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Using Study Abroad Memories in Everyday Life: Insights from the Functional Approach to Autobiographical Memory

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ABSTRACT

Studying abroad builds vivid memories but how are these memories used by individuals in their lives afterwards? The functional approach to autobiographical memory was adopted to answer this question. In Phase 1, social, directive, and self-functions of study abroad memories were examined quantitatively with $n=115$ participants of 2007–2019 South Pacific programs completing an online survey. Results show memories were used for: social-bonding often, directing behaviors occasionally, and self-continuity seldomly. In Phase 2, analysis of 31 interviews (Phase 1 participants) revealed: study abroad memories enhance social-bonding when shared with fellow travelers; the directive function can guide behaviors and life trajectories; and study abroad memories tend not to be consulted for self-continuity. Our findings contribute theoretically by illustrating how travel-related memories are used and integrated into life trajectories in accordance with the autobiographical memory functional approach. Practically, we suggest an approach to demonstrate the long-term impact of educational tourism.

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Autobiographical memory; directing behaviors function; self-continuity; social bonding function; study abroad

Travel has the power to create lifelong memories (Tung & Ritchie, 2011b). These memories contain strong emotions and personal meanings (Tung & Ritchie, 2011a) and often contain vivid sensory detail (Y. Kim et al., 2022). Not surprisingly, the nexus between tourism and personal memory has received increasing attention over the past 15 years (Anaya & Lehto, 2023). Earlier work focused on collective memory, frequently in heritage tourism (e.g. Winter, 2009) and often in conjunction with nostalgia (Marschall, 2012). As tourism scholars began to focus on experience, they also shifted their attention to personal memories and Memorable Tourism Experiences (MTE). Indeed, the most developed line of research about personal memory is dedicated to finding out “what makes a travel experience memorable?”

In this study instead of focusing on the attributes of tourist experiences and their impact on memory formation, we turn our attention to what happens after travel memories are formed. For example, researchers have documented that tourists enjoy reminiscing and savoring travel memories (Filep et al., 2013). Subsequently, many

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studies have confirmed that positive tourism memories are used to motivate people to travel again and make recommendations to others (e.g. Ali et al., 2016; Stewart & Vogt, 1999). However, beyond affecting tourists' purchasing behaviors, long-term travel memories can be used in a variety of ways.

In asking questions about how memories are used we align with the functional approach to autobiographical memory (Bluck, 2003). Autobiographical memory refers to the memories individuals hold about their life's events and which they use to construct a coherent sense of self (Brewer, 1986). The richness of autobiographical memory and its dynamic connection with the self warrants a functional approach. The functional approach is one of the streams of autobiographical memory in cognitive psychology employed to examine how memory is used in everyday life for adaptive purposes. Psychologists working in this area have identified three broad functions of autobiographical remembering: the social (i.e. enhancing social bonding), directive (i.e. guiding behaviors), and self (i.e. supporting self-continuity) functions (Bluck & Alea, 2011; Pillemer, 1992).

In line with an emerging use of a functional approach to autobiographical memory in tourism (Anaya & Lehto, 2023), we focus on a specific type of travel experience: international educational study abroad programs for university students. The context of study abroad is complex in that it integrates travel with formal education, i.e. credit-bearing for college students. The boundaries between education and leisure are blurred during studying abroad. While we view travel as a special form of leisure (Cohen, 1974), we also acknowledge that such travel can be work-like in requiring lectures and assignments and education in turn can be experienced as leisure and valued intrinsically (Arnold, 1989). The extent to which a travel experience is educational or hedonic may vary depending on the type of travel and life stage of travelers (Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002). For this study we chose to focus on a specific form of travel that of university sponsored study abroad programs for college students because they encompass a wide range of experiences and memories and are often characterized as having long-lasting, meaningful effects on participants (Paige et al., 2009).

Therefore, our research aims to elucidate a more comprehensive picture of the use of study abroad memories in everyday life. By adopting a functional approach to autobiographical memory, we hope to understand further how memories of a specific trip can be integrated into study abroad participants' life-stories and how such memories are used to shape their lives.

Theoretical framework: the functions of autobiographical memory

Rooted in Bartlett's (1932) seminal work on everyday remembering, it is now commonly recognized that the recall of autobiographical memories is not merely a replay of the original event but is a reconstructive process. Conway and Pleydell-Pearce's (2000) prominent model conceptualizes personal remembering as occurring within the Self-Memory System in which memories are constructed and reconstructed in line with personal goals and plans. This approach unifies the views of memory as *correspondence* (i.e. accurate record of lived events) and *coherence* (malleability of events to fit with self-goals and functions) of autobiographical memory (Bluck et al., 2010).

This reconstructive conceptualization of memory has led psychology researchers to consider the adaptive uses more fully, namely the psychosocial functions, of memory. Pillemer (1992) first conceptualized several functions of autobiographical memory. Bluck and colleagues (Bluck & Alea, 2011) further operationalized the functions of autobiographical memory in the Thinking About Life Experiences (TALE) scale that assesses three functions through self-report: social bonding, directing behavior, and self-continuity. Since its inception, the TALE scale has been repeatedly used in research on a wide range of populations (Beike et al., 2020). Some researchers have suggested other potential functions, such as emotion regulation (Pillemer, 2009), or mood enhancement (Wolf & Demiray, 2019), but three broad functions are most widely accepted. Each of the theoretically-derived functions of personal remembering is described briefly here.

