the time, said, “Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder a part of experience” (Bacon, 1561-1626). Another significant educator and scholar, Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670), shared a similar philosophy to Montaigne in that he believed there is more to education than what lies between the covers of a book. Comenius proposed an educational system in four parts, or connected stages, of six years. Thus, a youngster could work his way up to education’s dizzyest height—quite like America's current educational system. To save the student from “degenerating into a mere bookworm, he was to relax his concentration during the last two years by seeking breadth and enrichment in travel.” (Meyer, 1972). At different times in history, however, travel as education was considered unpatriotic. In the early 20th century, the United States pursued an isolationist foreign policy and tended to be “anti-European.” The American public generally supported this policy because certain countries had not paid back their war debts. Moreover, many Americans felt that with their country’s technology and economic prowess, the U.S. would be world dominant. Travel to Europe for learning was, for some, considered anti-American and dangerous. One naysayer, the ultra-conservative radio personality of the 1930s, Reverend Robert W. McLaughlin, presented his views by employing nationalistic boastfulness: “If there is educational value in travel, Americans are the world's smartest, then Socrates and Pericles are therefore mere ignoramuses—distance traversed is no indication of education.” To further his argument, he stated in his essay, “Education and Travel?” that both Jesus and William Shakespeare never wandered but more than a few miles from home. He finished his essay with,

A young American crossed the ocean by chance
Learned his morals in London, his manners in France,
A student in Germany, an artist in Rome
A superlative Jackass when he got home.
(McLaughlin, 1930)

But, like many sentiments, the pendulum soon swung in the other direction. In 1946, the U.S. Congress established an experiential educational travel project known as The Fulbright Program. World War II had served as probably the most influential event related to the growth of international education in the United States. Part of the reason for the increased interest was that more people had traveled outside the country and, even though the wartime circumstances had been dire, interest in other countries became more intense. A desire emerged under much less duress to revisit countries and share experiences with friends and family. In addition, the G.I. Bill enabled many people to obtain a level of education that had previously been considered unobtainable, which spurred a further global curiosity (Altschuler & Blumin, 2009).

The Fulbright Program, sponsored by the U.S. government and designed to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries, is the nation's flagship international educational exchange program. Since its inception, the program has become active in more than 160 countries and provided more than 360,000 participants, chosen for their academic merit and leadership potential, with the opportunity to exchange ideas and contribute to finding solutions to shared international concerns. Every year, the Fulbright U.S. Student Program offers grants to more than 1,800 students, artists and early career professionals in more than 100 different fields to study, teach English, and do research (Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, 2016).

To ascertain the benefits of study travel, it is important to understand that there are many ways to learn. Though formal academic learning is generally the most highly recognized, other

avenues have the potential to be equally or more effective, including experiential learning. One possible result of travel-study is an increased knowledge of one's self. Participants on the Grand Tour of the 1700s traveled to the Continent to expand their awareness of other cultures and to expand their knowledge of the fine arts. Travelers to World Fairs were also exposed to other cultures and to the latest of scientific and industrial innovations. Birthright Israel's young guest traveler is exposed to another culture hoping to enhance their self-awareness and appreciation of their heritage. An introduction to another culture could help identify one's own philosophies and perceptions and allow the traveler-student to test those theories and crystallize thoughts that may have been forming for a long time. Exposure to new experiences allows a learner to discard incorrect information, misconceptions, and a substitution of reality (Orndorff, 1998).

Travel can be experienced as an individual or within a group; it can be merely one day or more than a year. The experience can be locally focused or by international travel. Travel, both formal and informal, is acceptable as legitimate experiential learning. The advantage of EE is that it incorporates many variables into the mix. Students learn by doing, and the introduction of dynamic reality most often motivates them as it calls for direct involvement (Schlager, Langfelder, & Groves, 1999). For purposes of this study I have come to endorse experiential education as a highly effective component to learning and believe that travel is a legitimate and robust form of experiential education. Moreover, my studies have shown that travel as a form of experiential education may have political overtures, intended or otherwise.

Chapter Outlines: The Grand Tour, World's Fairs, Birthright Israel

Chapter Two focuses on the example of the Grand Tour of the 18th century. Travel served as the capstone education experience for the individual—wealthy, young Englishmen. Despite any hardship the student might encounter, the Grand Tour served as a first-hand experience for

the young man to learn about other cultures. From the previous discussion, as to the evolution of experiential education, we will understand how it applied to the traveler student. I will discuss what the traveling student experienced and how that experience related to the learning philosophies of early Greek teachers. Also, I will examine what the sponsors of the student expected and what the student experienced. Given that many of these wealthy students would serve and strengthen the state upon their return, whether in government, the clergy, or in the military, their sponsors would express a need for these students to become more cosmopolitan—that is, gain a worldly, more international view of the political situation at any given point.

Later, as middle-class men also could take advantage of travel for education, its purpose shifted to promote a sense of national pride and superiority. The Grand Tour, originally intended to enhance the student's internationalist perspective, became instead a medium to promote a nationalist goal of cultural superiority. Regardless, the educational component focused on the individual experiences the student traveler crafted for himself. That meant he determined his own itinerary, the time abroad, and places he visited based upon the financial resources available to him. His sponsor's intentions were that the early student tourist would become more cosmopolitan. Into the latter half of the 18th century, its purpose somewhat changed such that it included the hope that the student would return home with a greater sense of nationalism.

Chapter Three examines the World's Fair, an experience-based, educational event that began in the 19th century. As opposed to an educational travel experience for the individual, these fairs served the middle-class masses. The Fair attendee would travel to one location rather than many to observe and experience numerous cultures in a central location. The objective of these fairs was to sustain and strengthen the trade and stature of the sponsoring city, state, or country to justify its imperialism. World's Fair developed during the Industrial Revolution and

demonstrated political and cultural dominance and creativity. The public revered science and technology; this period saw the introduction of major innovations such as the steam engine. This invention alone revolutionized agriculture, transportation, and manufacturing. World's Fairs were an avenue to promote the abundance of manufactured products and to justify dominance of the raw material sources. To rationalize nationalism and imperialism, political jurisdictions such as England and France began to use these fairs to compete in the international marketplace. The sponsoring states exposed visitors from around the world to exhibits that justified the sponsor's policies, a message that was, most often, nationalistic, imperialistic, and colonialist. Examples were the various exhibits based upon Darwinian theory that, in retrospect, had run-amok.

Chapter Four analyzes a relatively recent experiential educational travel program called, Birthright Israel. From this third example of travel as experiential education, we will examine how this program, designed for a specific group, compared to the World's Fairs masses or to Grand Tour individuals. Comparing the dynamics of a brief, small-group educational travel experience to programs for the masses and the individual, demonstrates how this experience draws from the EE concepts of Rachel Carson and John Dewey. As in the previous two examples, Birthright Israel has explicit political and social motivations, but appears to be different with respect to its audience and the intended message.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations will restate the study's purpose and inform the reader of this final chapter's organization and content. The summary will include a brief overview of the problem, purpose statement and research questions, review of the study design and summary of major findings.

Methodology

This research involves generally secondary and tertiary sources. Secondary data analysis is defined as analysis of data that was collected by someone else for another primary purpose but not limited to, the continued in-depth analysis of previous data, to study additional subsets of original data, and to describe historical and contextual characteristics of populations and societies (Smith, 2011). Secondary sources often lack the freshness and immediacy of the original material. However, secondary sources collect, organize, and repackage primary source information to increase usability and speed of delivery, such as an online encyclopedia. Secondary materials can be written or non-written such as sound recordings, pictures, movies, etc. According to Fielding, qualitative secondary sources can be divided into two genres: traditional and non-traditional sources. Traditional sources would be books and journal articles. Non-traditional sources such as film, and videos, now include the internet (Fielding, 2000). Tertiary sources provide overviews of topics by synthesizing information gathered from other resources. Tertiary resources often provide data in a convenient form or provide information with context by which to interpret it. Typical would be lists and charts (Univ. of Vermont Library, 2016).

Chapter Two: The Grand Tour: 1600–1850

"Travel, that foolish beginning and excellent sequel to education"

(Charles Wm. Elliot, President of Harvard University
from his 1869 inaugural address)

Placing the Grand Tour into context explains its significance. Frame of reference and background create context, which refers to the moods, attitudes, and conditions that exist at any given time. Putting an event into a context can impact the relevance of that event and is important to consider when describing something historically. As British journalist Ashley Kirk stated, one can gain greater understanding through looking at research from an historic perspective. For example, consider Darwin's Theory of Evolution alongside Stevenson's Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde to understand the Victorian age and the battle between science and nature that dominated Britain at the time (Kirk, 2012).

The Grand Tour between the years of 1600 to 1850, then, was not merely a rich kid's holiday. It was, at its core, a planned educational tour, but as we will see its political motivations played a heavy part. In the late 1600s, the notion of student travel as an educational experience became formalized, and thus began what was called the Grand Tour (Gyr, 2010). Historians generally acknowledge that the Tour began with wealthy young Englishmen. Only later did women, craftsmen, other European nationals, and eventually the middle class participate. I will first show how travel as a component to education, especially higher education, was not a new concept. Second, I will discuss the journey itself. Third, I will relate the reasons or goals for students to embark on such a trip, meaning the educational and political motivations.

Thoughts differ on when the Grand Tour began. Gyr suggests the Grand Tour was the early or developmental phase that defines modern tourism and generally considers that era to have lasted from the 18th century to the first third of the 19th century (Gyr, 2003). To be an educated gentleman worthy of being of the landed class and of service to the crown, the student was expected to travel to Paris and various cities of Italy. Another historian, Sorabella, suggests the Grand Tour had its beginnings in the late 16th century and wrote that it became fashionable for young English aristocrats to visit Paris, Venice, Florence, and, above all, Rome, as the culmination of their classical education. Soon thereafter, Germans, Scandinavians, and, eventually, Americans came to study the art and culture of France and Italy for the next 250 years (Sorabella, 2003). To facilitate an analysis of the Grand Tour as an early example of experiential education with political motivation, this researcher will use the year 1600 as its beginning.

For a clearer understanding of the background of the Grand Tour, however, we travel back to the 14th century, to the Renaissance, the cultural awakening that followed the 1,000 years of Europe's Dark Ages. After the disintegration of the Roman Empire from 400-600 AD, the Dark Ages lasted for centuries until the revival of a thirst for knowledge and education resulted in centuries of progress in philosophy, art, politics, science, religion, and other facets of intellectual inquiry. While historians disagree on the exact dates of the Renaissance, they generally accept that it profoundly affected Western Europe at various times between the 1300s and 1600s (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015).

The Renaissance in England brought changes to British society, including a growing interest in classic visual arts and literature, Roman and Greek philosophy and architecture. Also during this intellectual revival, England broke from the influence of the Roman Catholic Church,

a period known as The Reformation. This religious and political movement affected the practice of Christianity across northern Europe and England. Many factors contributed to this religious reformation: the decline of feudalism, the escalation of nationalism, the recognition of common law, and the introduction of the printing press, among other new ideas. People began to question the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, which launched a clash between canon law and common law. Kings and commoners alike protested Church revenues paid directly to Rome. Some of these revenues were from church owned land rentals. The Pope needed this revenue to build grand cathedrals and churches with expensive art, to include stained glass (Trueman, 2016). Because the common people could not read Latin, the Church justified its lavish spending, saying that bible stories had to be told through paintings and art.

To the Catholic Church's credit, however, it became the depository of some of the finest classical sculpture and paintings. Future Grand Tour students visited cathedrals to experience these classical art masterpieces. Seven years after a disagreement with the Pope, Henry, King of England, in 1534, declared himself the supreme head of the new Church of England and would serve as the final authority in legal and doctrinal disputes throughout his monarchy. This political event in England may have served to encourage similar events that happened in other parts of Europe. Eventually, the Church became less dominant in western European life which opened the door to scientific and scholarly advancement. For instance, Martin Luther (1482-1546) of Germany, one of the Reformation's major figures, also challenged the Roman Catholic Church. In one of his most far-reaching, rebellious acts, Luther translated the Bible from Latin, an elitist language, into a German dialect, a common language of the people. Over the course of the next two centuries, from the 1500s to the 1700s, the effects of the Renaissance and Reformation became evident. The English, severing their relationship with the Pope, then began to focus on

industry, trade and scientific advancement. The people began to concern themselves less with dogma and more with science and industry. Though the Catholic Church still influenced much of western and southern Europe, the Reformation diverted land, labor and financial resources from control of the Catholic Church to the English monarchy, allowing the English to use English land for English interests (Chaney, 1985). The king dedicated tracts of land to his faithful followers, who became the aristocracy. These aristocrats passed stewardship of their estates to future generations and became known as “landed-gentry.” With this new wealth as landlords, the expectation arose that their young men should be gentlemen, which set the stage for a renewed interest in classical, ancient civilizations and the civic ideals of humanism.

Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) was a great patron of the arts. The Elizabethan Age is often considered to be a golden age of English history and the height of the English Renaissance. The Queen valued student continental travel, as she considered English universities to be ill-equipped to bring the classics to life. At times, Elizabeth recruited English university students to travel to the continent “*pro bono publico*,” and to later appoint them as state ministers (Warneke S. , 1995). As part of that effort, the crown encouraged upper-class young men to travel to Italy and France to broaden their familiarity with the classics of the time. The major cities of Italy offered a world of classic visual arts and architecture. France was particularly attractive because of its renowned fashion, upper-class social graces, cuisine, and, other than becoming seasick crossing the channel, it was relatively easy to get there. These young men made important foreign contacts, learned about fine art, how to dance, adopt good manners, and the art of conversation (Stoye, 1989). With this new experiential learning by traveling abroad, landed young men became further qualified to lead an idealistic life of service to his community and

state. “The aristocrat served his monarch better with his wit than with his sword” (Werneke, S., p. 30).

The political agenda, we can therefore say, instilled a sense of cosmopolitanism in this young, upper-class student. Hendershot and Sperandio state that experiences with other cultures and places gained through study abroad is the most important element in developing a student’s cosmopolitan ideals and identity as a global citizen (Hendershot, 2009). British biographer and historian John Guy, says the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603) was the golden age in English history. He praises the Elizabethan Age because it was a period of domestic peace (Guy, 1988). The Protestant Catholic divide had largely settled—for a time—and England’s Parliament had not yet achieved the strength to challenge royal absolutism. As a child, Elizabeth had received an impressive education. It had become popular among British nobility to educate daughters as well as sons and Elizabeth excelled at her studies. Her education probably influenced her perception as to the value of education though it didn’t change the fact that women didn’t begin going on Grand Tours until years later (Sharnette, 2017).

Concurrent with Queen Elizabeth I’s encouraging wealthy young men to travel to the Continent and before the coming of a formalized Grand Tour, lower-class young Englishmen also traveled for both adventure and to enhance their skills as craftsmen. Beginning in the 16th century, various trade guilds prescribed the practice of journeying throughout the British Isles and to the Continent as an obligatory element of training, often lasting three to four years. According to Merriam-Webster, in the 15th century, the word, journey, is of French origin and meant a day laborer (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). This practice survived as an experiential educational institution with a rich and highly regimented set of expectations well into the 18th century. These vocational students focused less on the visual arts and more on advanced

techniques of their trade, but the idea was similar to the Grand Tour; a student could mature and learn while traveling to experience the world and return as an accomplished craftsman.

The journeymen's tramping resembled the Grand Tour of the educated elites and was expected to include touring and even ambitions in the field of art history (Ehmer, 2009). One such journeyman adventurer was Thomas Coryat, the son of a village craftsman. While in Italy in 1608, the young Englishman was introduced to the table fork, at that time most commonly used by upper-class Italians. Coryat brought this new implement back home, and by the late 1600s the table fork had been adopted by the British. Despite not being a part of the upper class, some historians consider Coryat to be among the first Briton to undertake a Grand Tour of Europe (Petroski, 1992).

King James I succeeded Elizabeth in 1603. There were differences between the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. (The Jacobean era, refers to King James as there was a Jacob, but no James in the Hebrew bible.) Differences included education and colonialization, the forerunner to imperialism. Succinctly, the Elizabethan Era was more liberal thinking, and encouraged young men and women to be educated in the sciences and arts. Under King James, the Jacobean Era was more conservative where men were encouraged to travel to be educated while women were dissuaded from traveling for an education. British Colonization, to include the Americas, had significantly expanded to begin the age of empire. Queen Elizabeth ruled over the territory of England only and her era ended with a war that left a huge debt. As King James I ascended the throne, there was unification of England and Scotland and an inherited major economic depression caused by a war debt. The Elizabethan era was prosperous and saw the development in fields like science, literature and even arts. But most British colonization took place under James. During the Jacobean era, commerce flourished, necessitating British

acquisition of foreign land as a source of raw material, thus, England's need to becoming a colonial power. Whereas the Elizabeth era was more liberal, the Jacobean era was socially more conservative. Both eras embraced education in which upper-class male students learned poetry, Greek and Latin. Education for women, however, was discouraged under James I (Mahabal, 2016). Some women broke from the rule of the day and took up the distinctly male privilege of travel to the continent. Their journey was usually much shorter and to less distant places. Life for a young woman in the 18th century was a mix of education and restriction. Women's status in their British society was a double bind--frivolous if concerned about domesticity and unladylike if one attempted to broaden their horizons (Dolan, 2001). Because England had no museums at the time and very little of the classic arts, and due to its distance from the Continent, English universities were ill equipped to foster learning beyond the rudimentary classics. Most often, therefore, students could only view classic visual art by visiting various Catholic institutions in Europe and receiving invitations to view private collections. Travel to Europe was essential to a capstone education (Garforth, 1964).

While many more of England's young men could experience the literature and arts through biblical translations and Shakespeare's emerging literary influence, however, women did not receive the same opportunities as they had during the Elizabethan era. Only the wealthy upper class traveled abroad during that time. Domestic travel in England became difficult with the imposition of laws enacted against anyone who wanted to travel without purpose or permission from the monarchy. Only nobility or master craftsmen seeking permission for a journeyman qualified. Moreover, traveling was also very expensive, giving the upper class a further advantage which created yet another barrier to studying abroad (Dolan, 2001). With evolving British colonization and imperialism in the 1600s came a growing sense of national

pride. As the English traveled to the Continent, they began to observe the culture, technology, and political structures of the lands they visited. The student traveler, who upon return to his homeland would compare his English society to that of the countries he visited and would then champion his own country—introducing and embracing nationalism. In Paris, the young man would learn his manners, learn to dance, how to civilly engage in conversation, how to appropriately dress for an occasion, and to speak French. Describing the qualities of a well-bred gentleman in the late 1600s, John Locke, the British philosopher who made contributions in the fields of theology, economics and education, stated “To establish good breeding, to form a good gentleman, book learning is secondary; primary is modesty, sobriety, politeness of manners, and knowing ways of the world” (Locke, 1964).

