



Intercultura

113 Il trimestre 2024

What happens to exchange pupils' values during their life abroad?

Intercultural mobility's potential for promoting holistic development

Agency, values and intercultural mobility



LINKING VALUES AND BEHAVIOR

Shaping active global citizens through pupils' mobility

In questo numero

12[™] FORUM ON INTERCULTURAL LEARNING AND EXCHANGE

COLLE DI VAL D'ELSA 2-4 NOVEMBRE 2023 uesto numero raccoglie gli interventi degli esperti che hanno partecipato al XII Forum on Intercultural Learning and Exchange presso la Fondazione Intercultura a Colle di Val d'Elsa dal 2 al 4 novembre 2023. L'obiettivo dell'incontro era di approfondire l'impatto possibile di un cambiamento dei valori in senso universalistico e solidaristico sui comportamenti successivi dei giovani che partecipano agli scambi scolastici internazionali, e perciò indirettamente l'effetto di una esperienza di mobilità sull'educazione alla cittadinanza. Come sempre, a questi eventi che si tengono ogni due anni, partecipano anche volontari di Intercultura. docenti ed altre persone che gestiscono scambi con finalità educativa.

Inoltre un ricordo particolare è dedicato a Johan Galtung, morto il 17 febbraio 2024 a 94 anni, padre degli studi sui conflitti e sulla pace, sostenitore e studioso dei nostri programmi sin dagli anni 70. Di lui ripubblichiamo il discorso pronunciato a Strasburgo nel 1978 al nostro convegno su scambi giovanili e mondo dell'educazione.

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REDAZIONE

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La Fondazione Intercultura ets

La Fondazione Intercultura ETS 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 dalla pedagogista Susanna Mantovani; 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 Ministero dell'Istruzione 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 di studio di enti locali, fondazioni ed aziende a beneficio dei programmi di Intercultura. Gestisce i siti:

- fondazioneintercultura.org
- scuoleinternazionali.org
- protocollointercultura.org

The Forum on Intercultural learning and exchange 2023 continued the discussion started in the Fora of 2019 and 2021 on value education in individual pupils' exchange of at least 3 months. The aim was to assess the changes in values with regard to global citizenship that we hope occur in exchange pupils towards valuing human dignity and human rights, respecting differences, and participating actively in the life of multicultural democratic societies. Ultimately the end goal was to consider how pupils' mobility can be a tool to shape better world citizens and to nourish intercultural solidarity and respect for differences among young people, leading to active participation in society.



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Intercultural Mobility's Potential for Promoting Holistic Development: Tools for the Journey



What happens to exchange pupils' values during their life abroad?



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Agency, Values and Intercultural Mobility

^{⊗AFS} Intercultura

Intercultura ODV

Intercultura ODV è un'associazione di volontariato senza scopo di lucro fondata nel 1955, riconosciuta con DPR n. 578/85, posta sotto la tutela del Ministero degli Affari Esteri. È gestita e amministrata da oltre 5500 volontari, che hanno scelto di operare nel settore educativo e scolastico, per sensibilizzarlo alla dimensione internazionale. Intercultura sviluppa la sua attività grazie all'impegno della rete di volontari, presente in 158 città italiane, e allo staff professionale che lavora nelle sedi di Colle di Val d'Elsa e Milano. La sede legale di Intercultura è a Roma. Attraverso l'affiliazione all'AFS Intercultural Programs e all'EFIL (European Federation of Intercultural Learning), Intercultura opera in oltre 60 Paesi di tutti i continenti e ha statuto consultivo all'UNESCO e al Consiglio d'Europa. In Italia Intercultura ha rapporti con il Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione internazionale e con il Ministero dell'Istruzione; è stata insignita del Premio della Cultura della Presidenza del Consiglio e del Premio della Solidarietà della Fondazione Italiana per il Volontariato per l'attività

in favore della pace e della conoscenza fra i popoli. Intercultura aderisce all'Alleanza Italiana per lo Sviluppo Sostenibile (ASviS), l'iniziativa nata per far crescere la consapevolezza dell'importanza degli obiettivi dell'Agenda 2030, promossa dalle Nazioni Unite. Intercultura organizza e finanzia attraverso borse di studio programmi di mobilità scolastica internazionale inviando ogni anno oltre 2000 ragazzi delle scuole secondarie a vivere e studiare all'estero e accogliendo nel nostro Paese centinaia di giovani di ogni nazione che scelgono di arricchirsi culturalmente trascorrendo un periodo di vita nelle nostre famiglie e nelle nostre scuole. Inoltre, Intercultura offre alle scuole la possibilità di internazionalizzare la propria offerta formativa anche attraverso laboratori per le classi e corsi di formazione perdocenti e dirigenti scolastici. 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 per prevenire i conflitti e promuovere la pace.

■ intercultura.it

12th 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 XII

LINKING VALUES AND BEHAVIOR: SHAPING ACTIVE GLOBAL CITIZENS THROUGH PUPILS' MOBILITY

General topics

- What changes occur in cognitive, socio-emotional, intercultural and behavioral domains through pupil exchange?
- In what ways can participation in an international exchange make students more active participants in society?
- How can exchange participation help build intercultural solidarity and community, both locally and globally?

Subthemes

- The development of universal values in global citizenship education vs. local cultural traditions and differences
- Value and development of identity during adolescence Value change as a result of life change: is a pupil mobility program such a "life change"? Does it promote self esteem and courage? Is length of stay abroad a factor?
- Value changes during and after an AFS experience
- · Agency: linking value changes to changes of behavior

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







Programme

November 2nd

18.00-20.00

Opening remarks:

Roberto Ruffino – Welcome words and presentation of topic and program

Dina Kiwan - School of Education, University of Birmingham

Global citizenship education in pluralistic societies: the development of universal values vs. local cultural differences



November 3rd

Chair: Uffe Gravers Pedersen

09.00-10.00

Maya Benish-Weisman - The Hebrew University Jerusalem Values and identity development in adolescence: implications for pupils international exchange

10.00-11.00

Two discussants on the previous presentation:

Uli Zeutschel - OSB International Systemic Consulting **Susie Nicodemi** - Freelance consultant - International non formal education

11.30-13.00

Group work

14.30-15.30

Anat Bardi - Royal Holloway, University of London, **Mattia Baiutti** and **Roberto Ruffino** - Fondazione Intercultura, **Michele Vecchione** - Sapienza University of Rome

What happens to exchange pupils' values during their life abroad? A research project on value changes during and after an AFS experience

15.30-16.30

Two discussants on the previous presentation:

Tom Kurz - Experiment Germany

Nicholas Geeraert - University of Essex

17.00-18.30

Group work

November 5th

Chair: Elisa Briga

09.00-10.00

Michele Welkener - University of Dayton, Ohio (USA) What might help exchange pupils pursue their values? A focus on agency (linking value changes to changes of behaviour)

10.00-11.00

Discussant on the previous presentation:

Ella Daniel - Tel Aviv University

Some evidence from AFS returnees

- Enrico Beninato (Italy to Honduras)
- Andrea Luciani (Italy to New Zealand)
- Erica Piccin (Italy to Honduras)
- Carlotta Wolf (Italy to Chile)

11.30-13.00

Group work

14.30-16.30

Participants will be asked to reflect individually on the results of the Forum and then to share their personal conclusions with small groups, to identify key outcomes and suggestions for future Fora. Conclusions will be shared in plenary.

Global citizenship education in pluralistic societies: the development of universal values vs. local cultural differences



DINA KIWAN

University of Birmingham UK

n order to situate this presentation, I will briefly introduce my body of research which is interdisciplinary drawing on sociology, political theory and education - and which has focused in broad terms on citizenship and inclusion. In my earlier work I explored these themes in relation to the introduction of citizenship education in the school curriculum in England 20 years ago when it was first made a statutory subject. I was interested in understanding how citizenship had been constructed and was understood by policymakers and government curriculum developers - in particular in relation to how inclusive this was with respect to ethnic and religious diversity. The short answer was: that understandings of citizenship did not really engage with ethnic and religious diversity. In 2003, I was subsequently invited by the Home Secretary of the time, to join an Advisory group to advise government on

the requirements for those applying for British citizenship, as well as also working with the government's Department of Education in 2006 and 2007 on revising the citizenship education curriculum to take account of ethnic and religious diversity. My work shifted to focus to the Middle East context when I moved to Lebanon's American University of Beirut as an Associate Professor in Sociology for 5 years from 2012-2017. Whilst still focused on social justice, inclusion and citizenship, the social and political context there at the time was during the height of the Syrian refugee crisis, which had significant impact on Lebanon, a country of about 4.5 million, already with half a million Palestinian refugees, and now hosting over a million Syrian refugees. I use the term 'refugee' in a non-legal sense, as Lebanon is not signatory to the UN Refugee Convention. As such, these Syrians - with a high percentage of women and children, and those with disabilities, were

invisible and with heightened vulnerability - in schools, employment, health and communities. In 2013, I started working with UNESCO on global citizenship, firstly acting as leading author of what became a seminal document in 2015 published by UNESCO 'Topics and Learning Objectives', launched in Seoul Korea. My policy contributions on global citizenship education have continued with UNESCO over the last few years, with a number of initiatives including a high-level working group of the role of GCED on addressing rising nationalism and extremism, also 'localising GCED', with my specific contributions on the Middle East, and the impact and relevance of GCED in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Overall, my research is underpinned theoretically by the decolonisation of knowledge, taking an inclusive participative approach to the intersections of gendered, race, dis/abled knowledge and

I take the Middle East as my focus, where I show the various discourses and forms of Global Citizenship Education in the Middle East, drawing on various country case examples to elucidate this.

the inequities in power dynamics between the Global North and Global South that contribute to this. I argue that the production of new knowledge emerging from the Global South has important potential to challenge the hegemony of the Global North's production of knowledge on the very nature of what it means to be a human and a citizen.

In this talk, I will be focusing on the juxtaposition of universal values and more local, regional cultural values and how this in navigated by global citizenship education. I take the Middle East as my focus, where I show the various discourses and forms of Global Citizenship Education in the Middle East, drawing on various country case examples to elucidate this. Firstly, I situate this in the intellectual and policy context of the various contested forms of global citizenship education, before examining in practice how this unfolds in formal and non-formal education – looking at curriculum, international exchanges as well as youth perceptions and youth-led engagements and action. Finally, I end with some final thoughts on the implications of geographical and socio-political context for GCED.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP - A BRIEF INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Global citizenship has a long intellectual history, which has been revived with critiques of national citizenship, citizenship 'gaps' (Schattle, 2018) through political and economic marginalisation of various groups as well as voluntary and forced migration, and increasing globalization. Early conceptions of global citizenship can be traced to the Stoics through to Renaissance philosophers to thinkers in the 18th century, including Kant and Paine. Appiah (2007) notes the ancient Greek philosopher, Diogenes was supposedly the first to claim that he was a 'citizen of the world'. This did not refer to governance however, but rather caring for all human beings not only those within one's own community. In addition, he highlighted the importance of mutual learning. Contemporary conceptions of global citizenship include cosmopolitan versions emphasising the engagement, appreciation of and learning from

other cultures, participative forms of global citizenship through activism on global issues such as the environment, through to economic versions of global citizenship where certain skills are valued to maximise benefits in the global marketplace.

These cosmopolitan forms of citizenship are therefore universalistic, and it is claimed that contemporary globalisation has heightened the salience of the notion of 'global citizenship'. Reference is typically made to global economy networks, global networks of information and global media, and how we are globally interlinked with respect to the environment. Oxley and Morris (2013) distinguish between 'cosmopolitan-based' and 'advocacy-based' global citizenship. Cosmopolitan versions of global citizenship are critiqued by some scholars as being rooted in Western liberal culture, individually entrepreneurial, and masquerading as universal, yet in fact are imperial forms of governance. In contrast, critical global citizenship scholars aim to include grass roots activists, challenging inequity and holding those in power to account. Whilst there are various contesting conceptions of global citizenship, what cuts across these is a notion that a global citizen is a type of person with certain knowledge and understanding, skills and aptitudes, expressed in terms of behaviours (Biccum, 2020). This cross-cutting notion underpins education for global citizenship more broadly.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION - POLICY CONTEXT

Whilst the issue of access to education continues to be an important one in many parts of the world, there is now increased attention to issues of relevance and quality of education. Since 2012, Global education, and in particular global citizenship education have been internationally prominent policy initiatives, with policy objectives and proposed outcomes being framed as responding to the new unfolding contemporary realities of our world, with Ban Ki-Moon announcing that Global Citizenship Education was to be a core pillar of the United Nations'

Education First Initiative. Global Citizenship Education draws on various forms of education historically, including anti-racist education, development education, human rights education, multicultural education, peace education, and education for sustainable development. There is overlap with regards to the aims, curriculum and pedagogical approaches of these various forms of education, typically with a shared commitment to social justice and human rights, and participative and transformative visions. Of note, these forms of education typically developed in Western democratic contexts, and in democratising contexts in Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe and South Africa (Starkey, 2022). There have also been close links with development education in humanitarian contexts led by international organisations such as Oxfam, Save the Children and UN agencies. International schools have also been drawn to notions of 'global citizenship' (Brehm and Webster, 2014).

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) make reference to quality education in SDG 4.7:

"By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustain- able lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a cul- ture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development"

UNESCO has played a leading role on work on global citizenship education (GCED) since 2013, building on its 'Learning to Live Together' work, central to its mission. In 2014, UNESCO published Global Citizenship Education: preparing learners for the challenges of the twenty-first century, subsequently leading to the publication of an international curriculum guiding framework covering all ages phases and both formal and non-formal education entitled Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives¹, which was launched and well-received by member states at the World Education Forum in Seoul, South Korea in May 2015. The rationale for the publication is to provide pedagogical guidance to support member states around the world in integrating or further enhancing GCED into their education systems, addressing issues of subject matter, challenges of implementation, and examples of practice and resources (UNESCO, 2015).

Higher education institutions have embraced 'global citizenship' aims in their pursuit of internationalisation agendas, as 'internationalisation' is a key measure of evaluation of reputation in international university rankings, with significant economic consequences. Whilst these programmes are positioned to benefit students through the acquisition of intercultural skills and understanding, critical scholars argue that such programmes can not be disentangled from their colonial legacies, and may inadvertently reproduce them (Andreotti and de Souza, 2012).

MIDDLE EAST CONTEST

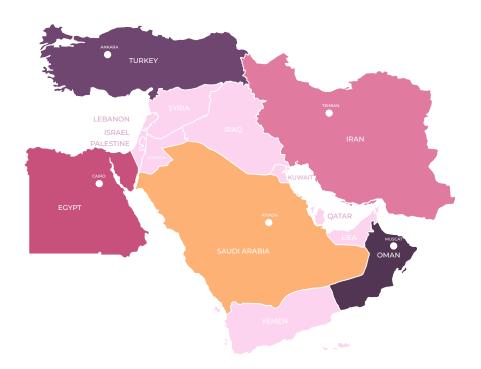
Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the context of colonialism, Arab educational reformers worked to develop national educational systems (Abi-Mershed, 2010).

There is a literature that considers supra-national initiatives, as well as for example, how 'quasi-state institutions' such as the Palestinian Authority (PA) deal with notions of citizenship through education policy. The position of Palestinian and Syrian refugees across the Arab world, notably in Lebanon and Jordan, raises interesting dilemnas about 'educating for citizenship' in the absence of any such legal status, nor with any foreseeable route to legal citizenship in these host countries (Kiwan, 2019).

The 'Arab Spring' has illustrated the region's contestations over citizenship. Civil society protests starting in Tunisia, followed by Egypt and Libya toppling governments, with protests also occurring in other countries such as Morocco, Algeria and Jordan, although these governments have stayed in place. Notably, protests were significantly less in the Gulf Arab states.

