



# Intercultura

105
Il trimestre
2022

Atti dell'XI Forum on Intercultural Learning and Exchange Evoluzione dei valori nelle maggiori ricerche europee ed internazionali

Come cambiano i valori nel corso di un'esperienza di studio all'estero



#### THE VALUES OF LIVING TOGETHER

How to assess their evolution within intercultural student exchanges

### In questo numero

11<sup>™</sup> FORUM ON **INTERCULTURAL LEARNING AND EXCHANGE** 

**COLLE DI VAL D'ELSA 4-6 NOVEMBRE 2021**  Questo numero contiene gli atti dell'XI Forum on Intercultural Learning and Exchange organizzato ed ospitato dalla Fondazione Intercultura a Colle di Val d'Elsa (Siena) dal 4 al 6 novembre 2021. Vi hanno partecipato - nonostante le restrizioni imposte dalla pandemia - esperti di molti Paesi europei e del Nord America, mentre altri si sono collegati in videoconferenza. Il tema intorno a cui si sono svolte presentazioni e discussioni è stato quello dei valori che possono mutare nel corsio di un'esperienza di studio all'estero in età adolescenziale. Introdotti da Anat Bardi (Royal Holloway University of London), i lavori sono proseguiti con i contributi di Ferruccio Biolcati e Riccardo Landini (Università Statale di Milano), di Tarek Mostafa (OCSE) e di Roberto Ruffino e Mattia Baiutti (Fondazione Intercultura). Il Forum è un evento biennale che approfondisce temi di educazione interculturale nell'ambito degli scambi internazionali di studenti.

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#### La Fondazione Intercultura Onlus

La Fondazione Intercultura Onlus nasce il 12 maggio 2007 da una costola dell'Associazione che porta lo stesso nome e che da oltre 60 anni accumula un patrimonio unico di esperienze educative internazionali, che la Fondazione intende utilizzare su più vasta scala, favorendo una cultura del dialogo e dello scambio interculturale tra i giovani e sviluppando ricerche, programmi e strutture che aiutino le nuove generazioni ad aprirsi al mondo ed a vivere da cittadini consapevoli e preparati in una società multiculturale. Vi hanno aderito il Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione internazionale e il Ministero dell'Istruzione. La Fondazione è presieduta dall'Ambasciatore Roberto Toscano; segretario generale è Roberto Ruffino; del consiglio e del comitato scientifico fanno parte eminenti rappresentanti del mondo

della cultura, dell'economia e dell'università. La Fondazione Intercultura promuove convegni internazionali su temi legati alle culture e organizza annualmente incontri tra interculturalisti di vari Paesi. È ente di formazione accreditato al MIUR e propone corsi e seminari per docenti e dirigenti scolastici. Sostiene ricerche sull'apprendimento interculturale; ha condotto un progetto pilota di scambi intra-europei con l'Unione Europea. Raccoglie donazioni per borse d i studio di enti locali, fondazioni ed aziende a beneficio dei programmi di Intercultura. Gestisce l'Osservatorio nazionale sull'internazionalizzazione delle scuole e la mobilità studentesca (www.scuoleinternazionali.org).

fondazioneintercultura.org

This issue of "INTERCULTURA" presents the proceedings of the 11th Forum on Intercultural Learning and Exchange, which was held at Fondazione Intercultura in Colle di Val d'Elsa, Italy, on November 4th-6th 2021. Although the pandemic made travel difficult, many experts were able to join in presence from several European countries and North America, while others intervened via zoom. Presentations and discussions revolved around the main theme of adolescents' values, how they may change in the course of an extended period of life and study abroad. The keynote speech was delivered by Anat Bardi (Royal Holloway University of London) and it was followed by presentations by Ferruccio Biolcati e Riccardo Landini (Università Statale di Milano), by Tarek Mostafa (OECD) and by Roberto Ruffino/Mattia Baiutti (Fondazione Intercultura). The Forum is a biennial event that explores and discusses topics related to the learning that occurs during an international student exchange.



Value Change and its Applicability to International Students' Experiences

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# ONLUS Intercultura

#### L'Associazione Intercultura Onlus

L'Associazione Intercultura Onlus (fondata nel 1955) è un ente morale riconosciuto con DPR n. 578/85, posto sotto la tutela del Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Dal 1 gennaio 1998 ha status di Organizzazione non lucrativa di utilità sociale, iscritta al registro delle associazioni di volontariato del Lazio: è infatti gestita e amministrata da migliaia di volontari, che hanno scelto di operare nel settore educativo e scolastico, per sensibilizzarlo alla dimensione internazionale. È presente in 159 città italiane ed in 58 Paesi di tutti i continenti, attraverso la sua affiliazione all'AFS ed all'EFIL. Ha statuto consultivo all'UNESCO e al Consiglio d'Europa e collabora ad alcuni progetti dell'Unione Europea. Ha rapporti con il Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione internazionale e il Ministero dell'Istruzione. A Intercultura sono stati assegnati il Premio della Cultura della Presidenza del Consiglio e il Premio

della Solidarietà della Fondazione Italiana per il Volontariato per oltre 40 anni di attività in favore della pace e della conoscenza fra i popoli. L'Associazione promuove, organizza e finanzia scambi ed esperienze interculturali, inviando ogni anno oltre 2300 ragazzi delle scuole secondarie a vivere e studiare all'estero ed acogliendo nel nostro paese altrettanti giovani di ogni nazione che scelgono di arricchirsi culturalmente trascorrendo un periodo di vita nelle nostre famiglie e nelle nostre scuole. Inoltre Intercultura organizza seminari, conferenze, corsi di formazione e di aggiornamento per Presidi, insegnanti, volontari della propria e di altre associazioni, sugli scambi culturali. Tutto questo per favorire l'incontro e il dialogo tra persone di tradizioni culturali diverse ed aiutarle a comprendersi e a collaborare in modo costruttivo.

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# 11th Forum on Intercultural Learning and Exchange

What is FILE?

FILE is the annual Forum on Intercultural Learning and Exchange sponsored by the Intercultura Foundation in Colle di Val d'Elsa (Italy), the European Federation for Intercultural Learning (EFIL) in Brussels (Belgium) and AFS Intercultural Programs in New York (USA). It includes - by invitation - some sixty experts, researchers and practitioners in the field of international youth exchanges and intercultural learning. It is an opportunity for academics to meet and discuss with professionals and volunteers who work in the field of intercultural education - and for practitioners to learn about theories and researches in this field.





#### Theme of FILE XI

THE VALUES OF LIVING TOGETHER: HOW TO ASSESS THEIR EVOLUTION WITHIN INTERCULTURAL STUDENT EXCHANGES

#### **Sub-topics**

- Which pedagogical practices help students to value human dignity and rights, respect for differences and globally competent participation in multicultural societies?
- To what extent do students' exchanges achieve these goals and how?
- · How do cultural differences affect values?

#### **Desired outcomes**

- Recommendations for schools when running student exchanges: a
  practical set of implications from all 3 of these studies that AFS and
  likeminded organizations can use to promote exchanges when we
  talk with governments, school authorities, funders and parents
- What changes should occur in exchange participants towards valuing human dignity and human rights, respect for differences, and active participation as a global citizen and what is evidence ofthese changes?

VENUE: Colle Val d'Elsa (Siena), Italy







# **Programme**

# November 4th

#### 18.30-20.00

Welcome and key-note speaker:

**Roberto Ruffino** – Welcome and presentation of this year's topic and program

**Anat Bardi** – Department of Psychology, Royal Holloway, University of London - Value Change and its Applicability to International Students' Experiences



# November 5th

Chair: Uffe Gravers Pedersen

#### 09.00-10.00

**Ferruccio Biolcati, Riccardo Ladini** – University of Milan: A presentation of the World Values Survey and the European Values Study on values as they are evolving

#### 10.00-10.45

Two discussants on Biolcati and Ladini's presentation: **Martyn Barrett** – University of Surrey (via Zoom) **Francisco Marmolejo** – Qatar Foundation (via Zoom)

#### 11.15-12.45

Group discussions on World and European values

#### 14.15-15.15

**Tarek Mostafa** - OECD: The outcomes of the 2018 OECD PISA survey that included an assessment of the Global Competence of pupils age 15 from around the world

#### 15.15-16.00

Two discussants of the OECD presentation

Mitalene Fletcher – Harvard Graduate School of Education

Heela Goren – University College London – Dept. of Education

#### 16.30-18.00

Group discussions on OECD presentation

# November 6th

Chair: Elisa Briga

#### 09.00-10.00

**Mattia Baiutti, Darla Deardorff, Roberto Ruffino**: *Presentation of DICTAM* 

#### 10.00-10.45

Two discussants on DICTAM

**Justina Garbauskaité Jakimovska** – Freelance researcher, Vilnius **Soren Kristensen** – Independent research professional at Techne, DK

#### 11.15-12.45

Group discussions on DICTAM

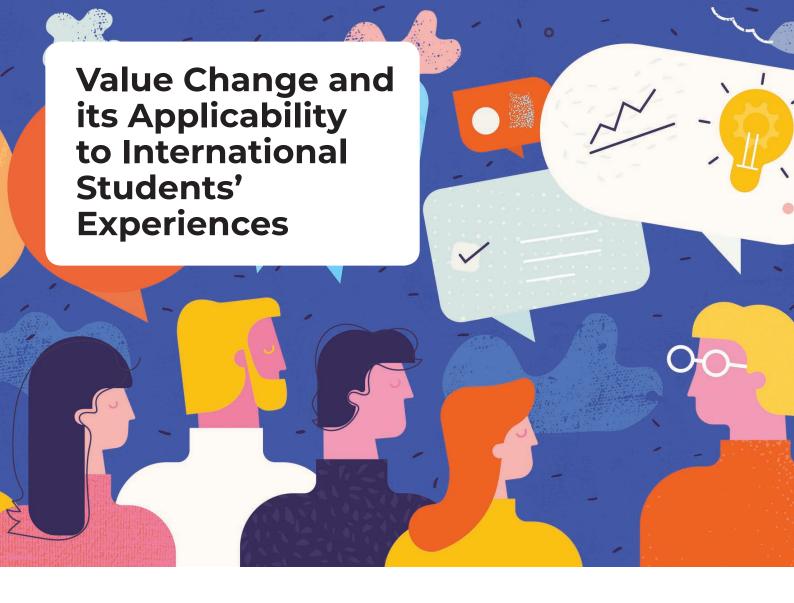
#### 14.15-16.00

#### So what for students exchanges?

Group discussions to reflect on previous presentations and their relevance for the topic of the Forum and for improving the content of students' exchanges

#### 16.30-17.30

Closing plenary to draw some general conclusions Elisa Briga in a dialogue with Darla Deardorff



**ANAT BARDI**Royal Holloway University of London

ow can the international student exchange encourage values of human dignity, cultural diversity, and human rights? To answer this question, we first need to understand what values are, how universal they are, and whether they affect behaviour. I will provide brief answers to these questions and focus most of the paper on what we know about how values change and how this knowledge can be applied to the experience of international student exchange.

Values are broad goals that we have in our lives (e.g., equality, power). Values have an ideological flavour, so they are always socially legitimate. Therefore, not all broad goals can be considered values. For example, a goal of destruction or aggression is never a value. Values vary in importance from one person to another, so that for one person equality may be a very important value, whereas for another it may be only mildly important. Our values guide how we understand situations and how we behave. They are systematically

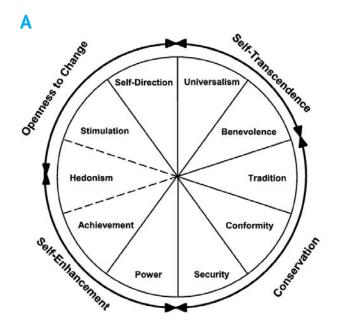
related to goals, attitudes, and behaviour. They therefore have an over-arching effect on many important outcomes. In fact, we have recently found that people who hold highly important values tend to behave according to them very frequently (Lee et al., in press), so it is worth investing in encouraging an increase in the personal importance of desirable values, like human dignity. Values are defined as the broad goals we attribute importance to, meaning that we can acknowledge them and report them, so they can be measured effectively by direct questionnaires (e.g., Lee et al., 2019; Schwartz et al., 2012).

Schwartz (1992) theorized and found that values are organized in a system of compatibilities and conflicts. These are portrayed in the structure in **Figure 1A**. This structure was found empirically across many countries and types of samples around the world, so the organisation of values is quite universal (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2012). Neighbouring values are based on a shared motivation, and they can be pursued

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together by the same action. For example, the neighbouring values of universalism and benevolence are based on the shared motivation to transcend selfish interests and promote the well-being of others, and they can be pursued together by being tolerant towards others. It therefore may not be surprising that those who value universalism highly tend to also value benevolence highly. In contrast, values that are located on opposite sides of the circle are based on conflicting motivations, and therefore usually cannot be pursued with the same actions. For example, it is impossible to both conform and pursue freedom (part of self-direction) at the same time. And accordingly, we found that people do not tend to value highly both self-direction and conformity, and this is true for any of the other

pairs of conflicting values in the circle (Borg et al., 2017). As a result, other behaviours, preferences, attitudes, or goals (or any other variable that may related to values) tend to be similarly related to neighbouring values and related in opposite directions to values opposite in the circle. For example, it was found that Israeli Jews were more willing to have social contact with Israeli Arabs the more they valued universalism and self-direction and the less they valued tradition and security (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). More recently, Schwartz and his colleagues (Schwartz et al., 2012) have developed the Refined Value Theory by dividing some of the broader values into narrower types of values, presented in **Figure 1B**.



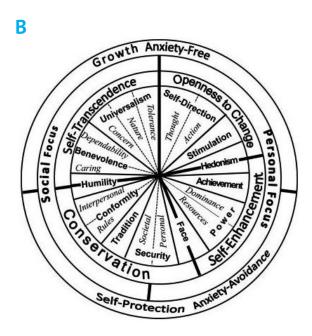


Fig. 1 - The original circular motivational continuum (A) of 10 basic human values and the 4 higher order values from Schwartz et al. (2012) and (B) for the refined values, four higher order values and underlying dynamic sources. Note. Both (A) and (B) are adapted from "Refining the theory of basic individual values," by Schwartz et al. (2012). Copyright 2012 by the American Psychological Association.

# What values does FILE seek to encourage through the international exchange?

The values appearing in FILE documentations are all part of Schwartz's universalism values – values of promoting and protecting the welfare of all human beings and nature. These include values of human dignity, fairness, cultural diversity, and human rights. The refined values theory (Schwartz et al., 2012) presented in Figure 1B enables distinguishing between different aspects of universalism. Of particular relevance to international student exchange are universalism-societal concern (commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people) and universalism-tolerance (acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself).

Schwartz and Bardi (2001) found that national value hierarchies (calculated as average across importance of values across participants in each country) are very similar around the world. For example, across countries, of the 10 values, benevolence is often the most important value on average, and power is the least important value. So values are quite universal, not just in structure, but also in importance. universalism values are universally important – on average, out of the 10 values in the original theory, they tend to be 2nd or 3rd in importance across many cultures and different types of samples around the world. So it is possible to say that they are universally important, and therefore, international students might also already hold them with high importance. This is encouraging, because it is likely to be easier to increase the importance of values that are already quite important, than to increase unimportant values.

Although universalism values tend to be quite universally important, there are still cross-cultural differences in their importance. Universalism values are particularly important in Western Europe and least important in Africa, South Asia, South-East Asia, and the Arab world (see findings in, e.g., Schwartz, 1999). This means that international students coming from Western Europe are the most likely to already endorse universalism values, whereas international students coming

from Africa, South Asia, South-East Asia, and the Arab world are the least likely to hold universalism values with high importance, so more work may need to be done with students from such countries to encourage universalism values. It also means that the social environment of students visiting Western Europe is most likely to encourage universalism values, whereas the social environment of students visiting Africa, South Asia, South-East Asia, or the Arab world is the least likely to encourage universalism values.

As values affect behaviour including decision making, international students probably hold the values that are likely to motivate the wish to live abroad for a while. These are likely to be openness to change values (self-direction and stimulation, see Figure 1 above), as the international exchange experience is a new experience that is likely to be attractive to those who seek change and adventure and value curiosity (part of self-direction values). So international students are likely to already value self-direction. And as self-direction values share a motivation with universalism values (see Figure 1), this is another indication that international students may already enter the new country with quite important universalism values. But the importance with which they hold universalism values could become even higher, through processes of value change.