In Italy, the young traveler would be exposed to the private collections of sculpture and painting, and view ancient Roman or Greek artifacts, especially ancient architecture. Many families expected their sons to return to England with some art or artifacts for their private collections. The British valued paintings and commissioned portraits by famed Italian artists of the time. This became a major motivation of travel to Italy, if the young man could afford it. He would then grandly display his prize back home in England. This further promoted the sense of British societal supremacy or nationalism, as more and more fine art was accumulated in England. See Appendix A for typical route traveled.

The literature seems to focus more upon the Grand Tour’s educational goals and less so on its socio-political objectives. In addition to learning social graces, these young men sought introductions to influential French and Italian families to build political alliances and possibly intermarry. However, while political alliances were critical for peace and security to England, the British also began to feel a sense of cultural superiority. The Grand Tour reinforced

preconceptions and prejudices about certain national characteristics. As a student tourist in the late 1600s, youthful-traveler, Thomas Newcomb observed in his diary: “French courteous. Spanish lordly. Italian amorous. German clownish,” which reflects an embedded, early form of national superiority into the young men’s minds of the time (Gailhard, 1678). One eighteenth-century critic said: “The tour of Europe is a paltry thing...a uniform, unvaried prospect” which reinforced old preconceptions and prejudices about national characteristics (Bohls, 2005). Black says that most English student travelers returned to England “...convinced that their government, style, manners, [were superior] and better informed” (Black, 1985, p. 187).

The term, Grand Tour, was introduced by Richard Lassels in his 1670 book, Voyage to Italy (Rosenberg, 2016). Continental grand-touring, was a difficult undertaking. The young student tourist had to negotiate the English Channel, endure a lack of bridges over rivers, accept poorly maintained roads, inadequate lodging, unhealthy food, price gouging, multiple currencies, and political unrest. These conditions worsened the further east in Europe one traveled. Outside the major cities, touring was an adventure at best. These factors were a consequence of Europe’s lack of scientific and technological advances in industrialization.

Typical Student Tourist

Predictable expenses for the student grand tourist were determined by the duration and destination of the trip. Costs included round-trip boat passage across the English Channel, lodging throughout the trip’s duration, food for the traveler and his guardian tutor or guide, carriage rental, border fees, and the expectation to return home with souvenirs. The tour could take as little as six months and, more typically, up to three years. The student would travel from city to city and usually spend weeks in smaller towns and up to several months in the three key cities, Paris, Rome and Venice. The places to visit, the social skills to be learned, had not

significantly changed from their predecessors of the previous century. What did change was the increasingly greater sense of national pride in the British homeland. The wealthy student traveler compared England's advanced political system and scientific adaptations to that of the lesser evolved lands visited. It was Lassell's opinion that the best educational experience, it seemed, was to be had in France and Italy; to go elsewhere implied a need to do business or an unusual curiosity. The individual's family or, in some cases a wealthy patron, almost always underwrote the traveler's expenses. On occasion the monarchy itself paid for the trip, which further underscores the fact that this was an opportunity for the wealthy. Moreover, being funded by the monarchy and landed aristocrats would suggest being a positive influence on a student's sense of loyalty and appreciation of his homeland, England. Over the centuries from approximately 1600 to 1750 little had changed in terms of educational objectives for the traditional Grand Tourist. There was, however, an increasing awareness of the differences in applied technology and socio-political circumstances between England and the rest of Europe. This, then, contributed to the tourist's perception of English cultural and industrial superiority. This elevated sense-of-self can be construed as nationalism. The Tour promoted nationalism and eventually imperialism (Newman G. , 1987).

One example that effected participation on the Grand Tour was the French Revolution, which began in 1779 and ultimately failed by 1794. It also had a significant negative impact on British and other European students who feared entering a war zone, and therefore did not embark upon the Grand Tour. The French Revolution had rendered travel unsafe as the French army spread across Europe, defeating British allies and effectively stopping the Tour. Significant growth in the number of British tourists followed the Peace of Versailles in September 1783, but this was short lived as a "traditional" Grand Tour. Newman says that the tour's educational value

fell as its social value was strip-mined. The sheltered, aristocratic, young tourist of earlier years with his sketch pads, dictionaries, and escort was an anachronism as hordes of English travelers began to pour onto the Continent. Many students were indifferent to the intellectual and cultural merits of the trip. Letters home showed evidence of the re-focus to “rudeness, drinking, gambling, banding together, buying clothes, and [ignoring] cultural treasures” (Newman, 1987, p. 43). Touring had become a middle-class recreation in addition to the traditional upper-class youth. With the revival of science and technology came the steam engine and massive societal changes to British society. The steam engine supplanted or replaced horses and in many cases, human labor. Agriculture could be done more efficiently reducing costs. Using steam power, roads were improved, transportation issues lessened, and industry grew. Rural villages grew into towns and cities. Sanitation improved, the population expanded, commerce blossomed. With all these improvements came the middle class- merchants, lawyers, medicos, etc. (Black, 1992).

In the 1800s, the population of Europe nearly doubled and there were shifts in population from the less developed areas to the more industrialized areas (Bailey, 1958). During this later period of the Grand Tour, which lasted until about 1850, more distant locations became accessible. The industrial revolution, with the advent of steam power, coal as an abundant energy source, and the harnessing of wind and water power as opposed to animal and human labor, meant the continued application of expanded technology and improvements such as bridges, coastal transportation, and better roads. Unlike the Grand Tour’s earlier period, when students primarily traveled to France and Italy, 18th Century students began crossing the Alps to Switzerland, traveling east to Vienna and Prague. Travel east and across the Alps brought the student into the culture and politics of the Prussian, and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Except for Vienna and Prague, the further east one traveled, the less sophisticated the destinations appeared

socio-economically, technically, and politically. This further reinforced a Grand Tourist's sense of elevated English national superiority (Black, 1992). A destination alternative was travel south to Spain and Morocco which was relatively easy compared to travel eastbound over the Alps. The student became acquainted with Moorish architecture and a warmer, more conducive travel climate, especially appealing to the more mature tourist.

Wars were no longer fought over religion, but rather wars for control of overseas empires and for dominance on the European continent. Between 1750 and 1775, the instability of the European balance of power resulted in diplomatic reversal of alliances and conflict; among them the British-French Seven Years War (1756-1763) over colonial boundaries. This political instability often discouraged British student travel to the Continent and re-enforced their sense of nationalism (Hunt, Martin, Rosenwein, & Smith, 2012). The Grand Tour of the 18th century was often a reflection of British foreign policy, which was influenced by the political situation on the Continent. Through various treaties, by 1815 Britain had received a large portion of colonial and commercial spoils and become the leader in world trade and launched the British Empire. These treaties resulted in relative European peace for several decades, encouraging student travelers to experience the Continent (Rowen, 2017).

Given that the population of Europe almost doubled and shifted from the less-developed areas to more industrialized areas, these mass migrations created an emerging middle class of merchants, scholars, attorneys, medical doctors, accountants, and other professionals who now had disposable incomes that enabled them to travel. This new middle class wanted to enjoy the same benefits of travel the upper class had experienced, which prompted a change in focus of the Grand Tour. The young middle-class, male student began taking an interest in emerging technologies and commerce. They sought out their professional and commercial counterparts to

make contacts and observe the latest technologies in manufacturing. This newly emerged traveling middle class were more interested in entertainment, rather than enculturation. The upper-class traveling student preferred to not mix with the lesser-class. They changed their travel focus from art appreciation, political alliances, gentlemanly graces to retreat to the exclusive spas and resorts (Black, 1985). The purpose of the tour had shifted. The tour started as a high culture experiential education to instill cosmopolitanism then transitioned to have other political objectives, nationalism to support England's colonialism and imperialistic aims. Student travelers were supposed to return home and help rule England, and then shifted again when the middle class embarked on the tour where they mostly wanted to create commercial and professional contacts and to have a leisure experience.

As cultural interests shifted, and due to the prohibitive costs of traveling alone, the newly emerged, middle-class student more often traveled in small groups of three or four with one tutor-guide, as opposed to one tutor-guide for the landed gentry. They were less interested in the classics and far more interested in travel as experiential education through entertainment and recreation. Thus, began tourism as we know it today. The British, who had become attuned to travel for social and cultural enlightenment and recreation, now saw Europe as a place for learning, experiences and pleasure. As travel became easier and less expensive, many more travelers departed for the Continent, but less for work and enlightenment and more for, as the British would say, a holiday (Black, 1992). As Great Britain became more imperialistic, the British traveler became more nationalistic.

Women Travelers

Although the Grand Tour was regarded as a rich, young Englishman's educational experience finishing school, young women participated in the Grand Tour, though at much lower

rates and with little acknowledgment. Such quest for personal enlightenment had been considered unsuitable for women and, thus, very few embarked on a tour from 1700-1750. Those who did had an abbreviated experience. Because of evolving educational opportunities after 1750, many women of status were fluent in European languages, studied history, acquired artistic skills, and were not hesitant to engage in intellectual debate. However, these same women were concurrently confined by the English social mores of the time. According to Dolan, a woman of the times was in a double bind: she was considered frivolous if concerned about domesticity and unwomanly and unnatural if she attempted to broaden her horizons. The Grand Tour represented an opportunity for freedom and some women took it. However, since continental travel, even for the rich, was neither comfortable nor safe, women who remained too long abroad often risked condemnation as unpatriotic, unfeminine or unchaste (Dolan, 2001).

Other International Students

It's important to note that as time went on, the Grand Tour was no longer exclusive to the British. It had become international in scope with participants of other nationalities who sought an educational experience. Westrienen wrote a detailed study of Dutch students who traveled for education. She argues that too much focus has been put on the English traveler of the 18th century (Westrienen, 2006). For example, the French toured England to visit and meet exiled French Protestants (Milic, 1971). German students visited France and the Lowlands. Even though it took a significantly longer time for colonial-era, American students to begin their tour, which they usually began in England, they participated until the advent of the American Revolution at which time the tour fell out of favor to the colonists.

Socio-Political Consideration

The Grand Tour had elements of both cosmopolitanism and nationalism. Its initial purpose, for students to experience the Continent to become gentlemen and worldly, fed into its cosmopolitanism. Newman suggests the aristocratic student of the earlier part of the 18th century with his sketch pads and dictionaries, sheltered and instructed by his tutor, was old-fashioned to the hordes of English travelers that a half century later began to pour onto the continent. He claims that many of the student travelers of the latter half of the century were indifferent to the intellectual and cultural merits of the tour. These claims were substantiated by letters home from students that exposed a focus on drunkenness, gambling, sexual experimentation, banding together, and ignoring cultural treasures. With Britain's acquisition of various lands and colonies, England began to view itself imperialistically as a colonial power. Colonialism is a precursor often leading to imperialism, and often considered to be politically the same. This was true of England's political position. This imperialism fostered a distorted sense of superiority or nationalism. The Grand Tour morphed into a nationalistic endeavor using experiential educational means as its travelers began to feel their country was better than other countries. The British upper class were nationalistic and proud of their seemingly advanced European society. The Grand Tour enabled the young Briton to return home with increased pride. Thus, the attitude of the experiential student traveler had shifted from cosmopolitanism to nationalism (Newman G. , 1987).

The Grand Tour was an example of adult experiential education in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. It was originally intended for English upper-class young men to become a gentleman in the cosmopolitan sense to serve his country. Throughout its history and because of international politics and social changes in England, the Tour evolved to include other countries,

women, and the middle class as a nationalistic endeavor driven by imperialism. Today, international travel by adult students is often cited as experientially educating and this mode of higher education continues to be incorporated into contemporary curricula. Sabah Randhawa, the newly appointed Western Washington University president, intends to expand the educational travel experience for his students from the current 4% of total student population. As former provost at Oregon State University, the percentage was significantly higher, and Randhawa said students who studied abroad call the experience one of the most meaningful things they did in their college careers (Long, 2016).

Chapter Three

World's Fairs: A New Educational Experience

"To see once is better than to read a hundred times." Plato (427 B.C. - 347 B.C.)

Travel, as a component to education, especially higher education, is not a new concept. Travel with a political objective also is not new. The example in this chapter, World's Fairs, has roots going back several centuries. Compared to the Grand Tour, which involved travel to several international locations, World's Fairs also included travel. However, there were two main differences: 1) People traveled to a singular location to see a multitude of international exhibits while Grand Tourists travelled through Europe, and 2) the educational experience of the Fairs was oriented to the masses rather than to individuals. Just as the Grand Tour was widely perceived as experiential education with little mention of its political agenda, World's Fairs are also seen as an educational tool, with increasingly heavy doses of entertainment added. As we will understand, however, underlying the lofty ideal of educating the masses was politics, economics, and social issues. For a better understanding of World Fairs, there will first be a general description, or backdrop information about these fairs. This will include background as to where and when and how the World's Fairs developed, fair nomenclature, and organizational aspects. This first section will also introduce the "edutainment" concept as it applies to World's Fairs. A second section will include a discussion on the politics, competition, and racism as reflected in "native village displays" of both European and American fairs. Also in this second section, the concept of colonialism, imperialism and patriotism as related to World Fairs will be explored. A third section will focus on American World's Fairs where racism and gender issues will be explored.

Background

A World's Fair invites people from all over the world to see multiple countries, cities, and industries demonstrate their products and their arts, and to promote their homelands all in a singular location. This sort of event has occurred from the pre-Renaissance era, when traders would set up encampments at central crossroads and entertainers would find a ready, festive-minded audience. After the poet, Lord Alfred Tennyson, referred to the London Great Exhibition of 1851 as "...the world's great fair..." these exhibitions became widely referred to as the World's Fairs. The term Expo or exposition is French, whereas exhibition is English. An example of Expo being used was in the 1960s in Montreal with Expo 67. In popular usage, the terms World Expo, World's Fair, International Exposition, and other possible combinations, are interchangeable (Short, 2012). For purposes of this paper, and despite the growing popularity of Expo, World's Fair will be generally used, with an occasional lapse into the variant nomenclature.

World's Fairs or Expos have several ways to be identified. They could include the year, city, state or country of location. Another form of identification is the name of the event, usually based upon a theme. For example, we could refer to the first World's Fair as the London Fair of 1851. Or, it could be identified as, The Great Exhibition of 1851, the shortened version of its official name which is, "The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations." Another example is the officially named Louisiana Purchase Exposition, less formally referred to as the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. It was an international exposition held in St. Louis, Missouri, in the United States, from April 30 to December 1, 1904. Its theme was the 100th anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase from France (Society, 2004).

With the dawn of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and America in the mid-1700s, as villages became towns and the lower class moved from rural areas to work in factories, these workers began to earn a living that enabled them and subsequent generations to have opportunities for more education. By the beginning of the 1800s, there was enormous growth of a middle class that shared an interest in a new concept, the expansion of the economy (Jones, 1997). Iron and textile industries, along with the development of the steam engine, played central roles in the Industrial Revolution, which also saw improved systems of transportation, communication and banking. In England, "...good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expense of carriage, put the remote parts of the country more nearly upon a level with those about the town. They are upon that account the greatest of all improvements," wrote Adam Smith, the first modern economist (Smith A. , 1852). Industrialization also brought about an increased volume and variety of manufactured goods and an improved standard of living. As American economic historian Steven Kreis, Ph.D. commented, England was among the first of European societies to execute a takeoff into economic, self-sustained growth (Kreis, 2011).

World's Fairs grew out of manufacturers' exhibitions of the 18th century. Unlike the great medieval fairs that served as hubs of commerce from the 10th century through the 1400s—before cities took on that role—the main goal of these producer exhibitions, and later World's Fairs, was not to buy and sell their wares, but to exhibit the latest machines and to stimulate competition and economic progress. In Britain, the Royal Society of Arts held an exhibition of machinery and mechanical inventions in 1761. Smaller exhibitions of industrial products were held in Geneva in 1789, Hamburg in 1790, and Prague in 1791. France embraced national manufacturing exhibitions periodically throughout the first half of the 19th century, culminating in the Paris 1849 exhibition, which lasted for six months and drew over 4,500 exhibitors. Several

European countries followed with their own industrial fairs between 1818 and 1851 to include Bavaria, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden. These fairs were exhibitions to educate the public by promoting industrial development (Swift, 2006).

Mechanics' Institutes

Although the British government showed no interest in organizing or sponsoring national exhibitions, existing Mechanics' Institutes, an offshoot of the industrial revolution, regularly organized educational exhibitions of mechanical and scientific advancements and discoveries throughout England. The first recognized Mechanics' Institute in the country was the Scottish Edinburgh School of the Arts, inaugurated in October, 1821 (Kelly, 1952). These Scottish vocational schools, created in the 1820s with the objective of providing a hands-on technical education, spread throughout the English-speaking world. These institutes typically offered experiential education-oriented classes, lectures on science, technology and the humanities, and a library. At one time, some 700 Mechanics' Institutes existed in England (Varady, 2010).

Several of these Institutes opened in America as well. One such facility, in Gold Rush-era San Francisco, trained miners who returned from the gold mines broke and jobless. To finance the Mechanic's Institute of San Francisco, the directors in 1854 came up with a plan to host an exposition, as other Mechanics' Institutes had done in the eastern United States and Great Britain. The San Francisco school's first fair lasted nearly four weeks and drew about 10,000 visitors (roughly 25% of the adult San Francisco population at the time). Six hundred fifty different exhibitors participated, approximately 25% of whom were women (Kelly, T., 1952). The Institute raised operating funds by library subscriptions, memberships, endowments, issuance of stock, and the periodic fairs which charged admission to vendors and attendees. Ultimately, the San Francisco school would sponsor 31 fairs between 1857 and 1899, which

greatly contributed to the San Francisco Bay Area economy and generated ongoing revenue for the Institute, and perhaps more importantly, served as a forerunner and example to many international World's Fairs, some of which were yet to come. Over the years, the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco merged with other similar organizations to evolve into a California State University. Today, the Mechanic's Institute of San Francisco is a vibrant, active social organization (Varady, 2010).