A significant feature of demography in the region is that over 40% of the population is under the age of 18 (Faour & Muasher, 2012). Youth played an important role in contesting traditional notions of citizenship (Kiwan, 2015). Youth unemployment is the highest in the world at 25%, with nearly half the youth population in the region wishing to emigrate, according to a large-scale Arab Youth 2023 (ASDA'A BCW Arab Youth Survey, 2023). Revolts in the region have been explained in terms of the combination of severe economic conditions and denial of political and civil rights (Teti & Gervasio, 2011). Whilst there has been public investment in education, in those countries

¹ Dina Kiwan, American University of Beirut and Mark Evans, University of Toronto were commissioned as lead authors of this publication.



that do not provide for labour market opportunities, there are higher levels of political instability (e.g. Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Libya, Jordan and Morocco), in contrast to the more stable Arab Gulf countries of the UAE, Kuwait and Qatar with their strong economies (Campante & Chor, 2013).

CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE REGION

There has been an interest in citizenship education in the Middle East, as in other regions of the world, in particular in the last 10 years. Both policymakers and academics have highlighted the need for civic education in the region, underpinned by the development of more transformative and democratic pedagogies (Faour & Muasher, 2012; Kiwan, 2014). Member states in the Arab region

are also engaging with the implications of global citizenship education within their nation states contexts. UNESCO has recognized that GCED is a contested context, requiring contextualization (UN-ESCO, 2019). Approaches to citizenship education vary within the region, given the wide range of different contexts across Arab countries, from the Arab Gulf monarchies with large migrant populations, to the countries of North Africa in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings, (e.g. Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia), to countries of significant conflict (e.g. Iraq, Syria, Yemen), and highly diverse countries like Lebanon and Oman, and countries dealing with large numbers of refugee populations, like Jordan and Lebanon. Nasser (2019) has examined the history curriculum and textbooks in Jordan and Palestine, contrasting the two. With Jordan's independence in 1946, education

played a critical role in its narrative of its identity in a context where the majority of the population is of Palestinian origin, as well as including smaller numbers of other ethnic groups, including Bedouins. In addition, with the royal family originating from the Hashemites of Saudi Arabia, the textbook narratives emphasise 'Arab identity', being part of the universal Muslim 'umma', and speaking Arabic. Of note is the emphasis on the diversity of Jordanian roots throughout history with reference to the various civilisations that have risen and fallen (e.g. Assyrian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Arab Islamic). Jordan's discourse of identity is one of pan-Arabism and Islam, evident in school textbooks.

In contrast, between 1948 – 1967, Palestine did not have its own textbooks, but schools in the West Bank used Jordanian textbooks, whilst schools in Gaza used Egyptian textbooks (Nasser, 2019). After 1996 and the signing of the Oslo Accord, the Palestinian Authority established the Curriculum Development Center which was responsible for producing the national curriculum for all schools. The narrative, in contrast to Jordan is one emphasising their own national identity as Palestinians, and the decolonising of their history. Palestinian identity is presented in terms of concentric circles of Palestinian national, Arab regional, and universal Islamic umma and Arab language, whilst recognising the role of Christianity in its identity (Nasser, 2019). A recent study examining the presence of global citizenship concepts in the Palestinian curriculum suggests that this is not substantive, with the value of freedom as a universal value being most frequently referred to ,but only in 20-25% of seventh and eighth grade textbooks (Assali, 2021).

The cases of Oman and Qatar in the Gulf Arab region illustrates a pro-active engagement with GCED as promoted by UNESCO. Oman's Ministry of Education in conjunction with UNESCO and the Sultan Qaboos University held a regional seminar on integrating GCED into teacher training across Arab countries. In 2009, research indicated a paucity of engagement with the GCED concept in Oman, although more recent research shows an increasing engagement, although compartmentalised in the curriculum within social studies as opposed to across curriculum subjects, and teachers reporting lack of knowledge in the field (Al'Abri et al., 2022). Al'Abri et. al's (2022, 7139) study of educational policy in Oman identified six GCED dimensions in relevant policy documents, including "social justice and human rights, spreading a culture of peace and tolerance, sustainable development issues, cultural and civilizational diversity, environmental balance, and scientific thinking and technology". Of note, sustainable develop-



The case of Lebanon provides an interesting case study of a complex context of Pan-Arabism, sectarianism, civil war, large influxes of refugees, and most recently economic and political crisis.

ment and environmental issues was most emphasised. However, how these are being translated into the curriculum is not clear, and they call for teacher-training to be a priority, given a wide gap between policy and practice. In Qatar, similarly there is policy commitment to GCED, with a rationale that GCED supports Qatar in building a sustainable knowledge-based economy (Wafa, 2022), and can help engage young people in sustainable development agendas (Sever and Tok, 2023); policy documents as a consequence, emphasise the importance of integrating GCED into school curricula and teacher-training programmes.

UNESCO RESPONSES

As can be seen from these country examples, GCED has not been wholehearted embraced and rather questions raised as to its appropriateness and relevance. In this context, UNESCO in 2018, commissioned a report entitled Global Citizenship Education: Taking it local to attempt address such contestations around GCED: "Tensions and debates around GCED have been particularly intense in contexts where the words 'global' or 'globalization' are misconstrued as referring to processes that are exogenous to their societies -- for instance, with globalization being equated with 'westernization'."

(UNESCO, 2018, p.2). As a response, UNESCO took the approach of identifying GCED-type concepts across a range of country examples globally, including the Middle East (with me as an author of the Middle East case studies). For example, the concept of 'shura', a concept deriving from the Quran, was identified for Oman, which is a form of public consultation and decision-making, which places value on the diversity of views and participation in public affairs.

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES

In the higher education sector, the role of international exchanges for students is held up as an authentic and experiential form of learning global citizenship. Bruce (2013) describes it as a state of interruption "so that we may become attentive to what the Other may teach us" (p. 42), and that it be framed not in terms of individual benefit but rather "towards a project of relationality and responsibility" (p. 45). Universities globally from the US, UK, Europe and Asia place value on international exchanges for their students for a variety of reasons. As has been previously mentioned, such mobility enhances the international reputation of universities bringing with it economic benefits. Universities also market such exchanges as important for students in developing key skills for work and life skills, and for networking and new cultural experiences. International education is also a growing sector with the US, UK and Australia being the top providers, mainly to students from Asian countries (S. Korea, Japan, China) (Matthews and Sidhu, 2005). These mobilities are primarily unidirectional to the West and arguably a colonial legacy, with English language giving economic and cultural capital. As such, the discourse of promoting global citizenship through international exchanges whilst bi-directional, and international schools has been challenged given the global imbalances in power and different meaning ascribed to such mobility depending on geopolitical positionality. In the Middle East, while more than half of young people, especially from the Levant, wish to emigrate or study abroad in the West, especially the US, this is predominantly for economic reasons, rather than framed in terms of global citizenship concepts. According to the Arab Youth Survey in 2023, the UAE is the country they would most like to live in, named for the 12th consecutive year, with similar reasons of economics and security given. However, shared regional cultural differences also influence this preference.

YOUTH CONCEPTIONS

Youth is a socially constructed category, and as such is contested in the literature, with no standard agreement on the age range. In the Arab World, youth is conceptualised in terms of marital status, where youth corresponds to the unmarried (Mulderig, 2011). In methodological terms, the dominant approach to the study of youth since the nineteenth century in the West has been psychological, although increasingly sociological literatures exploring youth and are developing. Youth studies in the Middle East context is largely framed in relation to socio-political and economic institutional concerns, for example, education and training to meet the needs of the labor market (Joseph 2011). The "mismatch between the skills accumulated through public investment in education on the one hand, and the available economic opportunities on the other" (Campante and Chor, 2013), has been hypothesized to play a critical role in leading to political instability. The Arab Youth Survey is the largest annual survey of 18-24 years across the Arab World dating back to 2008, and since 2010, survey results indicate that over 70% of youth perceive the concept as important and view themselves as global citizens referring to global media, their patterns of global

consumption, and their aspirations to live abroad; this is even higher at 79% in the UAE. Also, more than 80% say Arab countries must uphold universal values of freedom, equality and respect for human rights.

However, young people assert that religion and family are key to their identity. "Nearly two-thirds (65%) of Arab youth said preserving their religious and cultural identity is more important to them than creating a more tolerant, liberal, and globalized society. This sentiment was strongest in the Levant (74%), the GCC states (72%), and North Africa (68%). Also over three quarters are concerned about the loss of traditional values and culture. What is evident is that Arab youth increasingly view their personal identity through the lens of religion, family and nationality."

So how to interpret these findings? Suggests that global citizenship is not seen as an identity but as an orientation.

One area of global concern emerging from the Arab Youth Survey and Arab Barometer is that climate and environmental issues are major concerns for young people. The Arab Youth Survey (2022), which is the largest survey of Arab youth conducted annually, shows that 80% of Arab youth (and 90% in UAE) over the last decade are increasingly concerned with climate change and the environment. In addition, over three quarters of Arab youth state they would boycott a brand that damaged the environment. They express frustration at perceived inaction from their governments, and youth-led activism has started to mobilize over the last decade, especially since the Arab Spring.

CONCLUSIONS

So to conclude, what are the main challenges to GCED in the Middle East? The most explicit discourse is the tension between focussing on local and regional as opposed to more global. Implicit in this, however, are more critical challenges to the presumed universalism of global citizenship, and what interests it serves. Postcolonial critics argue that some forms of global citizenship amount to a project of 'humanitarian benevolence' (Jefferess, 2021; Said, 1994). Neoliberal and neocolonial discourses ignore power differences between the Global North and Global South, and unless these power differences are taken into account, theories of cosmopolitanism and by extension, global citizenship cannot claim to be objectively universal.

On examination of forms of citizenship education in formal and non-formal spaces, what emerges is that there are constraints

in the formal education space. Whilst there may be policy lip-service to global citizenship education, there is a policy-practice gap. However, on examining other kinds of discursive spaces that have been developing across the region, we see that Arab youth do self-identify as global citizens. The role of social media was widely commented on in relation to the Arab Spring. Informal modes of citizenship learning, including the family, youth organizations, the mosque, women's organizations and social media all play an important role. This is not to say that there is no space for global citizenship education in formal education, but rather than its neoliberal versions will be more contested.

In conclusion, the following quote sums it up nicely:

"Implicitly, these theories valorize individuality and the universality of a horizontal identity, beyond ethnic, national, or civic affiliation, and invoke a new strategy for identity formation, an identity which is based on favoring the other in self, than a strategy of identity based on the Other and Self. The question remains whether these forms of identity without history and culture can sustain themselves in an international system which is saturated with power struggles over domination, exclusiveness, and distinction." (Nasser, 2019).

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Values and identity development in adolescence: Implications for pupils international exchange

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Adolescence is an intricate and pivotal period in human development, marked by profound changes across multiple dimensions. As we embark on an exploration of this transformative stage, it is crucial to delve into prevailing myths and realities surrounding adolescence and its impact on risk behaviors, peer influence, stress, and migration dynamics.

1. Fact or Myth - Is Adolescence a Time of Risky Behaviors?

Aggression, risk-taking, unprotected sex, and substance abuse often define the narrative surrounding risk behaviors during adolescence. These behaviors have been the subject of scrutiny, sometimes perpetuating negative stereotypes associated with this developmental stage. However, challenging these stereotypes reveals a more nuanced perspective. Risk-taking during adolescence is not exclusively negative; it can be a window of opportunity for positive growth and learning. Positive risks, such as engaging in challenging sports or disclosing intimate information, can foster resilience and contribute to the development of prosocial behaviors. Sometimes, helping others involves taking risks, highlighting the potential for positive outcomes in risk-taking.

2. Fact or Myth- Is Adolescence a Time of Negative Peer Influence?

The development of the "social brain" during adolescence makes individuals more sensitive to others, especially peers. The myth of negative peer influence during adolescence often prevails in public discourse. Research, however, paints a more complex picture. Peers have the potential to exert positive effects on adolescents, influencing their values and contributing to the development of a socially attuned brain. The environment, triggered by peers, can enhance prosocial behaviors, fostering volunteering and other positive social activities.

Contrary to common belief, adolescence is not solely a turbulent period marked by stress and storms. It, however, encompasses various changes, including neuropsychological shifts, social development, identity and values development, cognitive advancements, and physical maturation.

4. Cognitive Development: Self-perception - Childhood Vs. Adolescence

A crucial aspect of cognitive development during adolescence lies in the shift from concrete to abstract self-perception. While children perceive themselves in specific and simple terms, adolescents focus on more abstract personality characteristics. This cognitive transformation plays a vital role in shaping their understanding of the self.

5. Navigating Identity Formation during Adolescence

Identity formation, a central theme during adolescence, involves two main processes: exploration and commitment. Adolescents question and weigh various identity alternatives, ultimately making choices in identity-relevant areas. Identity development satisfies the need for belonging, fostering a positive sense of self, psychological security, intellectual stimulation, and the creation of meaningful social relationships.

6. Adolescence as a Time of Change

In summary, adolescence is a time of multifaceted change. Physical maturation, hormonal fluctuations, risk-taking behaviors, cognitive development, and evolving social dynamics characterize this transformative phase. As peers become more influential, the process of identity development and values formation takes center stage, contributing to the unique nature of adolescence.



Adolescents engaged in international exchange programs encounter challenges and opportunities intertwined with the developmental tasks of adolescence and immigration.



7. Development and Migration: Challenges and Opportunities

The intersection of adolescence and migration introduces unique challenges and opportunities, particularly for exchange students. Adolescents navigating both adolescence and immigration concurrently face distinct developmental tasks, including identity and values development, the formation of mature social relations, and the undertaking of mature social roles, coupled with gaining independence and renegotiating relationships with parents.



Understanding acculturation dynamics is paramount in comprehending the experiences of adolescents in migration. Factors such as chronological age, psychological age, acculturation timing, relative timing, acculturation pace, and acculturation synchrony all contribute to the complexity of the acculturation process.

Adolescents engaged in international exchange programs encounter challenges and opportunities intertwined with the developmental tasks of adolescence and immigration. This intersection demands a nuanced understanding of the acculturation process, considering both individual and contextual factors.

8. Conclusions and Implications: Key Takeaways

In conclusion, the journey through adolescence is complex, filled with myths that often overshadow the rich realities. By unraveling these intricacies, we gain insights into the positive aspects of risk-taking, the nuanced dynamics of peer influence, and the multifaceted nature of stress during adolescence. Additionally, the intersection of adolescence and migration introduces challenges and opportunities that shape the developmental trajectory of young individuals.

As we reflect on the myths and realities surrounding adolescence, certain key takeaways emerge. Firstly, awareness of stereotypes is crucial to counteract the Pygmalion effect, which can influence perceptions and expectations. Secondly, acknowledging the power of the peer group, while recognizing that one rotten apple may spoil the barrel, we should also emphasize the potential for positive peer influence. Thirdly, understanding that developmental phases are relative—shaped by age, peer group, and context—underscores the need for an individualized approach. Lastly, embracing the duality of adolescence as a time of risk and opportunity reinforces the transformative potential inherent in this developmental stage.

Values and Identity Development for Transformation

Comments on Mava Benish-Weisman "Values and Identity Development in Adolescence"

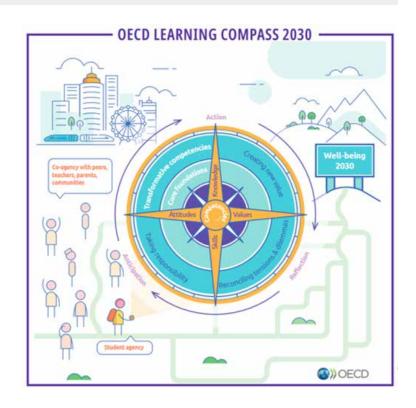
ULI ZEUTSCHEL OSB International Systemic Consulting



Maya Benish-Weisman emphasizes the importance of adolescent values and identity development in coping with fundamental changes and challenges faced in a transformative phase of life. And it is for good reasons that the majority of exchange and educational mobility programs are designed for an age group that is still "under way" with regard to mental and moral development, so that insights and impulses from interactions with the host environment may have a formative influence in that process.

FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR BUILDING TRANSFORMATIVE COMPETENCIES

Applying the picture of adolescence as a time of individual transformation to the greater context of societal, even global needs for transformation vis-à-vis ecological and geopolitical challenges, I was attracted by the concept of transformative competencies outlined in the OECD Learning Compass 2030 (OECD Future of Education and Skills 2030, 2019, p. 2):





The propensity during adolescence for risk taking is fostered by slower development of prefrontal brain regions (governing rational thinking and impulse control) in comparison with limbic regions (the source of emotional, hedonistic, and spontaneous impulses).

Creating new value - innovating to shape better lives, such as creating new jobs, enterprises and services, developing new knowledge, insights, ideas, techniques, strategies and solutions, and applying them to problems both old and new. When learners create new value, they question the status quo, collaborate with others and try to think "outside the box".

Reconciling tensions and interests - taking into account the many interconnections and inter-relations between contradictory or seemingly incompatible ideas, logics and positions, and considering the results of actions from both short- and long-term perspectives. Through this process, learners acquire a deeper understanding of opposing positions, develop arguments to support their own perspective, and find practical solutions to dilemmas and conflicts.

Taking responsibility - reflecting upon and evaluating one's own actions in light of one's experience and education, and by considering personal, ethical and societal goals.

Some of the cognitive, attitudinal, and interactive developments in adolescence outlined in Maya Benish-Weisman's findings could also be seen as prerequisites for building the three transformative competencies, especially in the context of educational mobility programs:

The propensity during adolescence for **risk taking** is fostered by slower development of prefrontal brain regions (governing rational thinking and impulse control) in comparison with limbic regions (the source of emotional, hedonistic, and spontaneous impulses). The resulting "risky period" also offers a potential for spontaneous behavior and openness to unfamiliar experi-

ences outside of one's personal comfort zone – obviously an asset when it comes to dealing with novel environments in international exchange or mobility programs. Positive, constructive experiences within unfamiliar environments during their formative adolescent years may clearly enable returnees to create new value in later periods of their lives: applying curiosity, an open mindset, and greater adaptability paired with risk management and critical thinking, plus a propensity to leave the comfortable path.

Resistance to **peer influence** is on the rise after age 14 according to findings by Steinberg and Monahan (2007) but does not reach its maximum until age 20. In the age range of youth mobility programs peers still constitute a relevant source of value formation (Benish-Weisman et al., 2021) and, particularly in a culturally different environment, provide a rewarding training ground for developing empathy and sensitivity for others – an essential ability for acknowledging different points of view and reconciling divergent interests.

More abstract, trait-focused **self-perception** in adolescence opens the way to discover individual options in shaping one's course of life and to develop a sense of self-efficacy as prerequisites to assume responsibility and to take appropriate action.

IDENTITY FORMATION AS A PROCESS OF "RELATIONING"

Maya Benish-Weisman describes identity formation as interplay of two central processes: exploration of various identity options and commitment to choices made in identity-relevant areas. I would like to emphasize the unique potential of educational mobility programs to enrich these processes: if



the experience in an unfamiliar environment is long enough and encompasses a wide range of participation in everyday life (as for example in a homestay exchange) to make adaptation useful and rewarding, it provides fantastic exploration opportunities to "take on" different perspectives and to "try out" practices that are simply not available in one's home environment. Due to the limited program duration, it is neither necessary nor useful to make definite decisions for a particular lifestyle or identity alternative, while there is a good chance for commitment to the notion of respect for other ways of thinking, believing, and living, as well as to an awareness of global connectedness and thus responsibility for one's actions.

In these times of worldwide crises and global challenges, it seems like a good idea to switch our focus from the first letter of "I-dentity" with its self-enhancing qualities and insistence on individual uniqueness, thereby highlighting one's differences to various reference groups. The growing realization that we develop a variety of identities by interacting in different contexts offers a new focus on the last four letters in "identi-ties" with an emphasis on acknowledging, building, and nurturing our connections with various other groups.

This relational approach to identity development emerged as a central proposition in a recent Delphi Study involving 47 intercultural experts (Montecino Bauman & Grünfelder, 2022):

- emphasizing the notion of "belonging" through dynamic, unfolding and ongoing "relationing" rather than individually finding one's identity,
- taking a constructivist view of attributing and constructing or negotiating shared meaning in the creation of new commonalities, and
- distinguishing between the intercultural perspective that
 focuses on cultural differences that are introduced, enacted
 (on) or also modified by the participants, and the transcultural ("beyond") perspective that asks how and with what
 consequence cross-cultural common-ality is interactively
 produced by the participants.

The concept of transculturality suggests "alternative ways of relating to otherness in times when diversity is likely to continue and expand" (Benessaieh, 2010, p. 29).

IMMIGRATION VS. EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY

Looking at the interplay of adolescent development and acculturation in young immigrants, Maya Benish-Weisman lists a number of opportunities of immigration for their values and identity development, such as forming mature social relations, taking mature social roles, and renegotiating the relationship with their parents.

As Heela Goren (2021) pointed out in her comments on the PISA assessment of global competence, understanding of the term "immigrants" will be contextually dependent on the collective experiences (including media coverage) in different societies with regard to immigrants and refugees. Thus it may be due to different experiences with immigration in Israel and Germany that I would strongly question the usefulness of immigration as a positive source of inspiration for educational mobility programs. In fact, I would contrast the circumstances of immigration as the opposite of development potentials connected with educational mobility programs, particularly one-year homestay programs:

- Adolescent immigrants do not have a choice in moving to a different location, either having to go along with their families or being driven out by the collective hopes and (frequently illusionary) expectations of their family and relatives to become economically successful in the new environment in order to eventually support their relatives (fear-of-failure motivation).
- Participants in educational mobility programs may also be "pushed" by their parents because of educational or career opportunities, but those expectations are connected with individual benefits rather than existential needs (hope-forsuccess motivation).
- The time perspective for refugees as well as for labor migrants remains unclear and is often governed by hopes or aspirations for an eventual return to their home country. The resulting uncertainty does not provide a clear objective for acculturation, which the often unwelcoming and critical reception in the new environment does not even make desirable.
- In contrast, educational mobility programs prescribe a
 definite duration, providing a clear perspective for returning
 home, as well as the prospect of an early return if serious
 problems should arise. Program objectives for non-formal
 learning, as well as a generally benevolent reception in the
 host community offer a positive setting for experimental acculturation and role-taking without momentous implications
 for one's further course of life.
- The immigration experience is usually characterized by limiting regulations and unclear rules without explanation.
 Professional training and workplace induction are often provided as granted challenges, with critical scrutiny for failures. Particularly in adolescents, the urge for independence and self-direction will easily lead to aggressive strategies of "testing the limits" and circumventing rules and regulations.

- Participants in educational mobility programs are welcomed in their host families, schools, and communities with invitations and opportunities for participation and involvement. There is little outside pressure for high performance, but rather positive expectations and a forgiving attitude towards mistakes and failure – all of which are favorable conditions for leaving one's comfort zone and experimenting with new skills and practices.
- Besides vocational training (if any), language courses and legal advice are usually the only provisions for orientation and support of immigrants in coping with their new environment. Often due to an unfortunate attitude of "tolerance" in their social environment immigrants do not receive differentiated feedback on their behavior, nor guidance on appropriate practices, let alone mentoring on self-reflection of their acculturation process. Participants in educational mobility programs may rely on a purposeful array of orientation seminars and resources, mentoring and counseling at their host schools, frequent opportunities for ongoing self-reflection, as well as re-orientation resources to ease the re-entry process in their home environment.



In fact, I would contrast the circumstances of immigration as the opposite of development potentials connected with educational mobility programs, particularly one-year homestay programs.

CONCLUSIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY PROGRAMS

Evaluation studies of educational mobility programs have mostly focused on individual outcomes of participation rather than on societal and community impact generated by participants (Becker, 2017). This is certainly due to methodological difficulties in assessing changes initiated by former program participants - such changes require time to be initiated and implemented, and it is more difficult to verify a causative effect of the mobility program participation. Nonetheless, it may be worthwhile to assess the acquisition of competencies that are instrumental in bringing about changes in one's social environment, starting with the host community during program participation and continuing with family, school, college, and professional environments upon return.

As the term "Learning Compass 2030" implies the OECD Transformative Competencies provide orientation for learning goals and corresponding program design of educational mobility schemes. With their focus on student agency as well as co-agency with peers, teachers, parents, and communities they also point out ways to operationalize and assess concrete impact, i.e. behavioral, structural, and procedural changes effected by mobility program participants.



Evaluation studies of educational mobility programs have mostly focused on individual outcomes of participation rather than on societal and community impact generated by participants (Becker, 2017).

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What happens to exchange pupils' values during their life abroad?

A research project on value changes during and after an AFS experience

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INTRODUCTION

AFS has always been interested in exploring the benefits gained by pupils who participated in pupil mobility programmes. For this reason, beyond anecdotal evidence, AFS and subsequently Fondazione Intercultura have been conducting empirical studies since 1980. In fact, between 1980 and 1985, Cornelius "Neal" Grove and Betsy Hansel (1986) undertook a study on the impact of AFS programmes on its participants. The research identified five areas in which AFS pupils notably distinguished themselves from their peers who remained at home:

- An interest in other cultures and the ability to accept their ways of life.
- Knowledge and appreciation of another culture.
- The ability to communicate effectively in a foreign language.
- Adaptability to new and unexpected situations.
- A sense of belonging to a global community.

The same research also found that, compared to their peers who remained at home, the returnees displayed a less materialistic attitude, less conformity, greater public communication skills, and an enhanced awareness of their own cultural roots. At the start of the new century, Hammer (2005) carried out a study with more than 2000 pupils (1500 AFS pupils from 9 countries, who went abroad on a 1-year programme, and 500 pupils in a control group). The study revealed that AFS pupils who participated in the programme, compared to their peers who did not have the same opportunity, significantly:

- Increased their intercultural competence.
- Enhanced their knowledge of the host culture.
- Improved their fluency in the language of the host country.
- Experienced less anxiety when interacting with people from different cultures.
- Formed more friendships with people from other cultures.
- Developed greater intercultural networks.

More recently, several studies (Hansel and Chen 2008; Hansel 2008; Observatory on the Internationalisation of Italian Schools and Pupil Mobility 2016) have indicated that the intercultural competence gained through pupil mobility endures well beyond the duration of the experience abroad.

Further studies on the learning outcomes of these pupils have been conducted by Fondazione Intercultura¹, as presented in

¹ https://www.fondazioneintercultura.org/en/Activities/Studies-and-research/



previous fora. However, one area that remains entirely unexplored is that of value change. This gap in research led Fondazione Intercultura to explore this important aspect of pupil mobility in more detail. The research questions quiding our study are:

- Do participants in AFS before the start of the programme differ from the general population in the importance assigned to universalism values?
- Do universalism values change during and after the experience abroad?
- Can we identify variables (e.g., school climate, perceived quality of relationships, participation in local activities) that are able to explain why universalism values change?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Values are broad goals that we have in our lives (e.g., social justice, power). Values have an ideological flavor, 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 social justice 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., 2022), so it is worth investing in encouraging an increase in the personal importance of desirable values, like social justice. 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., Schwartz et al., 2012).

Schwartz (1992) theorised and found that values are organised 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.q.,

Schwartz et al., 2012). Neighbouring values are based on a shared motivation, and they can be pursued 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,



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.

or goals (or any other variable that may be 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 uni-

versalism 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**.

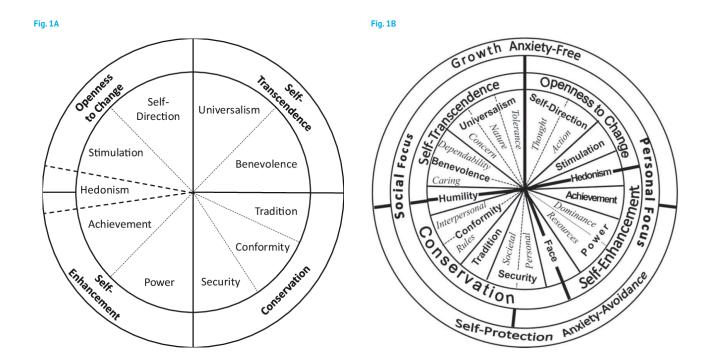


Fig. 1 - The original circular motivational continuum (A) of 10 basic human values and the 4 higher order values from Schwartz et al. (2012) and (B) for the refined values, four higher order values and underlying dynamic sources. Note. Both (A) and (B) are adapted from "Refining the theory of basic individual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



WHAT VALUES DO AFS PROGRAMS SEEK TO ENCOURAGE THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE?

AFS seeks to encourage 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-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. Across countries, of the 10 values, benevolence is often the most important value on average, and power is the least important value. 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. Therefore, AFS participants might already hold them with high importance, but we tested if these values are more important to them than to other adolescents in Italy.

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 the social environment of AFS participants 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. We therefore tested if there is greater increase in universalism values in AFS participants who visited countries that emphasise such values more (countries higher on the cultural dimension of egalitarianism, see Schwartz, 1999).

VALUE CHANGE

Values are based on stable sources: Our genetics, our culture, our upbringing and other childhood experiences (Twito-Weingarten, & Knafo-Noam, 2022). 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). This means that if for any reason power values increase in priority, this is likely to result with a decrease in the importance of universalism.

The most prevalent process found for value change is a process of adjustment to life circumstances (e.g., Bardi et al., 2009).

There is growing evidence that people tend to value what they can achieve, and not value what cannot be achieved (e.g., Daniel et al., 2022). 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. To illustrate, a longitudinal study in schools showed that school climate, as reported by teachers, predicted a change in pupils' values 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. Therefore, in our study we also measured supportive school climate perceived by the students, to see if it contributed to an increase in the priority of universalism values.

There is very little research on value change 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 adolescents raised by warm parents developed selftranscendence (kindness) values, which include universalism (e.g., García et al., 2018). If educators have similar roles of impact on adolescents, then it is possible that warm educators are more likely to end up with pupils who endorse kindness values, including universalism. Hence, we tested whether AFS participants who had warm people around them experienced an increase in universalism values more than others. We also tested whether AFS participants who took part in community activities experienced a greater increase in universalism values.

METHODOLOGY

In our study, we aimed to understand the impact of international programmes on pupils' values. Our focus was on adolescents aged 16 to 18 who participated in AFS Intercultural Programs. We involved Italian pupils going abroad and international pupils hosted in Italy, participating in either a three-month or a one-year programme.

The heart of our research was a longitudinal approach, tracking over 1,300 participants through a series of surveys at different stages of their exchange experience: before, during, and after their stays in host countries. The online surveys, available in Italian, English, and Spanish, incorporated the Portrait Values Questionnaire Revised



The heart of our research was a longitudinal approach, tracking over 1,300 participants.

(PVQRR, see Schwartz & Cieciuch, 2022), along with specific attention-check items. We also explored various aspects at different times, from background information and leisure activities to the quality of relationships formed and participation in local activities, such as volunteering.

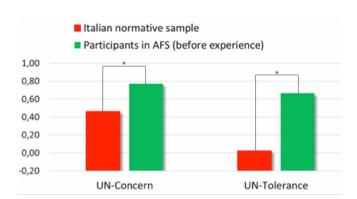
Our preliminary findings are based on valid responses from 80% of the participants. Notably, the majority of respondents were Italian students engaged in year-long programmes, with 70% identifying as female. More than fifty countries, both as hosts and senders, were involved.