#### Value change

Values are based on stable sources: Our genetics, our culture, our upbringing and other childhood experiences. So it is not surprising that they tend to stay quite stable. But under certain circumstances, they can change, particularly when many aspects of life change, such as in adjusting to life in a new country (see findings in Bardi et al., 2014).

When values do change, they change according to the value circle, as was found repeatedly in longitudinal studies following participants across time (Bardi et al., 2009) and in laboratory experiments that worked on changing values (Maio, 2010). This means that if one wants to encourage universalism values, one needs to be careful to not encourage the conflicting values (see



Figure 1) of self-enhancement (power and achievement), for example through encouraging winning or competitiveness. If power values increase, this is likely to result with the unwanted side effect of a decrease in the importance of universalism.

An obvious way to encourage value change is to give people convincing arguments for a value through processes of persuasion. However, it is now clear that **persuasion does not work** (Bardi & Goodwin). People hold their values dear and if they suspect that someone is trying to change their values, they tend to react against this and stop listening to the message.

The most prevalent process found for value change is a process of adjustment to life circumstances (e.g., Bardi et al., 2009). As previously suggested (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997), there is now growing evidence that people tend to value what they can achieve, and not value what cannot be achieved. So, for example, if in their social environment cultural diversity is possible, encouraged, and not blocked or frowned upon, such values may become more important. However, if the pursuit of cultural diversity is blocked, or if it is repeatedly met by negative responses, with time, it is likely to become less important to the person. To illustrate, a longitudinal study in schools showed that school climate, as reported by teachers, predicted a change in pupils' values with time towards the values that were encouraged in that school climate (Berson & Oreg, 2016). Specifically, with time, pupils' self-transcendence (kindness) values have become more important in schools that had a supportive climate; pupils' openness to change values have become more important in schools with an innovation climate; and pupils' self-enhancement values (power and achievement) have become more important in schools with a climate of performance. Pupil's behaviours were also associated with their values. So to encourage universalism values, such values should be encouraged by the social environment not through trying to convince, but through the universalistic attitudes and behaviours that are met with positive feedback, facilitated through rules and regulations in the social environment, and are not frowned upon or blocked.

An exception to this general rule of the tendency to value what is possible, is for values that are based on needs that people have to satisfy to feel comfortable, and specifically, **safety needs** (see Schwartz & Bardi, 1997). When people don't feel safe, they crave safety more, and therefore value security more, and sometimes also the other conservation values in **Figure 1**, tradition and conformity. This was found repeatedly in studies. For example, conservation values have become more important to adolescents

after their close family experienced a war (Daniel et al., 2013). As universalism values are quite opposite to security values in the value circle (see Figure 1), to enable an increase in the importance of universalism values, it is important that international students feel safe

We have recently found evidence in line with the idea that value change also results from the satisfaction of another need, namely self-esteem (Daniel et al., in press). In two longitudinal studies of adolescents, we found that self-esteem predicted an increase with time in prioritising values of self-direction, possibly because pursuing one's own ideas and pursuing independence requires the self-confidence that comes with self-esteem. As these values share a motivation with universalism values, it is possible that their increase in importance, with time, may lead also to a slight increase in universalism values. Hence, encouraging international students' sense that they are worthy and capable, i.e., encouraging high self-esteem, is likely to provide the requirements of self-confidence to pursue self-direction, and gradually also enable universalism values to become more important.

As people adjust to new life circumstances, their behaviour may change to adapt to new rules and regulations. Findings from longitudinal studies of adolescents have shown that sometimes value change can follow behaviour change (Benish-Weisman, 2015; Vecchione et al., 2016). For example, we found that an increase in the frequency of kind behav-



We have recently found evidence in line with the idea that value change also results from the satisfaction of another need, namely self-esteem

iours of adolescents was followed later on by an increase in prioritising self-transcendence values, which include universalism (Vecchione et al., 2016). So establishing rules and regulations of kindness towards anyone, including those who are different from us, is a way to increase the importance of universalism values. In these two studies, it was also found that values predicted an increase in the behaviours that express them. So together this process can lead to an upward spiral of universalism values and behaviour. Such a spiral may start with strengthening universalistic behaviours through rules and regulations, and this is likely to lead to strengthening universalism values which would later strengthen the behaviours even further, including behaviours that express universalism values but were not specifically required in the regulations.

Even simply **engaging with a value** sometimes leads to an immediate increase in the importance of the value. This can happen very subtly when people are made to think about a topic that elicits a particular value. A recent series of experiments asked some participants to describe a child, some to describe an

adult, and some to describe a mundane event (Wolf et al., 2021). Participants' values were measured afterwards. It has found that compared to people who were not asked to describe a child, people who were asked to describe a child prioritised self-transcendence values over self-enhancement values, and this happened especially for participants who had a relatively clearer image of a child.

An engagement with universalism-nature values was elicited in an intervention study in adolescents at school, through watching a film ("Into the Wild") that conveyed a connection of a young person to nature (Döring & Hillbrink, 2015). After the film, the participants completed a value questionnaire. Compared to those who did not watch the film but did a quiz instead, those who did watch the film rated universalism values as more important than they rated it a week earlier. This shows that engaging with a value, without trying to convince about the importance of the value, can lead to an increase in the importance of the value. This principle can be adopted in programmes before and throughout the international student exchange, as well as in schools.

The effects of engagement with a value can also be seen through experiments that asked people to write reasons for their values (Maio, 2010). In these experiments, value importance changed after writing reasons for the values. When adjusting to living in a new country, the new experiences can cause international students to think about why they hold their own values, and this may lead to a change in their values. But this may not necessarily lead to an increase in universalism values, and it can also lead to a decrease in the importance of these values. So it would therefore be advisable to enable students in international exchanges to have a platform in which they feel free to express their thoughts, but have this platform facilitated by a professional, to help support international students while also mitigating the potential for a decrease in the importance of universalism values. For example, a frustrating experience with members of the host country may lead to a decrease in tolerance of others and thereby a decrease in universalism. But a professional with whom this experienced is shared could stir the conversation in a way that may help the international student interpret the frustrating behaviour of locals such that the importance of universalism values, like cultural diversity, is not hampered.

In a series of experiments (Rokeach, e.g., 1968; Maio, 2010), it was found that when participants were made to feel that their values were not very moral, they later changed their values, even in the long term. This was done subtly, otherwise participants would have probably rejected the message. The general principle was to have the participants rank their values, then showing them that under certain circumstances prioritising a specific value that they prioritised (e.g., freedom) over another (e.g., equality) leads to an immoral situation, for example that a person's freedom can come at the expense of others' equal rights, which would be immoral Because people want to feel moral, they then change their values to resume a self-perception of themselves as moral.

Another successful series of intervention studies used a set of tasks to increase the importance of benevolence values (Arieli et a., 2013). In these laboratory studies, participants thought that they came to a study on what makes people more persua-

sive. All participants completed the same type of tasks but in the experiment group the content for persuasion was about the importance of helping others (benevolence values) while in the control group the content was about recognising flexibility in personality. Values were measured before and after the 30-minute intervention. In the experiment group, participants were first given information in the form of a made-up article reporting scientific evidence for the utility of benevolence values, both to oneself and to society. This created engagement with the value. Then, participants received a list of common behaviours and were asked to indicate which ones they had done in the last month. Many of the behaviours were benevolent behaviours, such as providing emotional support. Because they were very common behaviours, participants ticked many and therefore probably concluded that this value is important to them. To further strengthen this self-persuasion, they then had to write a story about their experience in making a positive difference to someone else's life. Finally, they were asked to write an essay convincing that it is important to be benevolent. Participants in the experiment group have experienced an increase in benevolence values, and this increase was maintained a month later and also predicted the willingness to volunteer to help others. The tasks in this intervention could be adapted to universalism values in programmes with international students.

The last experiments reviewed here showed a change in values following a one-time intervention. However, in most circumstances it is likely that in order to create a long-term change in values, engagement with the values has to occur repeatedly. A one-time engagement may change values temporarily, but if this is not repeated, the temporary change is likely to be reversed. In the context of adjustment to a new situation in life, new expectations, rules, and regulations operate repeatedly, and therefore in such circumstances value change is more likely to be for the long term.

As can be seen in this review, there is very little research on value change that has been done within educational settings. There is a little bit more research in family settings, and from such research we can draw potential conclusions for educational settings. We know from research on families that adoles-

cents raised by warm parents developed self-transcendence (kindness) values, which include universalism (e.g., García et al., 2018). Moreover, we know that those parents who wanted their children to value self-transcendence ended up being the most successful in transmitting their whole value profile, not just kindness values, to their children (Döring et al., 2017). If educators have similar roles of impact on adolescents, then it is possible that warm educators who want their students to value kindness, are more likely to end up with pupils who endorse kindness values, including universalism.

**To conclude**, values are broad life goals that guide our understanding of situations, our attitudes, specific goals, and behaviours. Values are quite universal in how they relate to one another and in which values are important. FILE seeks to encourage universalism values, which are already quite important universally, and probably also in international students. Values don't change easily, and they don't change as a result of persuasion. But they can change as a result of adjusting to new ongoing expectations and regulations. Such adjustments may include engaging with the values, and for universalism values to increase it may be important that students feel safe and have a sense of self-esteem.

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# On Values As They Evolve: A Presentation of the World Values Survey and the European Values Study

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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

his contribution aims to look at values as they change across birth cohorts. Specifically, we will analyse how the values of younger co-

horts differ from those of older cohorts. We will also consider whether these changes follow similar or different patterns across the globe. The focus will be on three value domains strictly connected to cultural diversity, which is crucial for intercultural exchange: attitudes towards immigrants, homosexuality and gender equality. While this approach is far from the specific context of intercultural student exchanges we are interested in, we think it is crucial to understand the scenario where these exchanges take place. Moreover, the wider value changes across cohorts can lead us to draw some relevant implications for value change at the individual level, namely, the kind of change that takes place in an intercultural exchange experience.

The article is structured in five sections. After the introduction, the second section illustrates the theoretical tools available to the social sciences to deal with value change, starting with modernization theory. The third section focuses on the empirical tools at our disposal, in other words, the European Values Study (EVS) and the World Values Survey (WVS). In the fourth section, we apply the theoretical and empirical tools to the aforementioned three issues. The article ends with some brief conclusions.

#### 2. THEORETICAL TOOLS

When analysing value change, the golden standard is given by modernization theory, which Ronald Inglehart started to develop in his 1977 book about the so-called "silent revolution". The American political scientist assumes a close relationship between economy and culture, following classical scholars such as Karl Marx and Adam Smith. Specifically, economic and technological develop-

ment favours the transition (revolution) from materialistic values to those that Inglehart calls "post-materialistic values". When resources are scarce, people need to use a large part of them to ensure their own safety and that of those closest to them. Consistently with this need, individuals adopt values such as group loyalty, conformity and obedience to authority, all of which are functional to the communities entrusted with guaranteeing their material security: the family, the company, the local community, the parish, etc. When economic and technological development takes place, people are largely relieved of this need and free to devote themselves to self-expression and self-fulfilment, cultivating their own uniqueness, autonomy and independence.

Recently, Inglehart updated his theory, hypothesizing a sort of cultural backlash following the shift from materialistic to post-materialistic values (Norris and Inglehart 2019) in which some groups – the Interwar generation, non-college

graduates, the working class, white Europeans, the more religious, men and residents of rural communities – would become estranged from cultural tides that they strongly reject. It would result in an authoritarian reflex and "finding reassurance from a collective community of like-minded people", in which "strongman leaders express socially incorrect views while defending traditional values and beliefs" (Norris and Inglehart 2019, 16). Moreover, these dynamics would be exacerbated by worsening economic conditions and a rapid growth in social diversity.

Modernization theory pinpoints social structures as the engine of value change, particularly in variations induced by economic and technological development, which thus assume a bottom-up dynamic. A concurrent approach, namely the institutional approach (March and Olsen 1989), assumes a top-down dynamic. According to this different perspective, the elites in the different realms (economic, political, communications systems, etc.) modify the norms of the institutions they belong to, while the change applies to the general population through conformism mechanisms. This approach is particularly relevant in the context of intercultural exchange, since socialization agencies – and therefore schools – are among the institutions that constitute a source of change.

Before moving to the next section, we would like to introduce two key concepts for understanding value change: period effect and cohort effect. The period effect refers to historical events or conditions that change the attitudes and behaviours of the population as a whole, in a uniform way: for example, the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the current pandemic. Instead, if these same events and conditions have a selective effect on the maturation and socialization phase of individuals born in that period, we speak of cohort effects. Beyond watershed events such as those mentioned above, birth cohorts tend to differ because they are socialized in different historical contexts.



The European Values Study (EVS) is an infrastructure for the collection of comparative (European) and longitudinal survey data on individual values and attitudes.

#### 3. EMPIRICAL TOOLS

The European Values Study (EVS) is an infrastructure for the collection of comparative (European) and longitudinal survey data on individual values and attitudes. In this context, we would like to focus your attention on these terms: infrastructure, survey data, comparative and longitudinal. **First**, consider that the development of infrastructures – such as the particle accelerator at CERN in Geneva, to name one of the best-known examples - is increasingly important for the development of scientific research. These infrastructures are managed by several research groups that collaborate with each other and are willing to share the infrastructure itself with other research groups. This model of science organization applies to natural sciences but also to social sciences. From this point of view, EVS can be considered a research infrastructure as different research groups cooperate in order to collect data in the various countries: they make the data available to the entire social sciences community, from the most prestigious professors to first-year university students.



Secondly, the survey data are collected through an interview with a questionnaire (therefore with a large prevalence of closed-ended questions), administered to individuals who are selected through specific sampling procedures to be representative of some population (in this case, the national population). Thirdly, the data collection has a comparative nature, as it takes place in different countries following comparable procedures (for defining the questionnaire and selecting the sample). This way it becomes possible to study how various kinds of differences (economic, institutional, cultural, etc.) between countries can partially explain individual divergences. Finally, the survey is referred to as longitudinal as it is repeated over time, therefore offering the possibility of studying changes in values and attitudes in different countries.

EVS came about in the late 1970s from the activities of an informal group of university professors, the European Value Systems Study Group (EVSSG). At that time, the discussion revolved around two topics: on the one hand, the process of secularization which was beginning to manifest its effects more and more clearly; on the other hand, questions over the existence of common European values on the eve of the first elections for the European Parliament in 1979. There was an

evident overlap between the two themes, leading to the question of how much European values were shaped by Christian ones. To answer these and other questions, in 1981 the first survey was organized in ten European countries: Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain. Since then, data has been collected every nine years, from an increasing number of participating countries, particularly since the 1990 survey when EVS pushed its borders further east. Thirty-five countries participated in the latest survey, which began in 2017. For the details of the participating countries, see the EVS website: https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/

EVS covers different topics: attitudes towards work; religiosity; gender attitudes and attitudes towards family, marriage, children and homosexuality; politics, the state, democracy, national identity, electoral behaviour, Europe; attitudes towards immigrants; environmentalism; well-being; social participation; social distance; and interpersonal and institutional trust.

After such an extensive introduction to the EVS project, we can afford to be much more concise for the World Values Survey (WVS). This project was spawned by the 1981 EVS and can be thought of as its extension on a global scale. Since then it has been repeated every five years - more frequently than EVS and the seventh survey began in 2017. Ronald Inglehart, father of the modernization approach to value change, also played a central role in the development of WVS, a telling sign of the importance of the close relationship between theory and empirical research in the development of knowledge on a specific theme. About 80 countries joined the latest survey: a map of the participating countries, along with much more information, can be consulted on the WVS website: https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/. All of the continents are adequately covered, with the significant exception of Africa, in particular the sub-Saharan countries. Obviously, the two human value surveys (EVS and WVS) share many questions (about 70%), enabling comparison of the answers from different European and non-European countries.