National Industrial Fairs

By 1850, with the balance of political power shifting from the upper classes to the recently emerged middle class, coupled with the success of the independent Mechanics' Institutes, fairs began to emerge on a grander scale in both England and the U.S. The idea of holding a national industrial exhibition to educate domestic producers by exposing them to foreign industry had first been raised in France in 1834, and again in 1849. British protectionists, however, had successfully argued against hosting these national fairs by warning of foreign competition and industrial espionage. The first national exhibition of industrial products, took place in France under the Directorate, (a five-member committee which governed France from 1795 until it was overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte in November 1799.) Two years later, in 1797, France's Interior Minister organized an exhibition to promote French industry and to stimulate the purchase of the unsold porcelain, tapestries, and carpets that had accumulated since the French Revolution. The exhibition was so successful that the Interior Ministry announced plans to hold a series of national exhibitions. The first was held for three days in 1798. An official report touted French ability to compete with British industry. France continued to hold national manufacturing exhibitions periodically throughout the first half of the 1800s. Several European countries followed the French example. Between 1818 and 1851 national exhibitions

were held in Bavaria, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden, each promoting their own industry. The last French national exposition in 1849 lasted for six months and drew over 4,500 exhibitors, (Swift, 2006). At about the same time, British protectionists, that is, conservative land owners and industrialists, had successfully argued against holding a British national fair. They warned of foreign competition and potential industrial espionage. International economic competition was at the core of the national industrial exhibition movement of the 19th century. There was concern that economic competition could possibly undermine the success of Britain's manufacturing prowess. In 1846, Parliament debated abolishing the protectionist Corn Laws. The politically liberal, middle-class Anti-Corn Law League successfully influenced the overthrow of them in 1846. The Corn Laws were unpopular because they protected landowners' interests by levying taxes on imported wheat, which raised the price of bread; at the same time, factory-owners were trying to maintain profits by cutting wages. After the 1846 successful repeal of the Corn Laws, free-trade liberals organized a Free-Trade Bazaar in London. A year later, in 1847, the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce proposed to sponsor the first of an annual series, each larger than its previous fair, a national industrial exhibition in London. This proposal ultimately led to the first truly international fair (Evans, 2001).

The French idea of holding an international rather than just a national industrial exhibition was first raised in France in 1834 and again in 1849. Its purpose was to educate domestic manufacturers by exposing them to foreign products. But, politically conservative French protectionists warned of foreign competition and industrial espionage which proved persuasive and the idea was dropped. However, Henry Cole, a member of the British Royal Society of Arts, visited the 1849 Paris industrial exhibition along with thousands of other

visitors. Returning home later that year to Britain, Cole discussed, with the Society's president, Prince Albert, the possibility of hosting a similar exhibition in London (Swift, 2006). This exhibition Cole proposed would be international in scope. The German born, liberal husband of Queen Victoria threw his support behind the project. It was decided to establish a Royal Commission to raise funds and prepare for this international exhibition, which was to be self-financing. Henry Cole and members of the Royal Commission were the main organizing force behind the event. The Commission consisted of liberal advocates of industrial economic free trade. They saw the exhibition as an opportunity to demonstrate to the world the virtues of commercial and political liberalism and to promote the export of British manufactures. In part, due to his German technical education, Albert understood the value of an exhibition that showcased Britain to an international audience, hoping it would lead to more sales of British goods abroad. This would be more than just a national fair. In that other countries, also were invited to exhibit, it would be truly international. Beyond the commonly accepted, altruistic educational purpose of World's Fairs, we have a clear political and economic impetus. Thus, born in London's Hyde Park in a specially built venue called the Crystal Palace, was the first World's Fair (Swift, 2006).

World's Fairs

This first World's Fair was held in London in 1851. Officially called, "The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations," it celebrated Britain's confidence in its industrial might. Not all of England favored the proposed international Great Exhibition. Although the Corn Laws had been abolished in 1846, Britain was still deeply divided over the issue of free trade, and conservative protectionists claimed that foreign manufacturers would steal British ideas. Additionally, various European revolutions of 1848 further aroused

conservatives' fears that the exhibition would attract large numbers of workers and foreign revolutionaries to London, leading to public disorder. British protectionists feared continental liberals who demonstrated against conservative regimes in Paris, Frankfurt, Budapest, and Naples. Workers revolted because much of Europe had experienced famine in 1846. Commonly referred to as the Great Irish Potato famine, large parts of Europe were also affected by potato and grain blight (Paping, 2007). A lack of potatoes and grain drove up food prices and reduced profits keeping wages low. High unemployment combined with high prices sparked the liberal revolts. Another concern of British conservatives was Chartism, a working-class movement of the 1840s. The aim of the Chartists was to gain political rights for the working classes. Chartism got its name from the formal petition, or People's Charter. Among the aims of the movement were voting rights for men, secret ballots, annual elections, elimination of land ownership qualification to be a member of Parliament. The protectionists' fears were unfounded in that England remained insulated from the revolutions and popular uprisings that plagued Europe from 1830-1848 (Swift, 2006).

Politically, the emergence of the London World's Fair in 1851 created strong elements of international rivalry. Nationalism and economic imperialism prevailed in Western Europe during the first period of these exhibitions. England, France, Belgium, Spain and other European countries had colonies throughout the lesser economically developed world, which provided raw materials, labor and an outlet for the products of industrialization. World's Fairs became demonstrations of European industrial competitiveness. International economic competition was at the core of the industrial exhibition movement from the start (Swift, A., 2006). By the time of the launching of the first World's Fair in 1851 London, which was specifically organized to showcase England's industrial prominence, Britain had become a major industrial power.

Economic imperialism, where one country has economic power or influence over others, was a force driving British foreign policy (Woolf, 1920).

The organizers of the first World's Fair in London perceived an international exhibition as way to demonstrate to other nations the value of political liberalism, and to promote less restrictive trade resulting in greater export of British products. England's leaders established a Royal Commission to raise funds and prepare for the exhibition. The commission was dominated by industrial and financial leaders who were liberal advocates of the economic doctrine of free trade. They saw the exhibition as an opportunity both to demonstrate to the world the virtues of commercial and political liberalism and to promote the export of British manufactures (Swift, 2006). The Great Exhibition of 1851 was more than a mere display of goods; this international competition compared the technological, economic, and artistic development of each nation exhibitor. A glass and iron framed structure was built in Hyde Park, London to house the exhibition. It became known as, The Crystal Palace. Invitations were extended to other nations. Over 100,000 different exhibits from some fourteen thousand exhibitors representing a total of thirty-seven countries and their colonies were displayed. The exhibits were classified in four categories—raw materials, machinery, manufactures, and fine arts—and then into thirty subcategories. Exhibits were displayed by national origin. British exhibits, including those of their colonies, occupied half the space in the Crystal Palace. The other half was devoted to the other countries (Swift, 2006).

There were several examples of colonial representation at the Crystal Palace. One source for a listing of all exhibits to include the country, its possessions and products descriptions can be viewed from the Official Catalog of the Exhibition printed in English, French and German (Royal Commission, 1851). From fair-goer diaries, U.C. - Berkeley's David Kilgannon notes that

Newfoundland's exhibit consisted of samples of cod liver oil and almost every Caribbean island was represented with its raw materials. Saint Kitts exhibited a traditionally made fishnet. The Bahamas exhibited manufactured products made from hemp. Both Montserrat, in the Caribbean, and St. Helena, an island in the middle of the south Atlantic between Africa and South America, exhibited coffee, rock salt, maize and arrow root. Larger colonies such as India, and Canada exhibited numerous raw materials, from foodstuffs to timber and horsehair fabrics. British colonies were largely relegated to a secondary, producer role. Indigenous colonial culture was largely ignored. Little visible effort was made to portray the colonial nations beyond their production role (Kilgannon, 2013). Interestingly, all exhibit items remained without prices. Organizers saw such commercialism as contrary to the Crystal Palace's altruism of public education. On the first page of the Official Catalogue, Rule 12 for Visitors stated that no article could be sold except for the Official Catalogue, flowers, refreshments, and various souvenirs (Royal Commission, 1851).

Politics of Early World's Fairs

World's fairs are thought of as grand experiential education events. Though these exhibitions gave the masses a memorable experiential education, political motivation played a definite role. Much has been written about the lofty goal of being educational, but significantly less about their political perspective. To illustrate, the French wanted to outdo their British economic rivals. After the London Fair of 1851, France responded with its own Exposition Universelle in 1855. Napoleon III intended for the exhibition to showcase the achievements of his new Second Empire and to encourage French industry to become more competitive. The exhibition was also used to strengthen relations with Britain, France's ally in the French-Russian 1853-1856 Crimean War. (The French supported Roman Catholics, and Russia the Eastern

Orthodox Church. Also involved was the Ottoman Empire's decline and the unwillingness of Britain and France to allow Russia to gain territory and power at their ally's expense.) Despite the French conflict with Russia, and its theme of international peace and cooperation, Russians also exhibited. Currently, the 2017 Russian government sponsors a website devoted to its participation in past world expositions. Regarding the 1855 Paris fair, it says, "The exhibits of Russian Department of the exhibition provoked great interest of the public. Russian craftsmen brought shawls, Ural precious stones, metal products, magnificent brocade, felt boots and other things" (World Expo 2010, n.d.). To further emphasize British and French unity, there were accepted invitations by its French and British national leaders. This is an example of how a World's Fair was used as a political tool. "In August 1855 Queen Victoria and Prince Albert spent ten days in Paris, at the invitation of Napoleon III and his wife Eugénie. The historic state visit was intended to celebrate the military alliance between Britain and France in the Crimean War, and followed a visit by the French imperial couple to Windsor Palace in April that year" (Royal Collection Trust, 2016).

France held another World's Fair in 1878 in Paris to demonstrate that it had recovered from losing the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. The Exposition Universelle of 1878 celebrated the new French government and the recovery of France's pride after its loss to Germany in the 1870–71 Franco-Prussian War. Internal politics also played a role in the fair. Some French politicians were critical of hosting a World's Fair. Critics of the time argued that France could not afford such a lavish expenditure when it had only recently paid off its war debt to Germany. Moreover, French clergy objected to the secular tone of the fair because the new republic forbade religious remarks in the opening ceremonies. Inspired by the overwhelming financial success of its previous 1855 Paris Fair, the fair did open on time on May 1, 1878

(Chandler, n.d.). The New French Republic government was determined to regain international stature, especially so after the demise of the French Empire and its defeat by Germany. A World's Fair seemed to be the way to do so. The officials of the French Third Republic decided to organize a third World's Fair in Paris in 1878 to assert France's position as a cultural capital, despite the country's recent misfortunes (Tholozany, 2011). The memory of France's defeat was still fresh, and the German government was not invited. Though the German government was not invited to participate in the 1878 Exposition, individual German artists were allowed exhibition space. However, Exposition commissioners were anxious to avoid an incident that might arise from showing paintings in which French and German soldiers were shooting at each other. Such scenes were explicitly not allowed. The sixteen million people who attended the fair were primarily from Europe and North America (Swift, 2006). The educational purpose of these fairs, in addition to attempting to improve international self-confidence was to introduce fair goers to the latest in technological advancements in manufactures, and to expose visitors to the cultures of the host and participating exhibitors. The Paris Fair of 1867, in the tradition of the French Enlightenment, loftily claimed that, "The global exchange of knowledge is seen as a powerful tool to reduce assumed backwardness of underdeveloped nations" (Findling & Pelle, 2008, p. 41).

The list of products introduced to the public at the many World's Fairs is extensive. It includes electric lighting, the Bell telephone, the Otis elevator, the Ferris Wheel, motion pictures, and hundreds more commonly used devices and techniques. These expositions were, additionally, showcases for fine arts to include paintings and sculpture. Structure and landscape architecture was also a mainstay in public education in that it introduced style, spatial innovation, building techniques and sanitary advances. The New Orleans Fair of 1885 claimed to be the

world's university. The Greatest of all World's Fairs, so claimed by Chicago in 1889, had exhibits on medicine, music, commerce, and education. Unprecedented were the 1,283 educational sessions to include topics on labor, literature, and journalism (Findling & Pelle, 2008). Paris 1889 Fair managers were also sensitive to the French Revolution's policies regarding no congresses on religion or politics (Findling & Pelle, 2008). Despite the lofty idealism of experientially educating the masses, the general purpose of the Fairs was somewhat masked by their underlying politics (Gale, 2006).

Scheduling and Classifying of International Fairs

Countries and cities around the world became imbued with the concept of promoting their country, colonies and cities, where hundreds of thousands of visitors from around the world would congregate. The host venues anticipated local economic benefits such as revitalization or development of selected urban areas where the fair was to be held. Another benefit sought was the boost to the local economy by the inbound revenue of fair attendees to include lodging, food, transportation, et cetera. So popular was the concept that often there were multiple exhibitions going on simultaneously around the world as the phenomenon spread throughout Europe and beyond. At that time, there was no coordination for the scheduling of these fairs. Reference is made here to Appendix B, World's Fairs 1870-1879, to show there were various occasions when there were multiple competing fairs in the same year. The list of these fairs is extensive. Appendix B is representative of the fairs scheduled in the 1870s.

It appears that there have been 199 World's Fairs starting with the London Fair in 1851. England claims the most at 19 from 1851 to 1921 (Alphabetical List of World's Fairs by City, n.d.). An example of multiple competing fairs would be, as reference to Appendix B indicates, year 1872 that had international exhibitions in London, Lyon, Lima, and Kyoto. To organize the

proliferation of World's Fairs, 31 nations created the Bureau of International Expositions (B.I.E.) in 1928. The number of members in 1931 was 12 and as of 2016 there are 169 international members. The B.I.E. is presently headquartered in Paris. Fairs are classified by length of time, theme, and must be of non-commercial nature. An elected, international committee reviews applications, selects the winner, schedules and classifies the event (Bureau International des Expositions, n.d.). Despite the U.S. and Canada having withdrawn membership in the B.I.A. in 2001 and 2012 respectively, for claimed economic reasons, there remains interest in a U.S. World's Fair for 2023.

Several groups in the U.S. are attempting to bring the World's Fairs back to the United States and are planning to submit a bid to the B.I.E. However, to do so, the U.S. must reinstate its membership. Doing so includes paying back dues to the B.I.E. U.S. House of Representatives Bill 534, was introduced in January 2017, and is co-sponsored by ten congressional representatives. It states, "This bill expresses the sense of Congress that the United States should rejoin the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) to promote public diplomacy, global branding, and tourism to the United States. The Department of State shall take necessary action within 90 days for the United States to rejoin the BIE" (Emmer, 2017). U.S. cities and states presently wanting to compete for a World's Fair include Houston, the Bay Area, Philadelphia and Minnesota (Minnesota, 2017). Nations are invited typically through diplomatic channels. An example was President F.D. Roosevelt's invitation to the world by announcement of Congressional Proclamation #2209 of June 15, 1936 saying, "...now, therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, in compliance with the aforesaid Joint Resolution of Congress, do invite the participation of the nations in this [1939] New York World's Fair" (Code of Federal Regulations: The President, 1936).

Colonial Exhibits

The first and only Dutch World's Fair, the International Colonial and Trade Exposition of 1883, focused on the widespread Dutch colonies and was the first to exhibit their colonies both as a raw material source, and as a display of the indigenous cultures. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Netherlands had very modest economic growth. By the 1860s, this trend began to reverse, due in part to the opening of the Noord Canal, enabling oceangoing vessels to dock in Amsterdam. Simultaneously, the Dutch rail system improved with an Amsterdam rail station in 1879 (Findling, 78). Amsterdam desired to be more like the sophisticated cities of Paris and London. In that international expositions were expected to promote economic growth, a World's Fair would be an asset to the Netherlands.

The Netherlands did not have the industry, size or population of other European countries, but it did have its colonial empire. A Dutch committee decided to organize a fair featuring its colonies. Rather than being a military force, the Dutch were better recognized as world merchants. The Dutch merchant fleet was dominant on the seas well into the 18th century to be overtaken eventually by the British. However, Dutch seamanship and Dutch commercial enterprise resulted in a far-flung series of possessions and colonies, to include the Caribbean, Asia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and South Africa where Afrikaans, a Dutch dialect, is still widely spoken (Dutch Empire, 2009). A Dutch committee decided to sponsor a fair featuring its colonies. The Dutch, showing their national pride, had a separate Dutch colonial pavilion. Exhibited were different agricultural products, cultural treasures, native arms and more (Dutch Empire, 2009). On the fairgrounds, next to the colonial pavilion, was a Javanese village

inhabited by real natives, as well as a Javanese compound with a pagoda, and a bridge made of bamboo.

This Amsterdam exhibition, the first international exposition with a colonial theme, is noted in the history of World's Fairs. Entire colonial villages were erected and inhabited by indigenous peoples. Fairgoers were exposed to an exotic educational experience. The Dutch took empire to a different level. They put their ethnocentric imperialism on display in a way that had not happened before. Previous fairs displayed colonies as sources of raw material. For the first time, a World's Fair displayed villages inhabited by native peoples who entertained visitors with their costumes and customs. Starting with the Amsterdam fair, the native village became a regular feature of European and American World's Fairs. A mixture of commercial sensationalism, pseudoscientific anthropology, and colonial power, it served as a vivid contrast to the modern technologies on display and seemed to confirm assumptions about the superiority of European civilization. With this new imperialism, colonial exhibits became increasingly prominent, and in some cases, on reflection, were notorious. Swift suggests colonialism was a force for human progress (Swift, *World's Fairs*, 2006).

Colonialism continued to be a factor after the Dutch World's Fair. Non-European nations also exhibited and hosted World's Fairs. The United States hosted its first major World's Fair in Philadelphia to celebrate the centennial of the American Revolution in 1876. Mexico showcased its first major exhibit, the Aztec Palace, in Paris in 1889. Japan participated in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, and used the exposition to claim its status as a colonial power and to distinguish itself from the Chinese (Christ, 2002) Brazil hosted the 1922 *Exposição Internacional do Centenario* in Rio de Janeiro to celebrate independence from Portugal (Tenorio-Trillo, 1996). Politics remained a constant presence at the World's Fairs well into the 20th century.

Funding of the Fairs varied over time and from country to country. From 1851 to 1900, 112 World's Fairs were held in places as diverse as the United States, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and in South America (List of International Exhibitions, 2006). Unlike the Grand Tour, which was largely funded by the individual student traveler, hosting governments mostly financed the World's Fairs they sponsored. This financing took the form of providing land and financing their national exhibits and pavilions. Although the purpose of fairs, to promote the industry and culture of the hosting country didn't change, the financing of the fairs and exhibits tended to differ. The United States participation in European fairs, came from private funders, with industry, large corporations, and non-profit organizations such as museums covering the costs of the industrial exhibits. This absence of American government involvement carried over from European fairs to World's Fairs in the United States, where federal aid was confined to U.S. government pavilions and exhibits. In the United States, states or cities provided the land, planning and construction. Most often the American government funding was in the providing a United States pavilion (Findling J. , 2011).