KEY FINDINGS

We first examined whether AFS/ Intercultura participants, before the start of the programme, were different from the general population in the importance they assign to Universalism values. We asked: "Is our sample different from what is normative for the Italian high-school pupils?" To this aim, we compared two samples. The first group is composed of 681 AFS/Intercultura participants (i.e., the Italian pupils from both the one-year and three-month programs) who completed the questionnaire at Time 1 (T1). The second is a relatively large sample (n= 331) of the same age, taken from the general population of Italian high school pupils (unpublished data). Results have shown that, compared to the general population, Intercultura participants assign more importance to both Universalism-Concern (commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people) and Universalism-Tolerance (acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself). As can be shown in **Figure 2**, the average differences were quite remarkable, especially for the Tolerance dimension. This might suggest that, for Intercultura participants, Universalism values were so important at the beginning of the study, before the experience abroad, that there might have not been much potential for a further increase.

As a next step, we ask: "Do values change during and after the experience abroad? If yes, what is the average trend?" To address this issue, we focused on the Italian students who

Fig. 2 - Average importance assigned to Universalism values. Higher scores reflect higher importance.

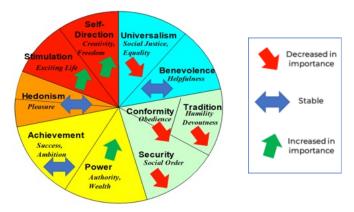


Returning to Universalism, **Figures 4 and 5** provide more details regarding the trend observed for Universalism-Concern and -Tolerance. Results revealed that the importance assigned to Universalism-Concern slightly decreased from the first to the fourth (and last) measurement occasion. Of interest, as can be shown in **Figure 4**, we observed a small, nonsignificant, increase in correspondence of the last wave, thus right after

spent 1 year abroad, which also represents the largest group (n = 779) available in this study. As represented in **Figure 3**, we found that Universalism-Concern and Universalism-Tolerance tended to decrease in importance during the experience abroad. Power-Resources, by contrast, increased in importance. Thus, Universalism and Power exhibited changes in opposite directions.

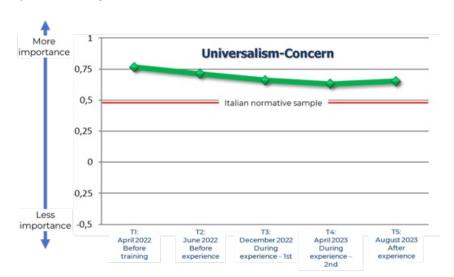
This is consistent with Schwartz's value theory, as Universalism and Power are conflicting values that lie in opposite parts of the circle, and such patterns were found in previous longitudinal studies (Bardi et al., 2009). An increase in Power values has been found in adolescents before, so this may be part of general development (Daniel & Benish-Weisman, 2019). Among the other values, Self-Direction and Stimulation, which belong to the Openness to Change dimension, increased in importance. On the other hand, the Conservation values of Conformity, Security, and Tradition, all decreased in importance over the waves of the study. The other values (Benevolence, Hedonism, Achievement) were stable (i.e., they neither increased nor decreased over time).

Fig. 3 -How pupils' values change during the experience abroad



the experience. We are not in the position to establish whether this is the beginning of a new, increasing trend or it just represents a random fluctuation around an overall, declining trend. We will therefore continue to study the participants some months after their return to see if there is a later increase in universalism values, perhaps after having time to process their experience.

Fig. 4 - Mean level changes in Universalism-Concern.



A similar declining tendency was found for Universalism-Tolerance, which exhibited an even weaker, though statistically significant, decline (see **Figure 5**). We can therefore conclude that both universalism values tended to decrease in importance across the four waves of the study. Despite this decrease, however, the importance assigned to these values throughout the study remained much higher than in the general population.

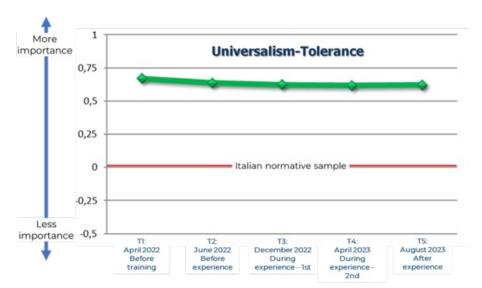
It is important to note that the above results provide only a general picture, representing change at the mean level. A further important result observed in our study is that not all pupils changed in the same way over time. In other words, we observed significant variations across the sample in the way universalism values changed during and after the experience. In an attempt to explain these individual differences, we examined the role of the variables, measured in the last wave of the survey, regarding the perceived quality of relationships with people, school

climate (Berson & Oreg, 2016), and participation in local activities, such as volunteering. We found that two of these variables exert a significant effect on how Universalism-Concern changed. One variable refers to perceived warmth. Each participant was asked, "how many people from the host country were perceived as especially warm".

Fig. 5 - Mean level changes in Universalism-Tolerance.

Responses were distributed as follows: "none" (2.3%), "yes, one" (3.2%), "yes, a few" (47.7%)", and "yes, quite a lot" (46.8%). Of interest, we found that pupils scoring high (i.e., those who said that several people from the host country were especially warm), did not decrease over time in the importance they assigned to Universalism-Concern. That is, universalism levels of these participants started high and remained high throughout the study. By contrast, pupils with mean or low scores, namely those reporting few or no warm people, followed a different trajectory of change, showing a significant decrease in the importance assigned to Universalism-Concern.

A second variable refers to pupils' participation in activities of the community in the host country. Participants were asked "Did you participate in activities that contribute to the community in your host country (such as volunteering)?" Forty-two percent responded "no", 49% "yes, occasionally", and 8.5% "yes, regularly".



We found that pupils who did not participate in the community decreased significantly in the importance they assigned to Universalism-Concern. On the other hand, for those who participated (either occasionally or regularly), Universalism-Concern remained high and stable. In sum, these variables were able to explain, at least in part, why and how universalism values changed during and after the experience.

We did not find similar effects for the other variables. This is the case, for example, of school climate. In this regard, we found that all pupils decreased approximately in the same way in the importance assigned to Universalism-Concern, regardless of how the school climate was perceived (as more or less supportive). Another variable that has been considered is the egalitarianism level of the country, a cultural orientation that leads individuals to see each other as equal (Siegel, Licht, & Schwartz, 2012). The level of egalitarianism assigned to the countries considered in the present study was taken from previous research that has applied Schwartz's (1992) model at the country level. Utilising this information, we were able to classify countries based on their level of egalitarianism. This

variable did not have a reliable effect on how Universalism values changed. That is, the trend observed in the importance assigned to these values during and after the experience was the same for all countries, regardless of the egalitarianism level of the host culture.

CONCLUSIONS

AFS participants already value universalism highly before embarking on the international exchange. During the international exchange, their values of universalism do not increase in priority, but even sometimes decrease a little. It is possible that the decrease in universalism priority during their stay abroad is because encountering people who are very different from them is practically difficult. However, warmth from people around the students and taking part in community activities seemed to have protected students from such a decrease in the priority of universalism-concern (social justice and equality). Hence, we conclude that these are important features to try to encourage in programs in the host countries.

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Different target groups, different narratives or just keep on doing what we do?

A reply to "What happens to exchange pupils' values during their life abroad?" from a practical perspective



Experiment Germany



he findings of the project "What happens to exchange pupils' values during their life abroad?" presented by Anat Bardi, Mattia Baiutti and Michele Vecchione are from a practitioner's perspective interesting and thought provoking. There are, of course many results some bigger and some smaller that could and should be discussed in great detail also between research and practitioners. I would like to specifically point out three aspects that seem relevant to the everyday work of those working in the organizations in the field. First, I would like to share some thoughts around the idea that we already attract those participants with high levels of universalism. Second, I want to appreciate the role of the host family and host community as support by the research. And last, discuss results and

impact of our programs in light of the

presented results.

100 YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT EXCHANGE

International student and youth exchange has been around for almost 100 years now. From the early adventurous start with busses, ships and long travel journeys of only a handful of young explorers to nowadays (in some countries) thousands of students from all over the world spending a semester or high school year abroad we have come a long way. However, key character traits and key competencies have always been central for a successful completion of the programs: curiosity, quest for the unknown, resilience, trust in oneself and the unknown host family, have been present throughout the many decades of student exchange.

Our understanding – at least from a practitioner's perspective - on why we as organizations have been able to attract these young people to our programs, why it has been such a longstanding success

story even if in our digital age a young person from another country seems to be just there at our fingertips through YouTube, Tiktok, Instagram and other tools, has incompletely been studied and identified.

The research done by Anat Bardi, Mattia Baiutti and Michele Vecchione has therefore shed light on an important research gap with regards to claims that we as organizations have been making almost forever vis-a-vis students and their (fee paying) parents, but also vis-a-vis governments in attempts to loosen regulations and funders and the society in general with regards to the benefits a program participation will bring. Fostering universalism values have among others played an important part in that narrative over the past.

While our narratives and arguments have been quite successful and many organization highlight the impact our programs have up to visionary ideas of world



Among them are the question of whom are we attracting in our programs? Are they and if yes how are they different to peers and those who do not go abroad?

peace, there is a second side to that. Framing our programs as a way to generate impact and development is an important focus of our marketing activities, we have to, however, always be mindful in not portraying our programs as ONLY being "useful" or as ONLY being a "tool" for societal change. We also want our programs to be seen as an addition and a contribution we as civil society organizations with our distinct perspective and as mission driven actors can provide in shaping young generations as global citizens in our societies.

DIFFERENT NARRATIVES - DIFFERENT TARGET GROUPS?

The results of the study "What happens to exchange pupils' values during their life abroad?" now shed light on some important and rather fundamental questions of "our" participants in our programs. Among them are the question of whom are we attracting in our programs? Are they and if yes how are they different to peers and those who do not go abroad? In line with these questions the result of the study also raises somewhat different but from a practical perspective equally important questions:

What group of students in each cohort are we as organizations actually able to reach with our programs?

From a numbers perspective the answer to that question may seem irrelevant at first, but organizations in many countries worldwide feel an increased pressure to diversify their group of participants and are working harder to include participants who previously have not been participating in high numbers in long term student exchange programs. Governments and funders have raised questions on the "elite" status of our programs and the career-building components accelerating the idea of using our programs as "tools" to foster economic prosperity for the individual in the future. Criticism many organizations have rebuked by pointing at the way the organizations highlight intercultural learning, cross cultural understanding



and peace. Still, we have to acknowledge that the findings of the study could indicate that our program do attaract a certain group among those who already have a high prevalence in universalism values. These results can renew the criticism and can call into question the broad societal effect organizations have claimed their programs produce. There is still enough evidence to support all claims we as organizations have been emphasizing for years, it will be, however, helpful to sharpen our arguments and narratives around the reach and appeal of our programs and the reason for being not only form an individual but also from a societal point of view.

Do we as organizations have to be more inclusive then? Do we have to change the way we speak about our programs? What is the "alternative" narrative?

These questions seem obvious by looking at the result of the study and if diversifying our participants is the call of the day, it can be seen as a necessity to counter some of the above-mentioned criticism of student exchange. However, a successful program is more than just recruiting participants to our programs. Interviews, seminars, partner organizations abroad, schools, host families, staff at our partners, travel providers etc. etc. all play a role – big and small – in providing for a safe and at the same time enriching sometimes life changing, always challenging experience. We take pride in pointing out the many positive examples of participants in our programs but



privately also acknowledge that not all program participations are as wonderful as we would like to have them. Leaders in government, finance, economy or social entrepreneurship are important role models for future participants and also help us exemplify the manifold contributions exchange programs provide for society. There is always a fine line to walk between enlarging our target groups and the overall support we can provide for each individual. Financial restraints seldomly enable us to include large numbers of "different" participants who may have different support systems, different experiences may or may not be less independent and may need more counselling and face to face interaction than those with already high levels of universalism values and who have backgrounds that offer a different kind of support. It is important to recognize these obstacles in enlarging our target groups. They are, however, by now means and excuse not to tackle the issue of a relatively homogenous group of participants in our programs. The question remains just how much can we change the composition of our cohorts to keep our programs working. Maybe in a more provocative way: are we ready to accept possible changes in the way exchange programs are perceived and run in order to counter the diversity criticism of our programs? And even a step before that: do we have the expertise to reach those who have not been reached by us in the past? These questions must ultimately be answered by each organization individually. A certain change in the composition of our cohorts might just not be as easy as some have claimed in the past and even if they seem obvious to inching closer to a more representative composition of our participants.

Still the results of the study at least sheds light on the way we market our programs and should let us practitioners pause for a moment before we use that same narrative again that directly speaks to those, whose values are already close-

ly aligned with what could or should be the result of an exchange program.

It also forces us to not stop at the way the exchange programs are present to young people and beyond, but also encourages us to look at our internal processes and our long-standing ways of doing what we do. In many organizations the selection process is supported by returnees of long-term student exchange programs. Young people who have experienced firsthand the challenges along the way and the positive effects of their participation. What do they believe to be necessary values in future participants to select them for a program participation? How do they connect their value changes (knowingly or unknowingly) to their selection decision for scholarships but also regular program participants? Whom do they trust to profit and benefit more from these programs? Are they as open to encourage peers whose values are different from their own and maybe especially the high prevalence of universalism values is not obvious among a different group of participants than previously present in selection processes?

By highlighting these possible hurdles in enlarging the group of participants also with regards to our internal processes, I want in no way let the organizations of the hook in doing more to enlarging the potential and actual group of participants in order to make student exchange

participants look more like the cross section of society. The way exchange programs are portrayed, certain values are especially dominant in marketing and the common perception of exchange programs. Pictures of young people having fun together, social media takeovers of participants having "the best year of their life" and self-confident, outspoken and smiling teenagers talking about their experiences present role models and "helpful" competences, character traits and values that may or may not speak to youngsters who do not (yet) share all of these competences. And we also portray and message universalism values in the way our marketing is done. By highlighting our impact and the manifold experiences participants in our programs have made for their individual development we as organizations should also present different narratives for success in our programs and be mindful of the power of different positive "outcomes" of program participation. While those different narratives may not be the ones appropriate for all, in our less homogenous societies there are most definitely areas in which those additional narratives attract young people willing to try other live changing experiences and will be new role models and will highlight maybe different values, competences and skills that - in general - foster our cause in being drivers of individual development and societal change in our programs. I will come back to that aspect in the third section.

SUPPORT FOR A FUNDAMENTAL COMPONENT OF EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

Bardi, Baiutti and Vecchione have in another part of their findings highlighted a fundamental component of student exchange program: the host family and the new social group participants enter in contact with. Having someone to talk to, someone to help explain the - sometimes confusing - realities of the new life in a different country is fundamental for a positive experience. Finding people to talk to, to share experiences with and to build a new network of trusted individuals is a key success factor organizations highlight in the pre-departure orientation. Becoming active, try (new) hobbies, approaching people and having tolerance for different

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approaches seem obvious advice. Putting these ideas into practice necessitate a certain mindset, a certain (positive) experience in implementing them and values aligned with them.

In addition, participants in student exchange programs are in many ways dependent on the benevolence of unknown strangers who open their house and heart to a youngster from a different country they have never met. This dependency has long been a point of concern for organizations who have tried manifold ways in reducing that dependency, supporting participants in enlarging their circle of support persons during their program participation and using new (virtual) ways to increase communication channels to the host organization while maintaining all the effective tools participants develop on their own in solving situations and learning for life during their program participation.

The findings in particular seem to be a enormous impulse in keeping that fundamental part of an exchange program in place and putting all necessary support in preparing host families for their vital role in facilitating a positive exchange without overwhelming them. The pure sense of comfort and ability to support the participant in his or her own development seem to be "enough" in keeping universalism values high and flowing – a great acknowledgement of the decades old concept of student exchange and its basic concept of hosting students in a host family.