# 4. VALUE CHANGE, CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND SELF-EXPRESSION

To assess value change, we have focused on values from a sociological perspective by looking at attitudes towards cultural diversity, for example immigrants, and self-expressive attitudes, for example homosexuality and gender equality. To account for the heterogeneity across contexts, we have considered six different clusters of countries, using a classification that largely overlaps with Inglehart and Welzel's well-known world cultural map. 1 Although the classification provides a simplified representation of the world, it identifies groups of countries sharing similar values as well as geographical and historical/cultural characteristics. The groups are as follows (the countries included in the analyses are in parentheses): North-western Europe (Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom), Mediterranean Europe (France, Italy, Portugal, Spain), Post-Communist Europe (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia), US and Oceania (United States, Australia, New Zealand), Confucian Asia (China, Japan, South Korea) and Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico). In order to explore value change from a medium/long-term perspective, we only included those countries which had taken part in at least four WVS or EVS surveys in the analysis.

To what extent do values differ across contexts? How have values varied over the last thirty years? Can we find a common pattern of value change independently from the context and the set of values analysed?

We have tried to answer these questions by first analysing attitudes towards cultural diversity, here measured in terms of attitudes towards immigrants. When looking at **Figure 1**, which shows the percentage of people agreeing with the statement "when jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to natives rather than migrants" by cohort, survey year and country group, we can make several considerations. First,

when focussing on the most recent period (2017–2020), we detect a high level of heterogeneity across contexts: people living in Post-Communist Europe and Latin America show a strong aversion towards immigrants. On the contrary, in North-western Europe and the US and Oceania, the prevalence of anti-immigrant attitudes is considerably lower, despite being spread among large portions of their population (nearly half of the respondents in the US and Oceania, about 40% in North-western Europe). In Mediterranean Europe and Latin America, the majority of respondents also agree on giving priority to natives when jobs are scarce. Second, if we look again at the most recent years, in every country group the youngest cohort shows the lowest level of hostility towards immigrants, with the partial exception of Post-Communist Europe and Latin America. Instead, differences across cohorts are stronger in Mediterranean Europe and Confucian Asia compared to other contexts. Third, when comparing the trends, a certain degree of heterogeneity across contexts can still be detected. North-western Europe shows a progressive decline in hostility towards immigrants, as does Latin America, while in the other contexts there is substantial stability over the last two decades. Overall, the analysis suggests that cohort effects can explain the variation in time of attitudes towards immigrants in most of the contexts, as there are differences across cohorts in all of the study years and in all contexts, with the exception of Post-Communist European countries. Together with cohort effects, we cannot rule out that period effects could also play a role in explaining the overall declining trend in hostility towards immigrants detected in North-western Europe and Latin America, as the shape of the trend is similar for every cohort. Therefore, the analysis shows no evidence of a cultural backlash (see Norris and Inglehart 2019) leading to an increasing divergence over time in attitudes towards cultural diversity across cohorts, in the light of a reaction on the part of certain categories – such as the Interwar generation – to the processes of modernization.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp?CMSID=Findings

When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to natives rather than immigrants

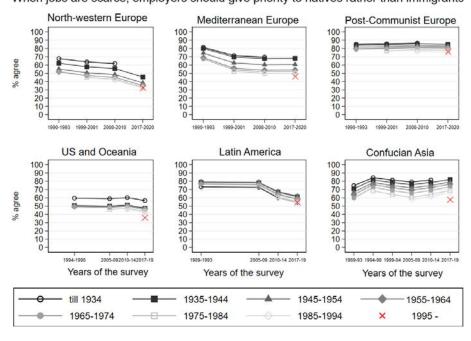


Fig. 1 - Percentages of agree strongly/agree answers to the item "when jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to natives rather than migrants" by survey year, cohort and country group (EVS/WVS data)

Our first analysis suggests that we cannot explain value change without accounting for the characteristics of the context. For instance, European Social Survey data show that anti-immigration attitudes have only risen in recent years in countries where the immigration issue was strongly politicized by right-wing political leaders, even in the absence of worsening economic indicators or an increase in immigrant numbers (see the examples of Poland and Hungary, Molteni 2019). In a similar vein, other studies show that a higher prevalence of immigrants only

leads to more positive attitudes towards immigrants when there are economic factors that favour social cohesion and integration (Hoxhaj and Zuccotti 2021).

Nonetheless, when looking at other attitudes, we can find different patterns and trends between countries. As to self-expressive attitudes, here we consider gender role attitudes. Similarly to Figure 1, Figure 2 shows the percentage of people agreeing with the statement "when jobs are scarce, men should have the priority over women". Like in the

case of attitudes towards immigrants, people coming from North-western Europe and the US and Oceania show the highest level of gender egalitarianism: in these contexts in the most recent years, only a tiny minority agreed with the statement supporting gender inequality. When comparing the trends, we see a substantial degree of heterogeneity across contexts. While anti-egalitarian positions have declined during the last three decades in North-western Europe, the US and Oceania, and even Mediterranean Europe, the same does not apply to other contexts: in particular, Confucian Asia has experienced a recent increase in anti-egalitarian attitudes. In a similar way to attitudes towards immigrants, gender-egalitarian attitudes are more widespread among the younger cohorts, in line with modernization theory. For every country group, in any year of the survey, the younger the cohort, the more gender-egalitarian the attitudes. Nonetheless, in this case, we can suggest a stronger period effect in explaining the substantial decrease in people supporting gender inequality. This is particularly evident in North-western Europe and the US and Oceania, which have experienced a convergence between cohorts over time. While modernization theory explains value change mostly in terms of generational replacement - as modernization processes cause younger cohorts to have more progressive values, generational replacement leads to an increase in progressive values at

the entire population level – **Figure 2** shows that differences across cohorts are not constant in these contexts, but that they have reduced over time. Although not explicitly tested, we suggest that this period effect could be interpreted by considering the role of institutional factors in explaining value configuration and value change. For instance, previous research has shown that family support policies go some way to explaining country differences in gender role attitudes: a higher degree of

support for dual-earner families proved to be associated with more positive attitudes towards female labour force participation (Sjoberg 2004). In addition, Dotti Sani and Quaranta (2017) have shown that societal gender inequality can even influence gender role attitudes among pre-adolescents. In light of the previous literature, we suggest that the convergence towards gender egalitarianism across cohorts in Northwestern Europe and the US and Oceania could be in part explained by a changing

societal and institutional context in which the media discourse and the positions of the elite have become more sensitive to gender equality issues.

The last analysis focuses on another indicator of self-expressive values, that is, attitudes towards homosexuality. In Figure 3, we show the mean level of the justifiability of homosexuality (on a 1-10 scale) by survey year, cohort and country group. In this case too, we can see a high degree of heterogeneity across contexts when focussing on the most recent years. For instance, while homosexuality is very often justified in North-western Europe, this is very rarely the case in Post-Communist Europe and Confucian Asia. Nonetheless, there is some indirect evidence that modernization theory could explain the dynamics of attitudes towards homosexuality in every context under analysis: the younger cohorts always show more liberal attitudes than the older ones, the trend of justifiability has increased in every group of countries and there is no convergence across cohorts over time. This does not mean that the institutions' role in explaining the variation of these attitudes over time is irrelevant. In a brilliant recent article, Dotti Sani and Quaranta (2022) show that in the European context, acceptance of homosexuality has increased more steeply in those countries that adopted same-sex legislation earlier.

#### When jobs are scarce, men should have the priority over women

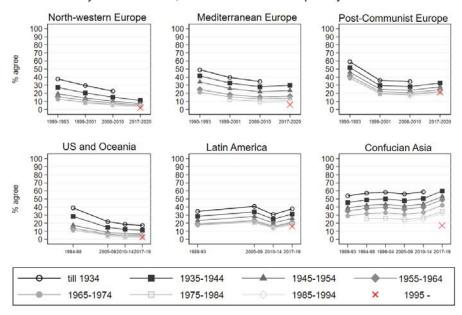
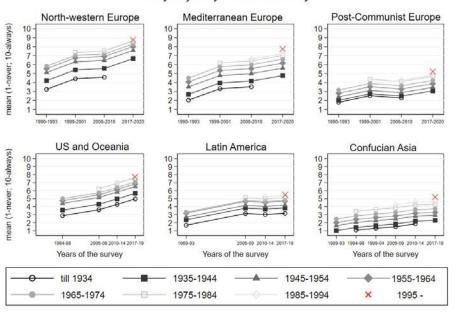


Fig. 2 - Percentages of agree strongly/agree answers to the item "when jobs are scarce, men should have the priority over women" by survey year, cohort and country group (EVS/WVS data)

#### Do you justify: Homosexuality





All in all, we cannot refer to a common pattern of value configuration and value change as there is high degree of heterogeneity across countries both in the distribution of values in recent years and temporal value trends.

Fig. 3 - Average level of justifiability of homosexuality (1-10 scale; 1: never, 10: always) by survey year, cohort and country group (EVS/WVS data)

# 5. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Our analyses on the evolution of different sets of values over time, contexts and cohorts lead to the following conclusions. All in all, we cannot refer to a common pattern of value configuration and value change as there is high degree of heterogeneity across countries both in the distribution of values in recent years and temporal value trends. Moreover, we have shown that cohort effects play a relevant role in explaining value

change, with younger cohorts holding the most progressive and liberal attitudes. Furthermore, the role of the institutional context is often crucial in explaining both heterogeneity across contexts and the variation of values over time in a single context. Finally, our analyses do not provide support for Norris and Inglehart's cultural backlash hypothesis, as no divergence was detected in attitudes across cohorts over time.

As we have tried to prove in this article, research infrastructures on value change

- such as EVS and WVS - provide us with the big picture. They offer the opportunity to analyse what sociologists call aggregate change, that is, how values change for aggregates of individuals such as countries, birth cohorts, etc. These data do not enable us to grasp individual change, namely the value change that may happen in individuals during their life course. This is the kind of change we are interested in when we want to study the impact of individual experiences like studying abroad. Nevertheless, aggregate change can still teach us some lessons about individual change.

Following the modernization theory proposed by Inglehart and Welzel (2005), existential security is supposed to foster value change. Increasing levels of existential security lead to a shift from materialistic to post-materialistic values, which are closely connected to a more positive attitude towards cultural diversity and self-expressive values. This effect might be reinforced by contextual security: for example, we have seen that a higher presence of immigrants only leads to more positive attitudes towards immigrants in safe economic and social contexts. In an intercultural student exchange experience, the contexts are provided by the families, schools and communities: it is essential that they provide a safe environment where the intercultural exchange may take place.

We have seen that institutions are crucial in explaining both the variation across contexts and change in values over time. Institutions can contribute to value change: for example, policies supporting dual-earner families are associated with positive attitudes towards female labour force participation. In intercultural exchanges, the principal institutional role is played by schools and teachers, not only from the host schools but also from the sending schools. It is evident that their policies towards this kind of experience may affect the success and/or failure of the intercultural exchange.

Finally, we hope that readers may appreciate the relevance of research infrastructures such as EVS and WVS for studying value change. They provide the background to understand the scenario where the intercultural exchange takes place. Moreover, they may provide materials to reflect on intercultural exchange per se. From this point of view, it is worth mentioning the European Values in Education (EVALUE – www. atlasofeuropeanvalues.eu) project that developed secondary school teaching materials based on EVS data. The goal of these materials is to clarify and communicate values: students are given a clearer idea of how to self-position within a diversity of opinions and learn the possible explanations not just for their own but also for others' viewpoints.

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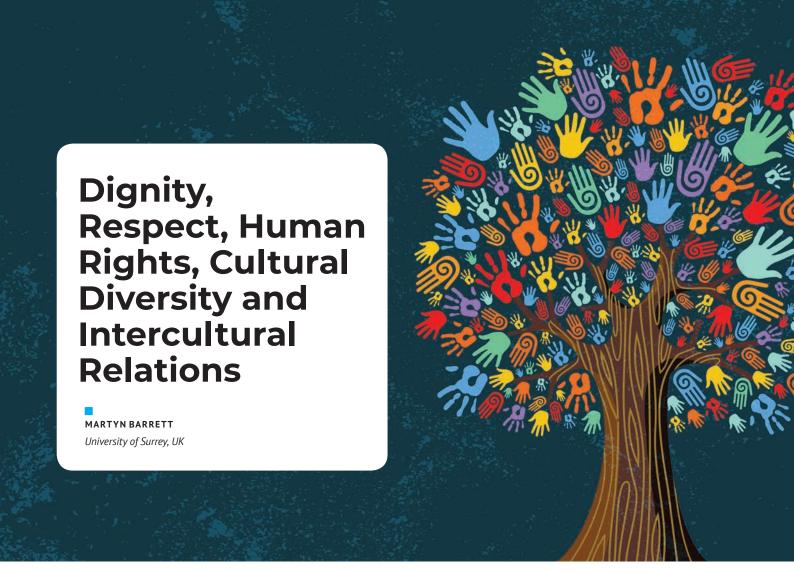
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everal large international studies have investigated the values that are held by individuals living within different cultures, including

the World Values Survey, the European Values Study, and the studies conducted by Schwartz and his colleagues (see the papers by Biolcati & Ladini and by Bardi in this issue of Intercultura). These studies have documented not only the profound variability in values that exists across cultures and societies (e.g., Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) but also the universal underlying structure of values across cultures (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2012).

#### **DIGNITY**

However, an additional question that may be asked is whether, despite the variability in values that occurs across cultures, there might nevertheless be one particular value that repeatedly appears within many different cultural traditions, namely the valuing of human dignity. Indeed, there are numerous qualitative analyses which suggest that the concept of human dignity does appear in a wide range of cultures, including the cultures of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, the Islamic world. Buddhism, Confucianism, Chinese Doaism, and the Ubuntu tradition of sub-Saharan Africa (Düwell et al., 2014). However, these same analyses also reveal that there are subtle but important differences in how the concept of human dignity is interpreted within these cultures. Three of the most notable differences concern: (i) whether dignity is ascribed only to some or to all human beings; (ii) whether it is possible for human beings to acquire and/ or to lose dignity; and (iii) whether human beings uniquely possess dignity or whether at least some other non-human entities may also be viewed as possessing dignity.

Donnelly (2013) has argued that, despite the existence of these differences, the concepts of dignity which are present in different cultural traditions converge sufficiently to reveal an overlapping

consensus on the foundational importance of human dignity. The notion of an overlapping consensus is borrowed from the work of Rawls (1996), who proposed that in a pluralistic system containing a range of different doctrines of justice, an overlapping consensus on a political conception of justice may nevertheless be reached. Likewise, Donnelly argues that despite the pluralism that exists around the concept of dignity, an overlapping consensus can also be reached concerning this concept. An overlapping consensus is partial rather than complete because the concepts converge rather than coincide, and it arises because, despite important differences at a philosophical level, there is nevertheless a striking convergence on an overall vision of the concept. Donnelly argues that while different cultural traditions provide different accounts of human dignity, these accounts are nevertheless sufficiently convergent that they allow human dignity to serve as a foundational concept for a shared morality.

That said, and irrespective of whether or not one accepts Donnelly's point of view, these debates concerning how the concept of human dignity is interpreted within and across different cultural traditions is, at the end of the day, only a descriptive issue. I say 'only' here because, in considering a moral orientation within the field of intercultural relations, it is arguably the normative issue – whether human dignity ought to be held as a value by all people across all cultures – that is of far greater importance.

For normative purposes, the concept of human dignity developed by Kant (1785, 1797) is commonly used. Kant argued that every human being has an intrinsic, absolute, unconditional and incomparable worth which should always be respected by other people, and that this respect which we accord to other people's dignity ought to be reflected in how we behave in relationship to them. Thus, the dignity of other human beings means that we have a categorical moral obligation to behave in a particular way towards them, by recognising their autonomy, always treating them as an end in themselves and never treating them merely as a means that can be exploited in order to achieve other ends. According to Kant, human dignity is grounded in the rational autonomy of human beings, that is, in people's capacity to govern themselves and their behaviour through rational maxims or principles that are equally valid for all human beings because they represent an objective standard of behaviour, rather than allow-



ing themselves to be driven by the pursuit of subjective desires or utilitarian needs.

Despite its widespread adoption, there are problems with Kant's account. For example, some have argued that the claim that human dignity is absolute, unconditional and incomparable runs counter to intuitive moral judgements in specific cases where simultaneously respecting the dignity of two or more people is not possible in practice (e.g., sacrificing one's own life in order to save the lives of others, killing in self-defence, and having to choose who to save in a life-threatening situation when everyone cannot be saved) (for a lucid discussion of these situations and their implications, see Kerstein, 2014).

