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This paper was commissioned to clarify and deepen the understanding of the key concepts of the OECD 2030 Learning Framework:

- **Section 1:** Conceptualising Learner Agency: A Socio-Ecological Developmental Approach by Ingrid Schoon, University College London, Institute of Education
- **Section 2:** Attitudes and Values and the OECD Learning Framework 2030: A critical review of definitions, concepts and data by Helen Haste, Harvard Graduate School of Education/University of Bath

The participants are invited to:

- **NOTE** the draft prepared by Ingrid Schoon to use research to inform the discussion on "student agency" during the item 3d. 16.20-18:00 on 14 May.
- **NOTE** the draft prepared by Helen Haste to use research to inform the discussion on "attitudes and values" during the item 3d. 16.20-18:00 on 14 May.

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*Section 1: Conceptualising Learner Agency: A Socio-
Ecological Developmental Approach*

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1. Introduction

Learning requires the activity and initiative of the learner – it requires the learner’s agency. Active learning implies a shift from being a passive recipient of knowledge to being an active agent in the learning process (Martin, 2004; Zimmerman, 2008). It involves the intake, processing, retention and use of knowledge, skills, and beliefs (including attitudes & values) through experience and interaction with significant others and the wider socio-cultural context. Learning does not take place in a social vacuum, and a theory of learning should be built on the notion of person-environment interactions (Zimmerman, J. & Schunk, 2011). Learning occurs through experience and is shaped by the life that the person is leading, by the circumstances encountered.

Recognising that the changes in the world today, the challenges arising in our increasingly globalised knowledge societies and the advent of the 4th Industrial revolution, the OECD has launched the Future of Education and Skills 2030 project (OECD, 2018) aiming to equip young people with the capabilities to navigate an uncertain future, to shape their own lives and contribute to the lives of others – to become active agents. The focus is not only on the skills and knowledge required to get ahead in society, i.e. to get a good job and high income, but also to care about the well-being of their friends and family, their community and the planet. To that aim it will become necessary to re-orient education, to develop a new Framework for Education 2030 (OECD, 2017a), to actively address new challenges and opportunities. This implies a shift from the ‘delivery’ of skills and knowledge to the creation of opportunities enabling learners to become engaged and committed in the learning process, to become active agents. The learning process is however not restricted to experiences within the school context, but extends to the ongoing and voluntary pursuit of knowledge for either personal, social, economic or humanitarian reasons. Learning enhances personal development as well as active citizenship and social inclusion.

To be an agent in the learning process involves the ability to act intentionally, to make things happen, to be a product as well as a producer of the social world. The core features of agency enable individuals to play a part in their self-development, adaptation, and self-renewal with changing times (Bandura, 2006). It involves initiative, awareness of one’s own capabilities, setting goals, self-regulation and perseverance in attaining these goals. It however also requires the individual to become aware of responsibilities of one’s own action, of social connectedness to others, and Recognising inter-dependence of one’s actions. Agency cannot be adequately defined as an individual attribute. The socio-cultural context within which it is enacted also needs to be considered - as well as the ways in which individuals interact with this context. Agency has to be understood as a dynamic and relational process, embedded in a changing social context.

The aim of this paper is to conceptualise the notion of agency, to outline key aspects regarding the development of agency, highlighting the interactions between structure and agency, and discuss implications for the OECD Learning Framework 2030 (OECD, 2018).

2. Conceptualising Agency

Given the relational and dynamic nature of individual agency and action, its conceptualisation is a challenging task. Research into the study of agency has been hampered by differences in terminology, level of analysis and approaches to measurement used across fields (Sokol, Hammond, Kuebli, & Sweetman, 2015). For example, while psychologists tend to emphasise the role of individual decision making and actions often to the neglect of social forces that promote or limit development, sociologists focus on the social structures that shape human lives and behaviour, often losing sight of the person (Hitlin & Elder, 2007; Settersten, & Gannon, 2005).

To take into account both individual factors and the social context that shape the development and manifestation of agency requires an integrated socio-ecological and developmental approach (Schoon & Heckhausen, submitted; Schoon & Lyons-Amos, 2017). An integrated model of learner agency has to span across different disciplines and recognise that individual decision making and action depends on interactions with others, is embedded in a wider socio-historical context (ranging from immediate social settings in one's family and neighbourhood to macro-economic conditions), and is shaped by variations in access to socio-economic resources.