The *social-bonding* function refers to recalling one's personal experiences to enhance social bonding (Fivush et al., 1996). Alea and Bluck (2003) proposed several aspects of the social bonding function, including intimacy with others (i.e. initiate, maintain, and nurture relationships), teaching and informing others (Webster, 1995), and fostering empathy (eliciting and showing empathy). Further, they suggested that both speakers and listeners' characteristics play important roles in the process of memory sharing.

The *directing-behavior* function refers to using memories to guide one's present or future thoughts and behaviors. This may include using autobiographical memories for solving specific problems or for making life decisions (Bluck & Alea, 2011). Pillemer (1998) argued that autobiographical memories can serve as powerful directives to behavior. This includes memories that contain messages from others (*memorable messages*), provide implicit guidance (*symbolic messages*), signal the beginning of a life path (*originating events*), redirect the life course (*turning points*), reassure a person regarding their beliefs (*anchoring events*), or provide analogous scenarios (*analogous events*) that can guide current or future action.

The *self-continuity* function refers to using memories for maintaining continuity in one's sense of self over time, particularly in the face of challenge or disjuncture (Bluck & Liao, 2013). Remembering can contribute to self-continuity because individuals recall autobiographical memories from various points across their lifetime to maintain a coherent sense of identity. A clear and coherent identity is important to psychological well-being (Diehl & Hay, 2011). Researchers have found that young adults use their memories more frequently than older adults for establishing a continuous sense of self-concept (Wolf & Zimprich, 2015).

Autobiographical memory and tourism

Pearce and Packer (2013) in a review of the application of concepts from psychology to understand tourism discussed the use of autobiographical memory which they suggested would enable researchers to further understand the role of travel memories in well-being, explore the emotions associated with tourism, and of relevance to the current study, how individuals learn from and use long-term tourism memories. The initial forays into autobiographical memory by tourism researchers focused on MTE and examined topics such as the formation of tourism memory (J.-H. Kim et al., 2012; Tung & Ritchie, 2011a) and the impact of tourism memory on travel planning

(Stewart & Vogt, 1999). However, it was not until more recently as Anaya and Lehto (2023) noted, that more scholars have begun to view tourism memory within the larger framework of autobiographical memory beyond considering autobiographical memory simply as a recollection of personal past. They further recommend that tourism memory is situated in the holistic, complex Self-Memory System (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). For example, Harmon and Dunlap (2018) found that when long-time music festival fans recalled their festival memories, they tended to downplay any negative experiences, in favor of creating an overall happy memory associated with attending the festival. This certainly supports the supposition that memories are subject to reconstruction after a particular experience (e.g. (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). Jorgenson et al.'s (2019) Tourism Autobiographical Memory Scale measures the extent to which travelers feel their lives are impacted by their tourism memories. This scale, however, does not identify specific ways in which travel memories affect life, thoughts, or emotions. As such, Jorgenson et al. have called for more investigation and application of the functional approach to autobiographical memory. Taking up this challenge, H. Kim and Chen (2019) provided initial evidence that memorable tourism experiences may be used to serve social, directive, and self-functions. Recently, Y. Kim et al. (2022) explored Wolf and Demiray's (2019) proposition that mood-enhancement is a fourth function of autobiographical memory. They found that positive tourism memories were not only recalled more readily but were shown to repair negative mood states.

As reviewed above, research on travel memory has received increased attention and by embracing cognitive psychology theoretical progress has occurred. However, the adoption of the functional approach to autobiographical memory is in its infancy and a number of questions remain. For example, can travel memories always serve all three of the functions? Does each of the three functions of autobiographical memory have subdimensions? We will investigate these questions in the context of study abroad as a specific tourism type.

Memories of study abroad and youth travel

As an experiential learning opportunity and an international travel experience, study abroad programs often generate long-lasting, impactful memories (Paige et al., 2009). Study abroad in this research refers to programs offered by US universities where students engage in international study programs and earn credits toward their degrees. The goal of these programs is to provide students with global experience and intercultural skills as well as exposure to traditional academic content. Many programs are short-term (i.e. less than eight weeks) or may be a semester or a yearlong (e.g. The Forum on Education Abroad, 2024). The long-lasting nature of study abroad memories has been confirmed through large-scale retrospective longitudinal surveys. In 2002, the Institute for the International Education of Students surveyed their alumni who participated in study abroad programs between 1950 and 1999 (Dwyer, 2004; Norris & Dwyer, 2005). In their survey, 95% of the participants agreed that their study abroad experience “had a lasting impact on world view”, and 88% agreed that study abroad “continues to influence political and social awareness” (Dwyer, 2004, p. 160). In 2007, Paige et al. (2009) instituted the Beyond Immediate Impact: Study Abroad for Global

Engagement (SAGE) project and surveyed alumni who had participated in a study abroad program between 1960 and 2005. They found that 83% of the alumni reported studying abroad had a “strong impact” on their college experience. The impact of study abroad was rated higher than other college experiences such as friendship, coursework, and interaction with faculty. Note that to complete these surveys, participants had to rely on memories of studying abroad from many years ago, showing that some study abroad memories do persist over extended timeframes.