In response to these kinds of challenges, some authors have turned away from the Kantian grounding of human dignity in rational autonomy, and have instead argued that such dignity is grounded in other capacities of human beings. For example, some have argued that the dignity of

human beings stems from their capacity to engage in discursive communication and social interactions (Dellavalle, 2013; Lindemann, 2014), while others have argued that their dignity stems from their capacity to create meaning and values (e.g., Parekh, 2006). Irrespective of which specific formulation one adopts, the point here is that, if every human being is of intrinsic worth and deserving of our respect because they have dignity-grounding capacities, then, from a moral standpoint, we should not interfere with the development, maintenance or exercise of those dignity-grounding capacities, or, to express the duty in positive terms, the development, maintenance and exercise of those capacities should be supported and encouraged.

However, even more dramatically, other authors have argued that the concept of dignity does not have any coherent meaning when it is used to denote an inherent property of all human beings. Indeed, Schopenhauer (1840, p. 51) fa-

Human dignity is clearly a problematic and controversial notion, especially when it is used to capture the idea that every human being has an intrinsic, absolute, unconditional and incomparable worth.

mously claimed that Kant's concept of dignity does not have any "intelligible meaning" and declared that it is simply a shibboleth for "empty-headed moralists". Similarly, Rosen (2013) argues that nothing is lost if a statement such as that contained in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights", were to be rephrased as "All human beings are born free and equal in rights", precisely because the word 'dignity', when used to denote a property of humans, is a conceptually empty word.

Human dignity is clearly a problematic and controversial notion, especially when it is used to capture the idea that every human being has an intrinsic, absolute, unconditional and incomparable worth. That said, many of the conceptual problems that have been identified with Kant's concept of dignity stem from the latter three characteristics, not from the first one. Less problematic is the notion that all human beings have an intrinsic value and worth, and are therefore deserving of respect and respectful behaviour which acknowledges, affirms and protects their autonomy and right to live a life which they choose for themselves - a notion which may be summarised more simply by saying that all human beings are entitled to be treated with dignity and respect - while simultaneously acknowledging that there have to be limits on their autonomy and freedom which require them to similarly respect the autonomy and rights of other people to live a life which they have chosen for themselves. This notion

captures an attitudinal (respect) and behavioural (treating with dignity) complex that is inherently interpersonal, social and interactional. And this, I would like to suggest, is the value that should be universal in our relations with others, not least in our intercultural relations.

#### **RESPECT**

A further key concept embedded in this line of thinking is respect – respect for the value and worth of other people and for other ways of life. It will therefore be useful to clarify this concept a little further.

First of all, respect is an attitude. In other words, it is a general mental orientation which an individual has towards someone or something, and it involves a belief or judgement (or a set of beliefs or judgements) about the object of the attitude, an emotion or feeling towards the object, and a tendency to behave in a particular way towards that object.

In the case of respect, the belief or judgement that is made is based on paying attention to the object, accepting that it has some kind of value, importance, power or authority, and acknowledging that it therefore rightfully deserves a particular kind of response because it possesses this characteristic. Behavioural responses towards respected objects may vary, being linked to the type of object that is respected, the judgement that is made, and the emotions that are felt towards the object. For example, the responses could be any one of, or indeed a combination of, admiring, revering, venerating, protecting, preserving or attempting to emulate the respected object, or avoiding offending, violating, upsetting or damaging the respected object.

One broad distinction that has been made is that between evaluative respect (sometimes called appraisal respect) and recognition respect (Darwall, 1977; Dillon, 2018). The former involves making a positive appraisal of someone or something based on a criterion or standard against which they are evaluated, and then valuing them positively and having positive feelings towards them on the grounds of that appraisal. For example, in evaluating people, possible criteria or standards on which an



evaluation might be based could be their moral integrity, decency, humility, wisdom, intelligence, talent or skillfulness. Notice that one can appraise a person positively but not necessarily value them positively, because one might either be envious of them or dislike them for some other reason – in such a case, that person is not respected. Evaluative respect for a person requires not only the positive appraisal of that person but also valuing them positively or having positive feelings towards them as a result of the appraisal.

By contrast, recognition respect involves giving due consideration to one or more objective facts about the object of the respect, and then as a result of the respect which one feels for the object based on these facts, constraining, adjusting or tailoring one's own behaviour accordingly. The facts might be about how the attitude object is an obstacle or a danger that can prevent one from achieving one's goal (e.g., respecting one's opponent in a competition, or a swimmer respecting the tidal currents), about how the attitude object is fragile and requires special care because many other things depend upon it (e.g., respecting nature), about the high social standing of the attitude object (e.g.,

respecting a tradition, or respecting an elderly member of one's family), about the power and authority of the attitude object (e.g., respecting parliament, respecting the law), or the respected object could be a specific directive such as a particular law, rule, request or advice (e.g., respecting a red traffic light, respecting a deadline, or respecting the advice received from a colleague) (Dillon, 2018; Hudson, 1980).

In pursuing the idea that all human beings have intrinsic value and worth, and are therefore deserving of respect and respectful behaviour, the type of respect that is being referred to here is recognition respect rather than appraisal respect: the argument is that, by virtue of the objective fact that someone is a human being, we ought to recognise their intrinsic value and worth and respect them accordingly. It is not evaluative respect because we do not need to appraise them against a criterion or standard in order to evaluate whether or not they warrant the respect. They are owed the respect because they are a human being.

#### **HUMAN RIGHTS**

Both dignity and respect are linked to a third key concept, that of human rights. If, as was stated earlier, all human beings have an intrinsic value and worth and on that basis are entitled to respect and respectful behaviour which acknowledges, affirms and protects their autonomy and right to live a life which they choose for themselves, then certain further consequences follow. For example, Gewirth (1978) argues that, if human beings are autonomous agents, then they must attach a positive value to the life which they choose for themselves, and they must also value the conditions that are required for them to be able make this choice. This in turn means that they must value certain generic rights as the precondition for their own agency and purposive action - most fundamentally of all, they must value their own freedom and their own well-being because these are the necessary conditions for their agency. These generic conditions include, inter alia, the right to life itself, to physical integrity, to health, to a safe environment, and to freedom from coercion. Gewirth further argues that, in addition to these generic rights,

nonsubtractive rights and additive rights also follow from these premises. Nonsubtractive rights are rights to noninterference such that an individual's capability for autonomous agency is not adversely affected; examples include the right to not be lied to, cheated, defamed, insulted, not to have one's privacy violated, as well as the right to not be subjected to dangerous, debilitating or degrading treatment. Additive rights are rights that enable an agent to increase their capability to achieve purposive goals, for example, the right to education.

Gewirth proposes that because each agent has all of these generic, nonsubtractive and additive rights, he or she must also acknowledge that all other agents have exactly the same set of rights. Hence, every agent must refrain from interfering with other agents' freedom through coercion and refrain from undermining their wellbeing. Every agent also has a moral obligation to refrain from undermining the nonsubtractive and additive rights of others, and an obligation to help other people to attain freedom and well-being, as long as the agent can help them at no comparable cost to him- or herself.

Gewirth's overall argument is that these consequences relating to rights unfold logically from the initial premise of what it means to be an autonomous agent. However, it is also possible to link the value and worth of human beings to human rights in a very different way. For example, Donnelly (2013) contests the

claim that that human rights are logically necessary implications of the concept of an autonomous agent. He proposes instead that human rights are simply the rights that people have because they are human beings, and that these rights are needed for a life of dignity, a life worthy of a human being. He argues that human rights are the minimum set of goods, services, opportunities and protections that are required for living a dignified life in the contemporary world, and that human rights and human dignity mutually co-constitute one another.

#### **CULTURAL DIVERSITY**

Despite the difference in views between Gewirth and Donnelly, both agree with the proposition that all human beings have the right to live a life which they choose for themselves, and are entitled to respect and respectful behaviours which acknowledge, affirm, support and protect their dignity and autonomy. Inevitably, however, different human beings adopt different ways to live their lives in practice, and so this proposition carries the important implication that the valuing of cultural pluralism and diversity ought to operate both as a universal value and as a moral imperative.

The idea that all human beings have the right to live a life which they choose for themselves has been codified in international declarations and conventions as the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, expression, assembly and association. All of these rights appear



The idea that all human beings have the right to live a life which they choose for themselves has been codified in international declarations and conventions as the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, expression, assembly and association.

in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the American Convention on Human Rights, and the legal systems of human rights protections that have been developed based on these texts are arguably the most powerful frameworks that we have in the world today for safeguarding and protecting not only people's autonomy and dignity but also cultural diversity.

That said, it is also widely recognised that the rights that are described in these international treaties always require interpretation for their application within specific cultural contexts, and that these interpretations will differ depending on the particular cultural context involved. It is for precisely this reason that the European Court of Human Rights – which is responsible for legal judgements concerning the application of the ECHR in the Council of Europe's 47 member states - operates with a concept called the "margin of appreciation" (Greer, 2000). This term refers to the space for manoeuvre that the Court grants to member states in

fulfilling their legal obligations under the ECHR. The margin of appreciation provides the necessary flexibility that is required to balance cultural specificities against the general rights that are stipulated by the ECHR.

One of the significant advantages of a human rights approach to cultural diversity is that it enables us to differentiate between cultural practices that should be respected and those that should be neither respected nor tolerated. Practices which violate the human rights of other people (e.g., forced marriage, honour-based abuse, non-voluntary female genital mutilation, etc.) demand our condemnation. It is illegitimate to justify such practices on the grounds that they are a cultural tradition and are therefore an acceptable practice, when they violate the human rights of individuals and prevent them from pursuing a life which they have chosen for themselves. The argument from tradition in support of these human rights violations is also fallacious: just because a cultural practice is a long-standing tradition does not imply anything about the merits or

acceptability of that practice. In short, a human rights perspective enables us to place appropriate and morally circumscribed limits on intercultural respect.

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

In this paper, I have tried to indicate how human dignity, respect, human rights and cultural diversity are interlinked. To reiterate my basic assertion once again, all human beings have an intrinsic value and worth, and are therefore deserving of respect and respectful behaviour which acknowledges, affirms and protects their autonomy and right to live a life which they choose for themselves, while simultaneously acknowledging that there have to be limits on their autonomy and freedom which require them to similarly respect the autonomy and rights of other people to live a life which they have chosen for themselves. My overall argument is that such a position can provide a logically coherent moral orientation for the field of intercultural relations.

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tant role in fostering tolerance and openness in diverse societies. In particular, global education was shown to help students understand and engage effectively with global issues such as cultural diversity. In its 2018 assessment, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) assessed the competences needed to live in an interconnected and diverse world. Global competence is defined in PISA 2018 as a multi-dimensional capacity that encompasses the ability to: i) examine issues of local, global and cultural significance; ii) understand and appreciate the perspectives and worldviews of others; iii) engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions across cultures; and iv) take action for collective well-being and sustainable development (OECD 2018).

ducation can play an impor-

In total, 66 countries took the global competence questionnaire, and 27 among them took the questionnaire and the cognitive test. The questionnaire items covered students' attitudes and dispositions on their: awareness of global issues; self-efficacy regarding global issues; interest in learning about other cultures; respect for people from other cultures; ability to understand the perspectives of others; cognitive adaptability; attitudes towards immigrants; awareness of intercultural communication; and agency regarding global issues. The questionnaire also covered the availability of learning opportunities at school and teachers' preparedness for teaching global and intercultural skills.

Results from the PISA 2018 global competence assessment shed light on students' ability to live in an interconnected world (OECD 2020). In this short article, dimensions of global competence that are important for intercultural understanding and for young people who engage in international exchange programmes are explored. In particular, we focus on students' interest in learning

about other cultures, their capacity to understand the perspectives of others, their ability to adapt to new and unfamiliar situations, and on how they engage with intercultural learning at school and beyond.

# To what extent are students interested in learning about other cultures

Interest in people from other cultures is likely to be related to knowledge and critical understanding of culture. Interest focuses on the willingness to engage with cultures, beliefs, and worldviews other than a person's own. It relies on attitudes like curiosity and willingness to learn about new cultures and on sensitivity towards people from different backgrounds (Huber, Reynolds et al. 2014, Clark and Seider 2017). PISA 2018 asked students about their interest in learning about other cultures. An index of students' interest in learning about other cultures was derived from responses to the following four statements: "I want to learn how people



Another important intercultural disposition is the ability to see the world from the perspective of others' who might differ in their cultural backgrounds, beliefs, attitudes and practices.

live in different countries"; "I want to learn more about the religions of the world"; "I am interested in how people from various cultures see the world"; and "I am interested in finding out about the traditions of other cultures". The five response categories were: "very much like me", "mostly like me", "somewhat like me", "not much like me", and "not at all like me". Positive values in the index indicate that the student exhibits a greater interest in learning about other cultures.

Of the 63 countries and economies that had non-missing data on the index of students' interest in learning about other cultures, students in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Jordan, Kosovo, Montenegro, Panama, the Philippines and Turkey showed the greatest interest (Figure 1). On average across OECD countries, 59% of students reported that they want to learn about how people live in other countries (very much or mostly like them), 55% reported that they are interested in how people from various cultures see the world, and 54% reported that they are interested in finding out about traditions of other cultures. By contrast, only 40% of students reported that they are interested in learning about the religions of the world. Those findings show a distinction in students' understanding of the two concepts - culture and religion - with the latter representing a more complex or sensitive notion.

# Are students capable of understanding the perspectives of others?

Another important intercultural disposition is the ability to see the world from the perspective of others' who might differ in their cultural backgrounds, beliefs, attitudes and practices. This disposition depends on self-awareness and understanding of one's own perspective, as well as those of others. It depends on knowing and understanding the assumptions that underlie one's own perspective, understanding how one's worldview is shaped by one's own cultural affiliation

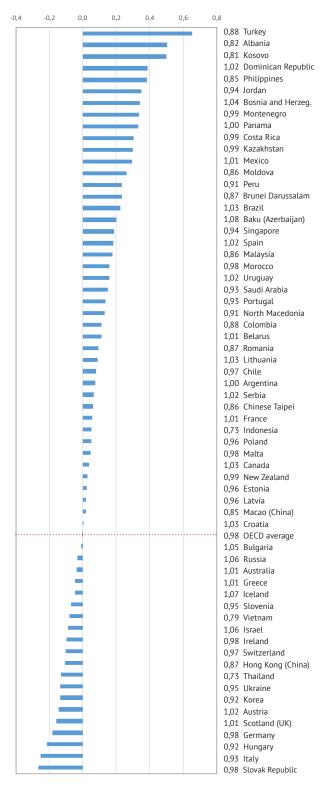
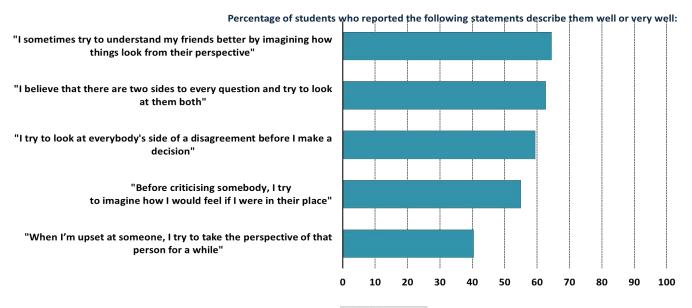


Fig. 1 - Students' interest in learning about other cultures - Average and dispersion. Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.3.3 and Table VI.B1.3.4.

and experiences and, in turn, how these affect one's judgements and reactions to other people. In addition, self-awareness requires awareness of one's own motives, feelings and emotions and a clear understanding of the limits of one's own competence and expertise (Council of Europe 2016, Council of Europe 2018). Perspective taking also relies on the ability to operationalise cultural knowledge and appraise cultural situations involving multiple perspectives. Critical thinking and analytical skills are also essential as individuals assess information and situations and make sense of their surroundings (OECD 2018). PISA 2018 asked students to report on their ability to understand different perspectives by responding to five statements: "I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision"; "I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both"; "I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective"; "Before criticising somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place"; and "When I'm upset at someone, I try to take the perspective of that person for a while". Responses were given on a five-point scale ("very much like me" "mostly like me", "somewhat like me", "not much like me", and "not at all like me") and were combined into an index of students' ability to understand the perspectives of others. Positive values in this index indicate a greater ability to understand and take different

perspectives than the average student across OECD countries. Large variations in the average of the index of students' ability to understand the perspectives of others were observed across the 65 countries and economies that took the questionnaire. Students in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Korea, Kosovo, Lebanon, the Republic of North Macedonia (hereafter "North Macedonia"), Romania and Turkey, reported the greatest capacity for perspective taking, while those in Colombia, France, Italy, Lithuania and the Slovak Republic showed the least. Of the five statements related to perspective taking, on average across OECD countries, 64% of students reported a capacity to understand their friends better by imagining how things look from their own perspective (i.e. the students responded "very much like me" and "mostly like me"). Similarly, 63% of students reported that they believe that there are two sides to every question and that they try to look at them both, and 59% reported that they try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before taking a decision. However, fewer students reported that they try to imagine how they would feel if they were in the place of someone before criticising them (55%) and that they try to take someone else's perspective when they are upset at them (40%). These results are not surprising: understanding the perspective of others becomes more challenging in the context of conflict (Figure 2).