YOUTH EXCHANGE IS NOT A "TOOL"

Thirdly, I want to return back to the political implications of the study and the question of who do we (societies, organizations and also individuals) want to see in our programs and what do we want participants to learn, do, experience on a practical level and what long-term implications – value change or not - should we want to see in a program participation.

1. We don't run programs to plan for a value change

The principal idea of running exchange programs among civil society organizations is deeply ground in the idea of fostering world peace, intercultural understanding and global friendship. By organizing exchange programs our perspective is not on the individual development but on the collective power of individual interactions and the long-term effects of learning about different perspectives and understanding the positive contributions of these different perspective to an ever-changing world. Organizations organizing student exchange seem to struggle with the underlying democratic empowerment that is fostered through these programs as well and have for many years almost declined that this is an intention. While peace education, civic engagement and democratic values were always part of these programs, for many years and among many organizations they were not talked about. In addition, no exchange program is conducted with the intention of fostering a value



change in a young person. Programs are educational but with a clear focus on a non-formal, open and individual "result" of each program participation. We encourage participants to be open for what is to come and to provide them with tools to develop the competencies and to maximize their program experience both through good times and challenging days. There is a distinct difference between experiencing a likely value change (e.g. of universalism values) as a positive and welcomed "byproduct" of a program participation and arranging all aspects of the program from start to finish to make sure the value change WILL happen as the sole or most important purpose of organizing such a program. Exchange organization will probably always focus on the welcomed "byproduct" - as long as our group of participants already has those levels of values that in our view are helpful in our programs. It would be interesting to have research on other programs, where organizations deliberately target previously unreached group

of young people and to asses values before their travel abroad and possible value changes. I look forward to that research!

2. Political perspectives on our programs are legitimate but have to be broad

The utopia of world peace and mutual intercultural understanding has not yet been achieved (if it ever will) and therefore it is understandable that there is a political perspective and expectation on intercultural exchange programs. Preventing racism, reducing conflict (also within societies) and raising democratic values are among those that are closely attributed to exchange programs in many countries - even though mostly by actors outside of our field. While these possible positive results are shared by many organizations in the field of exchanges, there needs to be a mindfulness about additional positive outcomes that may or may not be so closely linked to the political expectations of these programs. Exchange programs provide participants with many personal changes that might be internal, might not have anything to do with the "outer world". Participants go on our programs also for personal reasons - escaping a difficult situation at home, wanting to be a different person in a different context, wanting to try something new and different. These personal motivations are as legitimate as all the political ideas and expectations and do enrich our societies but in a much broader definition and perspective. There needs to be an understanding from a

political perspective that there is so much more to exchange programs than a rather narrow perspective on the desired outcomes. Decades of youth exchange have shown that programs contribute to global citizens, global friendships, more trade, more cooperation, a more interconnected world. There does not have to be a too narrow focus on "outcomes" with regards to value change. Our perception is, that these changes occur as a byproduct while empowering young people in many more and much broader ways that help them individually to grow and maybe become responsible and resilient individuals and leaders. That also indicates that the study is maybe just the beginning of much more research in this particular area, helping us organizations to understand what we see in new and other terms than we have previously looked at.

3. Don't forget the young people themselves

Lastly, and maybe most importantly, we should never forget the perspective of the young people applying for our programs. What are their hopes and dreams for their program participation? What role models to they follow? Why do they choose a rather uncommon destination like Vietnam or Estonia even if their peers chose the US, Kanada or Ireland? What is their motivation in learning a completely foreign language? Who or what is pushing them out to go and what is pulling them in to come to a country formerly unknow to them? What does change during their program participation and how "different" are they after their time abroad?

We don't have many fact based answers to these questions. There have been studies here and there, but some of them are (very) old, some of them only cover a tiny aspect or a only a specific group. These and many more questions can and should, however, be kept in mind when looking at our participants in our exchange programs. Providing our participants with a safe, secure, enriching and enjoyable program experience is and should be our utmost priority. Adding program components that can foster certain aspects of value behavior as suggested by the study are in no way counterproductive. They need to be used with caution and with a certain restraint. We do not want to change the overall experience in a program participation simply to enlarge the desired value change for some with

unreasonable "costs" for others. Young people on our programs – while maybe being similar in terms of their prevalence in universalism values – are highly different in their intensions, longings and preferences. It is our task as exchange organizations to provide them with tools to manage their individual program participation in ways enabling them to experience their own personal program. That program has its rules and regulations but does not create a mainstreamed group of young people who feel, think and act similarly. Rather we want to celebrate the diversity of perspectives and highlight the positive impact of our programs for each individual with each personal background.

I have only covered pieces of three aspects – target group, host family and impact of our programs – in this article and have tried present some of the discussions in the practitioner's world. The last decade has seen some changes in the way we look at our programs and the way we find bridges to civic education, citizenship education and fostering democratic competences, just to name a few. We need the interaction between research and practice to each gain a better understanding of what is happening and what could be happening with the programs we run we all to deeply believe in.

Thank you to Anat Bardi, Mattia Baiutti and Michele Vecchione again for your scientific contribution and for sheading light on the important questions of value change in participants of exchange programs. In understanding that value changes are not as prevalent as expected and understanding that our programs already attract a group of young people who already have high levels of universalism values you indirectly ask questions on the way we as exchange organizations present the experiences in our programs, on our internal processes and operations but also on the way societies and the political arena regards the value of exchange programs. In all of these areas the contribution of exchange programs is not in question, but needs constant alignment to new perspectives, new demands and new generations of young people keeping the exchange programs on their feet and as a vital part in fostering our common goal of understand, friendship and ultimately world peace.

Measuring the impact of the exchanges

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ntercultural travel is in my blood. My own cultural adventure started with AFS Belgium-Flanders. My AFS year abroad (Thailand, 1994-1995) and subsequent volunteering (1995-2004) shaped me to who I am today. Later, I moved with my family from Belgium to the United Kingdom (then still part of the EU). In my professional live, I have been researching student sojourners (incl. AFS students) and migrants from an acculturation perspective for nearly 2 decades. Through both my personal and research background, I have learned to appreciate how profound intercultural encounters can be. Challenging at times, but also enriching in a myriad of ways. It is through this lens that I look at the research by Anat Bardi, Mattia Baiutti, Roberto Ruffino, and Michele Vecchione on value change in exchange students.

I will discuss the research in terms of

ing remarks.

values, its temporal aspects, and the role

of culture, and finish with some conclud-

VALUES

The topic of research, values, is well chosen, as they are at the core of what defines us as humans and partly drives our self, behaviour, and attitudes. Readers will likely be familiar with the work on cultural dimensions by Geert Hofstede. The values research, initiated by Shalom Schwartz, is similar to the research on cultural dimensions, but more robust as it allows to distinguish between values endorsed by individuals (at the individual level) and values that are indicative for cultures (so at the culture or macro level). It is a great framework to look at the effects of intercultural exchanges.

TIME

The research looks at change over time. It is great to see the longitudinal nature of this research. For a long time this was relatively uncommon, but it has gained traction in the last decade. It is fantastic to see this emerge here as well. The longitudinal design did also leave me with two questions.

First, are there any subpopulations in value change? I appreciate that some of the analyses examined the role of individual differences. Yet, it is possible that there are distinct subpopulations. Example of this is the work of Peter Titzmann looking at different patterns of identity in migrant youth. Or our own work that looks at different stress trajectories across a one year time period in AFS students (Demes & Geeraert, 2015). It would be interesting to investigate subpopulations in this sample as well.

Second, are we measuring the right construct? Relatedly, are we measuring the construct at the right level of analysis? Values are thought to be core to human thinking and behaviour. Values could be thought of as being at the centre of the self. Perhaps changes to values cannot occur directly, but must happen over time and indirectly through changes in behaviour and thinking. If this is true, than we should perhaps measure these constructs in addition.

THE ROLE OF CULTURE

Does the process and outcome of an intercultural exchange differs by culture? Put differently, do the cultural characteristics of sending and hosting countries play a role? These could be cultural level values, but these could also be different characteristics. This intriguing question could be explored in different ways:

Sending country. Individuals from one country, say Italy, will have been exposed to very different values then individuals from another country, say Belgium. Consequently, they may be more tuned in to the values they had been previously exposed to, or it could work the other way, they may be more interested and intrigued by the values that are new to them.

Hosting country. Individuals going to different countries will also be exposed to different values. An individual travelling from Italy to the US may be exposed to Mastery values. An Italian student to Thailand would likely encounter more Hierarchy values.

Interaction. A third option might be that a specific combination of countries will provide a unique set of circumstances in which these changes may occur. That could mean that a certain pair of countries or a certain 'cultural distance' may be more challenging than other sets of countries.

In our own work (Geeraert et al., 2019) we explored these ideas in the context of how exchange students navigate social norms when living abroad. We demonstrated that tightness (strong, rigidly imposed social norms) of the host culture was associated with lower levels of adaptation and that tightness of the home culture was associated with higher levels of adaptation. Interestingly, the effect of cultural tightness was influenced by personality.







Finally, I want to reflect on the impact of a year abroad. Imagine a scenario in which the exchange experience changes students values in all the right directions. What would that mean? How would that advance the intercultural mission? Will it change the world?

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Finally, I want to reflect on the impact of a year abroad. Imagine a scenario in which the exchange experience changes students values in all the right directions. What would that mean? How would that advance the intercultural mission? Will it change the world? Perhaps it would, but it would require some sort of spreading effect of this 'goodness' to others. We could call this vicarious value change. Perhaps that could be achieved by the exchange students making their mark on the world, potentially through volunteering, etc. An alternative possibility, is that the positive effect of the exchange, the 'goodness' is in fact limited to the individual? If that is the case, we need to think what the end game would look like. Perhaps it would

mean that every single individual ought to participate in some sort of cultural mobility, of which AFS and Erasmus are an example.

The above is merely a thought exercise, as we don't yet fully know the impact of the exchange. So I leave you with a quote, which has been attributed to Albert Einstein:

If we knew what it was we were doing, it would not be called research, would it?

This suggests that research is important. It help us understand the world, and evaluate AFS programs. That includes looking at what works and what doesn't work. It is great to see this important research emerging, and I commend the authors of this important work.

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Intercultural Mobility's Potential for Promoting Holistic Development: Tools for the Journey



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nderstanding the complexity with which students enter and return from mobility and exchange experiences is no small task, requiring a variety of data analyzed over a period of time. Assessing intercultural development, competence, and values when the starting points, conditions, and particulars of the experience vary from pupil to pupil, is slippery to be sure. The community of teacher-learners involved this 12th Forum on Intercultural Learning and Exchange (FILE) continued a robust, thought-provoking conversation around student values and objectives such as intercultural (or transcultural) understanding, appreciation of difference, respect for human rights, and global citizenship. In this latest iteration of FILE, the call was to "assess whether pupils' mobility is indeed a tool to shape better world citizens and to nourish solidarity and respect for differences among young people, leading to active participa-

tion in society" (Fondazione Intercultura ets, 2023). In particular, I was invited to engage those in attendance in considering what might help students pursue their values, focusing on agency—ultimately "linking values to behavior." To do so, I aimed to provide: 1) a research-based developmental framework, 2) example of a method used to garner access to students' development, and 3) strategies for designing experiences that lead to students' growth toward the outcomes mentioned above (and the developmental change that underlies those outcomes).

I purposefully chose an interactive presentation format in order to not only tell, but show FILE attendees what the developmental model for practice might "look like;" therefore this somewhat unconventional manuscript will also document how I presented the material (using prompts and questions to involve and guide conference participants). My session agenda included

naming some specific learning outcomes that these exchange and mobility educators have for students, examining those outcomes in light of the developmental framework shared, recognizing how the assessment method offered might help educators better understand their pupils' current development, and applying the data-driven model presented to practice. These three "tools"—the framework of "Self-authorship" theory from Kegan (1994) and Baxter Magolda (2004, 2010), the "Self-portrait" assessment method (Welkener & Baxter Magolda, 2014), and the "Learning Partnerships Model" (Baxter Magolda, 2004)—can prepare those leading exchange and mobility programs with a working knowledge of their students' holistic development, as well as practical lessons for how to move them toward greater capacity to act on their intercultural competence, demonstrate appreciation of differences, and live out respect for the rights of all.



The first question I posed to the FILE community was "what do you want your students to be able to know, do, or be like from experiencing intercultural mobility or exchange; what are your hopes for competencies or outcomes?

SELF-AUTHORSHIP THEORY AS A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING STUDENTS' DEVELOPMENT

The first question I posed to the FILE community was "what do you want your students to be able to know, do, or be like from experiencing intercultural mobility or exchange; what are your hopes for competencies or outcomes?" When, as educators, we say we want students to have understanding and respect for others, agency, and the ability to be constructive participants in a global society, what we desire is a certain developmental complexity; specifically, what Kegan (1994) called "self-authorship." He referred to this capacity as a place of "personal authority" where one can "coordinate, integrate, act upon, or invent values, beliefs, convictions, generalizations, ideals, abstractions, interpersonal loyalties, and intrapersonal states" (p. 185).

Kegan claimed that holistic development occurs along three, intertwined dimensions—cognitive (relating to one's construction of knowledge), intrapersonal (concerning sense of self/identity), and interpersonal (involving how one conceives of relationships with others). These are the features central to understanding and promoting students' transformations that intercultural leaders should explore. For example, the expectation of students to "appreciate differences" would necessitate they have the developmental means to recognize the value of multiple perspectives (cognitive), an internal identity that is not

threatened by difference, and the ability to engage in complex interpersonal relationships.

Baxter Magolda (2004, 2010) built on the foundation of Kegan's work and brought self-authorship theory to bear on studying college student development and post-college adult development. She conducted a seminal, longitudinal study examining the developmental journeys of participants entering college as adolescents through and into their 40s. A proponent of intercultural competence, she advanced the notion of "cognitive maturity," "mature relationships," and "an integrated identity" as contemporary college learning outcomes and argued that "maturity in these three areas combines to enable effective citizenship—coherent, ethical action for the good of both the individual and the larger community" (2004, p. 6). Thus, her work maps the developmental pathways desired for pupils engaged in exchange or mobility programs.

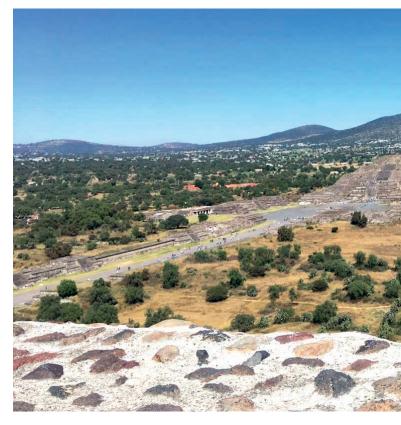
The narratives from Baxter Magolda's (2010) inquiry traced an evolution of meaning-making marked by movement from external to internal influences. The data exhibited a pattern of "three phases on the journey" of participants' development. The first phase, where the individual is reliant on others to define their beliefs, values, identities, and social relations, she labeled as "Following External Formulas." The second phase, described as the "Crossroads," is where the individual is caught

between an emerging internal voice (the beginnings of self-authorship) and lingering external demands; a transitional phase of internal conflict when it comes to deciding what to believe, how to view self, and what kind of relationships to pursue. Finally, "Self-Authorship" is where the internal voice takes center stage and can mediate external expectations. The individual can make choices about knowledge, identity, and others that are informed, but not determined, by their social surround.

After discussing this developmental trajectory, the second prompt I gave FILE attendees asked them to (re)consider their learning outcomes in terms of students' current developmental capabilities. If self-authorship is required for meeting the demands of ideal global citizenship such as transcultural understanding, celebration of difference, and genuine respect for human rights, where does this work begin with pupils in secondary schools? Where are students presently in their developmental journeys and what is reasonable to expect as a next step, knowing that such transformation requires time, experience, and an appropriate balance of challenge and support? I asked conference members to circle back to their original learning outcomes and discuss with someone seated next to them what they might need to revise in order to meet students where they are and lead them toward the next level of complexity. Quite often, upon such reflection, multiple midsteps become apparent to adequately scaffold students toward reaching the intended objectives.