Moreover, the manifestations of agency change over time, depending on individual maturation, changing social relationships, as well as a changing social context. It is therefore important to understand agency is not a personality characteristic. It is a dynamic and relational process that unfolds and develops over time, shaped by interactions between a developing individual and a changing social context. In a world characterised by rapid social change and transformation it is necessary for individuals to adjust to, cope with, and take advantage of the changing opportunities and constraints. This implies that learner agency is not only relevant during initial phases of schooling, training or higher education, but that it extends over the whole life course, reflecting life-long learning.

2.1. Self-directed action embedded in a wider social context

The OECD learning framework 2030 places learner agency at its heart. A crucial aim of education for the future is for students to develop a strong sense of self-control and self-directedness, to be able to actively influence and steer their lives in a meaningful and responsible way. Moreover, as citizens of tomorrow they will need to navigate the yet unknown, find solutions to economic, social and cultural challenges which our generation has yet to solve or even recognise. They will also have to create new opportunities for a better world (not just solve problems bequeathed by an earlier generation).

Learner agency implies that learners actively interact with their environment and are actively involved in their learning and development (Haste, 2001). Learners are viewed as agents who actively engage in constructing the terms and conditions of their own learning in whatever context they engage with, i.e. inside and outside formal learning contexts

(Pintrich & Degroot, 1990; Zimmerman & Schunk, 2011). Moving beyond the conception of human behaviour being imposed by external pressures (i.e. a deterministic view prevalent in theories of behaviourism advanced by Watson and Skinner or reductionist sociocultural determination), the notion of agency implies self-determination, the ability to make one's own choices, to select and create the developmental environment and create new values.

However, agency does not mean that individual behaviour is unfettered by external constraints, i.e. that individuals do whatever they want. Individual behaviour is embedded in a wider social context that is not completely determined by the individual. It is shaped by social structures and institutions, social norms and expectations, unforeseen events, including unexpected and unintended consequences of one's behaviour. Thus agency, develops within existing structures and cultural identities, which is reflected in terms such as 'structured' or 'bounded' agency (Shanahan, 2000; Evans, 2002). Yet, individuals are not passively exposed to these external circumstances, they can take action to influence the structures which in turn influence their lives – they are a product as well as producer of their social world.

In addition behaviour is dependent on processes of biological maturation. However, this does not mean that a universal evolutionary process drives all human behaviour, as for example, reflected in the notion of the selfish gene (Dawkins, 1976). Evolutionary accounts of human behaviour conceptualise humans as survival machines, behaving in ways to maximise survival of the species. Yet, as pointed out by Bandura (2006), the creative power of human agency is often ignored in evolutionary theories. The human capacity for advanced symbolisation, the ability to comprehend, predict and alter the course of events, enabled humans to transcend the constraints of their immediate environment. Through their ability to imagine, evaluate and to construct alternative routes for action, human beings can shape their environment, which in turn shapes them. As such, individual agency can be understood as a relational process where person and context constitute each other (Eccles, 2009; Martin, 2004; Schoon & Heckhausen, submitted; Sokol et al., 2015). The manifestation of agency emerging through interactions of the person with their context, and cannot be reduced to either personality characteristics or structural influences. Both have to be considered for a comprehensive understanding of agency.

2.2. What motivates individuals?

Asking what motivates individuals – i.e. why do people chose certain goals over others and persist until achieving them - psychological theories have emphasised the role of beliefs, expectancy and values. Expectancy-value theories as applied to achievement motivated behaviours (Atkinson, 1964; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Heckhausen, 1967) argue that individual's choice, persistence and achievement can be explained by their belief of how well they will do at the task and how much they value it. Expectancy refers to the beliefs about one's own capability (i.e. self-concepts, self-awareness, confidence) and the expectations for success, the extent to which individual's believe that they can be successful in attaining the specific goal (i.e. self-efficacy, optimism). It is of note, that while ability beliefs or self-concepts are defined by the individual's perceptions of their current competence and past experiences, expectations for success refer to future attainment – a projection of the self into the future. Both ability and expectancy beliefs are crucial to expectancy-value theories, as is the notion of value. Values associated with attaining the goal include values that are intrinsic to the activity or the goal as well as

values that are associated with the consequences of achieving the goal (utility or extrinsic value), such as social recognition or material rewards. Intrinsic value is associated with the interest and enjoyment of doing the tasks, while utility value is associated with the ‘extrinsic’ reasons for engaging with the task (see also (Ryan & Deci, 2000)).