OECD average

Fig. 2 - Students' capacity to understand the perspectives of others

# Can students adapt easily to new situations and culture?

Students who go on exchange programmes should be able to adapt to new cultures and new situations. Cognitive adaptability refers to the ability to adapt one's thinking and behaviour to the prevailing cultural environment or to novel situations and contexts that might present new demands or challenges. Individuals who acquire this skill can handle the feelings of "culture shock", such as frustration, stress and alienation in ambiguous situations (Levin 2015). Adaptable learners can more easily develop long-term interpersonal relationships with people from other cultures, and remain resilient in changing circumstances (Lepine, Colquitt et al. 2000).

Cognitive adaptability is likely to be associated with various student academic and non-academic outcomes (Martin, Nejad et al. 2013). Students go through many changes throughout their childhood, including starting school, making new friends, interacting with teachers, adjusting to school subjects and overcoming both academic and social difficulties. Such changes can disrupt routines and create uncertainty in their lives. How students deal with uncertainty and novelty can play a key role in their success (Tomasik, Silbereisen et al. 2010).

PISA 2018 asked students about their ability to adapt to new situations. Students were asked to respond to six statements: "I can deal with unusual situations"; "I can change my behaviour to meet the needs of new situations"; "I can adapt to different situations even when under stress or pressure"; "I can adapt easily to a new culture"; "When encountering difficult situations with people, I can think of a way to resolve the situation"; and "I am capable of overcoming my difficulties in interacting with people from other cultures". Responses were given on a five-point scale: "very much like me", "mostly like me", "somewhat like me", "not much like me", and "not at all like me". Positive values in the index indicate that students have a greater ability to adapt than the average student across OECD countries.

Among the 65 participating countries and economies that distributed the PISA 2018 global competence questionnaire, the highest levels of cognitive adaptability reported by students were observed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Mexico, North Macedonia, Spain and Turkey; the lowest were observed in Brunei Darussalam, Greece, Hong Kong (China), Italy, Macao (China), Malaysia, the Slovak Republic, Thailand and Viet Nam (**Figure 3**).

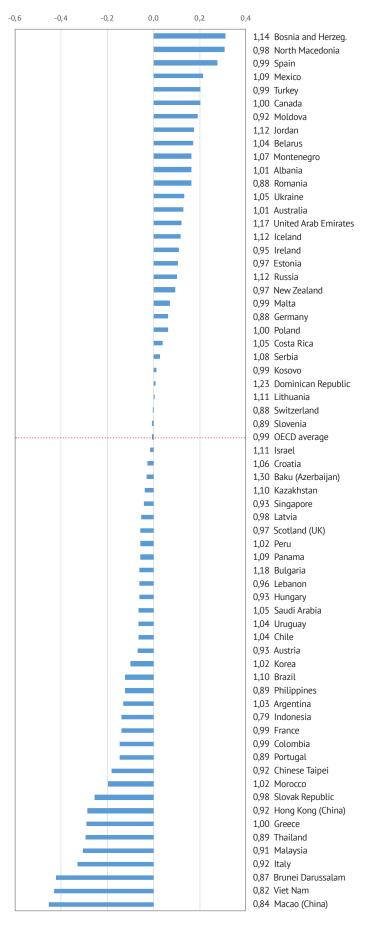


Fig. 3 - Students' cognitive adaptability - Average and dispersion

Source: OECD. PISA 2018 Database. Table VI.B1.3.7 and Table VI.B1.3.8.



Students were particularly confident in their ability to change their behaviour to meet the needs of new situations (about 67% of students across OECD countries reported "very much like me" or "mostly like me"). Moreover, about 59% of students reported that they can deal with unusual situations, think of ways to resolve difficult situations and overcome difficulties in interacting with people from other cultures. However, they were less confident in their ability to adapt to different situations when under stress or pressure (57%) or to adapt to a new culture (49%).

# What are the global learning activities available to students at school and beyond?

In terms of availability of intercultural learning activities at school, the results paint a mixed ppicture. School principals were asked ten questions about whether intercultural learning activities are included in lessons and activities at their school. These activities covered: 1) learning about the histories of diverse cultural groups that live in the country where students sat the PISA test (hereafter "the country of assessment"); 2) learning about the histories

of diverse cultural groups that live in other countries; 3) learning about the beliefs, norms, values, customs and arts of diverse cultural groups that live in the country of assessment; 4) learning about different cultural perspectives on historical and social events; 5) supporting activities that encourage students' expression of diverse identities; 6) offering an exchange programme with schools in other countries; 7) organising multicultural events; 8) celebrating festivities from other cultures; 9) encouraging students to communicate with people from other cultures via web/ Internet/social media; and 10) educating students about cultural differences through teamwork, peer-to-peer learning, simulations, problem-based learning, music and art.

The questions cover different learning activities that could help develop students' intercultural understanding. The findings show that, on average across OECD countries, the most common activities reported by school principals were those that took place in a classroom, such as learning about the histories and cultures of diverse groups living inside and outside of the country of assessment. In 2018, between 80% and 90% of students, depending on

the activity considered, attended a school whose principal reported that these activities are included in school lessons (Figure 4). The least common activities were participative activities, such as celebrating festivities from other cultures (35% of students attended a school whose principal reported that this is done in the school), activities involving student exchanges (46%) and activities involving interactions with students in other countries using the Internet or social media (54%). In general, activities involving international students exchange tend to be uncommon in many countries in comparison with classroom-based activities. This could reflect the costs and extensive preparation required to make exchange programmes a success.

■ OECD average 100 80 60 50 40 10  $In \ our school, students \ In \ our school, students \ our school, students \ In \ our school, students \ our school, stude$ Our school adopts Our school organises In our school, students Our school offers an In our school, we are encouraged to communicate with exchange programme with schools in other learn about different learn about the activities that learn about the learn about the different approaches multicultural events celebrate festivities to educate students (e.g. cultural diversity cultural perspectives cultures (e.g. beliefs, courage students histories of diverse histories of diverse from other cultures people from other on historical and social norms values expression of diverse cultural groups that cultural groups that about cultural dav) countries differences (e.g.

live in other countries

teamwork, peer-to-

peer learning,

simulations, problem based learning, music, art, etc.)

Students in schools whose principal reported that the following statements reflect teachers' practices::

Fig. 4 - Multicultural learning at school- Based on principals' reports, OECD average.

identities (e.g.

national, religious

ethnic or social

identities)

customs or arts) of

diverse cultural groups

that live in <country of

test>

Items are ranked in descending order of the proportion of students in schools whose principal reported that the statements reflect teachers' practices in their school. Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.7.13.

live in <country of

test>

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events

%

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cultures via

web/Internet/social

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#### MITALENE FLETCHER

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#### Opening

Tarek Mostafa, I thank you for taking complex statistics and making the key ideas accessible to us, and I offer congratulations to you and your entire team for producing, administering, and presenting this assessment. It's been exciting to see the practice of global education flourish in many places over the last decade and to witness many teachers finding new meaning and relevance in their work. For that I'm grateful to all who have had a hand in advancing this work and producing this massive assessment.

n 2010, Fernando Reimers created the Think Tank on Global Education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, and one of our participants' recurring questions has been: "... but how do we assess and measure learning in global competence? One great contribution of this assessment is that it offers tools that practitioners can adapt for their context. For example, the questionnaires related to cognitive adaptability might be used by teachers and student exchange coordinators prior to and after an exchange experience, course, or intercultural exploration.

The report also opens a world of questions and opportunities for additional inquiry, beginning with its conceptual framework and continuing throughout the findings.

I'll begin with comments on some of the findings that I find intriguing, particularly as they relate to teacher preparation and development, then I'll revisit the framework itself — the four interdependent dimensions of global competence — and end with a call for practitioners to re-create it for their own context.

DECD (2020), PISA 2018 Results (Volume VI): Are Students Ready to Thrive in an Interconnected World?, PISA, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/d5f68679-en.

#### **PART I: THE FINDINGS**

Regarding teacher development, I'll highlight four findings having to do with equity, which represents an enduring set of challenges for us all.

**1.Gender differences matter**: The assessment<sup>1</sup> finds that in most countries that participated, girls surpassed boys in terms of their interest in learning about other cultures, having respect for people from other cultures, higher awareness of global issues, and higher awareness of intercultural communication (p.226).

In terms of activities, findings show that boys are more likely to be encouraged to express their opinions about news events while girls are more likely to learn to solve conflicts with peers and learn how people from different cultures can have different perspectives (pp. 205–206) — all great diplomatic skills! (If these findings represent broader trends, we'll have to look forward to a future when foreign affairs ministries feature an awesome diplomatic corps of women). These finding are aligned with our observations about gender disparities in study abroad programs.

These findings are important for teachers and parents to be aware of – as the analysts pose this question in the report: "What are the factors that influence this difference in activities that boys and girls experience? Is this a result of their

preferences...Could it also be the result of teachers' unconscious bias? This is an important element of personal and professional development for all of us, particularly those with influence on young peoples' learning.

2. Parents matter: In terms of students' interest in learning about other cultures and in terms of students' attitudes toward immigrants (p.228). This has implications for the ways in which schools practice global competence education (GCE) and develop relationships with stakeholders in this process. One path for further inquiry is how do school leaders and other staff understand and leverage stakeholder interests and values in their GCE programs; and what are some of the ways that teachers address the influence of parents' values when they don't align with the interests and attitudes assumed in GCE curricula?

**3. School climate matters**: The report found the following association: "Students who perceive discrimination by their teachers towards particular groups, such as immigrants/people from other cultural backgrounds, exhibited similar negative attitudes" (p.218 & p.228). In addition, across the OECD countries, 15% "reported that teachers have lower academic expectations for students from some cultural groups" (p.216). This finding is not surprising, but it is disturbing because discrimination violates



human dignity and impacts learning and therefore the ability of individuals to maximize their contribution to society.

Add to this the fact that around 20% of students attend schools whose teachers had participated in activities related to teaching various topics/skills related to global competence education (i.e. teaching in a multicultural/multilingual setting or intercultural communication skills) during their pre-service development programs. Fewer still had done so in the 12 months leading to the assessment



In some countries, immigrant students reported higher awareness of global issues than their native-born peers, greater self-efficacy regarding global issues, greater ability to understand different perspectives [...]

(p.194). Apart from a handful of countries, teachers were not found to be clamoring for professional development related to these topics. These data come from a small sample of 18 countries. This is a limitation of the findings, for sure, but it is also call for further research on the extent to which teacher development activities are a lever for improving school climate for immigrant families.

**4.** A multicultural background matters for the development of global competence. The study finds that a more multicultural background "may be more conducive to global and intercultural understanding" (p.226). In some countries, immigrant students reported higher awareness of global issues than their native-born peers, greater self-efficacy regarding global issues, greater ability to understand different perspectives, higher interest in learning about other cultures, greater respect for people from other cultures, higher cognitive adaptability, and more positive attitudes towards immigrants.

This finding calls to mind the work of scholar/teacher/administrator Beate Nguyen, who entered her dissertation research with this puzzle: why was it that students, in her California district, for example, with a high level of orientation toward global competence could find themselves academically marginalized in a system that asserts global competence as a priority. Her research and this report remind us of the importance of taking an asset-based approach to engaging all students and it suggests research that explores how exactly to do this.

#### PART II: THE FRAMEWORK

Let's go back to the beginning of this project and reconsider the four dimensions of global competence at the foundation of this research. As I mentioned, the Harvard Graduate School of Education has convened educators for more than a decade to think about and take action to advance global competence in their contexts, and I have witnessed the ideas related to this framework spread and ignite passions, programs, and policies.

#### The Four Dimensions:

- Examine issues of local, global and cultural significance
- Understand and appreciate the perspectives and worldviews of others
- Engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions across cultures
- Take action for collective well-being and sustainable development

In my work I often hear the fourth quadrant of the framework reduced to "taking action" (earlier I mentioned that global competence education has helped some teachers find new relevance in their work, and this is what I mean: when a teacher can draw a line from her students' presentation in a public forum with school board members back to her classroom and her series of lessons about perspective-taking)

Tarek reminds us that the 4th dimension is described as "being ready and willing to take **informed**, **reflective action** to improve living conditions in one's own communities and beyond". In "Slowing Down in the Fast Lane" (https://www.nais.org/learn/independent-ideas/april-2021/slowing-down-in-the-fast-lane-changing-pace-in-global-education/)

Karina Baum, a Massachusetts educator, observes that educators often interpret the dimensions as stages "at times...the emphasis on the last stage – acting – has come at the expense of both a deeper understanding of root causes of the global challenges and the people who those issues most directly affect."

Baum proposes that educators, including herself, change their pace and spend more time understanding the breadth and depth of the economic, political, and environmental sources underlying global problems. She emphasizes listening to those impacted negatively (e.g. through consulting a wider range of primary sources, including local news sources) by public poli-



In my work I often hear the fourth quadrant of the framework reduced to "taking action"

cies. Otherwise, she says that educators risk promoting a *savior-like mentality* in our young people – an approach in which students craft solutions for "others" about whose interests they understand very little. As I reflect on Anant's presentation from last evening, this is an interesting expression of power and benevolence.

Focusing on *product* prematurely, over *process*, can undermine our very intentions in preparing students to take *informed* and *reflective* action. I wonder whether, instead of "examine issues" as the first quadrant, we should consider something like "Interrogate Power: how it's won, lost, preserved, and how it shapes our experiences and our perspectives". Importantly, "Interrogate Power" could be the interconnecting thread of these four dimensions.

Beyond a reconsideration of the four dimensions of the framework, our next level of work is to try to understand concepts of global citizenship and global competence in communities that have not been part of mainstream conversations.

Here is a case to consider: Barbados, an Eastern Caribbean island, an independent British Commonwealth nation<sup>2</sup>; population of nearly 300,000; a relatively small nation with an impressive, ambitious Prime Minister, Mia Motley. In an inter-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Shortly after these remarks were delivered, Barbados became the Republic of Barbados on November 30, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Younge, Gary. "A Life of Firsts." Vogue U.K., September 2021. https://www.vogue.co.uk/arts-and-lifestyle/article/mia-mottley

view published in Vogue (U.K.)<sup>3</sup>, Motley declared: "Our ultimate objective is to produce global citizens with Bajan [Barbadian] roots". I was intrigued by this, so I will share with you her main points related to the concept and to our work on global competence.

**First**: Climate change, a global challenge, is producing ever more frequent and intense storms in the region, and this is a threat to the existence of the island (in 2017 nearby Barbuda was evacuated and Puerto Rico was devastated).

"Climate does lead to serious issues that can lead to a failed state and climate refugees in large numbers...We didn't cause these greenhouse gas emissions to explode through the roof, but we are on the front line of it."

Second: Motley's goal is for the nation to be a parliamentary republic – not because of antipathy toward the British Monarchy but because she wants every Barbadian child to grow up knowing they could become head of state. Barbados gained its independence in 1966, transitioning from British Colony to an independent country within the Commonwealth of Nations. "...what we're trying to do [becoming a republic] is give

people a different sense of themselves and who they are." She emphasizes: "It is not just legal, it's also symbolic as to who or what we can become globally."

Third: Motley is leading the process of re-situating Barbados in the global imagination by establishing formal diplomatic ties with countries in several regions of the world (e.g. UAE, Ghana, Morocco). This effort builds on several contextual factors related to its citizenry: deep roots in West Africa and the U.K. because of labor history, specifically centuries of forced migration through slavery and indentured servitude; deep familial ties in the U.S., U.K., Canada, Panama and other islands due to generations of Barbadians emigrating in response to labor shortages in those places and economic opportunity more generally. This enduring migration trend has produced a robust Bajan diaspora.