SELF-PORTRAIT METHOD AS FORMATIVE DEVELOPMENTAL ASSESSMENT

Most contemporary developmental theories, including those by Kegan (1994), and Baxter Magolda (2004, 2010) have come from qualitative studies where interviews were the primary method of data collection. Spending years as a visual artist prior to studying education, I have advocated for some time that non-traditional techniques provide additional unique, invaluable insights into human meaning-making. Based on my dissertation work (Welkener, 2000, 2004), Baxter Magolda and I collaborated to use a form of arts-based educational research and visual inquiry to seek developmental data through the use of "self-portraits" (Welkener & Baxter Magolda, 2014). College students were asked to use materials of their



choosing to create something that represented how they view knowledge (cognitive), define who they are (intrapersonal), and make decisions about relationships (interpersonal). We asked them not to rely on words as the chief instrument for communicating their thoughts, and emphasized that we did not expect "artistic" outcomes, but placed primary importance on their ideas. We also had them complete a writing exercise and face-to-face interview to triangulate the data, examining their consistency. The results were remarkable in terms of an opportunity for students to share facets of themselves that a conversation alone would not be sufficient to elicit.

I shared a sample self-portrait with FILE colleagues using the participant's images, descriptions, and written remarks (see Welkener & Baxter Magolda, 2014, for specifics of the study and figures showing details from the student self-por-



trait). As I invited educational practitioners around the room to locate the student's current capacity based on what they saw and heard, they were quick to identify where and how her self-portrait evidences elements of following external formulas. However, some noted that the student's frustration with those formulas and how she does not "fit" within them suggested that she is at the crossroads. Collectively, the group came to the realization that she cannot prioritize and act on her own voice and therefore it was determined that she is not yet able to self-author her experience—an accurate assessment.

I paused again to ask FILE attendees if this self-portrait method could serve as a tool for formatively accessing and assessing students' meaning-making in their learning contexts. Specifically, "what kinds of responses would you anticipate; what might it help you learn about them?" A scholarly approach to

our work with students requires that we operate from data, making thoughtful choices about what kind of data to collect, and how we can use them to make informed judgments about practice.

LEARNING PARTNERSHIPS MODEL AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR GUIDING PRACTICE

Baxter Magolda (2004) utilized the narratives from her longitudinal work to create the Learning Partnerships Model (LPM) that contains assumptions and specific principles that can be employed to design practice. The assumptions, which serve as vehicles for challenge, and the principles, which serve as vehicles of support, were empirically derived from ways that study participants indirectly (or directly) identified change toward increasing complexity of their thinking, self-view, and social relating.

The assumptions are that:

- "Knowledge is complex and socially constructed...
- Self is central to knowledge construction... [and]
- Authority and expertise [are] shared in [the] mutual construction of knowledge among peers" (pp. 41-42).

The principles are to:

- "Validate learners' capacity to know...
- Situate learning in [the] learner's experience... [and]
- Define learning as mutually constructing meaning" (p. 41).

The structure of the LPM reflects the fundamental role the dimensions of development mentioned earlier (cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal) play. For example, "knowledge is complex and socially constructed" is an assumption that recognizes and challenges the cognitive domain, and "defin[ing] learning as mutually constructing meaning" is a principle that addresses and supports the interpersonal domain. The assumptions and principles above, in the order they are listed under each category, acknowledge the importance of cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal dimensions (respectively). In addition to the benefit of the LPM employing a holistic approach, it has the flexibility to be utilized in any type of context, curricular or co-curricular, and on any scale, from one-on-one with a student, to a large group. Most advantageous for those involved in FILE, it is a practical model with which to promote "values-based reflection," as well as help move students

from holding values to being able to act on them—two critical challenges discussed at this year's gathering.

I briefly paused again for attendees to conduct one final brainstorming session with a peer to "try out" the LPM, asking "how
might you apply these assumptions and principles in the work you
do with students; what specific actions can you take using the
LPM to move students forward in their developmental journeys?"
For instance, what if you operate from the assumption that "self
is central to knowledge construction" and intentionally "situate
learning in the learner's experience"—what are some ways you
can encourage them to make links between their learning in the
world and what is happening in their "interior world?" Perhaps you
ask them to compare a cultural experience they had during their
study abroad immersion to a song that holds meaning for them,
or character from popular culture that they relate to, and describe
why they made their choice, analyzing what values it reflects (and
rejects). Such purposeful contemplation on and interrogation of

one's own meaning-making holds promise for jostling an adolescent learner out of unquestioningly following external formulas and leading them on a path toward the crossroads, or eventually (ideally) self-authorship. Intercultural mobility, by its nature of moving individuals outside of their "normal" and "regular" settings and positioning them to "see" things in new ways, sets the stage for transformation to occur—the addition of intentional practices like those the LPM provides can elevate learning experiences to developmental shifts.

In this session and paper, I hope I not only shared tools—a developmental framework, potential method for assessing development, and practical model for promoting development—related to inspiring abroad and exchange students' journey from values to action, but that I modeled the way as well (by how I demonstrated the LPM during our time together).

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Agency, Values, and Intercultural Mobility

A Commentary on Michele M. Welkener: Intercultural Mobility's Potential for Promoting Holistic Development: Tools for the Journey

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he ability to act with agency, that is make choices and take purposeful action, is a fundamental aspect of human development. Agency allows individuals to shape their own lives, pursue goals aligned with their values, and contribute to their communities

in meaningful ways (Bakan, 1966; Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012). As young people navigate the process of identity formation and develop a sense of self-authorship, the interplay between agency and values becomes particularly salient. This interplay takes on added complexity in today's globalized world, where intercultural experiences and exposure to diverse values systems are increasingly common (Daniel et al., 2012). Further complicating this landscape is the presence of social media in the lives of today's youth (Smahel et al., 2020; Subrahmanyam, 2011). Intercultural experiences and social media exposure offer unique opportunities, and challenges, to adolescents forming their agency.

In the following paragraphs, I aim to critically examine the interplay between agency and values, within the process of identity development and self authorship. By integrating theoretical perspectives from psychology, moral development, and cultural studies, this paper seeks to shed light on the following key questions: What is agency, and how it is related to values? How are values developing within processes of self-authorship and identity formation? How do conceptions of agency and self-authorship vary across cultures, and what implications does this hold for educators? In what ways are traditional markers of agency being transformed or redefined in the digital age, and can educators leverage these shifts to foster positive youth development? By addressing these questions, I endeavor to contribute to ongoing discourse and inform practical efforts to support the holistic development of the values of young people.

AGENCY, IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT, AND SELF-AUTHORSHIP

Agency is a set of attitudes, values and behaviors that constitute a self-focused orientation toward acting with autonomy and independence, exerting control over one's life circumstances (Bandura, 1986). Furthermore, it reflects reliance on the self in order to advance, pursue goals and achieve (Bakan, 1966; Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012).

Agency is deeply intertwined with processes of identity development, as the ability to define one's values, goals, and sense of self enables agentic behavior. A key theoretical model for understanding agency in this context is self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2008).

Self-Authorship theory, is a developmental model that describes the process of individuals becoming the primary authors of their own lives. It is a process characterized by the transition from following external formulas for living to defining one's own beliefs, identity, and relationships (Baxter Magolda, 2023). The process begins by following formulas, a reliance on external authorities to define one's beliefs and identity. Individuals then go through crossroads, as they question the external formulas and recognize the need to author one's own life. Gradually, they become the author, defining one's internal belief system and identity. Finally, they form an internal foundation, solidifying an internally generated philosophy for life.

The theory emerged from a 20-year longitudinal study of young adult learning and development (Baxter Magolda, 1999). It suggests that self-authorship, is required for understanding complexity, negotiating multiple perspectives, intercultural sensitivity, lifelong learning, and the capacity for mutual, interdependent relations with others (Baxter Magolda, 1999, 2008). The theory presents three distinct yet interrelated



The Theory of Personal Values describe ten broad motivational goals that can be identified reliably across multiple cultures.

elements: trusting the internal voice, building an internal foundation, and securing internal commitments. These elements offer insights into the complexity and cyclical nature of selfauthorship (Baxter Magolda, 2023). Baxter Magolda also developed the Learning Partnerships Model, derived from the longitudinal data, to illustrate how educators can create the conditions that promote learning, complex epistemology, and self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2004). It elucidates how self-authorship and agency develop through the dynamic interaction of three key dimensions: cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal (Baxter Magolda, 2004). The cognitive dimension involves cultivating the ability to critically analyze knowledge claims, and synergize multiple perspectives. The intrapersonal dimension centers on developing an internal belief system, sense of identity, and capacity for self-regulation. Finally, the interpersonal dimension encompasses mutually respectful and authentic relationships that validate

one's internal voice while appreciating interdependence (Baxter Magolda, 2004). By holistically addressing these three interrelated domains, learning partnerships create an environment conducive to self-authorship. This developmental process of cultivating self-authorship directly enables and reinforces agency by equipping individuals with the cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal capacities to navigate life's complexities (Baxter Magolda, 2008). Inextricably linked to self-authorship is the broader process of identity formation. Identity formation is a dynamic process spanning adolescence and emerging adulthood, characterized by a search for a sense of sameness and continuity over time (Erikson, 1968), across domains, including profession, academic identity, social identity, values etc. Research suggests that this process includes processes of exploration of alternatives, as well as formation of commitments continuous exploration and re-evaluation of commitments (for a review, see Klimstra & van Doeselaar, 2017; Meeus, 2018) (Meeus, 2011). This perspective aligns with the notion of self-authorship, emphasizing an ongoing cycle of questioning, experimentation, and refining one's internal foundation.

AGENCY IN THE CONTEXT OF VALUES

Values describe the end states individuals wish to pursue in their lives, such as kindness, independence, control and safety (Rokeach, 1973; Sagiv et al., 2017; Schwartz, 1992). They are a core aspect of personality, describing individuals' inner self. The Theory of

Personal Values describe ten broad motivational goals that can be identified reliably across multiple cultures. A key aspect of the theory is that the values form a circular structure reflecting their compatibilities and conflicts. Some values are compatible, hence often valued and pursued similarly, while other values express conflicting motivations and tend to not coincide (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2022). The values can be summarized by two bipolar dimensions: self-enhancement (pursuit of one's own interests) versus self-transcendence (transcending personal interests in favor of caring for the welfare of others); and openness to change (independence of thought, action, and readiness for new experiences) versus conservation (self-restriction, order and resistance to change) values.

As an important part of identity, values can be tightly associated with agency. There are two possible ways of reflecting on values in the context of agency. On the one hand, specific values may be associated with agency. Theory and research suggest that individuals who value openness to change and self-enhancement, are more likely to be agentic in their behavior. They would pursue autonomous action, and self-promotion, in order to "go ahead" (Buchanan & Bardi, 2015; Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012).

However, a second conceptualization can be suggested. Valuation may be in itself an agentic concept. Individuals who prioritize a value, any value, are more likely to behave in line with the goal it delineates (for a review see Sagiv & Roccas, 2021). In experiments and

longitudinal studies, values were found to drive individuals to behavior in a certain way (Amit & Sagiv, 2013; Benish-Weisman, 2015; Maio, 2010; Sagiv et al., 2011).

Values drive behavior, as they help individuals to achieve their goals (DeYoung & Tiberius, 2022). When individuals fulfil their values, they feel more coherent (Rokeach, 1973) and enjoy a sense of well-being (Oppenheim-Weller et al., 2018). Even just reflecting and discussing one's values, can create better well-being and reduce stress (Creswell et al., 2005; Sherman & Cohen, 2006). These effects of values on behavior were found for a wide range of values: not only openness to change and self-enhancement values, that were previously considered agentic, but also self-transcendence and conservation values (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010). Indeed, McAdams defines values as the part of the self that allows one to be an agent, to fulfill what is important in their life by making volitional choices that move life forward (McAdams, 2013). If all values motivate choice and enactment of motivation, they may all be considered sources of agency.

In this context, one may choose to focus on values as a vital part in the process of behavior enactment. Rest's influential four component model of moral behavior (Bebeau et al., 1999) elucidates how values play a key motivational role in translating moral reasoning into moral action. The model delineates four psychological processes underlying moral conduct: 1) moral sensitivity in interpreting situations, 2) moral judgment in determining right from wrong, 3) moral motivation shaped by values prioritization, and 4) moral character/ competence to persevere with the moral behavior. Notably, the third component - moral motivation - is where an individual's values become the driving force propelling them from aware, principled reasoning to committed moral behavior. Thus, in order for moral judgments to manifest as agentic ethical conduct, one must forge clear values that resonate with their authentic sense of self. Defining these values provides the "motivational force" (Rest, 1986) to prioritize moral imperatives over competing. In essence, values translate moral cognition into moral volition - the exercise of agency to purposefully shape reality according to one's principles. From this perspective, facilitating agentic behavior necessitates supporting young people in critically reflecting on their values and articulating an integrated value system to serve as their



motivational core. This process is a key factor in what was termed above self-authorship, or identity formation.

AGENCY AND CULTURE

Cultural contexts play a profound role in shaping the process of identity formation and self-authorship and the pathways through which agency is expressed. Culture is central to how individuals define themselves - it scripts their social relations and provides an array of socially sanctioned options for what one can aspire to become. Culture ascribes value to different goals and behaviors, and defines what is considered a mature individual (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011).

In cultures that prioritize interdependence, the development of agency focuses on the society and group. Group goals become deeply internalized as personal goals, and the motivation to gain self-reliance or uniquely express oneself is superseded by the drive to cooperate, maintain harmony, and find one's fit within the collective. Individuals grow to relate to the world primarily through their roles and responsibilities to others (Greenfield, 2016).

However, as Helwig (2006) argues, the underlying psychological needs for agency and identity formation are universal across cultures. Even in interdependent cultural contexts, children and adolescents will innately seek to exercise self-expression and perceived competence within the possibilities afforded by their environment. The key difference lies in how autonomy and agency manifest. Rather than individualistically asserting personal preferences, youth in interdependent cultures may exercise agency by upholding cultural traditions, aligning with valued social roles, or contributing to collective endeavors in ways that earn respect (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). This perspective again challenges narrow Western conceptions of agency as purely individualistic strivings - focusing on openness to change and self-enhancement values. Sociodemographic changes like urbanization, technological progress, and increased education are shifting many societies toward greater individualism (Greenfield, 2016; Park et al., 2017). But these "cultural gains" in independence come at the cost of losses in interdependence, tradition, and contextualized thinking. An integrated, culturally-sensitive notion of agency allows for agentic self-expression through both individualistic and collectivistic pathways.

Ultimately, while specific cultural narratives shape the form agency takes, the underlying human need to define one's identity, values, and have a sense of volition appears to be universal (Helwig, 2006). Supportive developmental and educational contexts must respect cultural diversity while nurturing agency as an empowering force - enabling youth to promote personal and collective values that positively influence their communities.

SOCIAL MEDIA AS AN ARENA FOR VALUE FORMATION

Children and youth in the current day and age spend hours every day on social media (Auxier et al., 2018; Smahel et al., 2020). Their interactions online are distinctive from their off-line interactions (Nesi et al., 2018), transforming their relationships, both off- and online, and the moral values and behaviors they learn within them (Coyne et al., 2018; Manago et al., 2014).

Adolescence is an important developmental stage. During this time, adolescents undergo important advances in their cognition, emotion, and behavior. Many of the adolescence-related tasks are associated with changes in social relations within the peer group. Peer relations become more complex, as well as intimate. They begin including reference to sexuality



and romantic relations. Within peer relations, adolescents establish their identity and self-worth, as well as their separation from significant adults. Using social comparison they seek approval, and rely on their peers to determine their self-worth (for a review, see Nesi et al., 2018). The mastery of these tasks is transformed when they are accomplished within social media.