Thus, at the most general level, agency refers to the human capability to autonomously initiate and control one’s behaviour and interactions with others (Bandura, 2001, 2006). It is a multi-dimensional construct that involves a) the anticipation of a valued outcome (foresight), i.e. the ability to set goals; b) planning the pursuit and attainment of one’s goals (i.e. intention, planning, expectations for success); c) the assessment of available capabilities and opportunities (reflection); and d) self-monitoring, i.e. to remain committed to the task at hand (i.e. self-regulation, self-control, grit). Yet, agency does not take place in a social vacuum. Its manifestation is shaped by social conditions and support received from family members, teachers, peers, the community and circumstances in the wider socio-cultural context (which I will discuss in more detail later). These conditions do not necessarily aid or promote the realisation of individual strivings. As such, the individual needs to adequately respond to failure, to recognise when the pursuit of a specific goal is futile and when it becomes necessary to adjust goals or even disengage, i.e. to cut one’s losses before it is too late. The acquisition of new competencies occurs in a continuous cycle of ‘anticipation-action-reflection’ (Heckhausen, Wrosch & Schulz, 2010), a learning cycle that ensures effective information processing and action.

According to the motivational theory of life span development (Heckhausen & Wrosch, 2016; Heckhausen, Wrosch, & Schulz, 2010) successful developmental regulation is to a large extent a function of individuals engaging with goals when the opportunities are favourable and disengaging from goals when opportunities are unfavourable, when time is running out, or goal pursuit has become too costly (i.e. persisting with athletic competition at the expense of general education). Sticking with unobtainable goals can become maladaptive, especially when individuals persist despite repeated set-backs. Feeling trapped in a project that does not bring the anticipated outcomes has been described as ‘action crisis’ (Brandstatter & Herrmann, 2016), referring to the conflict of being torn between holding on or giving up a specific goal. Successful developmental regulations does however also involve the recognition of fortuitous events that open up unforeseen opportunities for new ventures and relationships to emerge (Bandura, 2006; Heckhausen, in press).

2.3. A socio-ecological developmental approach

To comprehensively conceptualise the notion of individual agency it is important to consider its multiple components, comprising beliefs, expectancies, and values as well as the resulting intentions and self-regulatory efforts in planning and carrying out the different steps needed to achieve one’s goals (Bandura, 2006; Heckhausen, in press; Schoon & Lyons-Amos, 2017). All these components of individual agency are shaped through experiences in the family or the school context as well as the general socio-cultural conditions encountered. As such, agency cannot be understood as a personality characteristic. It is a relational process, a phenomenon that emerges through the unique interplay of individual capacity and the socio-cultural structures in which it is enacted – and is thus learnable and malleable.

An integrated, socio-ecological developmental perspective of agency takes into account individual’s capacity to act as well as the structural constraints and opportunities shaping human behaviour. For example, the value that an individual associates with a particular

goal are strongly influenced by the social group the individual holds high in regard, such as parents, friends, teachers or peers, which in turn reflect current cultural norms and beliefs regarding appropriate behaviour and action (Eccles, 2008; Schoon & Heckhausen, submitted). As such the development of individual agency has to be understood as a relational process which is shaped through interactions with others and the wider social context. The sources of agency are shared by individuals and their contexts and cannot be reduced to one or the other.

Moreover, the socio-ecological developmental approach takes into account the temporal dimensions in the development of agency, i.e. conditions in the past, the present and anticipation of the future. The exercise of agency is rooted in past experience, which influences current evaluations of one's capabilities as well as the anticipation of the future (Bandura, 2006; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Hitlin & Elder, 2007). Individuals with a wide repertoire of experience, knowledge and skills may achieve agency more readily than those without. Past experiences also influence how current conditions, capabilities and resources are perceived and evaluated - and what futures are imagined or considered possible.

2.4. Different modes of agency: Personal agency, co-agency and collective agency

Individual agency can manifest in different modes, comprising personal agency, co-agency, and collective agency (see also Leadbeater, 2018). Personal agency is exercised individually, i.e. individuals regulate their own functioning, their cognitive, motivational, affective and choice processes and aim to gain control over their environment. Individuals have to develop a realistic awareness of their strengths and competences, their sense of identity, who they are, what is important to them, what action is possible for them within the social conditions encountered, and how they can achieve their desired goals.