Researchers have also identified a variety of developmental outcomes from youth travel and studying abroad. Young travelers report improved confidence and openness, communication skills, and problem-solving abilities resulting from their travels (Chen et al., 2014; Noy, 2004; Pearce & Foster, 2007). Specific to the study abroad context, researchers have found that educational travel results in increases in intercultural competence (Rexeisen et al. 2008), identity development (Lee, 2015), and global citizenship (Tarrant et al. 2014; Wynveen et al., 2012). Dukes and colleagues (Dukes, 2006; Dukes et al., 1994) tracked two cohorts of Semester at Sea (a semester-long, multi-country program) students who participated in the program in 1979 and 1982 over 20 years. They found that the Semester at Sea experiences provided “a framework within which some participants make sense of world events” (Dukes et al., 1994, p. 496), and the participants “still appear to be drawing on experiences from the voyage as sources of meaning” years later (Dukes, 2006, p. 215). These findings show that the memories from study abroad are not only long-lasting but also provide rich resources to be reflected upon for later transformation (Pung et al. 2020; Mezirow, 1991). Mezirow (1991) explains this process in transformative learning theory. He proposed that when individuals are exposed to unfamiliar situations they can be directed through a series of phases of reflection and reevaluation which in turn may result in adopting new beliefs and behaviors, suggesting that transformation may not be immediate. It may occur later upon further reflection of the memories associated with an experience.

Growth and transformation are particularly important for young adults (Ebner et al. 2006). For example, Ebner et al. found that when recollecting key memories, young adults showed a stronger orientation toward growth than older adults. The uniqueness of young adults’ life stages is embedded in the context of the Western education system and coincides with the completion of formal education either high school or university. Arnett (2007) suggested that in twenty first Century Western societies young adults (19- to 30-year-olds) have more opportunities for mobility and exploration and go through a longer transition from adolescence to adulthood, a stage he calls emerging adulthood. Emerging adulthood is characterized by identity exploration and construction, feelings of maturity and immaturity, and a focus on the self. In such a transitional life stage, travel has been identified for young adults as a site for experimentation, identify exploration, and self-construction (e.g. Lee, 2015; Noy, 2004).

The present study

The study abroad programs examined comprise three field-based instructor-led summer international study tours offered by a public university in the Southeastern U.S. The programs brought students to Australia (four weeks), New Zealand (four weeks), or Fiji (10 days) to study sustainability with academic material encompassing social and

cultural, economic, and environmental dimensions. The three programs are hereafter referred to as the South Pacific Program. The samples included students who participated in the South Pacific Program between 2008 and 2019. All memories, of course, fade over time (Rubin et al., 1998). The memories that are retained and retrieved by the students have thus withstood the test of time. As such, focusing on recalling study abroad memories allows us to investigate the program's lasting impact and the remembering self (Zajchowski et al., 2017). Therefore, recruiting participants from programs years ago is intentional and an advantage of this study.

Phase 1 research questions

While existing studies have shown that students may draw on their study abroad memories years after program participation, the frequency of use of such memories to serve social, directive, and self-functions has not been studied. Therefore, Phase 1 surveyed the South Pacific program alumni to address the following questions: What is the relative frequency of using study abroad memories to serve social, directive, and self-functions in relation to the time passed since program participation? Are there differences in the frequency of using the three functions?

Phase 2 research questions

In Phase 2, we deepened our investigation of how study abroad memories serve the three functions of autobiographical memory by interviewing a subset of participants from Phase 1. The Straussian Grounded Theory Method (GTM) (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) was adopted. In this type of GTM, existing literature and theories play an important role where theoretical sensitivity (i.e. researcher's knowledge and application of related literature and theory) are applied to data collection, data analysis, and the resulting grounded theory development. The lead interviewer had participated in the study abroad programs for three years as a Teaching Assistant, and the second author has led these programs since 2007, and so their own program experiences were integrated throughout, along with their theoretical insights to address the research question of Phase 2: How do participants interpret their study abroad memories in terms of serving social, directive, and self-functions in their lives?

Methods

Phase 1 methods

Data collection and participants

The data were collected through an online self-administered questionnaire.¹ Participants were contacted through their last known email address and *via* social media. From 2007 to 2019, $N=352$ students had participated in the South Pacific Program, and $n=115$ qualified responses were collected. Participants' current ages ranged from 19 to 33 years. Participants from all three destinations responded. The number of years passed since program participation ranged from 1 to 12 years ($M=4.3$ years; $SD: 3.07$, year of program participation: 2008–2019). The sample was 75.7% female ($n=81$) and

22.4% male ($n=24$), reflecting the program's gender ratio. Participants were from diverse disciplinary backgrounds (STEM = 28.0%, social sciences = 21.5%, sustainability-related majors = 18.7%, business and management = 26.2%) and one quarter had now completed a post-graduate degree.

Survey instrument

The study questionnaire contained three sections. The TALE scale was used (Bluck & Alea, 2011) with instructions slightly modified such that participants focused on memories from their study abroad participation (Table 1). As per standard administration, section one contained two baseline questions asking participants to rate their *frequency of thinking* and *frequency of talking* about their memories (i.e. of study abroad). Section two contained items assessing the three functions of autobiographical memory: *social bonding* (three items; modified as described below), *directing behaviors* (five items), and *self-continuity* (five items). Items in the second section were shuffled across participants to avoid order effects (Dillman et al., 2014) and rated on a seven-point Likert-type scale (Never = 1, Almost never = 2, Seldom = 3, Occasionally = 4, Often = 5, Very frequently = 6, All the time = 7). The *social*

Table 1. Phase 1 functions of study abroad memories descriptive statistics.