Based on this outline of Motley's remarks, I began to speculate about global citizenship in the imagination and practice of Barbadian teachers and learners. From the little I have shared here, I am seeing global citizenship conceptualized according to physiological needs; safety, love and belonging needs; and self-actualization. These themes will resonate

with many of you as you recall Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.

Global citizenship in this context responds to the threat of evacuation or elimination due to severe storms (think about physiological needs, safety needs); it stimulates the Barbadian diaspora (think about love and belonging), and finally the achievement of the republic status is the achievement of freedom and self-actualization, possibly, for all citizens (think about self-esteem and self-actualization). Before going any further with this analysis, I acknowledge that I am replacing one existing framework with another, which is not the point, ultimately. My point is that our next level of work is to listen to new voices as education researchers and practitioners think about global citizenship; as they situate themselves on the planet and combat forces, both internal and external, both local and global, that threaten or bolster their existence. For a genuinely global perspective on global competence, I look forward to seeing how educators beyond the set of countries covered in the PISA 2018 global competence assessment, if it matters to them, develop a global competence framework applicable their own context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I received a favorable response from the Barbados Ministry of Education, Technological & Vocational Training when I reached out to arrange an interview on this matter. To date this has not taken place.



In October 2021 the OECD published the results of the test of global competence developed as part of PISA 2018. The test consists of two parts - a cognitive assessment and a questionnaire. 22 countries and economies participated in the cognitive assessment (notable exceptions include the US, Germany, and the UK [except Scotland]), and 66 participated in the questionnaire (of 76 PISA participants for the math, science and reading sections). The UK (except Scotland), US, and Greater China all opted out of both parts. The results were presented with gravitas and sweeping generalizations regarding the fact that the assessment of global competence is imperative for enriching students' opportunities and knowledge in the 21st century, advancing countries' economies, and supporting the Sustainable Development Goals put forth by UNESCO'. However, the assessment and its results appear to be underwhelming - particularly

when the phrasing of some of the items is critically examined, and some variabilities in the test itself between nations are taken into account. In this piece I shortly address some of the shortcomings of the student questionnaire developed for the assessment, while highlighting some critiques raised by other scholars prior to the release of the results, and pointing to a few constructs that were removed from the questionnaire altogether in some nations.

The argument I presented at the forum Colle Val d'Elsa was that OECD was aware of the concerns raised by academics regarding the problems associated with attempts to create a cross-cultural measure for global competence, and yet proceeded with the test because it is part of a larger shift the organization is making towards measuring soft skills, in an attempt to maintain relevance and power. The acknowledgment of this issue is demonstrated in the following quote from the original

OECD GC framework published prior to the administration of the test:

"The most salient challenge for the PISA assessment is that — through a single international instrument — it needs to account for the large variety of geographic and cultural contexts represented in participating countries..."

This quote suggests that the organization is aware of the fact that different cultures can have different values, or can value different sets of skills and attributes even in the global age, and that these differences between contexts could pose a challenge to universally defining and measuring a concept such as global competence – nonetheless, it is unclear what was done to deal with this issue – which was raised during the development of the framework as well according to two German scholars who participated in the process (Sälzer & Roczen, 2018).

The most salient challenge for the PISA assessment is that — through a single international instrument — it needs to account for the large variety of geographic and cultural contexts represented in participating countries.

Another point of criticism has been raised by Engel and her colleagues (2019), who argue that global inequalities are largely ignored in the measure, which seems to incorporate an inherent assumption that the opportunity to become globally competent is afforded to everyone, and the only question is whether they have adopted the appropriate dispositions. Grutluchen (2019) also touches on a similar point- she traces the discourse in different documents to show that voices and concepts from the global south were originally part of developing the definition and were gradually removed to stick to what is deemed "scientific enough". These claims align with Auld and Morris's (2019) broad critique of the framework, which focuses on its implications for internationalisation and questioning its ability to act as a yardstick for these processes. They show through an analysis of policy documents related to the framework as well as the framework itself, how the conception of global competence by the OECD evolved over time, from a broad and abstract economically oriented term, to one that is presented using a humanitarian discourse while still informed by the economic underlying motives.

Other critiques of the measure concern whether it actually assesses what it was developed to assess. Simpson and Dervin (2019), posit that while the OECD claims to be measuring 'qlobal competence', what the framework *actually* measures is

intercultural competence. They argue that the way questions are worded ignores criticism of intercultural education- namely, that phrases like 'other cultures' or 'other backgrounds' discursively promote an "ideology of difference and exclusiveness which can lead to a differentialist bias" (pg.674). This, they warn, can exacerbate stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes.

Finally, with respect to specific items on the questionnaire, Chandir (2020) used group discussions and interviews with individual pupils (in Australia), to gain grounded insights regarding the articulation of the constructs and items that comprise it. She explains that pupils found it easy to identify preferred responses and identified ambiguities (e.g unusual situations) and inscribed assumptions (e.g tools and resources at their disposal). Auld and Morris (2019) provide another example of problematic or contextually-dependent phrasing related to a set of items related to pupils' attitudes towards immigrants. They call the validity of these items into question, by distinguishing the lived experiences 'pupils who live in multicultural urban societies currently seeking to integrate large influxes of immigrants and refugees (e.g., Italy and Germany), [whose] responses will be influenced by their lived experiences, including the coverage of that topic in the domestic media and by local politicians. [As opposed to] other pupils, who live in relatively homogeneous societies (e.g., Japan) or where the

media is centrally controlled (e.g., China), [whose] answers will be essentially hypothetical and rooted in a very different set of experiences (pg. 690).'

Beyond these critiques regarding the framework and the individual constructs, Israel and the United Arab Emirates were permitted to opt out of several constructs in the questionnaire:

- Agency regarding global issues
- Respect for people from other cultures (only Israel)
- Interest in other cultures (only UAE)
- Capacity to take action

In addition to Israel and the UAE, France, Malaysia, Peru, and Singapore also opted out of the construct purported to assess attitudes towards migrants. The decision to omit this part of the test in other countries could point to decision-makers having concerns regarding how the questions would be interpreted by students. If indeed this section was removed because students may have different, contextually-grounded understandings of what 'immigration' means, it is interesting to consider other terms from the test that may raise similar issues across different contexts, such as questions referring to 'people from other cultures', boycotting products from certain places,

reflecting on the poor conditions that people endure in other countries (which could raise some political implications), and more.

These inconsistencies in the test itself point to an attempt by OECD to report on non-standardised data (allowing nations to opt out of parts of the questionnaire) in a standardised fashion, particularly because the differences in the test between countries are not explained or mentioned in the report. This also sheds light on the problematic nature of measuring GC using supposedly universal measures and constructs, as these measures inevitably encapsulate values, cultural assumptions, and terms with different semantic meanings across contextseven within the same nation. Different expectations of and by pupils, cultural characteristics, socio-political aspects and the population of schools could all shape the semantic meaning associated with terms that have been or are currently being measured by PISA (i.e., well-being, life-meaning, creativity, financial literacy, socio-emotional skills and others), and those the OECD plans on measuring in the future. The information I have presented here calls these initiatives into question, as it shows that the data produced through questions that can be interpreted differently by pupils in various settings is unreliable at best.

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n 1980 the newly established Directorate for Education of the European Commission asked me to research and present fifteen cases of "youth mobility" in Europe and to draw some indications for the future work of the Commission.

The fifteen cases included:

- programs organized by governments and by NGOs
- international programs lasting from a few weeks to two full school years (UWC)
- individual exchanges and group exchanges
- for younger participants (CISV) and for older ones
- with different purposes: learning a language, practicing a skill, developing intercultural attitudes
- with different types of accommodations: families, camps, hostels, schools
- inclusive of programs for handicapped youth.

It was a varied panorama that resulted after 35 years of educational exchanges: these activities had started right after World War 2 on the initiatives of NGOs for the sake of fostering international understanding: the Experiment in International Living and AFS were the leaders of this movement. Later national governments started their own programs. UK in 1948 with the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges, France and Germany in 1963 with OFAJ/DFJW. UNESCO had started to work with the schools on similar projects in 1953.

Going back to the 1980 research for the European Commission, a striking "discovery" common to all programs was that the main outcome of these international activities was "greater self awareness and the appreciation of other cultures by the participants" – not what the organizers had declared as the main objective of the program (learning a language, practicing a skill, etc.).

Another element that emerged was the importance of mentoring during the experience abroad, Leaving young people on their own in another country did not ensure that they would mix and familiarize with local youth. CBEVE tested a group of British students who had

been at a summer camp with Greek peers in Greece after six months and they found that all the Brits had made friends with other Brits, but none of them was still in contact with a Greek peer.

Most organizers of international educational events for youth pointed to some elements that were critical for their success:

- some selection of participants in line with the objectives of the program
- accurate preparation before the trip abroad
- good matching with host families (when appropriate)
- · competent intercultural mentoring during the experience
- appropriate length of program (long enough to generate questions about self and others and different life styles)

After 40 years from that research, much has been done to study university students' mobility under the impulse of Erasmus and other tertiary education programs. Very little has been done to study secondary school mobility.

It is also unfortunate that the whole phenomenon is often referred to in a generic way as "youth mobility" or "pupil mobility", as if the nature of the program, its duration, its logistics did not influence the learning that results from participating in an exchange.

Our DICTAM research team acknowledged these limitations and we tried to explore whether

- · the type of program
- the age and gender of participants
- the duration of the stay abroad
- the content of the activities
- the living conditions

had an impact on the intercultural competence acquired by the pupils, their understanding and appreciation of other cultures and of their own.

We strongly believe that young people should be helped to enlarge their world views and their ability to live together with people of different cultural backgrounds and we wanted to understand which kind of experiences abroad may better lead to these results.



### **PURPOSE**

Intercultural competence is one of the key competences required to become an active global citizen. Research has indicated that mobility in upper secondary school might help pupils to acquire a wide range of competences, including intercultural competence. Yet, which international programmes are more likely to develop it? DICTAM (Developing Intercultural Competence Through Adolescents' Mobility) is the first study aiming to understand which programme design variables and personal factors have the most meaningful impact on the development of pupils' intercultural competence.

### **METHODOLOGY**

Around 400 pupils from Italian upper secondary schools who undertook a mobility programme organised by Intercultura (non-for-profit organisation) between June 2018 and July 2019, participated in the DICTAM study.

The research project drew on a longitudinal mixed methods design. The qualitative data set was gathered with three questionnaires with open-ended questions (before, during and after the experience abroad). The quantitative data set was collected with the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (before and after the experience abroad). Theoretically grounded on the Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity by Bennett (1993), the IDI consists of a psychometric on-line 50-items test which measures the "capability toward observing cultural differences and commonalities and modifying behaviour to cultural context." (Hammer, 2011, p. 475). According to

this theory, individuals move from ethnocentric stages (Denial and Polarization) through a transitional stage (Minimization) to more ethnorelative stages (Acceptance and Adaptation) as they acquire intercultural competence. For data analysis, the answers to questionnaires were coded, numerically represented and statistically analysed. The IDI results (developmental stages and scores) were analysed with descriptive and regression analyses.

### **KEY FINDINGS**

### Before the international experience

- Pupils tended to describe their personality as curious, open, respectful and altruistic.
- According to the IDI, the majority of answers (64%) were from a cluster of pupils experiencing Minimization.

### After the international experience

- The number of pupils describing themselves as curious was half compared to the pre-departure set. On the contrary, the number of those pupils defining themselves as an open person doubled. A new intercultural aspect arose, namely cultural self-awareness, while the value of altruism was not mentioned anymore.
- According to the IDI, the largest group of pupils (61%) was in Minimization
- Intercultural changes:
- More than 90% of pupils declared that their experience abroad affected them positively. The vast majority (90%) of



More than 90% of pupils declared that their experience abroad affected them positively. The vast majority (90%) of pupils who did not perceive any change or perceived only minor changes participated in a short-term programme.

pupils who did not perceive any change or perceived only minor changes participated in a short-term programme.

- Openness, curiosity, cultural self-awareness, respect and adaptation were the intercultural changes more commonly mentioned by pupils as a result of their experience abroad.
- Considering the programme design variables, pupils who reported increased cultural self- awareness and respect were those who participated in long-term programmes. On the contrary, pupils who cited more often adaptation and curiosity were those who went abroad for a short period.
- According to the IDI, about one out of five pupils went up one
  or two stages along the Intercultural Development Continuum; nearly one out five went down; approximately three out
  of five remained at the same developmental stages where
  they were before departure.
- Considering the programme design variables, School/boarding school/year-long/individual programme was the one triggering more intercultural improvement as measured by the IDI. By contrast, pupils who participated in School/family/short-term or Language/family/short- term programmes were those who more often experienced a worsening. Language/family/short-term was the programme after which the majority of pupils did not change their intercultural perspectives.
- According to the regression analysis, living arrangement (boarding school), duration (longer is better), age (before 17 years old), gender (female), having had schoolmates with different cultural backgrounds before the experience abroad are the variables which might lead to higher levels of intercultural competence.

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The DICTAM study aimed to explore the impact of some personal traits and programme design variables on intercultural competence development of pupils participating in education programmes abroad.

The analysis showed that pupils do not necessarily develop intercultural competence by simply participating in a mobility programme. Only 18% of our respondents improved their intercultural development as measured by the IDI. We assumed that this result might be related to the fact that the majority of pupils was in Minimization before the experience abroad. The development of intercultural competence for individuals in Minimization appears to be more difficult than for those who are in ethnocentric stages.

How could these findings contribute to improving pupil mobility? It is of general agreement across both scholars' and practitioners' communities that combining immersive experiences abroad with ongoing intercultural orientations and support is crucial to foster intercultural growth. Our findings suggest that rather than an 'one-size fits all approach' to intercultural orientations, it might be more beneficial to provide **personalised orientations and support** that address pupils' intercultural developmental stages. A similar approach might be adopted in supporting pupils during the experience abroad. This kind of personalised support might impact more when delivered by a **trained mentor**, more specifically, a person who has been trained to promote intercultural learning and engagement

rather than only transmitting knowledge. Mentors should be skilful in engaging pupils in discussions and reflections about their ongoing experience abroad and providing feedback on how they react to cultural diversity. To ascertain from time to time the intercultural developmental stage of pupils (essential to personalise the provided support according to pupil needs), mentors might conduct **formative assessments**.

Naturally, personalising orientations and support according to pupils' developmental stages is very challenging and often difficult to translate into practice. However, it might be a crucial step to maximise the intercultural effectiveness of study abroad programmes.

Another key result from our study is that participants did not essentially mention intercultural values after their experience abroad. We cannot be sure why. However, we believe that **value education** should be included explicitly in pupils' orientations and support. While controversial, value-oriented frameworks to understand cultural diversity might enhance pupils' intercultural competence. It might, in fact, foster their understanding and appreciation for values of others (although not necessarily adopting them).

Value education might also be personalised to pupils' developmental stages of intercultural competence. While all participants might benefit from value education, this kind of education might be particularly useful for those who are in Minimization or higher stages of intercultural competence. Individuals in Minimization usually stand up for universal values. The trained mentor might encourage pupils to reflect about the relationship between cultural diversity and universal values, thus fostering their cultural self-awareness.



Value education might also be personalised to pupils' developmental stages of intercultural competence.

Another notable finding of DICTAM is that some personal traits and programme design variables are more likely to have a positive impact on intercultural growth than others1. One of these variables is programme duration. Our findings showed that long-term programmes seem to be more interculturally beneficial than short-term. We assumed this result might be mainly related to participants' motivation and stress. Pupils who participated in short-term programmes (less than three months) might have had more interest in collecting unusual experiences rather than intercultural learning. Moreover, since their experience was limited in time, they might have had less time to deal with and overcome acculturation stress. These possible explanations strengthen the crucial role played by a rigorous selection process of participants in education abroad programmes. In fact, education abroad might not be an experience for everyone. Selection might allow programme providers to evaluate candidates' motivations and preparation to go abroad. Moreover, it might allow them to understand how pupils handle pressure and stress accruing from the process itself.