In many activities, however, individuals do not have direct control over conditions that affect their lives. For example, children on their own are not able to secure safe housing, food, clothing or appropriate schooling for themselves. Moreover, children growing up in relative disadvantaged socio-economic circumstances have fewer resources to support their ambitions than their more privileged peers. For example, they might not have the necessary books to study, no desk to do their homework, or no access to the internet. Under these circumstances they have to rely on others, such as parents, teachers or community leaders who have the power or influence to act on their behalf to get the outcome they desire. Thus, others play a vital role in supporting individual agency, a role that had been identified as co-agency (Salmela-Aro, 2009; 2018). Through interactions and collaboration with others, children acquire a wider range of skills, attitudes and experiences enabling autonomy. This process is facilitated through shared values, goals and expectation, highlighting reciprocal processes between the learner and significant others.

Yet, many things are only achievable through socially interdependent effort, i.e. working in coordination with others to secure what one cannot accomplish on one's own. For example, in our fast-paced world of rapid social change innovative life decisions are required and it becomes necessary to create new opportunities and new patterns of living, working and socialising. In the exercise of collective agency people pool their knowledge, skills and resources, acting together for a shared purpose to shape their joint future, to change social structures and bring about innovation (Bandura, 2000; Settersten & Gannon, 2005). This can imply that many individuals who dare to make innovative life decisions open up new options for others, or entire groups of people act together through

collective movements to instigate social change. Recent examples of collective agency include the political uprising during the Arab spring, or the current #MeToo campaign, using social media to raise awareness of sexual violence against women. Collective agency enables the person to feel part of something larger than themselves, a community, a movement, a society - to place themselves in a larger social whole (Leadbeater, 2018).

All three modes of agency reflect mutually constitutive transactions between individuals and the context they are embedded in. Manifestations of individual agency are the product of the continuous dynamic interaction between the developing person and the experience provided by his or her social settings, where individual and context create each other. A key ingredient of these transactions is a belief in the power to produce desired results, which involves shared intentions, knowledge, beliefs, values and skills, but also the interactive, coordinated, and synergistic dynamics of transactions. People do not live their lives in individual autonomy. Many of the things they seek are achievable only by working together through interdependent effort.

3. Development of Agency

The contemporary literature on the development of agency is characterised by different conceptions of the learner (Kay & Kibble, 2016; Martin, 2004). A constructivist conception explains self-regulated learning in terms of the Piagetian tradition, emphasising the active construction and reorganisation of knowledge structures that are internal to the learner. Knowledge is actively constructed as the learner engages with and makes meaning of their lived experience. The socio-cultural perspective, based in the theories of Vygotsky, emphasise the learner's embeddedness in socio-cultural practices, where learners gradually internalise the socio-cultural practices of those around them. Learning is considered as a process of enculturation or appropriation, where more knowledgeable others (i.e. parents, teachers or peers) provide developmentally appropriate input and support for learning. Both approaches conceptualise agency to emerge through person-environment interaction. However, socio-cultural approaches emphasise the transformative collaborative practices, i.e. that individuals do not simply adapt to their environment, but through collective agency are able to transform the context that shapes them.

A third approach, the social cognitive theory developed by Albert Bandura (2000, 2006) builds on both constructivist and socio-cultural perspectives, rejecting any dualism that sets psychological (constructivist) and socio-structural theories against each other. He sees the learner as both a product and a producer of social systems. Learning occurs through action, observation of others, and experiencing the effects of action directed towards oneself, which enables the individual to form ideas of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action. Self-regulated behaviour emerges as a result of continuous reciprocal interactions between cognitive, behavioural and environmental influences through which a symbolic representation of oneself as distinct from others is formed - a distinct self, capable of making things happen. Self-regulated behaviour is guided by visualised goals and anticipated outcomes, as well as anticipatory beliefs about the potential for success (efficacy) and anticipation of the consequences of one's action.

Another approach, informed by George Herbert Mead's perspectival realism (Mead, 1934), emphasizes the function of perspective taking and perspective exchange in the development of agency (Gillespie, 2012; Martin, 2006). Agency develops through the gradually increasing ability of the individual to become aware of, to exchange, and coordinate multiple perspectives within established patterns of social interaction. Being able to take the perspective of others helps the individual to reflect on their own situation and to empathise or participate in the feelings and experience of others. In more advanced or abstract forms this includes to take the perspective of the 'generalised other', i.e. perspectives held in common by members of a particular community or society.

Despite their differences, the four approaches emphasise that agency emerges developmentally through reciprocal person-context interactions that result in gradually increasing capabilities for self-regulation and self-determination. This can occur through

the construction of representational cognitive schemes, internalisation or perspective taking.