Indigenous Colonial Displays

A dark side of these fairs was the display of indigenous people in "human zoos" to emphasize the evolutionary inferiority of these people. Rydell called it "ethnological show business, the displaying of foreign peoples for commercial and/or educational purposes" (Rydell R. , 1993, p. 93). Native displays became prominent at the many world expositions of the late 1800s and into the 1900s. Those spectators who came to gape individually and in concert with the thousands of other onlookers helped to shape Western perceptions of Africans (Rydell, R., 1999.) Those ethnological exhibits were 19th and 20th century displays usually in a so-called

natural or primitive state. These displays often emphasized the cultural differences between Europeans and other cultures with a lifestyle deemed primitive.

As in the Dutch fair of 1883, indigenous colonial peoples were brought to Paris in 1889 to populate villages representing Senegal, Tonkin, Tahiti, and other French colonial possessions. Cross argues that the Village Nègre, as the African native village exhibit was called, was used to draw a line between the civilized and the savage; it also served as propaganda for colonialism and the establishment of European imperialism (Cross L. , 2016). It was intended to dazzle spectators with new and unfamiliar cultures. However, the French government had other motives. The Village also acted as propaganda to promote French colonialism. The educating power of these human exhibits created strong political support of colonial expansion. The display of these humans in their native habitats served to prove how advanced European cultures were in comparison. The French used the Village Nègre to justify their takeover of Northern Africa and parts of Asia by showing the public these perceived uncultured savages. The exploitation of the indigenous people at the 1889 Paris World's Fair illustrated France's need for both economic expansion and a sense of entitlement over the natives on display (Cross L. , 2016).

Each of the four hundred people in the Village came from one of France's many colonies. Fairgoers could watch exhibited people go about their daily lives, which supposedly gave a glimpse of what was believed to be the true culture of these so-called primitives. Visitors to the Village were encouraged to touch the people on display and get up close to more fully understand these different cultures. The exhibit was comprised of six smaller villages in which people ate, slept, and worked. The Village Nègre exhibit displayed Arabs, Melanesians of New Caledonia in the Southwest Pacific, the Gabonese, Congolese, Javanese, and Senegalese, all of whom were from various French colonies. Life in the Village included performing daily tasks,

such as cleaning, eating, and creating art, which was then sold as authentic to make a profit. The indigenous people sometimes gave dance and singing performances. Women danced while naked and men played drums and staged fights, which were extremely popular with spectators. Some performed questionable tribal rituals. Village Nègre was one of the 1889 Paris Fair's most popular exhibitions, drawing over twenty-eight million spectators in its six months (Cross L. , 2016). On one hand, a World's Fair's initial thrust was to show the world technical, scientific advancements. On the other hand, native villages were added to enhance the sense of cultural superiority of western, white Europeans over indigenous colonial populations.

Another example of the featured educational display of the human zoo was in the U.S. at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Expo. This event celebrated the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' trans-Atlantic voyages and discoveries. Reflective of the times, the Chicago Tribune years later wrote that, "the indigenous exhibits offered an adventure in social Darwinism where Expos cloaked racial prejudices in the robe of science." (Willinsky, J. p.76). The Chicago Fair of 1893 is a well-documented event that featured the Midway, a mile-long entertainment strip that included ethnological villages intended to apply the lessons of social Darwinism to the struggle for survival between the races. Among the numerous ethnics displayed in addition to Africans, were American Indians, pygmies, and Igorot from the Philippines (Caffery, 2008).

Although not an indigenous display per se, various World's Fairs had a presentation by William Cody, better known as Buffalo Bill. He founded a touring company called Buffalo Bill's Wild West in 1883. Taking his large troupe of horses, cowboys and American Indians circus-like attraction, he toured the United States in 1887 and later toured Europe. Audiences were enthusiastic about seeing a fantasized representation of America's west. Cody was invited to participate in the 1893 Chicago fair. The percentage of the receipts Cody requested was too

much and the Fair was not willing to negotiate, so Cody secretly leased several acres just outside the gates to the Chicago World's Fair grounds and set up an independent exhibition much to the chagrin of the Fair's executives. A costly financial mistake for the fair. The show was very popular. Buffalo Bill's Wild West returned to Europe in May 1889 as part of the Exposition Universelle in Paris. This was a showcase of American Indians, rodeo, marksmanship. His European shows, in addition to the American Indian, also included Russian Cossacks, Arabs, and other indigenous populations with noteworthy horsemanship skills—all of which can be understood in the same spirit of the human exhibitions of the Fairs. Fair patrons around the world became exposed to other cultures, many of which were considered exotic. Another example of education masked in politics of colonialism (Fees, 2016).

Following the Spanish-American War of 1898, the U.S. had acquired new territories such as Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, enlarging their display of colonial inhabitants. As before, the purpose was to highlight a positive perspective of colonialism whereby both the civilizing influence of American rule and the economic potential of the island chains' natural resources were on display (Rydell R. , *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Exposition*, 1994). The concept, however, of the human zoo had not completely disappeared. A Congolese village was displayed as recently at the Brussels 1958 World's Fair (University, 2014).

Ethnological expositions have since been criticized and ascertained as degrading and racist.

Insight to the popularity of these native colonial exhibits, requires it to be in context of the 1880s and into the mid-20th century. Charles Darwin, biologist, published his book, On the Origin of the Species, in 1859. It described early evolutionary concepts where natural selection could form new species and wipe-out lesser species. It spawned phrases such as survival of the fittest and social Darwinism. A rather dark side to these World's Fairs were featured pseudo-

scientific theories that may have had more bearing in politics than science. In one example, “World’s Fairs were effective vehicles for spreading the gospel of eugenics.” (Rydell R. , 1999, p. 53). Starting in the late 19th century the eugenics movement was widely supported by various people including scientists, politicians, business leaders, and others. “Eugenics, based upon the work of Charles Darwin, advocated for higher rates of sexual reproduction among people with desirable traits (positive eugenics), and reduced rates of sexual reproduction of people with undesirable traits or negative eugenics” (Rydell R. , 1999, p. 76). Traits were based on skin color, intelligence, national origin, inheritable disease, and other factors. Positive and negative eugenics were considered two methods to improve humanity. Positive eugenics encouraged procreation among white people from northern and western Europe. Conversely, the eugenically unfit—people of color from around the globe—would forgo procreation, preventing the continuation of their hereditary taint (Friedl, 2015).

Scientists from all over visited the Paris 1889 Fair to observe and study the exhibited native village. Additional to the political motivation of the Village Nègre, scientific inquiry was an incentive for bringing colonized people to the World’s Fair to be on display. Because the Village Nègre was one of the earliest, large-scale ethnographic exhibits, that is, observing cultural characteristics of a group, fairgoers, to include scientists, were fascinated with learning about these native cultures. Similar exhibits at other international fairs permitted scientists to develop the scientific racism that was recognized and supported by public opinion. Darwin’s theory was, at that time, an accepted model as to the social order of the world. We know now the notion of Darwin’s theory was often taken too far and was never intended to reflect on differentiation within the human species, i.e. racial/ethnic differences. Other countries hosted fairs in which they displayed human exhibits. Countries such as Australia, Brazil, Guatemala,

Indonesia, Jamaica, New Zealand, and South Africa created human exhibitions for their fairs and exhibitions. Famous examples of these ethnographic exhibits were the Igorot from the Philippines, at St. Louis in 1904, Alaskan natives at Seattle in 1909. The last of these native exhibits was held at the Brussels World's Fair in the 1958. Rydell contends that World's Fairs of the late 1800s and up to World War II were effective vehicles for eugenics, the pseudo-science of improving the human population by selective breeding. The theory fell out of favor after World War II and Nazi perversion (Rydell R. , 1993).

Information, Entertainment or Edutainment?

Educational entertainment, or edutainment, includes content that is primarily educational but has incidental entertainment value. It has been used by governments in various countries to disseminate information via radio, television, including soap operas or telenovelas to influence viewers' opinions and behaviors (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionarywebster/edutainment>). As patrons at these internationally competitive fairs were increasingly of a more sophisticated middle class, these world expositions began to add entertaining displays. The 1889 Parisian fair, according to Findling and Pelle, was "the harbinger of Coney Island and Disney's Magic Kingdom, with its spectacular demonstration of technology to change the environment with light, color, sound and amusement." (Findling and Pelle, p. 101). By 1900, with a growing tension between entertainment and education to draw in the public, World's Fairs had become "quasi-educational on an epic scale" (Greenhalgh, P., p.58). American fairs, compared to their European counterparts, more often included entertainment features such as Ferris Wheel rides and Sally Rand's exotic dancing. By the first decade of the 20th century, fairs in Europe also had adopted these types of entertainment attractions. Science and education began to cede its emphasis to "infotainment" in Seattle's 1909

exposition, where “the educational exhibits were a bit like having the Smithsonian Institution come to your door [and] the carnivalesque Pay Streak [Klondike Dance Hall and Saloon] was pure infotainment” (Upchurch, 2009).

One of the primary goals of contemporary World’s Fairs is to educate by being entertaining. Both the amusement zones and pavilions in World’s Fairs have evolved over time. As people had more entertainment options, world expositions continued to invent new ways to provide information and inspiration. World’s Fairs were initially established in the 19th century to focus on progress and innovation in industry and manufacturing. In the late 19th century, the emphasis of fairs shifted towards themes of cultural issues, and solutions to social problems. In the 20th century, the concept shifted to focus on what is known as nation-branding where countries used their exhibits to define their national identities among other nations. Each of these focuses was a form of experiential education and was motivated politically. The first World’s Fairs used very modest entertainment. This informative entertainment, or infotainment, became more and more prominent reaching for its zenith into the 20th century and beyond.

Following World War II, and, confronted with growing competition from 3-D movies, high fidelity stereo sound, color TV and other innovative electronic media and Disney-inspired theme parks, World’s Fairs began to recede in number, extravagance, and importance. World’s Fairs, to be competitive, needed to employ the latest technology to attract fair-goers. Four of the most famous expo exhibits were developed by Walt Disney Studios for the 1963-4 New York World’s Fair. They were called, “Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln” for the State of Illinois, “Carousel of Progress” for General Electric, “Magic Skyway” for Ford, and “It’s a Small World” for Pepsi-Cola to salute and benefit United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund, (UNICEF). Walt Disney designed and perfected his system of Audio Animatronics, which is a

combination of electromechanical actuators and computers that controlled the movement of lifelike robots to act out scenes. Visitors were treated to a very life like Abe Lincoln. Pepsi's "It's a Small World" legacy left us with the iconic tune still being sung, hummed, and whistled. Ford's Magic Skyway was an early prototype of what would become the moving sidewalk system as seen at many airports today. Rather than standing on a moving belt, people rode in 50 Ford convertible autos including the yet to be released iconic Mustang.

This is significant in that the public was introduced to modern technologically advanced concepts. This was the forerunner of today's computer controlled environment that is so integrated into our lives today. This writer had the pleasurable experience viewing these exhibits and working at this fair serving hot-dogs to many of the 135,000 visitors per day who experienced these four famous exhibits (Carnahan, 2012).

Lasting Impacts on the Public: Subtle and Some Not So

Fairs introduced the world to a new way to build high-rise structures. On March 31, 1889, workers in Paris completed construction of the Eiffel tower, built to celebrate the centennial of the 1789 French Revolution. From more than 125 proposals, exhibition organizers selected the design submitted by Gustave Eiffel, an experienced civil engineer. Eiffel designed bridges and the framework for the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. The Eiffel Tower demonstrated that by using a lattice of wrought iron frame construction, there were seemingly unlimited heights to which a "skyscraper" could go. Twice as high as the dome of St. Peter's in Rome and the Great Pyramid of Giza, nothing remotely like the Eiffel Tower had ever been built. Making use of his advanced knowledge of this new construction technique, Eiffel designed a light, airy and strong structure that started a revolution in civil engineering which was clearly an experience that educated the masses. He was sometimes referred to as the Magician of Iron (Eiffel Tower, 2014).

The Eiffel Tower was the entrance to and main exhibit of the Paris Exposition of 1889. It was constructed to commemorate the centennial of the French Revolution and to demonstrate France's industrial might as was represented in this iconic physical structure. A visit to Paris almost always includes a visit to this famous landmark. Another more-highly-touted side to the World's Fairs phenomenon was the educational impact upon the greater public. It is well known that these fairs educated the masses to innovative, scientific, technological, and artistic foundations of the evolving industrial world.

Another major influence upon the urbanized world was the introduction of modern urban planning and architecture. Industrialization created large cities. The country's urban population began to outnumber its rural population (Rose, 1996). The wealthy classes became concerned that masses of immigrants and poorer workers from rural areas made city living unsafe, unsanitary, and unattractive. Most city dwellers perceived that cities were ugly, congested, dirty, and unsafe. As cities grew by the influx of immigration, public spaces for recreation and beauty were being used up. The chaotic approach to sanitation, pollution, and traffic, found in most big American cities, affected rich and poor alike. There was a nascent awareness at that time that change needed to be made. The City Beautiful movement grew from that awareness.

The 1893 fair in Chicago brought the City Beautiful movement to the public's attention in a spectacular way. The "White City," as the fair came to be known, was a major influence in city planning and architecture. A team of well-known architects that included Fredrick Law Olmsted, famed originator of landscaped architecture in New York City, Seattle, and elsewhere, designed the fairgrounds such that the classically styled buildings, all painted bright white, of uniform height, and decorated roughly the same, with park land and water ponds, would

resemble the ideal of a perfect city. The beauty of the main court, the well-planned balance of buildings, water, and open green spaces was a revelation for the 27 million visitors (Rose, 1996).

Not only was the White City dignified and monumental, it was also well-run; there was no poverty and no crime (so the visitors were led to believe). There were state-of-the-art sanitation and transportation systems, in contrast to the grey urban sprawl and blight of Chicago and other American cities. This seemed a utopia (Rose, 1996). As reflected at the Chicago Fair with its lagoons, green spaces and cohesive layout, the City Beautiful concept focused on incorporating a civic center, parks, grand boulevards and parkways (Zevnep, 1992). The City Beautiful movement's intent was to enhance a city's appearance and to help the flow of vehicle and pedestrian traffic in addition to being a positive influence on public social behavior. In fact, the Chicago Fair was credited with being a major influence of early city planning and architectural unity. Over time, however, it became apparent that improvement of the physical city without specifically addressing social and economic issues would not substantively improve urban life. The movement began to wane by World War I. It was later succeeded by a newer approach to architecture and urban planning. This new approach reflected the use of utilitarian steel, reinforced concrete, and tempered glass rather than masonry and classical Euro design. In July 1894, a fire tore through the fairgrounds and destroyed most of the buildings. Even faster than it was built, the White City disappeared.

The Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893 became a symbol of America's emerging American exceptionalism, that is, America being a country significantly different socially and politically from the rest of the world's nations. As the London Great Exhibition of 1851 became a symbol of Victorian era England, so too, the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893 became symbolic of the U.S. entry as a world political and economic power. The World's Columbian

Exposition of 1893 in Chicago showcased a new mindset in the United States. The educational experience of the masses attending World's Fairs had far-reaching influences upon society, often in unsuspecting ways. Although some may say the following is too far reaching, I contend that it is not and is just one more very subtle influence on the public that has lasted for decades. For instance, Frank Baum, author of The Wizard of Oz, is said to have fashioned his perfect Emerald City in the Land of Oz from having experienced the White City of the 1893 Chicago fair. Prior to becoming an author, Baum was among the first professional retail store window dressers. There were over 250,000 displays at the Chicago Fair, everything from French paintings to mechanical reapers to the famed Wheel by Ferris. Wirtschafter suggests that 19th century World's Fairs were "proto-department stores" because they developed a display-style that department stores later adopted. Prior to the 1890s, stores left their goods in heaps in their windows. It was protocol that these fairs were meant to showcase, demonstrate rather than to purely sell items. The organized and artful exhibits influenced retail stores. The retail world took note, making Chicago a mecca for the emerging trade of retail store window display professionals. Chicago became home for the National Association of Window Trimmers, which Baum founded in 1898 (Wirtschafter, 2014). Indeed, a very subtle, yet a societal World's Fair influence.

Women's Representation at American World's Fairs

As a vehicle of change, the role of women, particularly white middle class women, in Western society became an important political facet of World's Fairs. We will focus here on two American World's Fairs that are well documented regarding gender equality, the 1876 Philadelphia and the 1893 Chicago World's Fairs. There will also be reference to the 1909 Seattle Exposition. These mentions will reveal that there was gradual movement over the years towards gender equality. And, the fairs were used to educate and promote the politics of gender

equality. Women were given space within various exhibits at previous fairs, but The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 had the first building devoted to women and was designed by a young female architect. The Fair's all-male board of directors, who were not political appointees but leaders in business, hoped that a women's display in the Main Building would generate greater investor enthusiasm, thus increasing the sale of stock. After selling out space in the Main Building to foreign exhibitors, the Board withdrew its invitation to the women. Women responded with their own pavilion, built with funds completely raised by women (Wolf, 2012). The Fair's Board authorized a women's committee to determine the exhibits and displays. The women's committee's overall goal was to increase female confidence, abolish restrictions against their gender, and to advocate for women's ability to work outside the home (Wolf, 2012)

The 1876 Philadelphia Women's Pavilion was not without controversy, especially between suffragettes and those who were satisfied with women's socio-political status at the time. Harvard's Professor of History, Nancy Cott, a founder of the Women's Studies program at Yale, is a specialist in gender topics in the United States of the 19th and 20th centuries. She contributed the web page, [Working Woman, 1800-1930: World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893](#) to Harvard's on-line Open Collection Program. Cott offered the following commentary regarding 1876 Philadelphia's Women's Building and the philosophical political tension among its women exhibitors:

When visitors first entered the Women's Pavilion, their first sight was of a woman running a steam engine, symbolizing the new opportunities for women. Following the larger fair theme of progress and technological innovation, the Women's Building celebrated woman inventors and mechanics and displayed labor-saving devices for the household. Additionally, dress reform, that is, the move to free women from restrictive corsets and heavy dresses—was also a major aspect of the exhibit. The women's displays suggested that women were being allowed into traditionally male areas; for example, women in the medical professions (the American Medical Association admitted its first woman member during a meeting in Philadelphia during the fair), women's colleges, and women writers. Some women were pleased by the presence of a Women's Pavilion,

believing that its inclusion signaled movement toward gender equality. Nonetheless, the segregation of women into their own building upset others. Suffragists wanted to use the fair as a platform to demand the vote. Some suggested that the exhibit include a legal complaint that had been issued against women trying to vote. Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others surprised visiting dignitaries by presenting them a Declaration of the Rights of Women at a July 4 ceremony. As if to emphasize that women were denied the franchise, the Centennial Exhibition's Women's Day was election day, November 7, so that women could have their run of the fair while men were off voting. (Cott, 2002)

Despite the limited progress made for women's equality at the Philadelphia 1876 Fair, the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893 was a benchmark for expanding women's roles in the fairs. There was a designated Women's Building in the fair's planning stage. There were women appointed to the Women's Board. Women were largely in charge of their exhibits in their pavilion. In 1893 Chicago, the Women's Building was also a separate pavilion, a fact that, at least for the moment, answered the question of whether to maintain a separate space or integrate women into the rest of the fair's exhibits. The answer seemed to be separate rather than integration. The fact that the 1893 Chicago organizers sometimes saw the women's pavilions as a place of "leftovers" for items that could not be placed anywhere else also undercut the value and prestige of these female pavilions (Boisseau & Markwyn, 2010).