Dimensions & items	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
Baseline questions: frequency of recall				
1_1 when I want to feel that I am the same person I was before the program.	5.56	.984	-0.076	-0.991
1_2 when I want to remember something that someone on the program said or did.	5.07	1.049	-0.002	-0.588
Social-bonding function				
2_7 when I want to share my program experiences to bond with family and friends.	5.01	1.151	-0.343	0.185
2_10 when I want to develop a closer relationship with someone who has had similar experiences.	5.50	1.165	-0.807	0.957
2_12 when I want to maintain a bond with my fellow program participants.	5.06	1.397	-0.660	0.362
Directing-behavior function				
2_2 when I want to remember something that someone on the program said or did.	4.47	1.586	-0.111	-0.559
2_4 when I believe that thinking about the program can help guide my future.	4.29	1.116	-0.321	-0.699
2_6 when I want to try to learn from mistakes I made before the program.	4.78	1.205	-0.336	0.104
2_8 when I need to make a life choice and I am uncertain about which path to take.	4.46	1.332	-0.184	-0.399
2_9 when I want to remember a lesson I learned from the program.	3.40	1.685	0.142	0-833
Self-continuity function				
2_1 when I want to feel that I am the same person I was before the program.	3.81	1.594	-0.196	-0.771
2_3 when I am concerned about whether I am still the same type of person I was before the program.	4.97	1.347	-0.631	0.579
2_5 when I am concerned about whether my values changed after the program.	3.11	1.226	0.453	-0.264
2_11 when I am concerned about whether my beliefs changed after the program.	2.36	1.325	0.988	0.764
2_13 when I want to understand how I have changed from who I was before the program.	2.40	1.401	0.930	0.318
	3.38	1.689	0.267	-0.897
	3.08	1.601	0.366	-0.631
	4.31	1.856	-0.202	-0.992

Note: Never = 1, all the time = 7.

bonding section was revised to assess the use of memory for developing and maintaining relationships. Two items of the *social bonding* function in the original TALE scale were dropped due to lack of fit in the study abroad context. Section three contained eight questions about South Pacific Program-related information and demographics.

The criterion validity, convergent validity, and discriminant validity of the original TALE scale has been confirmed in previous research (see Bluck & Alea, 2011). The reliability of the scale tested in the current study showed good internal consistency (Hair et al., 2006): Cronbach's α : *social bonding* ($\alpha=0.77$), *directing behaviors* ($\alpha=0.83$), and *self-continuity* ($\alpha=0.83$).

Including the first two baseline questions, five variables about study abroad memories were prepared including *Frequency of Thinking (Think)*, *Frequency of Talking (Talk)*, *Social Bonding*, *Directing Behaviors*, and *Self-Continuity*. Individual or mean scores for each of the five variables were used in analyses. Pearson correlation coefficients and repeated measures ANOVA were used for data analysis.

Phase 2 methods

Data collection² and participants

Given that this qualitative work was guided by theory and Phase 1 findings, theoretical sampling was used (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A diversity of students in terms of their year of program participation (2009–2019), gender (males, and females), destination (Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji), and undergraduate major (sustainability-related, social sciences, STEM, and business) were interviewed. Thirty-one (23 females, 8 males) one-on-one semi-structured interviews, by Zoom or phone, were conducted. The interviews ranged in length from 33 min to 3 h with a mean of 78 min. Using constant comparison and theoretical sensitivity we felt no unique information was forthcoming after 31 interviews and so, we deemed that saturation had been reached.

Each interview started by asking participants to describe the itinerary of their study abroad trip without memory probes. After narrating *what* they remembered, they were asked *why* the events/moments they had recalled were memorable and meaningful, and how often and on what occasions they would recall these memories. To further elicit responses concerning the functions these memories might play, they were asked to reflect on the impact of their study abroad memories on their everyday life upon finishing the programs.

Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim. NVivo 12 was used for tracking the nodes, memos, and themes generated from the interviews and subsequent coding process. In accordance with the Straussian GTM, each of the interview transcripts was read several times and the three-stage coding process (open, axial and selective coding) was conducted. Tenets from the functional approach to autobiographical memory and the results from Phase 1 were used throughout the coding process to triangulate memories against the program itineraries (first stage of the interview process). The researchers' own program experiences provided further insights and validity to the participants'

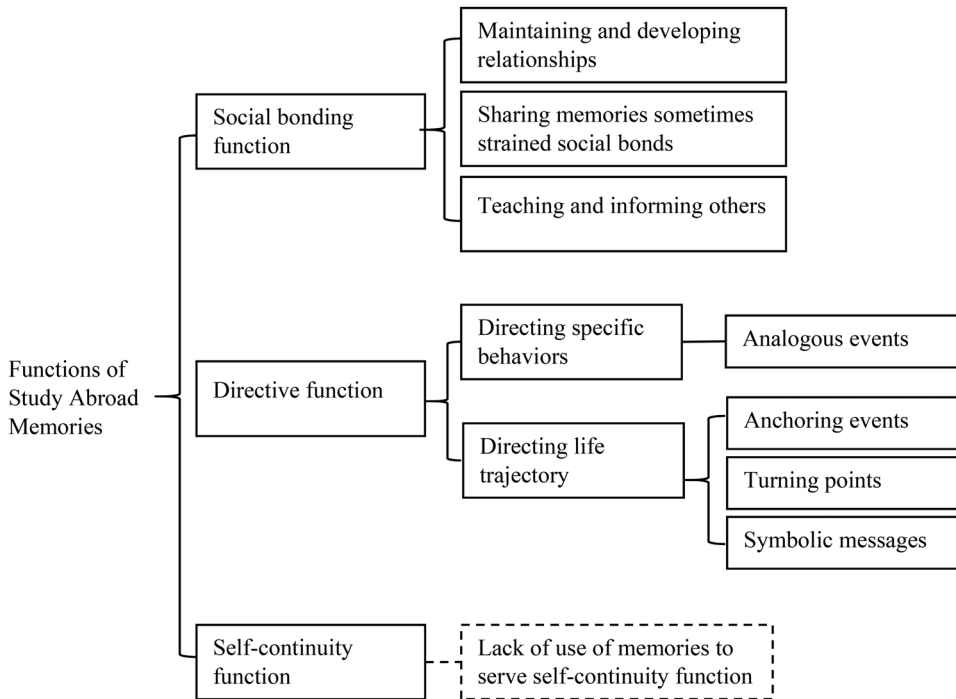


Figure 1. Phase 2 findings: functions of study abroad memories.

recollections. The third author as a social psychologist helped in the accurate application of a functional approach to autobiographical memory to our data analysis and interpretation.