Social media's asynchronous nature means that people can engage with it at any time, rather than in real-time, which may create a situation where feedback and reassurance-seeking is always available, thus more dominant. The permanence of social media posts remains on the internet forever, potentially amplifying social experiences by making them permanent rather than fleeting. The public nature of social media can create the need for individuals to "prove" their friendships and present them to the world. Finally, social media enables social actions, such as co-rumination, to occur on a group level. While these actions are not new in offline settings, the ability to participate in group conversations continuously and at any time can create new opportunities for amplifying these processes. (Nesi et al., 2018)

Social media provides adolescents with access to new



communities and experiences. Within these communities, they gain opportunity for expression of agentic behaviors, experimentation with different identity schemes, and thus development of the self (Code, 2013). Social media also provides a large host of opportunities to perform new behaviors. Adolescents have increasing exposure to communities online, with no limit of geography or time. They can take on prosocial behavior within these communities. They can act immediately on information they receive, behaving prosocially at any time. Because prosocial behavior becomes more public and permanent, it is also more likely to be used to manage reputation. Adolescents can also be more heavily influenced by peer pressure. There are even new ways to behave prosocially: producing and sharing media, advocating across political platforms and more (Armstrong-Carter & Telzer, 2021).

Situating processes of agency development and identity formation within social media contexts present novel opportunities for educators attempting to follow the Learning Partnership Model (Baxter Magolda, 2004), as emphasized in Welkener's presentation. Social media is highly engaging and relevant to youth's lives. It thus captures their interests. By

intentionally situating educational efforts within these digital environments, educators can increase students' motivation and investment. On social media, knowledge is co-constructed, aligning with teaching approaches that make students active partners, not passive receivers. Adolescents are often experts at using social media, enabling them to contribute unique insights to their educators. When learning transpires in contexts where youth have autonomy and voice, like social media, it cultivates a more egalitarian dynamic that fosters agency development. By situating learning within social media, educators can creatively foster self-authorship while utilizing youths' passion and skill for digital media.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has explored the interplay between agency, values, and intercultural development, with a particular focus on how these processes manifest in the modern context of social media. Grounded in theoretical frameworks around selfauthorship, identity formation, and values, several key insights emerge. First, agency - the capacity for volitional and valuesdriven action, develops in a process of exploration leading to self-authorship, or formation of independent commitments. This process is key in the development of moral behavior that results from an authentic sense of self. Agency represents a fundamental human need that transcends cultural boundaries. However, the specific pathways through which agency develops and the cultural narratives that shape its expression can vary widely across societal contexts. In a context of inter-cultural mobility, cultivating an integrated, culturally-sensitive notion of agency that respects this diversity is vital.

The insights described here call for innovative approaches that tap into the unique affordances of digital spaces. Social media transforms core developmental tasks like peer relationships, identity exploration and values clarification. By situating learning within these adolescent-centric environments and positioning youth as co-constructors of knowledge, educators can foster agentic development.

As educators, we aspire to encourage adolescents to author their own story, find their authentic identity and clarify their values, in constructive interaction with their community and society. We want them to be active agents in bringing these values into action, taking positive role in society. The shift to a digital, globalized world had not changed these aspirations. However, it may have suggested new paths to achieve them.

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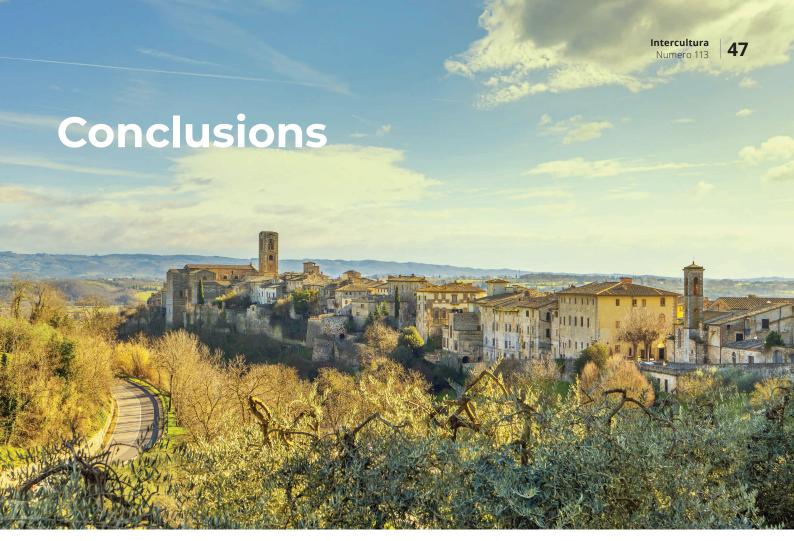
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Throughout the conference, participants reflected in groups on three main questions aimed at drawing conclusions on the topic of this year's Forum:

- **1.** What changes occur in cognitive, so-cio-emotional, intercultural and behavioral domains through pupil exchange?
- **2.** In what ways can participation in an international exchange make students more active participants in society?
- **3**. How can exchange participation help build intercultural solidarity and community, both locally and globally?

The conclusions of the 2023 Forum are therefore built around the three questions and the answers participants developed to address these, based on the input from speakers and their personal experience of researchers and practitioners in the sector.

1. Changes in cognitive, socio-emotional, intercultural and behavioral domains through pupil exchange

- Development of language skills.
- Development of resilience and autonomy.
- Deepening of universalistic values, namely valuing human dignity and human rights, respect for differences, active participation in the life of multicultural democratic societies.



The exchange experience deepens the adherence of youth to these values, and triggers motivation for action in line with such values, hence with the potential of great impact in the hosting and especially home-country local community.

It needs to be noted that universalistic and benevolence values - including empathy - of the youth taking part in individual pupil mobility are already high before departure. However, it is relatively easy to develop universalistic and benevolence values in a society which is quite homogeneous and research shows that these are the most important values in children, adolescents and also adults. Universalistic values are challenged when people are exposed to diversity. Hence the individual pupil mobility experience is key to deepen the universalistic values and ensure they are applied also in an intercultural perspective.

The exchange experience deepens the adherence of youth to these values, and triggers motivation for action in line with such values, hence with the potential of great impact in the hosting and especially home-country local community. In particular students develop empathy with an intercultural perspective on human rights and social justice, hence international solidarity. Thanks to the exposure to different perspectives, students discover shared needs in a globalised world, hence solidarity is not linked to a common identity, but a shared need by human beings.

2. How participation in an international exchange can make students more active participants in society

- Participation starts from the moment of deciding to enroll on an exchange programme, hence outreach and promotion of the learning mobility opportunity is a first essential step.
 - Promotion of the individual pupil mobility experience should already reflect the objectives of the programme, namely the one of deepening the values of school students towards active global citizenship, in particular

- catering on the value of self-direction/hedonism/ openness to change and exploration which is particularly strong in adolescence.
- Promotion should take into account the nature of adolescents in nowadays society, who have a strong fear of failure and stress which affects their mental health and blocks their openness to adventure.
- Promotion should take into account the current gender divide in participation to individual pupil mobility.
 Only 30% of males take part in such learning mobility programmes out of the total number of participants.
 Enhancing empathy and universalistic values of males is key for contributing to world peace considering the fact that still nowadays most of the decision making positions are held by men. Females are educated to develop empathy and universalistic values more than males, while the latter are more exposed to self-direction values and wish to stay connected with their family and friends. The same gender divide is seen in participation in volunteering activities within the AFS Network.
- All actors having a role in the education of adolescents

 in particular parents and teachers should be trained to encourage them to embrace new experiences and uncertainties, hence creating the conditions for enrolling in learning mobility. A key tool for enabling teachers and school heads to promote learning mobility is experiencing learning mobility themselves.
- At the same time school education policy should guarantee school students' rights for recognition of their learning outcomes upon return, hence creating a safe space for their exchange experience.



- Measures to promote learning mobility together with the
 deepening of universalistic values should be discussed
 with young people, in order to address their needs and
 ensure ownership and then future agency. Exchange
 students should be provided the space to discuss actions of
 citizenship inspired by universalistic values before, during,
 and especially after the exchange.
- The deepening of the universalistic and self direction values takes place during the exchange if students are supported through reflection and non formal education activities.
 Reflection should happen in a safe space and be facilitated by trained educators.
- Research by Baiutti, Bardi and Vecchione shows that the factors that enable a deepening of universalistic values during the exchange are a welcoming and warm hosting environment and an active participation in the hosting community, such as volunteering. Based on this research finding, the hosting community needs to be better prepared for welcoming the exchange pupils, and all stakeholders involved trained to support the hosted student at their best, in particular the host family, the school teachers, schoolmates. These stakeholders should develop active listening, caring attitude, kindness, ability to create a deep connection and meaningful relationships with the hosted students. At the same time, exchange students need to be prepared to understand how kindness and welcoming environments are expressed differently in different cultures, and motivated to engage with

the host family, host school and local community in the host country - hence also be trained to express their feelings and ask questions, and demonstrate prosocial behavior.

3. How exchange participation can help build intercultural solidarity and community, both locally and globally

Based on the reflections stemming from the first two questions, it can be concluded that there are three main factors through which exchange participation can help building intercultural solidarity.

- Through promotion of learning mobility and a welcoming environment for hosted students. The training of all stakeholders in the community to develop empathy and demonstrate kindness has an impact on the exchange student as these attitudes will facilitate the deepening of their universalistic values and enable agency in the community, and at the same time they will have a positive impact on the society at large,
- Through the fostering of agency in the local communities both in the sending and host country. Training of the exchange students and all stakeholders involved should include reflections on active citizenship. In particular, in today's society it is essential to develop motivation of exchange students towards agency for preserving the environment, and for active citizenship in the digital space (digital citizenship).
- Through dialogue with policy makers to support the creation of a positive hosting environment, as enabler for active citizenship and agency of exchange students.
 Finally, all stakeholders involved in the individual pupil mobility experience should be provided tools for navigating conflicts and controversial issues.

NEXT TOPICS TO BE EXPLORED

Based on the outcomes of the 2023's Forum, the 2025 edition will continue the discussion on value education in individual pupils' exchange of at least 3 months, but it will focus on action as an outcome of value change:

- Action on schools and classmates
- · Action on local communities
- · Action on social media

The topic of dealing with controversial issues will be discussed transversally to these areas of action.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE 12TH FORUM

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Elisa Briga is an expert in intercultural learning and learning mobility in the field of youth and school education. Since 2023, she is the Secretary General of the European Federation for Intercultural Learning (EFIL), the umbrella of 26 organisations in Europe belonging to the AFS Intercultural Programs network - the leading non-profit individual pupil exchange organisation. Previously, she had been overseeing the advocacy activities of the organisation since she joined in 2011. She coordinated the EU Preparatory Action "Expert Network on Recognition of outcomes of learning periods abroad in general secondary education" 2020-2021, and is now leading the E+ project Empowering Teachers for Automatic Recognition. She holds a master's degree in International Relations and Diplomacy from the University of Trieste with a thesis on the role of youth information centres in the promotion of youth mobility. In the past, she worked for the European Knowledge Centre for Youth Policy at the Partnership between the European Commission and Council of Europe in the field of youth. She has been volunteering for 25 years for CISV International, a worldwide organisation promoting peace education.

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Karolina Koźmin has been actively engaged with the AFS Network since 2013, when she embarked on a transformative exchange journey in Belgium Flanders. This life-changing experience ignited her passion for psychology and propelled her towards a dedicated pursuit of this field. Over the years, numerous intercultural encounters have instilled in her a profound appreciation for Intercultural Learning (ICL). This passion led her to become an ICL trainer and educator, both within and outside the AFS network. Fuelled by her firsthand experiences and fondness for ICL, she embarked on a journey of research, delving into the processes that unfold in exchange

students participating in secondary-education exchange programs. Her focus revolved around the profound experiences of reverse culture shock, seeking to understand and shed light on this phenomenon. Now, as she embarks on her Ph.D. journey, her primary area of interest lies in the realm of multi-layered identity development among exchange students.

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. soren.kristensen@technemail.dk

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Since the early '90s she has done research, teacher training and planning of curriculum courses and seminars concerning foreign and second language teaching methodology in Italy and abroad, both in class and on line.

David Magnien has been a math teacher for 24 years now, and have spent half this time giving math classes in English to high school students, from 15 to 18. He organizes school trips every two years, qenerally to UK or Ireland, mostly science- themed.

Francisco Marmoleio

Gianpiero Miglio graduated in Geology and spent all his career working for the oil and gas industry. He had many long assignments overseas in Countries such as Norway, Egypt, Angola and UK where he had the opportunity to appreciate different ways of life and cultures. Once he retired, he joined AFS Intercultura first becoming a host family and then as a volunteer. He was president of Novara local chapter for five years and currently he is member of the education committee and referent for fund raising in the North-Western area of Italy.

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Susie Nicodemi has been the Programme Co-ordinator of the International Schools Exchange Programme at British Council. She also worked for the Council of Europe and the European Commission for 20 years through international programmes, managing international teams to deliver effective non-formal education projects and their resulting European publications that positively impacted the lives of thousands of European young people. susie.nicodemi@amail.com

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Carlotta Wolf, born in 1988 in Florence and former Intercultura exchange student in Canada and Chile, has worked for 10 years for UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, in external relations and humanitarian emergency response. She has worked in Kenya and Somalia following the famine that hit the Horn of Africa in 2011, in Greece during the 2015-2016 refugee crisis and since 2017 she has been serving at UNHCR HQs in Geneva, Switzerland, as Emergency Fundraising Coordination Officer. She is in daily contact with over 20,000 colleagues working in the field to get updates on ongoing crises and most urgent needs, to coordinate and mobilize support from public and private donors. Before UNHCR, Carlotta worked as a Diplomatic Advisor for the Italian Ambassador to Somalia from 2011 to 2013, living between Kenya and Somalia. She is very attached to these two countries, where she began her work experience and where - thanks to her encounters with refugees - Carlotta was able to understand firsthand what it means to be forced to flee your country and suffer discrimination due to war, violence and persecution.

Ulrich (Uli) Zeutschel, coordinator of the Scientific Advisory Council of AFS Germany since 2010. Former exchange participant at both high school level (YFU, Detroit MI, 1970/71) and university level (Fulbright grant, Michigan State University, 1977/78). Network partner (retired) of osb international systemic consulting in Hamburg.

In memoriam Johan Galtung

(1930-2024)



Ho conosciuto Johan Galtung alla fine degli anni '60 lavorando con Danilo Dolci in Sicilia. Era quando il progetto educativo del l'AFS ruotava intorno agli scambi giovanili per costruire la pace: "Walk together, talk together". La moglie di Galtung, Ingrid Eide, aveva pubblicato il primo studio su questo argomento: "Students as Links between Cultures" (1970). Le teorie di Galtung sulla risoluzione dei conflitti erano innovative e illuminanti. Aveva fondato il Peace Research Institute di Oslo (1959), il prestigioso Journal of Peace Research (1964), insegnava Ricerche sulla Pace all'Università e lavorava con le Nazioni Unite alla creazione di un'università mondiale per la pace a Tokyo. In quelle sedi aveva elaborato la sua teoria sulla violenza, che suddivideva in violenza diretta, violenza strutturale e violenza culturale. Nel 1978 fu il relatore principe al nostro convegno internazionale su mobilità studentesca ed educazione a Strasburgo, e ripubblichiamo quel testo in queste pagine come omaggio alla sua memoria.

Al suo insegnamento si ispirarono i primi corsi di formazione per volontari e studenti della Associazione Intercultura. Galtung è stato un grande sociologo e un consigliere generoso per Intercultura e molte altre organizzazioni, ricercatore sperimentatore e pensatore instancabile sino alla fine dei suoi giorni. Era nato ad Oslo nel 1930 ed è morto in patria, dopo aver vissuto e studiato in tutto il mondo, il 17 febbraio di quest'anno all'età di 93 anni.