Displays in the Chicago Women's Building resembled those of various World's Fairs from previous years. The 1893 Chicago exhibits, like those in 1876 Philadelphia, also were designed in the hope that women would gain credit and respect for devising new techniques in education such as kindergartens, home economics, lip reading for the deaf, scientific child care (Weimann, 1981). In the library of the 1893 Chicago Women's Pavilion, there were books by female authors and statistics on the conditions faced by women around the globe. France, Mexico, Italy, and Germany also had exhibitions in the Women's Building. The Spanish displayed the swords of Isabella, along with portraits and jewels belonging to the queen. This

was especially appropriate since the fair marked the 400-year anniversary of Columbus' landing in the New World. Next to Spain were women's displays from Siberia, Siam, Japan, Norway, Austria, Belgium, India, Sweden, Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope, all depicting either the achievements or the lifestyles of women in their respective countries (Burrows, 2005).

Spanning the centuries and extending across the globe at World's Fairs from Portugal to London to Chicago to Paris, women's place in the world was a political issue. Women's pavilions attempted to educate the public on women's issues to include working women's rights. In America's World's Fairs, the political position of both sides of the suffrage movement was well represented by both supporters and those who were opposed. It was generally understood that fair organizers had the final say in the numerous pavilions and their exhibits. This control had an influence on the public's perception of womanhood. Though the 1893 Chicago Fair did include material in favor of women's suffrage, the political aspect of women's displays would be dominated by status-quo groups and attention would be minimized from the women's social movement. More emphasis would be placed on women's accomplishments in the domestic arts, that is, homemaking and child rearing. Some believed the Chicago 1893 Women's Building was meant to appease women, to curb their appetite for further equality. The Women's Board was made up of women who were of the upper social classes. They were generally less enthused with socio-political equality and were resolute to have women exhibits focused on domestic and childhood education (Boisseau & Markwyn, 2010). For the first couple of decades after the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition, there was a significant decrease in the importance given to a Women's Building at future Expositions which highlighted class divisions among women. Since the various Women's Boards were composed almost exclusively of the female elite who were supposedly satisfied with their status in the U.S., there was little representation of women

workers, such as those who swept the streets of the fair. Working women would be underrepresented (Burrows, 2005). The 1876 Philadelphia and the 1893 Chicago World's Fairs were platforms to educate and persuade the public on the women's rights issue. Each fair was used by women to promote their political cause via their educational exhibits.

Despite political pushback, the cause for gender equality was advanced with each subsequent World's Fair. The advances in 1893 Chicago were in the form of a designated Women's Building, managed by a women's exhibit committee, and the inclusion of suffrage material. It is worth noting that despite the major step forward in women's representation, there is evidence of the absence of an image of working women at the 1893 Chicago Women's Building. This nonappearance was criticized by Charlotte Smith, president of the Women's National Industrial League of America. She said that women were adopting the framework and mechanisms of patriarchal bureaucracy to accomplish decidedly antipatriarchal ends (Wadsworth, 2012).

With a previously brief mention of the Seattle Fair, we now move forward from Chicago 1893 to 1909 in Seattle. Closer to home, on this University of Washington campus in Seattle, is cited a testament to the advancement of women's rights. I do this to illustrate the continued forward movement to gender equality. This was another example of a World's Fair used to advance a socio-political agenda. The 1909 Seattle World's Fair was a regional magnet attracting thousands. As a Northwest major event, the fair was a platform for women's rights in Washington State. The National American Women's Suffrage Association annual convention was held in Seattle to coincide with the fair, and the Washington State Women's Building was one of the fair's highlights. Hundreds of suffragettes participated in the fair's Woman Suffrage Day, July 7, 1909. Under "Votes for Women" banners, they passed out literature and lobbied

fairgoers for their support. Partly because of these efforts, The Washington State Constitution was amended in 1910 to grant women the right to vote, ten years before the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution conferred that right nationally. Seattle's Exposition President, J.E. Chilberg addressed the 41st National American Women's Suffrage Association convention, stated, "In representing the cause of equal suffrage in this country, you are representing the means of a wonderful improvement in our politics" (Becker, 2008). This represents a continual forward movement towards women's social equality where a World's Fair was a convenient educational platform. See Appendix D.

African-American Representation

Because of overt racism, African Americans were met with resistance, especially those who successfully used numerous fairs for civil rights protests and litigation. Here, we will illustrate African American attempts to alter existing racism of the time using a World's Fair platform. There was much political jostling at the 1893 Chicago Fair. One example was where white women activists succeeded in securing a Woman's Building for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, but made no effort to include black women in the formal planning process. Thus, the likelihood that African American women would not be represented in the 1893 Chicago exhibits in the Woman's Building mobilized Black women to protest their exclusion. Among the black protesters was Hallie Q. Brown, Principal of Women at Tuskegee Institute and the founder of the Colored Women's League of Washington D.C. (Wadsworth, 2012). Class and other social differences among Blacks, later discussed, did not always agree on how they should be represented at the fair, but their efforts to be included raised significant issues about the status of black Americans.

Brown exposed the white Women's Board's lack of response to the request for black women's representation in the Chicago Fair of 1893. The Women's Board was said to have been dismayed at the confusion caused by multiple factions representing disorganized and differing social political thinking. Black requests for representation were largely ignored. One African-American opinion was that all blacks ought to be fully integrated into the predominant white society exhibits and the other view was for separate displays devoted exclusively for blacks (Hendricks, 2014). Blacks were alarmed because they were excluded from the two official planning bodies for the fair, the all-male United States National Commission and the all-female Board of Lady Managers, both appointed by President Benjamin Harrison. Although blacks protested their blatant absence from these groups, President Harrison did not change the composition of either. Few were fooled into believing that the Chair of the Board of Lady Managers, Bertha Palmer's appointment in the 1893 Chicago Fair of Mrs. A. M. Curtis to handle black exhibits was anything more than an attempt to gloss over their exclusionary intentions. Curtis was a young black woman employed rather briefly by the Board of Lady Managers in a clerical position (Reed, 1999).

As has been argued throughout this dissertation, World's Fairs have been vehicles to educate the public masses and to promote socio-political agendas whether about urban planning, gender, or the patriarchal need for colonialism. In the United States, the debate over the place of African Americans in society also played out at the Fairs. Organizers for both the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and 1895 Atlanta World's Fair planned immense, broad-sweeping attractions that would impress fairgoers with the achievements of many nations with an emphasis on America. Their scale and grandeur would far exceed the numerous other World's Fairs. The Republic of Haiti, independent from France since 1803, hosted a pavilion at the 1893 World's Fair. Though

previous fairs had exhibits peopled with Africans and other people of color, the 1893 Chicago Fair was the first ever to have an entire pavilion dedicated and staffed by a black nation. Chicago organizers, however, refused to include an African American exhibit, despite protests by black civil rights leaders. Black American activists published a direct attack on the fair in the form of a pamphlet called, The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in The World's Columbian Exposition. It was contributed to and edited by Ida B. Wells and several other black notables including Frederick Douglas, Irving G. Penn, and George Washington Carver. Ida Wells wrote the preface, an excerpt of which follows:

TO THE SEEKER AFTER TRUTH

Those visitors to the World's Columbian Exposition who know these facts, especially foreigners will naturally ask: Why are not the colored people, who constitute so large an element of the American population, and who have contributed so large a share to American greatness, more visibly present and better represented in this World's Exposition? Why are they not taking part in this glorious celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of their country? Are they so dull and stupid as to feel no interest in this great event? It is to answer these questions and supply as far as possible our lack of representation at the Exposition that the Afro-American has published this volume." ...The white Christian and moral influences have not only done little to prevent the Negro becoming a criminal, but they have deliberately shut him out of everything which tends to make for good citizenship.... These appointments were made by the President of the United States [Benjamin Harrison] who thus had the appointment of a Board of National Commissioners numbering two hundred and eight members to represent the sixty million of our population. (Rydell R. , *Darkest Africa: African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940*, 1999)

The pamphlet was freely distributed at the Haitian Pavilion. Activists also used their speaking opportunities at the Haitian pavilion to make a comment on race and racism. For instance, at the dedication of the Haitian Pavilion the Honorable Frederick Douglass, former United States Minister (Ambassador) to the Republic of Haiti, noted that much of America was not ready to accept a black republic. Douglas stated, "...a deeper reason for coolness between the

countries is this: Haiti is black, and we have not yet forgiven Haiti for being black.” (Corbett, 2007). Indeed, Douglas clearly stated the common racist position of many American whites at the time, which was a powerful statement to his white and black audience at the fair and elsewhere.

To respond to Ida Wells’ championed black boycott and to increase revenues, fair organizers designated Friday, August 25th, 1893 as “Colored American Day.” Some blacks were insulted by the Board’s announcement that 2,000 watermelons would be brought in for Colored American Day. Wells was among those declaring extreme disappointment. Wells wrote to African American newspapers discouraging black participation in the special "Negro Day." She argued that the special day, complete with free watermelon for African Americans attending the fair, presented a demeaning view of African Americans (Shaughnessy, 1997). It seems that Colored American Day was scheduled a few days after Atlanta’s Congress on Africa was to conclude. This was to insure the greatest number of fair attendees. The Congress did not meet on the fairgrounds, but rather at various locations throughout the city. Over 27 million people attended the fair during the six-month period. Only 2,500 people were in attendance for Colored American Day (Taylor, 2017).

Racism was rampant at the World’s Fairs, whether through the refusal to create an African American pavilion, the barring of African Americans from participating in fair planning, or the zoo-like displays of indigenous peoples. It was also present in print media. Puck, the first successful humor magazine in the United States, and at the peak of its popularity, was a Chicago World’s Fair feature. Puck positioned itself on the cutting edge of satire in America, and Chicago Fair organizers recruited Puck to publish a special weekly version, called World’s Fair Puck. It satirized the many white Americans being uncomfortable meeting people from other non-white

cultures. Fair exhibitors often highlighted these differences in dress, diet, customs, et cetera as exotic and noteworthy. Though modern-day viewers might see this as racist propaganda, perhaps in their time they functioned more as political satire. Puck also featured other satirical cartoons, The Country Boy in the Big City and another titled, Chicagoans Versus New Yorkers. Puck additionally published cartoons blatantly anti-war, such as one featuring the Boar War. On one front cover was a cartoon entitled “Darkies’ Day at the Fair,” This was a sample of prevailing racism that placed people of color at the bottom of the social hierarchy enforcing cruel stereotypes. The cartoon showed blacks lined up to receive a watermelon on Darkie’s Day at the Fair (Patton, 2016). See Appendix C.

Though the Chicago Fair did not have an African American pavilion, it included several individual black exhibitors who were approved, as were all exhibits, by white organizers of the fair. Some individual exhibits, particularly those sponsored by whites, were racist. Nancy Green, born into slavery, portrayed the character, Aunt Jemima, for the R. T. Davis Milling Company. Dressed as slave mammie or house servant, she portrayed a smiling, loving, family person. Diane Roberts, a professor of Southern culture at Florida State University in Tallahassee and author of The Myth of Aunt Jemima, said that the “mammy stereotype” romanticized the cruelty of slavery for a nation reconciling the trauma of the Civil War. She further offers the opinion that, Aunt Jemima, the character, was the model nurturer of the South perpetuating the black stereotype (Roberts D. , 1994). Green operated a pancake-cooking display at the Columbian Exposition. The racist portrayal did not go unchallenged, though. Black liberation activist and educator, Anna Julia Cooper, a prominent African-American scholar (and the fourth black American woman to receive a Ph.D.) used the Chicago Columbian Exposition as an opportunity to argue how young African American women were being exploited by white men. She predicted

that the Aunt Jemima stereotypical image would reinforce the North's fascination with perceived southern hospitable traditions as part of America's "unwritten history" (Gines, 2015).

Other individual exhibits at the Chicago Fair of 1893, controlled by or contributed to by blacks, offered a different and more positive and genuine picture of black life, work, and creativity. These included pieces, displayed in various exhibit locations by the black sculptor Edmonia Lewis and paintings by scientist, artist, musician, George Washington Carver. The first great highlight of George Washington Carver's artistic aspirations was achieved in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair. Carver's painting "Yucca and Cactus" won Honorable Mention (George Washington Carver National Monument, n.d.). Also, included was a literary, statistical exhibit curated by Joan Imogene Howard, M.A. She was a black school principal from Massachusetts, a black liberal integrationist, and the only African American to serve on a state board (New York) for the Chicago Columbian Exposition. These exhibits were displayed at various locations throughout the fairgrounds, most which were in the American pavilion (Reed, 1999).

Blacks could participate as low-level workers, performers, speakers and, of course, paying guests, but white organizers kept them from any meaningful positions of influence or authority. The 1893 Chicago Fair engaged black workers in preparation of the land. Over 60,000 workers were needed to construct the fairgrounds so organizers employed black laborers since they could be hired for less than their white counterparts. Once the grounds were completed, blacks were relegated to the menial jobs of fairground upkeep and barred from better paying jobs like serving on the elite police force protecting visitors and fairground property. On a positive note, however, African Americans were represented at open forums sponsored by the auxiliary of the Chicago's World's Fair where several blacks were invited to speak. Among the invited black speakers were Booker T. Washington and previously mentioned Hallie Q. Brown and each

raised numerous diversity issues at these forums. Their speeches were well attended and well received by black and white audiences. Black participation as performers at the Chicago Fair was restricted to a few performers such as opera singer Sissieretta Jones, pianist Scott Joplin, classical violinist Joseph Douglass and gospel singer Abigail Christensen. Despite the eloquence of the orators and talent of the musicians, ultimately, fair patrons were largely exposed to racist and dehumanizing stereotypes in Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition (Taylor, 2017).

Atlanta Cotton States Exposition 1895

Whereas Chicago planners refused to host an African American exhibit, Atlanta planners embraced the idea. They did so not because they believed Chicago planners stumbled by not including African Americans, but rather to avoid the negative publicity that persisted against the Chicago fair and its black American backlash. Atlanta planners used the opportunity to tout a new way of justifying unequal racial relationships. At the time of Atlanta planning, there emerged a post-Civil War economic-political platform called the New South Movement. White southern landowners, entrepreneurs, and newspaper editors promoted the ideology of a "New South" in the years following the Confederacy's defeat in 1865 and the abolition of slavery. These white New South boosters argued that, with its plantation economy destroyed by the Civil War, the South could develop a new economy based upon industrial capitalism that defined the rest of the nation and keep blacks disenfranchised as second-class citizens at the same time (Recchiuti, n.d.).

The Atlanta Constitution editor, Henry Grady, was a leading exponent of this ideology. He gave speeches nationwide and wrote articles and editorials in his newspaper. Although Grady dreamed of a new South of increasing economic prosperity, his vision did not extend to civil rights for African Americans. "I declare," said Grady in an 1888 address, "that ... the white race

must dominate forever in the South” (Recchiuti, n.d.). Grady argued that the New South would be a perfect democracy that came with “new conditions, adjustments, ideas and aspirations” and claimed that blacks had the “fullest protections of our laws and that relations between blacks and whites was close” (Recchiuti, n.d.). This New South, which Grady and others promoted, purposely presented a false image of racial equality to the world to encourage Northern financial support. Grady was saying that blacks and whites knew their place, and that blacks would adjust to the new Jim Crow social/political/economic order (Escott, 1990).

While white fair planners initially refused to create a separate building for the African American exhibit, the U.S. House of Representatives intervened and forced organizers to create one as a condition for federal funding. This Congressional decree was based upon the U.S. Constitution’s 14th Amendment. Among the various sections of the amendment, conceived in 1868 during southern states’ reconstruction, the amendment extended equal protection to African Americans. Thus, federal monies used for an exposition required equal access for all (14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, n.d.). White supremacy may have been the organizing principle, but exposition organizers gave unprecedented voice to minorities. African Americans used the Negro Building to display their accomplishments, to feature prominent black intellectuals, and to assemble congresses of professionals, tradesmen, and religious bodies. The design and construction of the Negro Building and the displays were under the control of black Americans. The Atlanta World’s Fair of 1895 marked the first time a global audience witnessed the achievements and challenges of African Americans since their emancipation (Jean-Laurent, n.d.).

African American control of the Negro building and exhibits did not necessarily mean that the push for racial equality was the hallmark of the fair. Instead, the most famous African

American at Atlanta's fair, Booker T. Washington, justified second class social and political status for African Americans. Most white southerners (and many white northerners) embraced Booker T. Washington's opening day Atlanta speech embracing segregation as progressive by advocating separateness rather than equality. Washington urged blacks to make progress as agricultural and industrial laborers and, easing white fears about racial integration, argued that the races could be "as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" (Newman H. , 2016). Historians have debated whether the speech, often referred to as Washington's Atlanta Compromise, represented accommodation to white supremacy or a realistic response to the growing oppression of African Americans. His position to not advocate for full and equal black rights was contrary to W.E.B. DuBois and Ida B. Wells racial philosophy. Both DuBois and Wells, contrary to Washington's separate but equal philosophy, advocated for full integration and total racial equality. As was the case in other World's Fairs, the 1895 Atlanta Fair was also used by Washington and Wells for political purposes (Perdue T. , 2010).