Data analysis started with open coding. Key events and concepts were identified such as “bonding with cohort” and “bonding with people who have similar experiences.” Second, in the axial coding phase, the codes generated from open coding were organized into higher-level categories. Therefore, the two bonding-related examples identified above were grouped into “Maintaining and developing relationships.” Thirdly, selective coding was used to make sense of the relationships between and among the categories generated from axial coding and to refine the theoretical structure guided by the tenets of functional autobiographical memory theory. Memos and diagrams were created and used to flesh out the analysis throughout the coding process. The structure of the themes and subthemes identified by this process is shown in [Figure 1](#).

Findings

Phase 1 findings

Descriptive statistics showed that participants *Think* ($M=5.56$, $SD = 0.98$) and *Talk* ($M=5.07$, $SD = 1.05$) about their study abroad experiences “often” to “very frequently” in their everyday life. In addition, Pearson correlation coefficients showed no association at $p < .05$ level between *Years* and *Talk* ($r = -.17$, $p = .08$) nor between *Years* and *Think* ($r = -.18$, $p = .06$). This indicates that participants recall their study abroad

experiences just as frequently irrespective of the number of years passed since they participated in the program (a span of 1–12 years).

Regarding the use of the three functions, descriptive statistics showed that the participants used their study abroad memories “often” for *Social Bonding* ($M=5.01$, $SD = 1.15$), “occasionally” for *Directing Behaviors* ($M=4.29$, $SD = 1.12$), and “seldom” for supporting *Self-Continuity* ($M=3.11$, $SD = 1.23$).

Repeated measures ANOVA, with type of function as the repeated measure, showed the difference between frequency of use of the three functions was significant $F(2, 191.56) = 179.73$, $p < .5$. Mauchly’s test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 23.85$, $p < .5$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = 0.84$). Pairwise comparison, using Bonferroni adjustment for multiple tests, showed that all three pairs were significantly different. *Social Bonding* was used more frequently than *Directing Behaviors* ($p < .001$) and *Self-Continuity* ($p < .001$). *Directing Behaviors* was used significantly more frequently than supporting *Self-Continuity* ($p < .001$).

Phase 2 findings

Consistent with the findings from Phase 1, participants reported using their study abroad memories for: *Social Bonding* and *Directing Behaviors*. They did not report using their study abroad memories to serve a *Self-Continuity* function but did provide insights as to why their study abroad memories were not used for maintaining self-continuity.

Theme 1. Social bonding function

Using study abroad memories for social bonding was commonly seen in the interviews and three sub-themes were identified. a) *Maintaining and developing relationships*; b) *Sharing memories sometimes strained social bonds*, and c) *Teaching and informing others*.

Maintaining and developing relationships mostly manifested as instances where intimacy with others was prominent (Alea & Bluck, 2003). Participants reported that, within the first year after the program, memories were recalled most frequently for maintaining connections with their cohort. Throughout the programs, the participants lived, studied, and traveled together as a small group for up to six weeks. They thus developed strong bonds which, as Lily (2012, Australia, Fiji)³ recalled, gave her a “sense of family and belonging.” Typically, in the first year after the program, many participants socialized as a group, and some volunteered to help at various recruitment events during the following year such as study abroad fairs and information sessions.

Once they graduated college, connecting as a group tended to decrease or end. While moving into the next phases of their life, their memories from studying abroad allowed them to quickly bond with new people they met who had similar international travel or study abroad experiences. As Alea and Bluck (2003) suggested, the similarity between speakers and listeners is important for the social function of autobiographical memory to take place. One of the most salient examples of social bonding was narrated by Sarah (2016, Australia, Fiji) who recalled how she met her fiancé:

I actually am engaged, and I was supposed to get married on August 1st, [2020]. We started like, we share a mutual friend, and that friend wanted us to talk because we had both been

to Australia... He has been traveling through Australia for two months by himself, just backpacking. And then I had gone with the trip obviously. I didn't know anyone else who had been to Australia in my personal life. So, my best friend was like, talk to [name of Sarah's fiancé] because he's been to Australia, too. And my friend had heard me talk about how much I loved the trip... So that's how we ended up talking. And then we dated and got engaged, and we're supposed to get married in a couple months.

Sarah's story shows how being able to recall and share similar experiences provides a common ground that helps create social bonds between individuals who have never met.

When participants shared study abroad memories with others who had not had similar experiences, they mentioned enjoying receiving positive reactions, even admiration, from others. As Zoey (2017, Australia) said, "anytime you mentioned like I have been to Australia, people are like, 'What? You have been to Australia! Tell me all about it!'" This exemplifies Kerr et al.'s (2012) findings that sharing travel stories confers status and prestige on the storyteller.

Sharing memories sometimes strained social bonds. Many participants pointed out that friends and family would sometimes grow tired of hearing about their memories of studying abroad. This suggests there may be a point at which memory-sharing is no longer adaptive, or functional. For example, Madden (2017, New Zealand) said, "I actually got a lot of friends who started making fun of me because I would talk so much [about New Zealand] in the first year." Blake (2014, Australia) and Adel (2014, Australia) explained that they intentionally talked less about their study abroad experiences to avoid being perceived as bragging.