Another programme design variable considered by the DICTAM study was the living arrangement. When comparing pupils who had a family homestay to those who stayed at a boarding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is worth to notice that, even if the DICTAM study looked at several variables, other variables that were not considered in our study might impact pupils' intercultural competence development. However, it is not feasible to define and to control all these variables. For this reason, we focused only on those that we considered to be the most relevant.

school, the latter improved more and reached higher levels of intercultural competence. We assumed that this result might have different explanations, including the quality of relationships between pupils and their host families.

Once again, the selection process and the personalised orientations and support seem to be critical. Members of host families might have different levels of intercultural competence and different expectations regarding hosting an international pupil. These aspects should, therefore, be carefully assessed during the selection process of host families, as they might also have implications on the type of orientation provided to the host family. For instance, if a potential host family tends to overemphasise its own culture, it might likely activate the "trap of love" mechanism with the host pupil. As such, it might be essential to involve this host family in intercultural trainings that might help it to gain awareness of cultural differences. It is worth remembering that host families should not be understood as hostels; they are instead both co-facilitators of pupils' intercultural learning as well as learners themselves.

Finally, the DICTAM study showed the importance of questioning commonly-held assumptions in international and intercultural education through empirical evidence. In fact, **academic evidence-based research** is key to allow education abroad stakeholders to go beyond simplistic rhetoric and commercial slogans, such as "Pupil mobility develops intercultural citizens." Additionally, empirical assessment is crucial to ascertain the effectiveness of the methods adopted by study abroad providers. Evidence-based research might also foster innovation within pupil mobility pedagogies and theories.

While acknowledging that there is not a 'one-size fits all approach' in education abroad, we hope these recommendations might help stakeholders in the pupil mobility sector to foster intercultural competence among their participants.

### SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE

- Conduct rigorous selection process of pupils and host families.
- Personalise orientations and support according to intercultural developmental stages.
- Trained mentors should conduct personalised support.
- Include value education in orientations and support.
- Design programmes on academic evidence-based research.

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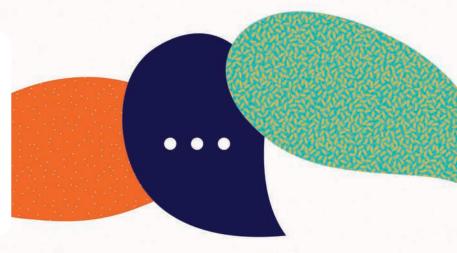
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This expression – "the trap of love" – is understood as a special affective bond that may link host families and foreign pupils, to the point that they enjoy his/her identification and almost mimetisation with their host culture, rather than growing in intercultural dialogue and competence (Ruffino, 2011).

## Reflections on the DICTAM study

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et me start with a reflection on the very title of the study: "Developing Intercultural Competence Through Adolescents' Mobility (DICTAM)", holding it up against the title of the seminar where it is presented: "The values of living together"

Are "competences" and "values" the same? The words are often used interchangeably, but they may be perceived differently. The oldest exchange programmes – including AFS – were clearly value-based, in so far as they were set up as a reaction to the two world wars in an effort to prevent such a thing from happening again. On the website of EFIL1, it is thus clearly stated that "AFS activities are based on our core values of dignity, respect for differences, harmony, sensitivity and tolerance". Newer programmes, however - say from the 80s and onwards inscribe themselves in a different discourse, where the word "exchange" (i.e. a process that goes in both directions) is replaced by the term "mobility", which is the capability of an individual to move between different cultural contexts. Also, there is less talk about "values" and more about "competences". But the two words are very different, for whereas "value" implies something that is universal and absolute, "competence" is personal and relative. Knowledge of cultural diversity can make you a successful businessman, but respect of diversity is something different. One is a competence, the other is a value. My message here is that the practice of sending young people abroad for a period of time with a pedagogical aim is not a neutral exercise, but that we have different discourses on the phenomenon that reflect different underlying philosophies. This is not just a semantic exercise, but also has some practical implications – more on this a little later. But now to the study itself.

Many of the statements about outcomes of educational stays abroad that I come across are based on ex-post evaluations of participants' experiences that, in fact, represent little more than shallow satisfaction counts, undertaken mainly with a view to justifying expenses vis-à-vis policy makers rather than adding new insights into the intercultural learning processes of participants. The DICTAM-study is very different from these, with its clear focus on variables impacting competence development, its rigorous approach with a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, the involvement of different project designs allowing for comparison between them, and not least interventions undertaken not only after, but also before (base-line) and during the stay abroad. The study confirms some of the things we knew already – or which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> AFS helps the world learn to live together - European Federation for Intercultural Learning



The practice of sending young people abroad for a period of time with a pedagogical aim is not a neutral exercise

we thought we knew - and it also has some quite startling new findings. The most surprising thing to me, however, is the finding that only 18% of the participants actually progressed in terms of interculturality according to the measurement standard used - the Intercultural Development Inventory. We always knew that participation in an exchange programme is no guarantee of intercultural learning, but a success rate of a mere 18% makes one wonder whether it is actually worth all the time and efforts that are put into organising them. This is rather depressing, but the question is whether it really is so. I would like to share 3 different reflections with you on this item. Two of these address issues in the study itself - endogenous explanations, and one which sees the problem as a reflection of overall developments in society - an exogenous factor.

The first one - the obvious one that also the study itself points to - is that there is something amiss with the scale that is used for determining outcomes. In other words, do we have a reliability issue?

**The second** – is that there are things in the study design which means that important developments are not registered.

The third is that there are developments in society that somehow negate the effects of "traditional" intercultural learning processes.

I offer you the following reflections for all they are worth.

The first point concerns the "fitness for purpose" (or the reliability) of the instrument used for measuring outcomes – the *Intercultural Development Continuum*. This is designed as a progressive scale from

1-5, but the issue of universal values is only ranked third in the continuum and under the title "Minimization", because it is seen as a rather naïve perception or belief - that is held by people who still have no grasp of the complexity of the phenomenon. "Minimization" is a stage that "Highlights commonalities in both human Similarity (basic needs) and Universalism (universal values and principles) that can mask a deeper understanding of cultural differences" (quoted from the DICTAM-study). The website of the IDI<sup>2</sup> defines "intercultural competence" as "the capability to shift cultural perspective and appropriately adapt behaviour to cultural differences and commonalities" and further notes that "Intercultural competence has been identified as a critical capability in a number of studies focusing on overseas effectiveness of international sojourners, international

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> IDI Products & Pricing | Intercultural Development Inventory | IDI, LLC (idiinventory.com)

business adaptation and job performance, international student adjustment, international transfer of technology and information, international study abroad, and inter-ethnic relations within nations". However, strongly held values on e.g. tolerance and the respect for diversity may actually limit your mobility and hence also your "overseas effectiveness". With its focus on "capability" and "effectiveness" it therefore inscribes itself in a different discourse than the rationale of the activities it is used to measure here. and it is questionable whether it actually can capture the kind of development or learning - that AFS-activities aim for. In other words: if you see the acquisition of universal values as the most important aim of the practice, you can never progress beyond stage 3, even though it may actually be the result of a very sophisticated reflection process.

Secondly, the study is concerned with students who participated in activities in 2018-2019, which is quite recently. I assume that the post-exchange interviews with them have been conducted immediately after homecoming. However, value changes may be slow in making

themselves felt, and they often work in subconscious ways that only become obvious in a longer time perspective. Maybe results – especially when we look for value changes – would be different if participants were interviewed again a year after homecoming, or 5 years. We have very few longitudinal studies or tracer studies of exchange- or mobility projects that take a long-term view, most are conducted immediately after homecoming. Especially when looking for value changes, this might make a crucial difference.

Thirdly, and finally, there is a phenomenon, which in the last 20 years has had a huge impact on youth, and – I suggest to you – also on traditional intercultural learning methods (exchange or mobility). I'm talking about the new information and communication technologies, that enable participants to maintain constant contact with their home environment – family and friends – while they are abroad. Organisers tell about participants who every evening go into their room to spend some hours on the mobile phone or computer with the significant persons in their lives from homes,

so what does that do to the cultural immersion and the reflections on the "experiences of disjuncture" that are so important for the intercultural learning process? Using IT-language, it may amount to pressing the "reset"-button every evening on processes that may have started during the day.

If it really is the case that the explanation lies in the exogenous factor, then perhaps we need to rethink the way we approach the whole issue of stays abroad as intercultural learning, especially in a value-perspective dismiss the issue of virtual mobility. It is often perceived as "not the real thing", but experiences from e.g. the large "Erasmus+ Virtual" Exchange"-project3 does not corroborate this perception. Maybe we need to find hybrids that engage the issue of virtual mobility in a context of physical events. This is a very wide-ranging discussion that I will not go into here, but it is one that the findings of the study somehow seem to suggest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Erasmus+ Virtual Exchange | European Youth Portal (europa.eu)



ELISA BRIGA

European Federation for Intercultural Learning

DARLA DEARDORFF

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Throughout the conference, participants reflected in groups on six main questions aimed at drawing conclusions on the topic of this year's Forum: "The Values of living together: how to assess their evolution within intercultural student exchanges". The input from speakers provided interesting perspectives which nurtured the discussions and the answers to these questions:

- **1.** How does an exchange experience develop the student's values?
- **2.** Which values appear to be of most importance in an exchange situation? Can we ascribe these values to any specific region (e.g. European) or are they universal?
- **3.** What are some concrete ways in which students can be further helped to reflect on and to be aware of their own values as shaped through the exchange experience?
- **4.** What are some concrete ways where schools can support and facilitate the exploration and confluence of the host student's values and the values of the host community?
- **5.** What can schools do to support the acquisition of values such as human dignity, human rights and respect for differences in the meeting of an exchange student with the rest of pupil population?
- **6.** How can non formal intercultural learning institutions (like AFS and EFIL) help exchange students and the host school better reflect on if and how cultural difference affect values?

The conclusions of the Forum are therefore built around these six questions, here below divided in two main blocks.



In order to cater to the potential of exchange experiences for triggering value change, it is essential to offer teacher training on value development and the impact of international exchange experience on one's own values.

### Most important values and value change within the exchange experience

Based on the input of speakers and the discussion among participants, the most important values to demonstrate during an exchange experience are open mindedness, and all values belonging to 'universalism': valuing human dignity and human rights, respect for differences, active participation in the life of multicultural democratic societies.

It is clear that the exchange experience aims at reinforcing and promoting the above mentioned values to contribute to building peaceful societies. Universalistic values are developed through the 'value crisis' which generates from meeting a different culture which triggers an increased reflection and self-awareness on one's own values.

As exchange experiences are aimed at developing the above mentioned values, the question arises whether promoters of exchange programmes need to be explicit about the fact that their educational programme is value-based, and that the competences that are developed during a programme are closely related to universalistic values. The fact of being explicit about the promotion of certain values might attract to the programme only the participants and institutions who already adhere to those values.

The moment that values are explicitly mentioned when presenting and promoting an exchange programme, attention needs to be paid to the contextualisation of values and their definition according to the cultural context. The question arises on how to reconcile religious values with secular values and therefore different perspectives on values.

# Concrete ways to support value development during intercultural student exchange programmes

Several ideas were shared including:

- The preparation before, during and after an exchange experience should involve all stakeholders, in addition to the exchange student (eg. hosting and sending institutions, host and sending families). The objective of this preparation would be to develop awareness of own values and reflect on and familiarize with universalistic values. Examples of effective activities include the
  - definition of values to be applied in real-life situations
  - investigation of the reasons behind a behavior and the engagement with it to explore the values triggering the behavior in a given context
  - peer exploration of values
  - reflection on what situation would promote a given value or threaten it, in a given cultural context
  - dealing with controversial issues and policies applied in daily life in the sending and host country, and navigating conflicting values
  - reflection on evolving identities, which include an evolution of own values.
  - use of the framework of the Schwartz value circle as a tool to support reflection on own values and their development

Specific attention should be paid upon re-entry from the exchange experience to support students in navigate and reconcile parallel values systems: experienced psychologists could be involved.

- The exchange experience is seen as a trigger of value change and also of action. Exchange students can be changemakers in the community hosting them, and in their community of origin. It is essential to support students in developing 'intellectual values' and in pursuing informed and reflected action.
- In order to cater to the potential of exchange experiences for triggering value change, it is essential to offer teacher training on value development and the impact of international exchange experience on one's own values.
- Schools should provide the space for dialogue on values, also beyond a student exchange experience. This could be done through a whole school approach, including the promotion of universalistic values in the curriculum, and connecting school with civil society and creating frameworks for dialogue and the facilitation for navigating conflicting values. Peer learning among schools could be supported by Networks of schools sharing this same educational objective.
- Most exchange participants already embrace universalistic
  values before. departures, and then are further developing
  them. Therefore the activities implemented so far within exchanges cater to this target group. How can students that do
  not have yet universalistic values (minimization stage of the
  Intercultural Development Continuum) be supported in value
  change? What nonformal education activities would sustain
  value change?
- In order to involve these groups on exchange programmes, scholarships for disadvantaged backgrounds and at risk of exclusion are needed, as well as tailored/personalised support.





### Broader themes and questions for the future

The discussions generated broader themes and questions for further exploration in exploring pupil exchanges which included the following:

- What is the role of Diversity/Equity/ Inclusion (DEI) and belonging in exchange?
- What is the impact of migration on mobility?
- What are different perspectives on values? (for example, from indigenous communities)
- What is the longitudinal impact of exchange on value development?
- What are the most effective ways to engage students as learning partners in exchange?
- What is the changing nature of exchange, especially in the post pandemic future?
- What is the impact of social media on exchange programmes? How do exchange programmes need to adapt?
- How can exchange enhance individuals' capacity to be agents of change in society?
- What is the impact of the exchange experience of the individual on the community? Does the interaction of the exchange student in the community generate a value change in the community itself?
- What policies, practices and structures need to change for exchanges to be more inclusive and accessible?

 Can polarization be addressed through intercultural education and exchanges?
 In a more and more polarised society, how do exchange programmes stay relevant for policy makers promoting peace and combating radicalisation, and therefore attract young people who do not share yet universalistic values?

# Way forward for promoting value change within intercultural student exchange programmes

- **1.** Re-think individual pupil exchange practices
  - **a.** Who enrols in an exchange? How are participants selected? Are those who already embrace universalistic values selected? How can exchanges be open to youth who does not embrace universalistic values?
  - **b.** If youth who do not embrace universalistic values are selected for an exchange, which support and educational activities do they need to be able to develop universalistic values? **c.** Should all exchanges include active
  - **c.** Should all exchanges include active citizenship actions, or at least encourage them?
- **2.** Gather evidence-based practices that explicitly put values at the centre of the intercultural student exchange
- **3.** Conduct evidence-based research preferably through longitudinal studies-on:

- a. the role of embodied exchanges in navigating conflicting values and bridging divides
- **b.** tools to measure value change within the specific context of a intercultural student exchange
- **c.** values change during exchanges and the variables impacting value development
- **d.** The role of reflection in developing values
- **e.** the role of social media and gender in value change within exchange experiences.
- **4.** Design student exchange programmes on academic-evidence based research related to value development.
- **5.** Promote exchanges as being value-based
- **6.** Train educators to intentionally put value development explicitly at the centre of the educational activities conducted during the exchange
- 7. Contextualise the intercultural/global competence frameworks (eg Global competence PISA) to the local context and the values embraced within that specific context
- **8.** Analyse how institutions (schools, international institutions) promoting certain values are coherent with the values they promote.

### PARTICIPANTS IN THE 11TH FORUM

Vincenzo Aversa is 24 and lives in the south of Italy, in Salerno. He studies foreign languages (English and Spanish) and he is currently pursuing a Master's Degree in Literature and Translation at the University of Salerno. He is very fascinated by languages and his goal is to become a language teacher. He is a Intercultura volunteer since 2015 and he currently holds the position of coordinator for intercultural learning in his local chapter. At regional level, he is a trainer of trainers.

Mattia Baiutti holds a Ph.D. (Doctor Europaeus) in Humanistic Studies (curriculum: Educational Sciences) from the University of Rome "Tor Vergata" (IT); he was Visiting Researcher at the School of Education, Durham University (UK). He was a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Udine and worked as a consultant with the OECD PISA (Global Competence Assessment). His main area of research are internationalisation of school, student mobility in secondary school, intercultural competence and its assessment. He collaborates with Fondazione Intercultura as researcher and trainer.