The most influential public critique of Booker T. Washington's policy of racial accommodation and gradualism came from black intellectual leader, W.E.B. DuBois. In his essay, Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others, DuBois rejects Washington's willingness to avoid rocking the racial boat, calling instead for political power, doggedness on civil rights, and higher education for black youth. DuBois further stated, "Mr. Washington is especially to be criticized. His doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders and stand aside as critical and rather pessimistic spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we bend not our energies to righting these great wrongs" (DuBois, 1903). Although the Cotton

States Exposition and the Negro Building existed only for three months in the fall of 1895, the building and the controversy that surrounded it, form the early beginnings of America's civil rights struggles (Perdue T. , 2010).

The intent of this chapter is to bring to the reader's attention the socio-political roots for World's Fairs existence. Several World's Fairs were explored here beginning with the 1851 London, the first World's Fair, and with a focus on 1876 Philadelphia, 1893 Chicago and 1895 Atlanta. They were selected as examples of an educational experience necessitating travel with social and political agendas. World Fairs were intended and envisioned for educational purposes, i.e., to raise one's awareness of the world around them, and to expand one's way of thinking. There were also subtle and not so subtle socio-political agendas of influencing people and countries and to, hopefully, encourage positive relationships amongst various European societies. Underlying the lofty ideal of educating the masses were politics, economics, and social issues. The reader, aware of the societal impact of the industrial revolution can understand that World's Fairs were intended for and educationally impacted the middle-class masses. Despite a temporary suspension during World Wars I and II, World's Fairs are an on-going institution with a history approaching 175 years and counting.

The next chapter concerns an educational experience with clear, strong and vibrant socio-political objectives. This program started in 1990 and is designed for a specific age group of specific ethnic origins. This successful program is called, Taglit—Birthright Israel.

Chapter Four: Birthright Israel

"Travel in the younger sort is part of education, in the elder a part of experience." In his essay, *"On Travel,"* Francis Bacon (1561-1626)

Chapter Four directs our attention from the social and political education of the rich individual male of the 1700s and the middle-class masses of the 1800s, to an exclusive group of contemporary, young adults, of a specific ethnicity and of a definite age span. I have argued that travel used in the attempt to educate experientially has a history not usually recognized. Moreover, I also offer that the travel experience can be socio-politically driven. As previously discussed, the Grand Tour of the 1700-1800s and World's Fairs of the 1800s-1900s each touted the virtuous ideal of being an educational experience. However, each also had a definitive political and social agenda. The Grand Tour began with an altruistic educational goal that transformed into an experience with a social and political agenda. World's Fairs also began with an educational ideal and more obvious socio-political program that required travel and had a very clear social and political agenda. This third example is a contemporary educational experiment named Taglit-Birthright Israel. In this chapter, I will describe its background, the detailed political and social goals, and the reported results of this experiment. The intent now is to show how a contemporary travel program uses experiential education to achieve its socio-political goals.

"Taglit," a Hebrew word meaning, "discovery," is the commonly used name for this program in Israel. In North America, it is more generally known as Birthright Israel or simply, Birthright. It is a large-scale, reportedly successful educational travel program that is a free ten-day trip to Israel for self-identified Jewish emerging adults (ages 18-26) who have not visited Israel with a peer group. The trip is intended to "help participants develop and strengthen their

Jewish identities by acknowledging their past and giving them a framework to think about being part of the Jewish people” (Saxe & Chazan, 2008, p. 31).

This educational experience has a narrow, well defined socio-political agenda. It is to orient or educate this select group to a pro-Israel, pro-cultural Jewish identity. As explained on its website,

Birthright Israel seeks to ensure the future of the Jewish people by strengthening Jewish identity, Jewish communities, and connection with Israel via a trip to Israel for the majority of Jewish young adults from around the world. Our hope is that our trips motivate young people to continue to explore their Jewish identity and support for Israel and maintain long-lasting connections with the Israelis they meet on their trip. We encourage our alumni to take active roles in Jewish organizations and to participate in follow-up activities worldwide (Our Goals, n.d.).

The social/political/ideological goals of Birthright Israel are weaved throughout this discussion of the birth and nature of Birthright and the other following sections. Birthright was chosen for this study as an example of travel as experiential education for several reasons. One, Birthright is a unique, large travel experiment; two, it provides a laboratory to study how travel-based experiential education can be used to effect knowledge and behavior; and three, Birthright offers a unique window into emerging adulthood ethnic identity (Saxe & Chazan, Ten Days of Birthright Israel, 2008). “In terms of the contemporary Jewish community, Birthright Israel is the largest educational experiment ever attempted. No other systematic effort to innovate in Jewish education approaches its scope and reach” (Saxe & Chazan, 2008, pp. 3-4). As of 2015, more than 400,000 Jewish young adults have participated in Birthright Israel (Taglit-Birthright Israel, 2015). See Appendix E.

Background

Birthright Israel is an Israeli-American organization, that has, since its founding in 1999, spent more than \$600 million to send more than 350,000 young diaspora Jews on free vacations to the Holy Land, Israel (Feldman, 2011). Diaspora refers to Jews or other ethnics whose native domiciles are scattered around the world and do not live in their perceived homeland. Birthright Israel is a member of the World Zionist Organization, an umbrella organization that defines Zionism as the idea that the Jewish people is one people with a shared history, values and language. A major principle of Zionism is to promote the preservation of the identity of the Jewish people, of Jewish spiritual and cultural values and lastly, for the continued support of a Jewish homeland (Tucker, 2008).

Birthright Israel was listed in The Guide to Academic Travel, published by Shaw Associates, a publisher of numerous academic travel guides among which were guides to wines, culinary arts, and writers' conferences. Birthright was listed along with 258 other American colleges, museums, educational and cultural organizations that offer adult, world-wide study-vacations to expand knowledge of the arts, humanities, science and nature. The guide was a comprehensive index and geographic compilation of adult North American educational travel programs (Caplin, 1990). Despite not being revised since its 2nd edition in 1992, it does recognize that Birthright, under its former name of Israel Experience, was a recognized educational travel program.

Birthright Israel is a program of great interest to academics including those to whom tourism has increasingly become a subject of research and study. Birthright is not just a pilgrimage, nor for tourists; it is a hybrid for the student tourist in which the group's tour-guide is considered a "tour-educator", that is, one who encourages intellectual inquiry rather than holding

up a follow-me-sign to lead a group to numerous tourist sites. It is to, hopefully, turn around or reinforce these individual's feelings about their heritage and to be politically supportive of Israel. This is done by having the group being involved, discussing, questioning, and experiencing.

The Birthright Israel program has a compelling foundation for its existence. As of 2010, there were nearly 14 million Jews world-wide, representing approximately 0.2% of the world population. The U.S. census does not track people by faith but it was estimated that forty-five percent of the worldwide Jewish population, approximately six million, was largely concentrated in North America (Sheskin, 2013). Looking back, Birthright Israel was created in the wake of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey. It concluded that Jewish continuity, especially in North America, could not be taken for granted. The most noted data concern was about the rising rate of inter-marriage, widespread assimilation, declining Jewish education and identity, and loss of commitment to raising Jewish children. Additional concerns included lower rates of religious observance, traditional Jewish practices, Jewish friendship patterns, and emotional attachment to the State of Israel (Kosmin, 1990). Fears of population shrinkage among American Jews heightened after additional studies in the early 1990s showed that more than 50% of Jews were marrying non-Jews. However, a Boston Jewish community study in 2005 found that 60% of children in interfaith families in the greater Boston Jewish community were being raised as Jews (Gan, 2008). Although this study indicated that inter-marriage may not be a large threat, these statistics do not include falling interest in Jewish culture among Jewish parents and their children who may or may not be raised marginally in the culture (Levitz, 2009).

The world Jewish population is projected to maintain its current 0.2% until the year 2050. However, the Jewish population in the U.S. and Canada is projected to decline both in

percentage and total number from 6 million in 2010 to 5.9 million in 2050 (Pew Research Center, 2015). Another study states,

The smaller than expected increase in Jewish population is due to such factors as low birth rates, children in intermarried households not being raised Jewish, and persons of Jewish ancestry simply “opting out” of identifying as Jews. Without the significant immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union during this time, the number of Jews would be even lower. If we choose not to accept that very broad definition of a Jew used in the recent New York study, the increase would be even lower. (Sheskin, 2013)

Succinctly, the Jewish population worldwide for the next few decades will remain relatively the same or slightly increased but the percentage of Jews worldwide is getting smaller.

These statistics were the basis for fear and concern for the perpetuation of Jewish culture. Numerous persons in the world Jewish community took note and expressed their concerns about these forecasts. The 1990 Pew Research findings and other research results unleashed alarm within the halls of numerous American Jewish institutions. Christopher Winship, sociologist at Harvard University, says there are two competing theories for a solution to hopefully reverse the trend of disinterest. One is that Jews should embrace programs that dissuade people from intermarrying; the other says inter-marriages are inevitable and that welcoming inter-married couples is the best way to ensure Jewish continuity. A third approach was the creation of the dynamic educational experiment now known as Birthright Israel to counteract the apparent falling interest in perpetuating Jewish culture in North America.

The Birth and Nature of Birthright

Birthright Israel took approximately 30 years to come to fruition. An Israeli travel company called Israel Experience was formed in 1958 to provide teens, university students and adults from all over the globe with tailor-made and packaged travel-education programs. The company’s focus was to facilitate and implement Jewish-Zionist experiential, educational visits

to Israel to strengthen Jewish identity, especially among Jewish youth living in communities outside of Israel. At that time, most Israel experience opportunities were designed as summer programs for high-school youth or gap-year programs after high school. Group tours, not specific to North Americans, varied in length of time, were customized according to group interest, and interaction with Israelis was by happenstance. Kelner noted that an element was missing from these trips. The participants were not being introduced to the social realities of life in Israel. These realities include divisive religious politics, meanings behind various national holidays, living under constant war-like threats, incoming missile sirens, national pride, and economics of daily life (Kelner S. , 2003). In the 1980s, Israel Experience became a subsidiary of the Jewish Agency for Israel, a non-governmental, coordinating agency for Jewish organizations around the world and presently claims to be among the largest of Jewish, non-profit, organizations worldwide (The Jewish Agency for Israel, 2016).

Using the Israel Experience program as a prototype, the originator of the Birthright idea, Yossi Beilin, an Israeli political leader, an academic and an instrumental figure in the 1993 Oslo Accords (a set of 1993 agreements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization) is sometimes referred to as the “godfather of Birthright.” He was concerned about the increasingly lack of Jewish identity among North American Jewish youth. As an ardent Israeli Zionist, that is, a supporter of a Jewish homeland and Jewish identity, Beilin unsuccessfully pitched the Birthright concept to his longtime friends, Charles Bronfman and Michael Steinhardt while they were on a trip to Israel in the early 1990s. Bronfman, the heir to the Canadian Seagram’s liquor empire, had been directing his philanthropic dollars to teen Israel trips in the late 1980s. He was bothered that the teenaged participants were not bonding with their Israeli peers. Steinhardt, a North American Jewish community leader and hedge fund manager, confronted the “crisis of

continuity” characterized by intermarriage and by the weakening of Jewish communal ties such as lessening synagogue membership and a waning attachment to Israel. Steinhardt wanted to make Jewish culture more appealing to North American Jewish youth.

Eventually, Steinhardt, who described himself as an atheist Jew, saw Birthright’s potential to “plug the dam of assimilation” (Feldman, *The Romance of Birthright Israel*, 2011). Beilin and Steinhardt soon thereafter convinced Bronfman of Birthright Israel’s conceptual merits. Bronfman is said to have thought that the young adult Jews targeted should be those who were not committed to their heritage and the only thing that would get them to Israel would be a free trip (Saxe & Chazan, *Ten Days of Birthright Israel*, 2008). The Birthright Israel program was thus established in 1999 with the financial support of Michael Steinhardt, Charles Bronfman, the Israeli government, private donors, the Jewish Agency for Israel, and numerous Jewish communities around the world.

Bronfman was convinced by Steinhardt to re-direct his donated funds to the new Birthright Israel. Steinhardt wanted to make Jewish culture more interesting to North American Jewish youth. He enlisted Rabbi Irving Greenberg, a respected Harvard, Ph.D., an orthodox rabbi and educator, as director of the foundation that would guide the new experiential education travel program, Taglit-Birthright Israel. Greenberg recruited professional educators to design a curriculum that would enable young adults to experience what it is like to be part of a people and a tradition that spans 3000 years. The charge was to “create a program to arouse the senses, stimulate the mind and engage the physical” (Saxe & Chazan, *Ten Days of Birthright Israel*, 2008, p. 16). This mirrors John Dewey’s principles which laid the foundation for contemporary experiential education. The application of Dewey’s educational theory lies very much at the heart of many bold educational experiments including Taglit-Birthright Israel (Ainsworth, 1979).

As previously stated, since its inception in December 1999, Birthright Israel has sent over 400,000 Jewish young adults to Israel. They come from 64 countries, all 50 U.S. states and all 13 Canadian territories and provinces, and from nearly 1,000 North American colleges and universities (www.birthrightisrael.com). In 2007, annual capacity was increased to 20,000 participants a year. That year, 2007, Sheldon Adelson, Las Vegas casino entrepreneur, pledged \$25 million to Birthright Israel to increase annual capacity from 20,000 to 37,000. In 2013, Adelson doubled his past annual commitment to Birthright Israel. This raised Adelson's total support of the program to over \$250 million as of February 2015. Adelson is a major financial donor in the American political scene and conservative Israeli politics. Some would think there might be strings attached to this munificent donation. The opinion of Brandeis Professor Sasson, noted by journalist Nathan Guttman, says otherwise.

His donation allowed the participation of many more, but I am not aware of any attempt on his behalf to influence the content of Birthright trips,” said Theodore Sasson, senior research scientist at Brandeis University’s Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies. This does not suggest, however, that Adelson refrains from using his wealth to advance his ideology — a mixture of support for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, sympathy for the settler movement and hostility toward the Palestinian Authority. (Guttman, N. 2014 <http://forward.com/news/israel/208220/sheldon-adelson-is-a-philanthropist-like-no-other/>)

Adelson’s father was an anti-Semitic victim in Europe. This had a deep impact on Adelson’s personal views. He did not want Jews to have to wait until they were old and infirm to visit Israel. They should do so as young men and women (Boteach, 2016). An additional \$5 million was donated in 2015 by the David Azrieli Foundation to the Birthright Israel Foundation of Canada. The funds will be used to support and expand offerings of BR trips for eligible Canadians and to sponsor trips for individuals with developmental or physical disabilities who are otherwise eligible for participation (The Azrieli Foundation, 2015).

There are eligibility requirements quite clearly aimed at a select, specific group that Birthright most suspects are minimally interested in Israel and their Jewish heritage. It is Birthright's educational goal to orient this select group to a pro-Israel, pro-cultural identity. This is the population that Birthright perceives as the most important in encouraging and sustaining Jewish identity. To apply for a Birthright trip, participants need just one Jewish by birth or converted Jewish parent. If an applicant is from Russia, one birth-grandparent and passing a screening interview is required to qualify. Potential Russian participants are screened differently. They are asked for information about their background, including their families' involvement in the Jewish and Russian communities. Previous research indicated that Russian and North American Jews understand Jewishness very differently. American Jewish identity primarily is rooted in Jewish religious practices and beliefs; Soviet Jewish identity is largely national in character. Because of decades of Soviet repression, Russian Jews developed an identity based largely on mutual experiences of discrimination and pride in the secular achievements of their fellow Jews. About ten percent of Birthright participants from North America have roots in the former Soviet Union. Thus, the need to recognize the varied definitions of what it is to be Jewish and to differently screen applicants from Russia and Russian North Americans (Shain, 2011).

To succeed as an educational program, it was determined that its targeted audience had to be clearly identified. One basic qualification of a potential participant was to identify as a Jew. The definition of being Jewish, however, is wrought in controversy. There is not currently a universal concept of what defines a Jew. Infeld says that North American Jews generally assert, "We are a religion." A second definition, one that is clearly political and popular in Europe, is that Jews are a nation, a product of 19th century Zionists. Infeld would rather have Jews assert they are a "people," a concept going back to its biblical origins. Only when Judaism is

understood in the context of “peoplehood,” says Infeld, that is, an ethnicity sharing common values and traditions, can we begin to understand what it means to be a Jew (Infeld, 2012).

Another definition is offered by Israeli essayist, A.B. Yehoshua: “If a Jew need not live in Israel, need not speak Hebrew, need not be committed to formal communal relations with other Jews, need not believe in the God of Israel and His Torah, and does not necessarily have to be the child of a Jewish mother—who then, is a Jew?” He argues that, “A Jew is anyone who identifies as a Jew. That is the root; that is the essence” (Yehoshua, 2013). Definitions will vary. North Americans and Europeans perceive it differently. But the bottom line appears to be that being Jewish is an identification with a people and a culture. Birthright Israel subscribes to that theory but also promotes the individual’s connection to Israel. I would then claim that Infeld and Yehoshua agree. As Steinhardt previously declared, he is an atheist, but he is Jewish. Thus, the reason for these participant qualifications is to identify Birthright’s target group.

It is Birthright’s educational goal to orient this select group to a pro-Israel, pro-cultural identity. These free trips are aimed at this very select group as previously described. However, Birthright policy is that anyone discovered to have a hidden agenda of exploiting the free trip for access to Palestinian territories to promote anti-Israeli causes can lose their spot. Birthright participants planning anti-occupation activism with the International Solidarity Movement or other anti-Israel organizations have been dismissed (Feldman, *The Romance of Birthright Israel*, 2011). Practicing a religion other than Judaism is also an automatic disqualifier (Eligibility, 1999) Although students from around the world now participate in Birthright, it is primarily available to high school graduates who have a U.S. or Canadian home address, are ages 18 to 26, who identify as Jewish and have not previously traveled to Israel on a study program. Having been in Israel as a volunteer for less than six months or traveling with one’s parents is not a

disqualification. Students in a Jewish studies program such as seminary or Jewish teacher training are ineligible. Also disqualified are those who have lived in Israel for more than three months past the age of twelve. The Orthodox are also excluded because they are presumed to have very high intra-faith marriage rates.