The link between social status accrued from travel, particularly international travel is well established in tourism research (O'Reilly, 2006). McCabe and Stokoe (2010) note that what they call "holiday talk" can facilitate social functions such as feelings of affiliation and reciprocity, as was found in the current study. However, tolerance for hearing about travel memories in interactions with people who do not share those experiences has received little attention.

Teaching and informing others. Another way that memory-sharing can enhance social bonds is through using study abroad memories to teach or help others (Alea & Bluck, 2003). This mainly appeared in our data when participants encouraged their peers to seize the chance to study abroad by recalling and touting the benefits of their own experiences. For example, when Kelly (2013, Australia, Fiji) was interviewed, she was pursuing a doctoral degree. She recalled:

I have a lot of undergrads that work with me to do research and a lot of them are interested in study abroad. So, I always tell them about my experience. And I really encourage them to study broad because I think it was a great experience... It throws a lot of independence and responsibility on you.

This manifestation of the social function as teaching or guiding others was also evident in other participants' responses. They shared what they learned from the program with relatives and peers to encourage them to pursue such activities. Indeed, during study abroad fairs and information sessions, the researchers would hear memories of exploits and adventures being shared with potential future program participants. Those deciding whether to participate listened intently as their peers who had

participated in study abroad used their positive memories to encourage others to sign-up for next year's programs. Additionally, when the alumni teach others about the benefits of studying abroad, this shows that they have not only reflected on their study abroad memories but have also drawn conclusions from such reflection and are able to articulate them to teach others.

Theme 2. Directive function

Regarding the directive function of memory, participants used their study abroad memories in two ways: a) *Directing specific behaviors*, and b) *Directing their life's trajectory*.

Directing specific behaviors. The participants talked about their study abroad memories in terms of applying knowledge and skills gained from the programs to specific areas in their work and life. In this instance a memory might constitute a specific conversation with their host family from their farm-stay or a particularly powerful lecture from a field guide. A unique characteristic of the South Pacific Program was its focus on sustainability. Thus, participants spoke about memories from their program encouraging them to make behavioral changes to protect the environment such as using coral reef-friendly sunscreen (Ella, 2017, Australia; Yue, 2013, Fiji) or adopting responsible travel behaviors such as being cautious about "how I spend time and money as a tourist" (Crystal, 2009, New Zealand, Fiji). Another instance of the directive function of memory was recounted by some participants who described how they had applied lessons learned from the academic projects they completed as part of the program. For example, *sarah* (2016, Australia, Fiji) described how she remembered the accommodation sustainability audit project she did in Fiji and used her memories of that experience as a template for a similar sustainability audit she did for her church. As Pillemer (1998) suggested, vivid memories can guide problem-solving when encountering comparable situations. He termed these *analogous events*.

In addition to the dominant program theme of learning about sustainability, participants were exposed to a variety of new activities and experiences throughout their programs. Memories of these experiences were frequently used to direct and inspire them to develop new interests and hobbies such as hiking and scuba diving. A common sentiment was they held fond memories of their program-related travels, and this made them eager to travel more. As *crystal* (2009 New Zealand & Fiji) said, the program "sparked a love of travel" or gave them a "travel bug" (Kate, 2010, Sydney, New Zealand), or acted as a "catalyst" for future travel (Snow, 2012, Australia). Their memories of studying abroad left them with a desire to learn more about other cultures and places. Many participants talked about how their memories from studying abroad helped them consolidate travel skills which they then applied in the *analogous event* of pursuing their own independent travel.

Directing life's trajectory. Many participants spoke about how their study abroad memories influenced their life trajectory. Some participants used the word "solidify" to describe the program's impact on their career choices. These participants spoke about their study abroad memories reassuring them that they were choosing the right path as they transitioned from college to the next phase of their life.

For example, Skye (2013, Australia) had aspired to work in environmental law since she was in high school. She described the role of her study abroad memories in this way:

It's not like it was a wake-up call... I think it definitely solidified it. If I had any doubts about what I was passionate about, they went away, because the whole time I was engaged. I was so interested in every single aspect of what we learned... We learned about the Aboriginals and how they live in cohesiveness with the environment... And now I study environmental law with the hopes of protecting the environment and going even further.

The use of study abroad memories to solidify career choices is in line with what Pillemer (1998) called *anchoring events* where the directive function of autobiographical memory is to firmly center people in their beliefs and feelings.

For others who were still exploring the direction for their life trajectory, the study abroad experiences provided an opportunity to try new things, i.e. a *turning point* (Pillemer, 1998). For example, Wan (2019, Fiji) pursued a master's degree in tourism management and was planning on earning a doctoral degree. After participating in the Fiji program and learning more about hotel management, however, she made a shift, realizing she preferred to have a career in the hospitality industry than in academia. Besides impacting career choices, the study abroad memories provided direction in making other life choices such as where to live. For example, Jacob (2017, Australia) said, "[The study abroad experiences] opened up a lot of doors for me. I think that's one of the reasons why I live in Denver [Colorado] now. Going to Australia, I realized the world is a lot bigger than Florida."