Roberto Ruffino

Peace, development and youth mobility

JOHAN GALTUNG

I'm very grateful to you for your very nice welcoming words and I'm extremely happy to learn that the Institute I had the honor of founding in 1959 in Oslo has played some role in your important organization. I'm also happy to learn about the study on "AFS and its peace relevance", and more in particular because the person who produced it was my wife - I have to add, for fifteen years - you know there are some interpersonal changes that sometimes take place in life. We are extremely good friends, we have discussed the study and you might regard what I am now trying to say as a follow up.

You are the experts on all kinds of aspects of intercultural exchanges; all that I can say would be to try to bring in some peace theory and development theory and try to confront my image of intercultural exchanges with that.

Let me first point out one thing: that in a puritan culture such as ours it is usually the case that one is not satisfied with such goals as just having fun and enriching oneself. It is not enough to enjoy the sauna and to dance until 1 o'clock in the morning: one wants more in life. Whatever one does, it

has to be justified by serving lofty goals, such as peace and development. There is hardly any organization in the Western World not in search of lofty goals. This is particularly true in the US, which is in that sense perhaps the most puritan. This is important because one would expect an organization to postulate that it serves ends that it does not necessarily serve. I think in earlier ages it was much easier, because one was always serving God, transcendental values, in one way or the other. As transcendental values go down, more secular values have to go up. What I propose now - first of all - is to try to look into peace theory and development theory, to see how intercultural exchanges fit. The conclusion will of course be neither yes nor no, but perhaps an ambivalent one - because social affairs are dialectic, complex, many sided. I don't think I know of anything - almost nothing at all in social science - that has a clear conclusion. If there is a clear conclusion anywhere, it is usually either that the person is too stupid or devoid of insight to see the complexities, or it is a deliberate liar, or there is a printing error in the book.

Peace between countries seems to be predominantly a question of structural relations. If I should mention very quickly some factors that seem to be associated with it, then it is - point (1): symbiosis - in other words that countries somehow serve each other's existence.

If you hit the other one, you hit yourself. Point (2) - and much more difficult: equity - meaning that a relation is not exploitative. They get about the same out of it. This is much more than the formula of mutual benefit, which is usually used; because there is normally some benefit to either party, but the requirement is that the benefit should be comparable. Symbiosis and equity are two so basic conditions that they, in themselves, explain something of why there is not too much peace. Where do they obtain? They obtain in two parts of the world relatively well: the Nordic countries and the European Community countries but particularly among the three or four bigs of the European Community countries. The areas in which symbiosis and equity can be combined into a higher unit are what we, peace researchers, would perhaps call "peace areas". But we will add more to that. A third point is homology - that the countries have roughly speaking the same type of structure. Then you can find your opposite number - not necessarily in personal terms but in structural terms - so that you know with whom to deal. The Eastern European countries have done a lot in order to homologise with the Western European countries - so as to bring up trade for instance.

The next one is what I would call entropy - meaning by that physical term in this setting the following: that contacts are at all kinds of levels and in all directions; not only government-government, but also non-government-non government, individual-individual, and all the diagonal contacts. In other words an individual in country A may have contacts with an official in country B.



The fifth condition - I will again use a technical term - is transcendence - the idea that there is, in addition to the two or three or how many countries, a kind of superstructure; some sort of Nordic Council, maybe even the Commission in Brussels. Its nature has to be of such a kind that there is an element of transnationalism in it.

Let me now ask the following question: given these five, where does intercultural exchange, youth exchange enter? It does not enter much with the first two: symbiosis and equity are very structural features, and they have to do to a large extent with trade, but also with political and military organization. When I say they don't enter much, I am not saying they don't enter at all. They enter at one particular point which splits into two: a person that has gone through that type of experience may be more sensitive to the need for equity and may also be more interested in symbiosis. In other words there is a personal motivation and a personal insight that may serve as a defense against nonsymbiotic, exploitative relations. However, these things are usually decided by big organizations - and by big organizations I mean the two pillars of Western society: the State - stuffed with bureaucrats, and the Corporation - stuffed with capitalists. The bureaucrats and the capitalists, the B's and the C's, are the ones running our society with their little helpers, the intellectuals people such as us. Intellectuals to the left think that the State is better than the Corporation, and intellectuals to the right have a tendency to think that the Corporation is better than the State - and that is called political debate. By and large, from a more historical, systematic point of view, they come out about equal, the guarrels between State and Corporation being insignificant as compared to the cooperation between them. It is only that the balance of power is more towards the State in the Nordic countries, much more towards the State in the Eastern European countries. But even within the Eastern European countries the Corporations come out again in the disguise of Ministries, because the inter-dialectic interplay between the two is somehow needed and also in order to provide the homology with Western European countries and North America.

I have mentioned that my own reading would be that the importance of the person who has gone through an intercultural experience is there, but it is not very strong when it comes to symbiosis and equity. The reason for this is that the structures and the processes - what in German is called "Kapitallogik", and you could add "Stadtslogik" - are tremendously powerful. So, putting one person who has been with AFS, or whatever, into a Ministry, will not necessarily revolutionize the world immediately. It may be that the structure is stronger than the person, and not the person stronger than the structure; and that after a couple of years the person will say: "Now I see better what the situation is, those were ideas of my youth, I am now more realistic" - realistic meaning that he has given up.

Now, if you join hundreds at a time and you conquer a section of a Ministry, it makes sense but this is what the Ministry

The third point which I mentioned homology - is of a different kind. The importance and significance of knowing persons on the other side is tremendous. I think the best running countries are the ones that have structures by means of which you are relatively guaranteed that you know people all around the place. Usually this works best in small countries; which is one reason why small countries are very often more pleasant places to live in. Big countries will usually have mechanisms that cut across the bureaucratic channels. I mention Japan as an example. The Japanese system is extremely vertical: if you take an x-ray of Japan, it comes out as an organogram with only vertical lines.

But there is something cutting across, and those are the horizontal ties between people who have been to the same university, the same year, and have belonged to the same organization of whatever kind. The same age class, age group or "age set" - as a sociologist might say - is also found in African societies. This is terribly important. It makes it possible for a Japanese to cut across the lines of correct bureaucratic handling of affairs.

The importance of exchange is to establish such lines, internationally. At this point, however, - probably - better than exchange are international schools, universities, colleges and so on. I think that the theory behind the College of Europe in Bruges is probably correct. As you know it works by the principle of "promotions". In each promotion there may be sixty students; they are from the European Community countries plus they are, roughly speaking, of the same age which is important because it means that they rise in their hierarchies in parallel fashion - so that when one of them finally has obtained an Ambassadorship, chances are that some of his colleagues also have done that. This is the Japanese system - if you wish - practiced internationally. So, from the point of view of homology, there is more to be obtained.

The same applies to factor 4 - entropy. There is nothing like exchange when it comes to establishing cross-cutting relationships, in all kinds of directions. But the fifth point, transcendence - the idea of having institutions that are at another level than the countries that enter into them - is of course terribly important. I think that in the intercultural exchange process there are two things that take place at the same time in

the person. One is of course a learning process of other cultures which may be deep or superficial. The other one is that one starts seeing one's own culture from the outside. One suddenly sees things one never saw before. This is important because I quess it leads to a certain amount of de-identification. It can also lead to a higher level of identity, but it can also lead to some type of basic doubt about the validity of one's own culture. This can easily produce a de-nationalised person. That de-nationalised person may eventually become a civil servant, an international civil servant. This is of course good and bad, as most things; but the point about it is that it is an important channel. For these international bureaucracies to function you have to have people who are shaped a little bit like pieces of soap and who can slip into the slots allotted to them without having too sharp national edges. You can have some charming accents, you can have some fancy clothes, but you should not peddle your national idiom or interests all the time. If you watched them, if you were going to the Commission or to the UN bureaucracies, you will very quickly see how similar they become in linguistic habits, mannerisms and so on. For that to happen it is important that they have already been shaped a little bit in that direction. I guess that if you asked many of them you would find that they've had experiences of the type I mentioned behind them. This makes for the contradiction between the national level and the supranational level. A contradiction which is well known from the history inside the countries. In a country like Norway, which initially consisted of mutually isolated Kingdoms, that according to our mythology was united by somebody called Harald Finehair around 872, but which continued with a high level of mutual isolation because of our topography - deep valleys, high mountains, communication by sea there is of course something transcending over mutually isolated communities namely the State, namely Oslo. The people who work in the Ministries in Oslo are not much from Oslo; they are -



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according to studies - very much from the countryside. They very often come up through the PTT system and the railroad system into the lower ranks and then their offspring get into higher ranks. They become shaped as trans-Norwegian personalities and they get to know the country quite well. Similar processes are now taking place internationally, and for that to happen exchanges are probably indispensable.

So in the factor of exchange, if you look at it, symmetry, equity, omology, entropy, transcendence - I would say that the factor is particularly strong for the last three aspects, not that important for the first two. I would also say that the first two are probably the most important. The kind of conclusion I would draw is not to be over-optimistic, the reason being that the structures and processes we are up against in connection with peace problems are extremely strong ones, and for that reason require concerted action to be counteracted. And that concerted action would involve many more people than the number of people who are brought in so far in connection with such exchanges. That was about peace. Let me now try to say something similar about development. One way of making sure that an International Conference will not be boring, nor will it be very productive, is to start discussing the meaning of development. For this reason, I will immediately enter into that. What is the meaning of development? I see development as being based on three pillars. Pillar No. 1 is that it is the development of human beings, not of things or structures or abstractions. It is not a question of producing more things, nor of changing structures. It is a question of serving, helping human beings become better, richer, realizing themselves, growing.

The second pillar is one of autonomy, self-reliance. Development can be done essentially by the people themselves; partly individually, mainly collectively, It can not be done from the outside. What the outside can do is not to stand in the way. What the outside can do is stop intervening militarily, stop exploiting through trans-national corporations. This is terribly useful. It was for instance terribly useful that the USA did not intervene in Iran. That was the US major contribution to Iran - all the rest know. They have just established a 100,000 soldier strong

expeditionary corps for active action particularly in the Persian Gulf.

The third pillar is that development is not at the expense of somebody else. Development which is at the expense of somebody else should be called by its right name, which is exploitation. If you take the third pillar as a basic criterion, we have not had development in Western Europe; we have had something else, because the things we have done have been at the expense of somebody. It can be at the expense of what Toynbee would call the "internal proletariat", of the external proletariat - meaning the third world - of nature, of future generations; if you check with that list, the Western practice does not stand up well.

Where does international exchange come into this picture? I would say in a sort of curious way. If you assume that development is by and large by the people themselves, then development is not done by having busy bodies who have been through cultural exchanges running up and down the country telling them what to do. That doesn't mean that intercultural exchanges are not terribly important. But they may be most important when the person comes back to the country that he comes from. For instance, I would stand by the thesis that the US Peace Corps has been much more valuable to the US than to the countries where it was. In the countries to which the Peace Corps members went - and this I claim to know relatively well in detail - they have left behind small traces here and there. By and large they have been put into slots of so-called middlelevel manpower, they have served local problems within a given social structure of finding manpower, and in doing so they have probably prevented people from taking their affairs in their own hands, because this necessity was not there. When these people come back, chances are that they will look more critically at their own society. Chances are also that they will have developed tremendous skills in this process. This applies certainly not only to peace corps and the youth level exchanges; it applies equally much to the expert level; UN experts, etc. I doubt whether what they have done has been very valuable. I very much include myself; I have been a UN expert, and it is with shame that I think

back on what I tried to do. I tried to do the following: I was a UNESCO expert for three years, disseminating social science methodology to Latin American social scientists. I was asked to do so, so I came with the attitude of preaching the Gospel to the pagans. And when the pagans didn't like the Gospel I told myself that they were nationalistic and that they had to overcome their nationalist pride. It ended in the following way, they by and large learnt all the tricks of American social science methodology of the fifties and sixties and I, by and large, adopted their world view. I think I learnt something about how the world operates. You see it much better from below than from the top. That is a skill one can bring back; and when you come back to the country you come from you can put it into operation, because then you are on your own soil. So I assume that it does not work developmentally in the host country but in the sending country. The US Peace Corps people have been like mosquitoes in their various agencies: all the time asking irritating questions, pointing out things that are much more easily seen when one has had the chance to see another social reality. This I mean very seriously. I think it is very important, but it raises a question. I think that by and large the exchange patterns we have had has contributed to increasing the level of a-symmetry and inequity in the world, for the following reason. Imagine that you are a young person in your mid-thirties, and you go as an expert in a foreign country, or you go on an exchange to a foreign country, whatever. You are challenged by all the things you see, by all the new things you learn, and you come back a person who has grown because some of your potentials have been spoken to, you have developed, you have unfolded. You have, by going to Botswana, discovered that there is something of the Botswana element in you that you didn't know. This is terribly important, because one of the most fantastic thing we know about human beings and society - and this I would say is an absolute social science finding - is that every single one of us could have been a member of any other culture. We didn't know that some time ago. There were those who thought that you were somehow born Norwegian. We now know that even a Norwegian could become a relatively adequate Botswanian. He would look somewhat strange, but the rest would be OK. This is a fantastic thing, which means that in a latent way, potentially, there is that of every other culture in us. The Indians used to say that "if you stretch anybody in the world, there is a Hindu in him". Maybe. I am not so sure that I would say "there is a Norwegian in every Hindu", but ... and now my point comes which is the following: as we know youth exchanges, expert exchanges are a-symmetric; it is from the richer countries to the poor countries, at the expert level, at the Peace Corps level. That means that people from rich countries get a challenge and a source of enrichment by going to the poor countries, whereas relatively few in number from

the poor countries get a similar experience by going to the rich countries.

Of course this is not true at the level of students, scholarships and things of that kind, but I assume now that the challenge you get from working in a country, from really doing something, is of a higher level qualitatively than what you get from visiting it and studying in it. This means that an incredible source of insight and richness is brought back from the poor countries to the rich countries. To put it in very simple terms, it means that we in the rich countries have used the poor countries as a source of our own enrichment, and we have called it technical assistance. The trickiness of our countries knows no limit. There is nothing new, this is what Western history to a large extent is about. Trickery and mastery of exploitation in different ways. There is usually one new way of doing it for each decade, because of the inventiveness of our leaders. I would add immediately that most of it is not deliberate, is not conscious; these are very wellmeaning people and what usually happens is that ten years later somebody comes up and says: "Look, it didn't work like that, it worked the opposite way. Oh how strange." If you look at this through a history of 500 years, from when Columbus and Vasco de Gama traveled too far, then you will see that there is a very consistent pattern in it; and that pattern is not easily broken. Let me now conclude. The role of exchanges in connection with development is also an ambiguous one. On the one hand the positive points I mentioned - you get a type of insight that makes you see things in your own countries that can make you a very valuable agent of social change in your own country. On the other hand there is the danger of busy-bodying, and in fact reducing the possibility of self-reliance of others. On the third hand, there is the possibility that the pattern is in fact at the expense of others, by increasing gaps of inequity rather than bridging them. [...]

I am now concluding. I think that very deep processes are at work and that the function of exchange is tremendous; that we are today more than before in a sort of world process which has a double aspect to it: one is the good old economic exploitation and the fight against it; the other one is a deep fight, struggle, contradiction between cultures and civilisations, between the deeper aspects of them. And strange processes of exchange are taking place. These processes are sometimes quick and sometimes slow, they are never linear, they always go up and down, but they are nevertheless trends. I can only say that I think you people have a tremendously important role to play in them, and the impression I have been given of the honesty with which you go about it, the soul-searching manner, the way in which you try to look critically and constructively at yourselves is very encouraging indeed.



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