A social goal of Birthright is to foster a closer identity of diaspora Jews and with Jews in Israel. Identity is profoundly formed by peer interaction and that connecting US and Canadian students with Israeli student peers will help cement that identity more easily (Alkin, 1982). Birthright Israel's social objective is to instill an affinity to Israel and the participants' Jewish heritage. As Bronfman noticed on his earlier pre-Birthright Israel program, North Americans were not bonding with their Israeli peers, that is between Jewish Israeli teens and their diaspora counterparts. Those teens were primarily American and Canadian tourists on theme trips to Israel. Tours could be outdoor, sports, or historically oriented. They were organized and sponsored within their local Jewish community. The North American teenagers were, to various degrees, "Jewishly" involved. That is, participating in Jewish community and family events. Visiting Israel was a community norm for them. They usually traveled as a group with little to no engagement with Israelis other than their guide or host. Bronfman's answer to this lack of connection to Israelis was to develop the "mifgash," (encounter or meeting, in Hebrew) such that every Birthright Israel trip now includes Israelis of the same age who join the group for the ten-day tour, the duration of most all Birthright trips. These Israeli peers are also interested in learning about their home country, Judaism, Jewish identity and the larger world Jewish community.

Since Birthright's educational goal is to orient this select group to a pro-Israel, pro-cultural identity, Birthright incorporated "mifgash" by adding IDF (Israel Defense Forces)

soldiers of similar ages and interests to those of the North Americans. Birthright also integrated other age appropriate young Israeli students and young professionals. Levitz points out that in 2009, 87% of the Israeli participants were IDF young men and woman. The balance of 13% were Israeli students or young professionals (Levitz, 2009). This comingling is where the North Americans and their Israeli peers experience learning about each other, a definite component of experiential education and a Birthright objective. This Birthright intercultural encounter has been lauded for its effectiveness from both the Israeli and North American perspective as here noted:

This critical component of today's Taglit-Birthright Israel trips is a *mifgash* (encounter) with Israeli peers. They travel together, form relationships, and experience a cross-cultural exchange that is part of what makes Taglit so impactful. When the mifgash program component began, the focus and emphasis was on American young adults—on how meeting and travelling with Israelis would affect an American's experience and Israel education. After several years, Taglit saw the unexpected effect the program had on the Israeli participants. A 2008 study by the Cohen Center at Brandeis University found that, of those Israeli mifgash participants surveyed, over 70% responded that the trip made them feel proud to be Israeli, proud of the State of Israel, and proud to be Jewish. Simply by exposing these Israelis to Diaspora Jews who are exploring Israel for the first time, the Israelis were able to appreciate their home land from a new perspective. Americans continuously report that the mifgash is one of their favorite and most meaningful parts of the Birthright Israel experience. (The True Impact of a Birthright Mifgash, 2014)

In context of socio-political development and identity, it appears that the mifgash encounter has been quite effective. The social and political goals of Birthright Israel is to instill empathy towards the State of Israel and to invigorate appreciation of heritage. It appeared that youthful Israelis also could benefit by being merged into the program. Incorporating Israeli peers seems to have worked to reinforce heritage identity in both the Israelis and the North Americans. Given Birthright's social objective of promoting greater unity among world Jewry, these intercultural exchanges present opportunities for young adults, Israelis and North Americans, to better

understand the nature of Jewish life outside and within Israel through interaction with their North American contemporaries.

Birthright also serves to experientially educate the young adult Israeli to their Jewish North American peers relative to Judaism, the religion. It seemed that many Israelis similarly were unfamiliar with North American Jewish culture, especially regarding Jewish identity and religion. In Israel, one is either an Orthodox Jew or secular. In the U.S. and Canada, there are several levels of religious practice to include, among others: ultra-orthodox, modern orthodox, conservative, reformed, renewal. Because the prevalent definition of being Jewish to North Americans involves religion, Birthright founder Steinhardt's self-definition as an atheist would seem contradictory. In Israel, being an atheist or agnostic Jew is quite common. Thus, Israeli tour participants are also being experientially educated.

To achieve the social objective of Birthright, extending one's stay is encouraged. After their ten-day tour, participants may postpone their return to North America by up to three months to remain in Israel, independent of the Birthright program. Israel does not require a visa for entry or exit for Americans or Canadians. This makes it easier for participants to lengthen their sojourn allowing the opportunity for a greater exposure to Birthright's Zionist underpinning objective. The return trip home is still fully funded. One example of achieving this social goal is when twin brothers Jason and David embarked on the tour and upon returning to NY, one twin called his father in Seattle to explain that his brother opted to stay a few extra days as the guest of two of the IDF soldiers on his trip (Porges, 2014). Although I was not able to find a statistic regarding these stayovers, I am familiar with participants who have taken advantage of extending their Israel experience. The implication is that the mifgash is an effective method to achieve Birthright's social and political objectives. By staying over, Jason and his Israeli hosts continued

to bond, getting to know each other and to better understand and appreciate each other's culture. This is reflective of a successful attainment of a Birthright educational goal.

Birthright's Experiential Educational Tours

Birthright has a social objective of enhancing one's Jewish cultural self-identity. A Birthright tour is intended to "help participants develop and strengthen their Jewish identities by acknowledging their past and giving them a framework to think about being part of the Jewish people" (Saxe & Chazan, 2008, p. 31). With this clearly defined objective the numerous Birthright tours are designed to appeal to the many qualified Jewish youth. Birthright Israel is a 10-day fully supervised program in which a group travels together. All trips are accompanied by a tour educator, two staff members, and at least one trained security guard and medic. The group travels together by bus. This togetherness of Israelis and North Americans enables cross-cultural education. Additionally, both also get to learn more about Israel, the country.

To achieve its educational objectives of cultural identity and affinity for the State of Israel, the range of trip options has expanded to include special theme and topic-focused trips designed to attract various unique populations. Some examples include programs for medical students, LGBTQ, musicians, finance, and the Building Israel Architects programs. Also among them are tours in which up to three college credits may be earned, tours designed for those from a specific college or hometown, trips focusing on arts and culture, and spiritual. Trips are also available for those of a certain profession, single gender, and for those with special needs and accessibility issues as well as tours with a mixture of international participants. Birthright continually expands its reach encouraging previously marginalized potential participants such as vegetarians and vegans. Offering a vegan Birthright trip is a way to expand opportunities to re-connect young American Jews with Judaism itself. According to Jeffrey Cohan, executive

director of Jewish Veg, says that vegetarianism is relative to Jews in that it is biblically encouraged (Schoenfein, 2017). The success of the original Birthright Israel program has been such that it has spawned several other similar programs for Jews. Examples are Birthright for Inter-Marrieds, Birthright Honeymoon, Birthright 40+, Birthright for Seniors. (The Story So Far, 2016). Although the targeted population may not be among these groups, it appears that the social and political objectives of Birthright programs have been replicated for other Jews.

To assure achieving the social and political objectives of enhanced Jewish identity and a pro-Israel political view, Birthright Israel is the coordinating body that certifies the contracted Israeli touring companies. For 2017, there are 11 certified trip organizers, and each tour operator offers trips with various themes. One tour operator, URJ Keshet, offers 16 different tours. One tour is called, “Ancient Traditions, Modern Movement” and seems quite telling; it is oriented to a particular version of Judaism and has character with socio-educational ends. It is described as,

Explore Israel with your heart, body and soul on this 10-day experience organized by Reform Judaism and open to all. Together we’ll scale Masada, discover the foundations of Jerusalem, experience the vast desert, and feel the spirit of Tel Aviv. More than a tour, we’ll celebrate ancient Jewish traditions in contemporary ways and connect with thriving Reform communities in Israel. Bond with new friends and re-discover your Jewish identity on this extraordinary Birthright Israel opportunity.... (Find a Trip, n.d.) birthrightisrael.com/organizer)

To present a balanced political perspective, Birthright tour operators can take their students anywhere between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. Birthright does not concern itself with the Green Line, an unofficial border separating Israel from the occupied West Bank. The West Bank is not Israeli land, rather it is land under Israeli military control for security reasons (Crossing the Green Line, 2006). Therefore, a visit to a Palestinian town

in the West Bank could be within the boundaries of acceptability and not construed as a political statement. Birthright Israel officials say that its programs are not political, and that it employs no ideological litmus test for participants. When politics are discussed, they say, its thrust or direction has to do with individual tour guides rather than with any official Birthright policy. Reportedly, some tour operators do include the West Bank however, Birthright generally prefers Palestinian areas as best avoided for security reasons. The Birthright experience offers a definite political position, despite what the organization claims. One Birthright participant says,

I went on a Birthright trip in January 2005 run by a religiously liberal organization, and my trip leaders were quite balanced in their treatment of the conflict. More importantly, we spent a day in the Golan, where we listened to two kibbutzniks debate whether Israel should give up the Golan Heights (both sides were given equal time, and our leaders did not endorse one side over the other). That evening, our 40-person group met with forty teenaged Israeli Arabs; we broke into small groups and talked about music, politics, sports, computer games, and basically anything that any young adults would discuss. That day impacted me more than almost any other on my trip, and it was all under the auspices of Birthright. (Deislily, 2006)

If Birthright considers itself an apolitical organization, I then question how it claims to be such when its objective is to instill political support for Israel amongst its youthful participants. How can it be apolitical when including peerage IDF soldiers specifically to promote empathy and trust in the morality of the Israeli military. Despite what Brandeis professor Sasson says about the no-strings, massive Adelson donation, it is difficult for me to support the apolitical Birthright stance and comment.

Nevertheless, to assure achieving the political pro-Israel and social heritage appreciation goals, Birthright Israel conducts a rigorous, three-week training program for new tour educators. The training incorporates many highly regarded educational practices in the field of experiential education. A tour-educator training pamphlet emphasizes that the tour is to be “person-centered

as opposed to group-oriented” based upon the experiential education theories of Dewey, Buber, Rogers and Maslow (Saxe, 109). Works of psychology pioneers such as Dewey, Buber, Rogers and Maslow and many other notable education theorists are often incorporated in experiential education programs. Their research and theories of self-actualization, hierarchy of needs, learning paradigms have been adopted and integrated into many contemporary curriculums. Birthright’s tour educator training is done through Birthright’s Taglit Institute for Tour Educators. The Institute works with Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi in the development and operation of the Institute's training curriculum. Yad Ben Zvi is an Israeli premier educational institution bringing a wealth of experience and knowledge in Land of Israel studies, public education, and the training of tour guides (Institute for Tour Educators, n.d.).

The training program is experiential in the classroom with an emphasis on field training. To qualify, potential students of the Institute need to exhibit a wide range of relevant experiences and the ability to work well in situations demanding great responsibility and creativity. A commitment to Birthright Israel's pro-Israel and pro-Jewish identity mission is required. Training is highly subsidized to recruit the best possible candidates. After seminar and workshop-based learning, tour-educators board tour buses for on-the-job experiential learning. All graduates commit to working with at least three groups within a three-year period after training (Institute for Tour Educators, n.d.). The mission of Birthright is to orient and educate this select group emerging adults to a pro-Israel, pro-cultural Jewish identity. There are social and political elements in the curriculum of all Birthright tours. While trips are operated by different tour organizers such that each trip may differ slightly, all focus on three core educational areas:

1. Narratives of the Jewish People—
Participants visit a Jewish heritage site, a Zionist heritage site, a contemporary

national heritage site, a “natural” heritage site, and a Shoah (Holocaust) heritage and learning site.

2. Contemporary Israel—
Through visits to different organizations, institutions, and businesses, participants explore Israeli geopolitics, society, and statehood; arts and culture, and innovation, entrepreneurship, and technology.
3. Ideas and Values of the Jewish People—
Group members celebrate Shabbat together, form a Kehilah (community) with mutual responsibility, and engage with Talmud-Torah and Beit Midrash and Hebrew as a living language.” (Levitz, 2009)

It is difficult to separate the social from the political objectives as stated in the above core educational areas. Nevertheless, what is clear is that there is an emphasis on Jewish ethnicity as indicated by visiting certain cultural sites. Getting to better know the State of Israel itself and thus to develop an affinity and appreciation for the country is done by visits to college campuses, hospitals, shopping centers, neighborhoods and so on. And, to inculcate a stronger link to Judaism, the tour includes participation in various religious oriented events such as biblical discussion and Sabbath observance. Despite Birthright’s claim to remain apolitical, their choice of relevant experiences is both socially and politically oriented.

Birthright Israel is totally experiential with socio-political objectives. It is a journey through Jewish history and the modern Jewish state. “Birthright, neither perfect nor comprehensive, yet is very effective because, in part, is based on the Dewey influenced model employing emotions, intellect and physicality. The program is consistent, doggedly-so, in shaping an educational experience for a specific target group of curious adults” (Saxe & Chazan, *Ten Days of Birthright Israel*, 2008, p. 175). Participants are constantly reminded by their tour-educator and the surrounding setting that every mountain and valley is inscribed with 5,000 years of their people’s history. Another Birthright Israel alumnus further relates that her experience even included an obvious social goal technique. In an essay collection from Birthright’s alumni

program, she stated that “The bus is a love incubator.” Many groups pass a night in a faux Bedouin tent, where participants sleep crowded together, a setup conducive to first kisses. Marriage is an unstated objective. This is a way to ward off marrying outside the group” (Feldman, *The Romance of Birthright Israel*., 2011). I will claim this is strong evidence of a technique to encourage marriage from within, an unstated Birthright social objective.

As an educational experience, Birthright involves all five senses: the taste of middle-Eastern foods; sounds of Sabbath sirens and Israeli-Arab music; smells of local markets, beaches, and mountains; visuals of museum exhibit and urban areas; touching the Western Wall. This is different from the often used, contemporary means of absorbing information such as the world-wide web, Instagram, Wikipedia, et cetera. Birthright employees communicate the idea that, “This is not a vacation. You are embarking on a journey” Typical tours are fully scheduled including free time. Following is an example of the first two days of a tour and is described as,

Day 1: Explore Roman beach ruins at Caesarea, choose from over 20 Mediterranean restaurants, then Visit Tiberius overlooking the Sea of Galilee. Later, pizza and pasta dinner on the boardwalk with an evening free to explore.

Day 2: Enjoy authentic Israeli breakfast followed by a hike through waterfalls in the Golan Heights. After lunch and free time at a shopping mall, a winery tour and a visit to an Israeli bunker and observation point, concluding with dinner at the hotel dining room with an evening musical concert by Israeli musical celebrities.

Each additional day is equally filled (Sample Itinerary, n.d.). The trip is designed so travelers are bombarded with information. The goal is to produce “an emotionally overwhelming experience that helps participants open themselves to learning” (Feldman, *The Romance of Birthright Israel*, 2011). Feldman, a Birthright alumnus, relates that she experienced the Chazan Effect which involves being chronically sleep-deprived, and being hurled through a mind-numbing itinerary (Feldman, *The Romance of Birthright Israel*., 2011). The encounter’s final day is very emotional for the tourists. It is evidence of an effort to have students empathize with their

culture and the Israel nation. This is an example of Birthright's goals. It includes a mandatory visit to the Holocaust Museum and the graves of Theodor Herzl and fallen soldiers at the national cemetery in Jerusalem. Student tourists often say that this last day is an emotion filled experience. There is evidence also of Vanderbilt sociologist Shaul Kelner's contention that Birthright activities revolve around fun and good feelings, meaning the group's hedonism is one of the most effective checks against obvious politics. He suggests that the Birthright experience is pleasurable, thus a medium for Jewish nationalism. To dip in the salty waters of the Red Sea, to climb the heights of Masada, campfires and riding camels in the Negev, are all fun intended events. What better way to instill a positive feeling for the Jewish state, a pro-Israel stance (Kelner S. , 2010). This clearly is experiential education at its best. Birthright uses this key method to foster appreciation and familiarity with the country to achieve its objective of promoting a sense of loyalty to Israel.

Socio-Political Motivation

The thesis of this dissertation is that experiential education travel programs often have a socio-political agenda. This statement is not to be construed as judgmental. It is to say that a socio-political agenda is often a driving component to the overall educational goal. We are aware that the Grand Tour and World's Fairs, despite their altruism, were socio-politically motivated. And so, too, is Taglit-Birthright Israel. Some experiential education travel programs may be politically less obvious with its agenda; others, such as Birthright, appear to be significantly more obvious.

Birthright belongs to a Zionist umbrella organization. Meriam-Webster defines Zionism as an "international movement originally for the establishment of a Jewish national or religious community in Palestine and later for the support of modern Israel" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).

Today, there is much disagreement over the meaning of the term Zionism which is generally construed to be political. Historically, Zionism was a movement started in 1890 by western European secular Jews. Jews of all persuasions then later joined the Zionist movement and worked together toward its goals of establishing a homeland. Disagreements in philosophy led to rifts in the Zionist movement over the years and several separate forms have emerged, notably: Religious Zionism and Political Zionism. Religious Zionism is a blend of Jewish religion and nationhood. It aims to restore Jewish political freedom and Jewish religion. Political Zionism stresses the importance of political action and the attainment of political rights in Palestine (Zionism: A Definition, 2017). Once again, Birthright states that its mission, in part, is “to change the course of Jewish history and ensure the continuity of the Jewish people by strengthening Jewish identity, Jewish communities, and solidarity with Israel” (Our Goals, n.d.). Despite their mission of solidarity with Israel, their statement does not include the term Zionism. The Birthright Foundation says there is no political agenda but, nevertheless, it cannot be avoided; the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has inescapably entered the fray. Nevertheless, it is implicit that Birthright has a Zionist, that is, a political objective.

Study Results

Since Birthright Israel’s inception, the Center for Modern Jewish Studies at Brandeis University has conducted research to evaluate the program and learn about its impact on the current generation of Jewish young adults. Birthright Israel reaches broadly, and perhaps not too deeply. But it does build relationships between Israeli and Diaspora Jews. Evidence from the Brandeis studies indicate that participation in Birthright Israel has a positive effect on participants in their Jewish engagement and connection to Israel. In 2006, Brandeis University researchers found that almost three-quarters of alumni describe their Birthright experience as

“life changing.” In its report of the 2006 study, under the section, Conclusions and Challenges, the overall findings indicate that Taglit-Birthright Israel is achieving its fundamental goals of building Jewish identity. In addition, Brandeis had conducted studies of specific groups. These include applicants and participants of specific college campuses, applicants who were 22 or older, and applicants and participants in countries outside the United States (Saxe & Chazan, Ten Days of Birthright Israel, 2008).