Beyond serving as *anchoring events* and *turning points*, study abroad memories also served as *symbolic messages* (Pillemer, 1998). For example, when faced with new challenges, participants would think back to their study abroad memories and gain confidence and a sense of accomplishment from them knowing that they had completed an academically and physically challenging program. The program consisted of intense coursework bearing six credits to be completed in four weeks. It was also field-based so students took part in many hands-on projects across different ecosystems. For many, the program was their first long-haul international trip not accompanied by their parents. As a first-generation college student, *adel* (2014, Australia) saw her study abroad memories in quite a symbolic way and said she wanted "to be a person that did a study abroad." Her study abroad experiences then inspired her to pursue a master's degree abroad in 2020 and to negotiate the challenges of living and studying in another country without the comfort and support of a faculty-led group as she had experienced in Australia. The findings show that for some participants their memories of studying abroad were used to shape their life's trajectory.

Theme 3. Lack of use of memories to serve self-continuity function

Toward the end of each interview, the three functions of autobiographical memory were explained to the participants. In general, they saw the connection between the functional approach to memory and their study abroad memories. Further, they gave explanations for why study abroad memories might not be associated with the self-function, maintaining or developing self-continuity.

Adel (2014, Australia), who was about to pursue a master's degree abroad and *skye* (2013, Australia), the environmental lawyer mentioned above shared similar sentiment that “now I do feel like [the study abroad memories are] very much a part of me” (Adel) and “I have all my stories from [Australia]” (*Skye*). However, after rereading the items for the self-continuity subscale used in Phase 1, they both suggested that the items seemed to refer to repairing self-continuity after negative life experiences. As their study abroad experience was positive, self-continuity did not seem to apply. Adel stated:

[The items] remind me more of a questionnaire that would be more fitting if there was a traumatic experience. So, it's like if I'm thinking about the person that I was before an accident, or like if my values have changed after an accident. I don't know why, but for me, my brain makes it something that is a little bit more negative. Definitely, I can see where it does make sense where, yes, obviously, there was a person before, during, and after the program. But I guess, when I think about it, I don't think that I have changed so much from before in a drastic way. It's more like new experiences that came into my life. And now I'm on maybe a slightly different trajectory.

These participants' insights provide some ideas as to why study abroad memories were not regularly used for maintaining self-continuity, and as such support our Phase 1 findings.

Discussion

Our study empirically revealed how frequently study abroad memories were recalled and the relative extent to which they were used for self, social or directive functions, and then used a qualitative approach to probe more deeply into our participants' use of their study abroad related memories. A new finding revealed by Phase 1 is that the social, directive, and self-functions of study abroad memories are not used equally. As Pillemer (2009) suggests, the triadic functions model of autobiographical memory should only provide a guiding structure for analysis. We moved beyond that simple structure in Phase 2 which explained how study abroad memories are used and identified subdimensions of the social and directive functions of memory in the study abroad context. Below we engage in a more in-depth discussion of our three themes: (a) Social bonding; (b) Directive function; and (c) Self-continuity.

Regarding the *social-bonding function* of study abroad memories, our findings detailed the social function these tourism-related memories serve in everyday life including maintaining relationships, developing new relationships, and teaching and informing others (Alea & Bluck, 2003). Our study extended H. Kim and Chen's (2019) findings in that sharing autobiographical memories about travel can enhance social bonding. This finding contributes to the literature on benefits of study abroad as social bonding opportunities created through study abroad have not received the same scholarly attention as other benefits such as gaining intercultural competence and facilitating identity development (Lee, 2015). By developing and maintaining social bonding, these tourism-related memories may indirectly contribute to the happiness and well-being of participants over the long run (Pearce & Packer, 2013).

Our findings also revealed how social networks may be made or maintained through memory. Since study abroad memories are relatively unique, they allow students to enter a fellow travelers' social group. This social group may consist of those who traveled together such as a student cohort on the same study abroad trip. It may also, however, extend to those they meet later in life outside the study abroad context but who have traveled to the same place (i.e. the meeting-fiancé example in Phase 2). Talking about similar study abroad/travel memories with people can enhance intimacy (Alea & Bluck, 2003). Conversely, since travel stories are known to be conspicuous forms of status consumption (Kerr et al., 2012), sharing such memories has the potential to harm social bonding if repeated too often or perceived as bragging by others. In other words, merely sharing personal travel memories will not always foster social bonds. One must evaluate the symbolic value of such memories and the context in which memories are shared. Certainly, McCabe and Stokoe (2010, p. 1136) in their examination of "holiday talk" in a UK context found that recounting travel stories is part of everyday life in western cultures and helps facilitate communication and provides a timeline by which life is organized, and we would suggest remembered. We would also suggest that distinguishing the nature of travel between the "mundane" annual summer vacation compared to "rite of passage" style tourism such as "once in a lifetime" trips such as study abroad programs might be fruitful in understanding how travel talk is received and how such memories are used throughout life.

Regarding the *directive function*, our findings showed that study abroad memories can guide specific behaviors (Pillemer, 1998). As reported by our study abroad alumni, they remember specific conversations, lectures, moments, or projects from their study abroad programs, that served to guide them in comparable circumstances later in life. Particularly, many participants reported that their study abroad memories encouraged them to travel more and inspired them to explore new hobbies in outdoor recreation. In other words, study abroad programs enabled students to acquire new leisure skills and preferences from their programs. Further, our students learned how to incorporate responsible behaviors in their future travel. This is consistent with Tarrant and Lyons's (2012) findings that study abroad programs can promote environmental citizenship. This is meaningful also because if the students can continue to be mindful about the environment in their everyday life and travel, this is beneficial at both the individual and sociocultural level (Zhang & Gibson, 2021). This finding also links in particular to the discourse about the transformational nature of tourism (Pung et al., 2020). Bell et al. (2016) examined the transformational nature of similar international educational experiences and supports the current findings that some forms of travel have the potential for behavioral and attitudinal change. Our study elucidates the importance of memory in understanding how transformation occurs particularly through the functional approach demonstrating how some memories are used and incorporated into everyday life.