Lorenzo Barbadoro received Italian University Degree in Contemporary History at Florence University in 2004 and a Ph.D in Contemporary History at the University of Florence in 2009. He got a fellowship at Georgetown University (Washington DC / U.S.) and post graduate scholarship at INSMLI (Milan / Italy). In 2014, after several years working as Training specialist, joined Intercultura as the Training Coordinator. Since 2017 he is the Volunteer Development Manager.

Anat Bardi is a professor of psychology in Royal Holloway University of London. She is also the Deputy Secretary General of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Her research is focused on personal and cultural values, their change, and associations with behaviour. She has current research on value development at school. She has highly cited papers (e.g., with over 2000 citations each), impacting research within and outside psychology, as well as practice. She has also been working with practitioners to apply values-based knowledge to practice, including in education.

Martyn Barrett is Emeritus Professor of Psychology at the University of Surrey, UK. He obtained his degrees from the Universities of Cambridge and Sussex. He is a developmental and social psychologist but has a strong commitment to multidisciplinary research. His research examines the development of intercultural, democratic and global competence; young people's political and civic engagement and global citizenship; and the development of young people's national and ethnic identifications and attitudes. He has been working as an expert for the Council of Europe since 2006, and he led the expert group that developed the CoE's Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture (RFCDC). He also contributed to the development of the conceptual framework and assessments of global competence that were used in the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2018. He has published 24 books and over 160 journal articles and book chapters. For further information, please see www.martynbarrett.com

**Ferruccio Biolcati Rinaldi** is associate professor of sociology at the Department of social and political sciences of the University of Milan where he teaches courses of social research methodology. Biolcati Rinaldi has been working on religious change in Europe and he serves as principal investigator of the World Values Survey (WVS) in Italy.

Flaminia Bizzarri started working for Intercultura in 1981 after other professional experiences in the Great Britain and as a primary school teacher. Within Intercultura she covered various positions in the students exchange pro-

gram department. In 1988 she started working as a Senior Manager to develop relations with educational institutions. This brought her to develop a strong experience in teacher training and development of materials and tools for high school principals, teachers and Intercultura volunteers

Veronica Boix Mansilla is the Senior Principal Investigator at Project Zero, Harvard Graduate School of Education. Originally from Argentina and with a background in cognitive science, human development, and interdisciplinary education, she examines the development of global and intercultural competence among children and youth. Her work sheds light on the curricula, pedagogies, learning and community environments that best prepare our young to participate a world of increasing complexity, diversity, and mobility. Her current projects focus on human migration and newly arriving unaccompanied children in the US- Mexico border. Her work informs global-intercultural frameworks such as the OECDPISA, UNESCO, International Baccalaureate, and the Asia Society and AFS, where she serves as a member of the board.

Elisa Briga born in Italy, has been working since 2011 at EFIL in Brussels, and she is currently Head of Advocacy and Research, and Deputy Secretary General. Over the past 10 years she has focused on promoting cooperation between formal and non-formal education within individual pupil mobility programmes, and recognition of school study periods abroad. She holds a Master Degree in International Relations and Diplomacy (University of Trieste) with a thesis on the role of youth information centres in the promotion of youth mobility. Previously she has worked for the Partnership between the European Commission and Council of Europe in the field of youth. She has volunteered for the past 20 years for CISV International promoting peace education, and currently serves as President of CISV Italy.

Susanna Brunello lives and teaches Sciences at a local Liceo in Montebelluna, in the north of Italy. She is part of the team that organizes Erasmus activities for teachers and exchange programs for students in her school. She has been an Intercultura volunteer since 2011 and 4 times a host-family. She is currently in charge of Intercultura's Regional relationships with schools in the North East area. In the past, she has been a trainer for teachers in the Erasmus project "Intercultural learning for Pupils and Teachers".

Sabrina Brunetti has been working for Intercultura since 1991 as the Assistant to the Secretary General. She is the coordinator and supervisor of the projects promoted by the Intercultura Foundation. She is mainly involved in the organisation of conferences and she is in charge of the relations with the institutions that cooperate with the Foundation.

Davide Capecchi is EFIL's Secretary General since May 2020. He has worked for the Council of Europe on its Partnership on youth with the European Commission since 2014. He worked on non-formal education, youth work, youth policy and particularly on youth research. He coordinated the Pool of European Youth Researchers and the European Platform on Learning Mobility. Previously, Davide worked as director of ERYICA and served as president of the international board of the Erasmus Student Network in Brussels. He is a Johns Hopkins University graduate in non-profit management and holds an MBA in international arts management.

Anaïs Chauvet works at AFS Intercultural Programs, Inc. as the Educational Support Specialist. She supports the development and implementation of the Global Up programs in the AFS network around the world. Before

AFS, Anaïs graduated with a Master in Culture, Language and International Affairs at Université de La Rochelle (France). In her personal time, she's still passionate about intercultural learning and a growing interest in neurodiversity. She enjoys traveling and feels particularly at home in Asia.

Elisabetta De Martino is Program manager at Fondazione per la Scuola della Compagnia di San Paolo. She has been involved in educational projects aimed at innovation and inclusion. Contact person for internationalization, she coordinates several European programs. She has a humanistic experience, a PH D in Performing Arts and Educational Science, and she is particularly interested in educational programs that involve the artistic approach as a pedagogical strategy.

Darla Deardorff is a Research Fellow at Duke University, as well as Executive Director of the Association of International Education Administrators, an international professional organisation based in the US. In addition, she holds research appointments at Nelson Mandela University (S. Africa), Shanghai International Studies University (China), and Meiji University (Japan). She frequently receives invitations from around the world to speak on her research on intercultural competence and assessment, as well as on global leadership and internationalisation issues. Founding president of the World Council on Intercultural and Global Competence, she has published widely on topics in international education and intercultural learning/assessment with over 60 book chapters and articles, along with 11 books, including as editor of 'The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence,' (2012), co-editor of 'Building Cultural Competence' (Stylus, 2012) and «Intercultural Competence in Higher Education» (Routledge, 2017), and author of the open access "Manual for Developing Intercultural Competencies" (UNESCO/Routledge, 2020).

William Donini is a 23-year-old student of foreign languages and cultural mediation at the University of Padua, and he wants to become a professional educator / teacher. He is a volunteer of AFS Intercultura since 2015, after returning from a year abroad in Denmark. Since September 2017 he is the coordinator of school relationship in the province of Mantua. He took part in many national and regional activities of the association and since 2018 he takes care of online Italian Course for students hosted in Italy.

Mikayla Dunlop. Residing in the traditional Indigenous territory of Tiohtiàke (also known as Montreal, Canada), she is currently working as the Coordinator for Global Choice Canada, an English language hosting program. She could spend hours conversing about cultural mediation, linguistic exchanges and even beekeeping. She looks forward to meeting others with like-minded passions to see matters through their professional and personal lense.

Roberto Ferrero is the training coordinator of Intercultura. He has a long experience in training design and project management and coordination and has been a volunteer development specialist. He has a Master's degree in Italian literature and a postgraduate degree in Training and education system management.

Mitalene Fletcher is Director of PreK-12 and International Programs at Professional Education, Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE). Her current work involves designing learning experiences for education leaders across the K-16 spectrum. She co-chairs HGSE's Think Tank on Global Education, which is designed to advance global competency in K-12 schooling. She began her career teaching secondary school history and drama in Toronto, Canada, and in summer abroad programs in

Oxford, U.K. and Paris, France. Fletcher received her B.A.(Hons) and B.Ed. from Queen's University in Canada and her Ph.D. in International Education and Development from New York University.

Andrea Franzoi is the Secretary General of Intercultura. He went to Germany for an AFS programme in 1996/97. Since his return he has been an active volunteer for Intercultura. He participated in activities at local, national and international level and he was a member of the national board. He studied Politics in Bologna and Munich and he was professionally active in the field of journalism and human resources.

Justina Garbauskaité-Jakimovska is a researcher and educator in the field of non-formal learning and youth. Based in Vilnius, Lithuania, working both on national and European levels with young people, youth leaders, youth workers, teachers, librarians, and other types of educators. The understanding of intercultural learning comes from the practical experience working with culturally diverse groups and exploring the theories and concepts that help to put things into perspective.

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Heela Goren holds a PhD in Comparative and International Education from the University College London, Institute of Education. Her research concerns the interpretation of global education concepts in different settings, global citizenship education, and global education governance. She is a teaching fellow at Kibbutzim College of Education in Israel.

Uffe Gravers Pedersen was an AFS exchange student in 1959/60. He was President of AFS-Denmark from 1965 to 1968. He was the Headmaster of Helsingør Grammar School, the Director of Upper-Secondary Education in the Ministry of Education, the Director at the European Schools in Holland and England, the Vice-President of the Danish University of Education. He has been an Educational advisor to the City of Copenhagen in Denmark. He has been Chairman of an Advisory Committee on Educational Quality in the Ministry of Education.

Prue Holmes is Professor of Intercultural Communication and Education, and Director of Research in the School of Education, Durham University, United Kingdom. Her research and publications are in the areas of language and intercultural education, critical intercultural pedagogies for intercultural communication, and multilingualism in research and doctoral education. Prue has led and been co-investigator on several international and UKRI-funded projects. She is chair of the International Association of Languages and Intercultural Communication (IALIC), and lead editor of the Multilingual Matters book series Researching Multilingually.

Saman Hosseini AFS: former exchange student from Germany to the USA, European voluntary service to France, volunteer since 2008 and former Board Chair of AFS France (2014 - 2017), Consulting and Coaching for AFS International and AFS Partners since 2017, Interim CEO of AFS France since 2020. Education and Professional experience: Engineer with major in Energy and Environmental Sciences, Master's degree in International Management, Researcher, Entrepreneur for over 10 years founding and managing companies in various business areas.

Mirela Hrnjic Inspired by her AFS exchange in Germany, Mirela Hrnjić co-founded and led for a decade AFS in Bosnia and Herzegovina, aimed at fostering intercultural learning and interethnic co-operation in her post-conflict country and beyond. She was elected in 2019 as a member of the Board of Directors of the European Federation for Intercultural Learning (EFIL),

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Soren Kristensen is from Denmark and has for many years been occupied with learning mobility, both at national and European level. In 1999-2002 he worked at the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training in Europe (Cedefop) as an expert in transnational mobility in a VET-context, and in 2004 he defended a PhD-thesis at the Danish University of Education with the title "Learning by leaving - placements abroad as a pedagogical tool in the context of vocational education and training in Europe". His thesis was later published Europeanwide by Cedefop under the same title. He is a former director of the Danish PIU-Centre, working with placements abroad in vocational education and training, and the Danish National Centre for the Development of Vocational Education and Training (NCE). He has participated in several major European-level studies on mobility in the fields of education, training, labour and youth, and is frequently used as an evaluator of mobility programmes and projects. In 2018-19, he was the editor-in-chief of the European Handbook on Quality in Learning Mobility, published by the Partnership between the European Union and the Council of Europe in the field of Youth. He is currently working as an independent research professional, based in Copenhagen.

Ulrich Kühnen is Professor of Psychology at Jacobs University Bremen and Academic Chair at the Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS). His research investigates cross-cultural and evolutionary foundations of the human mind, addressing such diverse topics as the self-concept, personal values, human inferences, the meaning of choice, learning beliefs, and intercultural competence. Currently, he is spokesperson and principal investigator of the Research Training Group "Social Dynamics of the Self" funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Kühnen studied Psychology at Berlin University of Technology (1989-1995) from where he also got his PhD in 1998. He was a post-doctoral fellow at the Culture & Cognition program at University of Michigan, USA in 1999-2000. Before taking up his current position he was research associate at Mannheim University from 2000 to 2003 from where he received his Habilitation.

Riccardo Ladini is post-doctoral fellow at the Department of Social and Political Sciences of the University of Milan, where he is member of the SPS TREND lab. His main research interests include the study of social and political attitudes by employing experimental and survey methods. He is member of the Italian team of the European Values Study.

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**Tiziana Mussato** is a school headmaster and before being appointed principal in September 2019, she was

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Hela Nafti is a freelance consultant in education. She graduated from Sorbonne University, Paris, in literature and American history. She was an inspector of English, teacher trainer, textbook writer. She is a Microsoft Certified Educator (MCE), got a Global Education Certificate from the Council of Europe, she is a validated British Council Trainer and was trained in UNESCO, Paris in the History Circles to reinforce intercultural competences. She is the executive Director of TEARN (Tunisian Education And Resource Network), vice-president of Solidarité Laïque Méditerranée and is involved in the local group for Global Partnership for Education.

Vali Papadimitriou is Project Manager and Chair of the Board of AFS Greece. I am a retired teacher and mother of four sons. I worked for 5 years in the Embassy of Stockholm and I was the principal for the Greek schools in Sweden. In 2019 the effort of reestablishing AFS Greece began, along with the help of AFS Italy and AFS Serbia. In March 2020 we had our Open House with the presence of Daniel Obst, President and CEO of AFS. Currently AFS Greece operates under the sponsorship of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation.

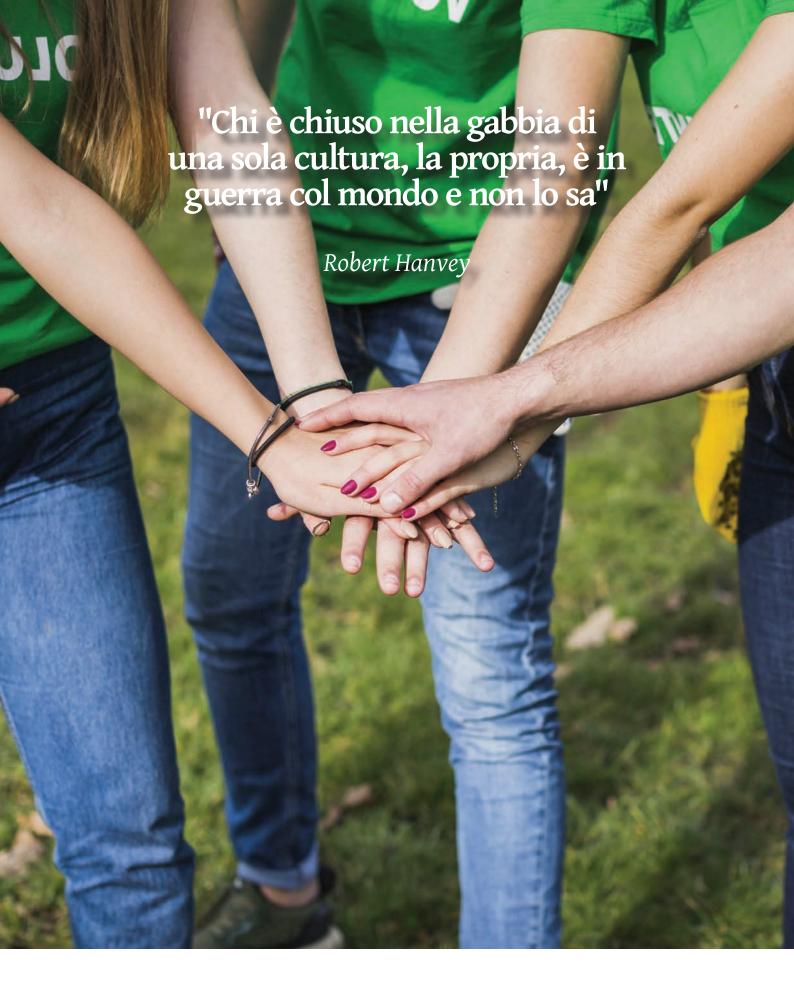
Alessandra Ricci Ascoli has a background as a human rights lawyer and trainer, having worked for several governmental and non-governmental organisations. As of July 2021 she is a programme manager within the Education Department of the Council of Europe.

Roberto Ruffino is the Secretary-General of the Intercultura Foundation and the Honorary Chairperson of EFIL, the European Federation for Intercultural Learning. In assigning him an honorary doctor degree in Education Sciences, the University of Padua defined him "an entrepreneurial leader in the field of intercultural education, which he has contributed to introduce into the schools of Italy".

Patrick Schmidt has been active in the field of intercultural communications for over 25 years. An American by birth and education, he left the U.S. after finishing his studies in French and psychology and spent the next four decades working and living in Germany, Austria, France, Quebec and Malaysia. He has serve as president of SIETAR Europa and 12 years as editor-in-chief of the SIETAR Europa Journal. He's the author of Understand American and German Business Cultures, In Search of Intercultural Understanding and Dancing to a Different Tune.

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