In 2009, Brandeis embarked on a longitudinal panel study of applicants and participants from the early years of the program (Saxe L. , 2014). The study follows a panel of individuals (more than 3,000) who applied to the trip during 2001-2006. There were two studies done, one a post trip Long-Term Impact and the second a before trip evaluation. Reports have documented a consistent set of strong effects on feelings of ethnic connection to Israel, to the Jewish people, and to Jewish history. There were also strong positive changes regarding attitudes about caring for Israel. In addition, there were several changes in lifestyle choices. Participants felt more positive about being Jewish and were slightly more inclined to express positive feelings about the importance of dating only Jews, marrying a Jewish person and raising future children as Jews. Analyses of groups after two to four-year post trip, underscore the success of the program. Participation on a Birthright Israel trip, despite a brief exposure to Israel, appears to transform attitudes and creates a link to Israel and Jewish identity (Saxe & Kadushin, Evaluating Birthright Israel: Long Term Impact and Recent Findings, 2004). This trip is intended for participants to develop and strengthen their Jewish identities and give them a basis to think more about being part of the Jewish people. The political objective is to have the student develop a supportive, nationalistic feeling for Israel. Research seems to support that Birthright is achieving its goals. Therefore, it can be said that Birthright is a successful travel experiential education with socio-

political objectives. We have here, again, an example of a travel program that is experiential with socio-political objectives.

The success of Birthright Israel as a travel educational experience with socio-political objectives appears to have spurred on additional programs with similar goals. Although Birthright may presently be the largest, free, cultural and educational tour program, this model is not solely for Jews. Other programs include Birthright Armenia, Reconnect Hungary for young adults of Hungarian diaspora, and Birthright Greece. Palestinian-American youth can sign up for a sponsored two-week trip called, Know Thy Heritage. Additionally, there are, The Irish Way, Italian Voyage of Discovery, and Expatriate Youth Summer Formosa Study Tour. Birthright Armenia offers the following:

Birthright Armenia was established in 2003 by Edele Hovnanian as an international nonprofit organization. The organization's goals include strengthening ties between Armenia and Armenian Diaspora youth representatives by providing them an opportunity take part in the daily life of fellow Armenians. Applicants need only be of Armenian descent, between the ages of 20–32, and must agree to a minimum two-month stay. As of 2012, over 750 individuals from more than 30 countries have participated in the Birthright Armenia program. (Segre, 2008)

Another program, ReConnect Hungary is the first birthright program for young Americans and Canadians with any degree of Hungarian heritage to explore their Hungarian identity. The ReConnect Hungary program was funded by The Hungary Initiatives Foundation, an independent, American-based, non-partisan and non-profit organization committed to strengthening the understanding and cooperation between Hungary and the United States of America (About Us, n.d.). Founded by the National Hellenic Society, Heritage Greece offers Greek-American undergraduate students between the ages of 18 and 26 a two-week immersive summer trip. The trip is specifically geared toward second, third, or fourth-generation Americans

with little to no connection with their Greek heritage. The goal is to introduce them to their culture and ignite interest and pride (Guttman, n.d.).

Birthright-Macedonia is another program in which anyone over the age of 18 with Macedonian, (Slavic, Bulgarian,) heritage can participate. The program includes an internship program that is meant to complement personal, academic and/or career goals while introducing the intern to Macedonian culture. The program is specifically geared toward developing friendships between native Macedonians and members of the Macedonian diaspora (Birthright Macedonia, 2014).

The Cuban diaspora organization, called CubaOne, offers a free trip for Cuban-Americans between the ages of 22 and 35 who are looking to connect with their Cuban heritage, and specifically to build meaningful relationships with Cuban people. Trips vary in focus and include programs in politics/policy, art and literature, local and national culture, history, ecology and industry. All programs include person-to-person connections with other young Cubans in the participant's field and/or area of interest (Adler, n.d.). The Ireland-based group Diaspora Matters, focuses on connecting people of numerous ethnicities with their heritage. Diaspora Matters teamed up with the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade to create the Global Irish Summer Camp, which is designed for American teenagers of Irish descent between the ages of 15 and 17. The program covers all in-country costs, and includes classes and workshops on Irish history, language and culture, as well as relevant field trips to important sites across Ireland (Training Programs, n.d.).

Remarkably, conservative Jewish and Christian donors have joined forces to launch a Christian Birthright trip, called Covenant Journey, a subsidized evangelical 11-day trip. Just like the Birthright Israel program, Covenant Journey seeks to strengthen Christian American

students' love for Israel. But instead of having them mingle with young Jewish soldiers, participants walk in the footsteps of Jesus Christ and visit Christian holy sites. According to the program's founder, participants in the trip were transformed into enthusiastic pro-Israel advocacy messengers. This writer hasn't researched these programs in detail, but after looking carefully at Birthright Israel, it becomes apparent that there must be a socio-political agenda in most of them.

Taglit-Birthright Israel is based on goals of nationalism and socio-political identity and wrought with politics. It is recognized as a model program and copied numerous times by other ethnic oriented organizations. It is not, however, without negative criticism, even within the Jewish community. One web-journal article calls for the end of the Birthright program and encourages individuals to boycott the trips. Another website offers travel related support services and programs in Palestine. It further claims that it got its start as a response to Jewish only trips to Israel and rejects the notion of "birthright" as solely for Jews and rejecting Palestinians (Birthright Unplugged, n.d.). Despite the push-back by various politically oriented organizations, it has, over the past approximate 20 years, been studied, modified, improved and is considered a prime example of travel as experiential education. Birthright Israel presents itself as a successful model of employing travel to an experiential education platform that has socio-political objectives.

Summation

There are numerous critical opinions both positive and negative of Birthright's socio-political objectives. The Birthright Foundation claims that, "Birthright's mission is a wholly positive one." Zax, a Birthright alumnus, writes:

for millennia, Jews had been the underdogs in every situation, lacking power in every meaningful sense. Over the course of the Six Day War, as Israel executed a stunning victory seizing the West Bank, East Jerusalem, Gaza, the

Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula, the country gained an unprecedented amount of political and military power, as well as direct power over the civilian occupants of its new territories. The fact is that Israel exists in the middle of an extremely complicated political situation. For Birthright participants who came in already well-acquainted with the conflict, what mattered was not so much the facts we learned about Israel, but the attitude we were asked to cultivate. I don't think there's an issue in the world that elicits this imbalance [pro-Israel or anti-Israel more radically] than that of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. If you're anti-Israel, you're adhering to the idea that Israel's many missteps are what matters, and that the intention behind the action (a safe, holy home for a persecuted people) is immaterial. (Tayla Zax July 31, 2016 "The Lessons They Didn't Teach Me on Birthright")

This is one person's observation that the political issues concerning Israel are complicated. Birthright clearly acknowledges it has political and social agendas; I am not supporting statements that say it is apolitical. They aren't apolitical and they don't pretend they are. Birthright's claim is not a sustainable argument. It hopes to educate the touring student for what it claims, is a balanced political view. Birthright hopes that its alumni will share their reshaped views to being pro-Israel and to be more engaged in the Jewish community to preserve their Jewish heritage.

An opposing position is offered by an organization called, Renounce Birthright. Aviva Stahl says it is all about politics and Birthright is guilty as follows: "We are non-Israeli Jews who oppose the program because it promotes and supports Israel's ongoing colonialism and apartheid policies, and marginalizes Jewish experiences in the diaspora. We are calling for the end of the Birthright program, and encourage individuals to boycott the trips" (Stahl, A., 2013). Clearly, Birthright Israel is a socio-politically focused travel experiential education program. The Birthright mission has its supporters and its detractors. Whatever the socio-political perspective, left, right or center, the educational experience of partakers is impacted. Socio-political aims then may well be a basic objective of this and other experiential education travel programs.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to provide evidence that travel as experiential education may have socio-political objectives and ramifications. Political objectives such as cosmopolitanism, nationalism, imperialism, colonialism and social causes such as ecology and cultural identity reinforcement may become obvious by examination of various experiential education travel programs, past and present.

Three examples of travel-oriented experiential education with strong political purposes from three different centuries were researched and analyzed. They were the Grand Tour of the 18th century, World's Fairs of the 19th century, and Birthright Israel in the 20th and 21st centuries. These examples were chosen to demonstrate that: 1) travel is a form of experiential education that goes back at least three centuries, 2) experiential travel education can be oriented to different constituencies, from a single person to a small, specific group to the masses, and 3) experiential travel education may have an underlying socio-political agenda.

This researcher determined there was an overlooked, underlying, understated rationale for each of these historic, educational institutions in the existing literature. For instance, the literature on experiential education with a travel component did little to reveal socio-political objectives especially in the context of 17th-19th century England. This study sought to answer the following questions: 1) Did experiential education travel exist before the mid-20th century, 2) Was there an underlying socio-political motivation to the Grand Tour, World's Fairs and Birthright Israel, and 3) Did the Grand Tour, World's Fairs and Birthright Israel change in terms of their original educational mission?

Research reveals that travel experiential education is not a 20th century innovation. One can go back centuries and find evidence that it was an educational device. Grand Tours of the 17th through the mid-19th centuries have long been recognized as the educational capstone for the upper-class British youth. World's Fairs of the mid-19th century to the present have been chronicled as being technology showcases for mass public education. Taglit-Birthright Israel is a newer experiential travel education program begun in the 21st century to focus on a specific group for strengthening their attachment to Israel and their Jewish heritage. Each was an example of experiential education that required travel. This research uses the lens of socio-politics to broaden and expand popular accounts of the Grand Tour, World's Fairs and Birthright Israel's role and value in society. This study investigates how politics and social issues (all broadly defined) and international competition altered the original mission of the Grand Tour, World's Fairs and Birthright Israel and what that meant for their initiatives in terms of longevity, audiences, and educational purpose. This concluding chapter identifies the research method used, reviews and summarizes this research, and discusses implications of this study.

The three travel experiences researched here were examples from the 18th to the 20th centuries. These three, the Grand Tour, World's Fairs, and Birthright Israel did indeed have a social and political agenda. Moreover, the agendas of the Grand Tour and World's Fairs changed over time. Birthright started out and endures as a socio-political travel educational experience. The Grand Tour began with the intention of inculcating upper-class values as a finishing school for landed young men. The political perspective was worldliness or cosmopolitanism. Within several decades, its purpose transitioned to become a combination of cosmopolitanism and the establishment of political alliances. As a result of his travel, the young student was exposed to life in European countries that he found less advanced than England and he was encouraged to

think of himself and British society as superior, especially after the Reformation. This researcher proposes that this was the beginning of British nationalism. Political alliances were viewed by the British to be favorable to peace and trade. Under the influence of the industrial revolution, the resulting middle class began grand touring with a differing agenda in mind: establishing trade agreements and recreation. Additionally, the traveling middle-class started to include women and families. Their travel intent became more leisure oriented. This change was the demise of the Grand Tour. The Tour overlapped the beginnings of World's Fairs.

World's Fairs of the 19th century began with the intent of promoting England's manufactures to western European countries and to become internationally competitive. This study revealed that with the spread of industrialization, European competition for colonies emerged as a source of raw material and an outlet for finished goods. It appears that under the policy of economic imperialism, colonialization was justified. This became a national policy for several countries that sponsored World's Fairs. Research revealed that these fairs became platforms to justify national politics of the time. Research on the two American World's Fairs focused on in this study offered clear evidence that politics were a major incentive to their sponsors. The educational objective of showcasing technology and inventions was clearly not the only intent of these expos. This study reveals that racism, colonialism, imperialism, and women's suffrage were major issues demonstrated at these and other World's Fairs. As did the Grand Tour, these fairs also morphed into an educational experience fortified with entertainment, some of which, had clear political overtones. The word, infotainment, was later introduced to describe this contemporary educational experience.

The literature asserts that Birthright Israel's stated mission is to promote Jewish identity and support of Israel. Birthright states, however, that it is apolitical. Given the political

environment of Israel and the Middle East, it is unavoidable. Birthright can, therefore, be acknowledged as an educational travel experience with a well-defined social and political agenda. Birthright's instructional components have been modified, but its social and political agenda has not. Evidence suggests that there will be no change in the program's educational and political objectives in the future.

The findings suggest that social and political objectives are often incorporated or stated objectives to travel experiential education. In my final analysis, we can say there is, indeed, a political component to the Grand Tour, World's Fairs, and Birthright Israel. The research also showed that the mission of these first two examples changed over time due to changes in the social and political nature of the times whereas the goal of Birthright presently remains the same. What I also found is that travel as experiential education is not a recent innovation, but by definition, goes back to previous centuries. It is, however, only since the last half of the 20th century that the term experiential education has been recognized and applied.

Limitations of the Study

It should be stressed that this study has been concerned with experiential education that involves travel with social or political ramifications, intended or otherwise. Three examples were selected for study represented three succeeding centuries, 18th, 19th and 20th. This study is not to imply that there was no travel experiential education prior to these three centuries. Additionally, this study is not to suggest that all experiential education travel programs were or are socio-politically driven. Last, words used to describe social and political agenda such as colonialism, imperialism, and colonialism are subject to various definitions.

Contribution to Research and Recommendations

The literature pertaining to the Grand Tour, World's Fairs and Birthright Israel appeared to focus on the history, the glamour, their positive educational experiences. This research reveals another perspective, that social and political issues lie beneath their specified altruistic educational goals. The area of need in relation to the problem and the deficiency or lack of evidence in the literature has broadened an awareness of the political side to experiential education programs. Consequently, this project will ultimately add to the literature emphasizing an alternate side to experiential travel education. This then has filled a gap in the literature in our understanding or knowledge as to the purposes and objectives of the Grand Tour and World's Fairs. Birthright's objectives may be understated, but are clearly interpreted to be socio-political. Simply put, this researcher is aware that the three examples studied herein cannot speak for the entire scope of travel experiential education programs. Thus, this research provides a unique theoretical contribution to experiential travel education by advancing our understanding of these various program social and political objectives. I offer that historians will benefit from reading this dissertation. I do encourage further study as to the circumstances behind the three subjects of this research. Additionally, this study may encourage educators to further their appreciation of experiential education and its application. Faculty of hospitality and tourism curricula will have an expanded perspective of tourism, especially the socio-political components of their various travel oriented programs.

Last, I'd like to add, that after teaching hospitality and tourism management for about 22 years, I had not given much thought about the social and political mission behind travel and experiential education; now I do. I had not given much thought to the differences and reliability of primary, secondary and tertiary reference sources; now I do. As a long-time proponent of the

experiential travel education concept, I had not considered its depth and universal acceptance;
now I do.

Appendix A: Typical Grand Route Tour 1700s

Map of grand tour taken by William Beckford in 1780 from London to Naples



George Romney, "William Beckford" (1782)

Map from http://wikivisually.com/wiki/William_Thomas_Beckford.

Appendix B: List of World's Fairs 1870-1879

1870		Sydney, New South Wales: Intercolonial Exhibition
1871		London, United Kingdom: First Annual International Exhibition
1872		London, United Kingdom- Second Annual International Exhibition
1872		Lima, Peru: Exposition Internacional de 1872
1872		Lyon, France: Exposition Universelle et Internationale
1872		Kyoto, Japan: Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures
1873		London, United Kingdom: Third Annual International Exhibition
1873		Vienna, Austria-Hungary: Weltausstellung 1873 Wien
1873		Sydney, New South Wales: Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition
1874		London, United Kingdom: Fourth Annual International Exhibition
1874		Dublin, United Kingdom: Int'l. Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures)
1874		Rome, Italy: Esposizione Internazionale (never held)
1875		Melbourne, Victoria: Victorian Intercolonial Exhibition
1875		Nizhni Novgorod, Russia: Nizhni Novgorod Fair
1875		Sydney, New South Wales: Intercolonial Exhibition
1875		Santiago, Chile: Exposición Internacional de Chile
1876		Philadelphia, United States: Centennial Exposition
1876		Brisbane, Queensland: Intercolonial Exhibition
1877		Cape Town, Cape Colony: South African International Exhibition
1877		Tokyo, Japan: First National Industrial Exhibition (Ueno Park)
1878		Paris, France: Exposition Universelle
1878		Ballarat, Victoria: Australian Juvenile Industrial Exhibition
1879		Sydney, New South Wales: Sydney International Exhibition
1879		Melbourne, Victoria: Intercolonial Juvenile Industrial Exhibition

List from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_world%27s_fairs.

Appendix D: Seattle World's Fair 1909, UW Campus Commemorates “Advancing Women’s Rights”



1909 **W.P.** 2009
ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC
EXPOSITION

SHAPING THE UW'S HISTORY

100 YEARS AFTER
“SEATTLE'S FIRST WORLD'S FAIR”

*“In representing the cause of equal suffrage in this country,
you are representing the means of a wonderful improvement
in our politics.”*

— EXPOSITION PRESIDENT J. E. CHILBERG
The Seattle Daily Times, July 7, 1909, addressing delegates to the 41st National
American Woman Suffrage Association Convention, timed to coincide with the Exposition


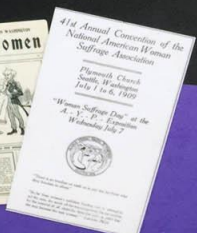



Main photo: A National Woman's League luncheon at the New York State Building, July 18, 1909.
Above top: The Washington State Woman's Building sponsored women's art and provided hospitality to visiting women.
Above bottom: The Woman's Building was renamed for noted photographer and 1907 UW alumna Imogen Cunningham.

ADVANCING WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Women's issues were at the forefront of the Exposition. The National American Woman Suffrage Association Convention was held in Seattle to coincide with the fair, and the Washington State Woman's Building was one of the fair's highlights. More than 600 suffragists participated in the fair's Woman Suffrage Day, July 7, 1909. Under “Votes for Women” banners, they passed out literature and lobbied fairgoers for their support. Partly as a result of these efforts, the Washington State Constitution was amended in 1910 to grant women the right to vote — 10 years before the 19th Amendment to the U.S. constitution conferred that right nationally.

The Exposition held Woman Suffrage Day on July 7, 1909.

THEN & NOW The Woman's Building is one of the fair's few remaining structures. While the building was used by a number of other departments after the fair, it was saved from demolition in the 1970s to once again serve as a center for women. It was renamed in 1983 for 1907 UW alumna and internationally renowned photographer, Imogen Cunningham.

For more information, visit www.washington.edu/visit/eype
Below: Exposition grounds in 1909. Photo credits: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections; Below: Revised 12/11; Above top: UW 26360; Above bottom: Imogen Cunningham Trust; Then & Now: UW 26210; UW 26210; UW 26210; Below: Library of Congress

Photo by author of outdoor plaque at University of Washington campus, 2017.

Appendix E: Birthright by the Numbers 2016



Infographic from <https://birthrightisrael.foundation/>.

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Vita

Edward Porges was born in New Jersey and raised in Queens, New York City. He earned a Bachelor of Science in Business from the University of Denver in 1965 and in 1978 a Master of Business Administration from Virginia Commonwealth University. In 2017, he was awarded a Doctor of Education at the University of Washington in Higher Education Leadership. He makes his home in Seattle, Washington.