Our findings also confirmed the use of study abroad memories to direct life's trajectory. Our interviews showed that directing one's life trajectory was achieved by recalling *anchoring events*, *turning points*, and *symbolic messages* (Pillemer, 1998). These subfunctions explain why study abroad alumni report that they draw on study abroad memories years later, and how they use their memories for making life decisions (Dukes, 2006; Dwyer, 2004). Being able to use memories for directing life is crucial for young

adults, especially in today's Western society and education system where there are a myriad of choices. Young adults in their 20s and 30s face multiple choices about their career path and lifestyle. On the bright side they have, to some extent, the freedom to make life decisions for themselves. At the same time, a prolonged exploration process before making a choice can cause stress (Arnett, 2007). Given that our studies focused on young adults (19–33 years), this may be why directing one's life trajectory was one of the prominent themes. The use of travel memories at different life stages needs further investigation (Wolf & Zimprich, 2015). Using the functional approach to autobiographical memory could potentially help us shed light on "rite of passage tourism." We know that tourism is linked to life transitions (Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002) and individuals take trips to mark life events such as retirement (Huber, 2019). Adding insights as to how memories associated with these trips would help us understand the underlying processes associated with how people use travel at different life stages.

Indeed, previous studies have found that young adults use the directive and self-continuity function of their memories more often than older adults. A plausible reason is that young adults need to draw on their memories to consolidate their identity (Wolf & Zimprich, 2015). However, in the study abroad context, *the self-continuity function* was not endorsed in either Phase 1 using the TALE scale or in Phase 2's interviews. Our participants explained that study abroad memories were positive hence not often consulted for maintaining self-continuity. This is consistent with psychology literature which suggests that self-continuity is associated with processing and overcoming disjuncture after negative life events (Alea et al. 2015; Bluck & Liao, 2013; Lind et al. 2019). Therefore, perhaps future research should examine other self-functions (e.g. bolstering self-esteem) that may be more relevant to the leisure and tourism context. Also, future research on the impact of tourism and leisure on the self should take care in defining related concepts such as self-continuity, self-concept, self-identity, self-authorship etc. as they may yield different results. Our findings show that study abroad memories are associated with the participants' life decisions and understanding of the self, but not necessarily used for maintaining self-continuity.

In terms of practical implications, knowledge about how students use their study abroad memories may be incorporated into program development. For example, since study abroad memories can direct future behaviors, it is recommended that study abroad programs intentionally guide students to create memories for future use. For example, prior to the end of their program students could be helped to practice talking about their memories with different audiences. Recounting memories with friends and family will be done differently than communicating with graduate school admissions or potential employers. Additionally, before the program ends, students should be prepared to reenter their everyday lives. According to the findings, in the first year after finishing their programs, the students were very excited and wanted to share their newly formed personal stories. However, constantly sharing these memories may cause tensions and strain bonds with others who do not have similar types of memories. The students need to be taught how to use the social function of study abroad memory appropriately so that they understand both the joys of sharing but the pitfalls of oversharing.

In terms of program evaluation, the functional approach to autobiographical memory provides an alternative way to solicit feedback about travel experiences or study abroad experiences beyond the often-used measures of satisfaction and intercultural

competence. As more universities have engaged in the internationalization of the curricula over the past decade, there is a consistent call to demonstrate the impact and value of education abroad initiatives. For example, the adapted TALE scale used in this study could be adopted for evaluating the long-term impact and value of programs to students. The interview questions can also be used as a guideline for designing open-ended questions to identify specific uses of memories which can then be used in future programming and marketing materials.

Limitations and future research

This research is not without limitations. The focus of this study was on study abroad for university students which is a niche within the larger tourism and educational context. As such our study shows the applicability of autobiographical memory theory, particularly the functional approach to memory, in the tourism context. However, while the results have applicability to other leisure and tourism contexts researchers should recall that our focus was on adult led organized activity which may differ from experiences that are unstructured and developed by the participants themselves. Second, in terms of life stage, this study focused on young adults. Middle-aged or older participants were not available because the programs have not been offered over a sufficiently long period for alumni to reach later life stages. However, each adult life phase has unique opportunities and challenges. Travel fits into the ecology of a person's life and may satisfy different developmentally-appropriate needs at different times. Future studies are recommended to extend the age range of participants and explore potential changes in leisure and tourism memories when recalled from different life stages in a longitudinal design. For example, Tung and Ritchie (2011b) identified characteristics of older adult's travel memory among which family milestones and freedom pursuits post-retirement are unique to older travelers.

Conclusion

While our study provides empirical insights into how travel-related memories might be used in everyday life, we suggest this approach has applications for the study of leisure more generally. Travel is associated with creating memories, however beyond the growing body of work on the role of leisure in memory loss and dementia (e.g. Genoe & Dupuis, 2011) little attention has been paid to leisure as a site of memory creation and the meaning and use of such memories. Perhaps a next step would be to apply an autobiographical functional approach to leisure across the lifespan to understand not only how everyday leisure memories contribute to individual's life stories, but how they use these memories throughout their lives.

Notes

1. Approved by University of Florida Institutional Review Board: IRB201901125.
2. Approved by University of Florida Institutional Review Board: IRB202000437.
3. Pseudonyms are used for all participants to protect identity. The year indicates which year the interviewee took part in the study abroad program, and the country is the location of the program.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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