Key developmental building blocks in the formation of agency are the basic sensorimotor and perceptual functioning of infants, as well as their social interactions, reflections and processes of meaning making across the life span that characterise autonomous and adaptive behaviour and action (Sokol et al., 2015). This does not imply that agency is biologically determined, but rather that these early precursors are already present at birth (Heckhausen et al., 2010; Sokol et al., 2015). Each developmental period is characterised by basic biological and cognitive changes as well as changes in the social surroundings.

Children's development is driven by their basic psychological needs to achieve competence, autonomy and relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Eccles, 2009). They seek opportunities to develop, master and demonstrate new skills, to make independent decision and control their own behaviour, to form new social relationships with peers and adults outside the family. They learn about the world outside the family home, match themselves against the expectations of others, compare their performance with that of their peers, learn to respond to new challenges and opportunities, develop new solutions and create new values.

Cognitive capabilities (e.g. attention, remembering, reflection, motivation and symbolising, etc) develop through interaction with others and grow incrementally in instructional contexts. More advanced forms of agency evident in adulthood build on developmental processes manifest already early in life. Agency can thus be understood as a process where person and context interact in an additive fashion to produce agentive, i.e. intentional and purposeful acts. These relational and reciprocal processes have also been described in terms of co-regulation (Sameroff, 2009) or co-agency (Salmela-Aro, 2009).

3.1. Basic self-regulation

The striving for control of the environment is manifest from the first days of human life, in particular regarding the expectation of maternal (or caregiver's) contingent responsiveness to the child's needs and behaviour. Early psychosocial forms of agency arise from the sensorimotor and perceptual achievements of infants, such as visual attention, the ability to detect differences between animate and inanimate objects and attention to dynamic events (Sokol et al., 2015). Through repeated observation of their environment infants learn about causality (Bandura, 2006). They learn to trust others to provide care for their basic needs, i.e. warmth, nourishment, physical contact and cleanliness. Trust in social relationships, the perception that others are reliable, caring and dependable is thus a cornerstone in the development of agency.

Within the first year of life, infants also learn to understand the intentions of others, and they personally experience the effects of actions by others directed at them. For example, experimental research involving infants observing an adult handling toys, demonstrated that already at 6 months of age infants can encode the actions of other people in ways that are consistent with more mature understandings of goal-directed action (Thoermer, Woodward, Sodian, Perst, & Kristen, 2013; Woodward, 2009). The findings contribute to the understanding of how infants develop conceptions of action, animacy and intentionality. By 7 months infants can imitate both completed and uncompleted actions of actors on objects (Hamlin, Hallinan, & Woodward, 2008; Mahajan & Woodward, 2009), and by 11 months they can anticipate goal-directed actions of the actor towards the

object (Cannon & Woodward, 2012), indicating first capacities to understand the actor's underlying intentions and goals. Parents or caregivers can help the child to channel their attention and highlight outcomes associated with specific actions.

3.2. Pre-reflective forms of agency - Symbolic and linguistic functions

Pre-reflective forms of agency are evident in the emergence of symbolic and linguistic functions (Sokol et al., 2015). When children learn to use words and language in the way adults use them, they learn to understand that the same objects and events are constructed differently, in relation to different points of view (Martin, 2008). For example, personal pronouns (such as I, me, mine, you, yours) are always specific to social-relational contexts and their meaning changes depending on who is uttering them – they refer to the roles particular people occupy in relation to one another in an interaction (Smiley, Chang & Allhoff, 2011). The use of personal pronouns enable the child to differentiate oneself from others. This competence emerges around age 18 months (Sokol et al., 2015) and is an important milestone in children's expression of agency, in the process of constructing an agentic self. By about 20 months children become able to recognise that they can make things happen, and can identify themselves as agents of their actions (Bandura, 2006).

Parents, other caregivers and siblings play an important role in facilitating and supporting children's emerging sense of agency and also contribute to individual and cultural differences. For example, the way parents respond to children's earliest assertions of: 'Let me do it! I want to do it!' by either supporting, opposing or dismissal can be a possible starting point for individual differences in the development of reflective agency (Sokol et al., 2015; Rechchia & Howe, 2008).

3.3. Reflective levels of agency: Regulatory functions

Language development facilitates the growth in children's self-regulatory abilities. In particular, children gain enhanced control of their behaviour when words that were previously used to regulate the behaviour of others, or which others used to regulate the child's behaviour, are used to regulate the self (FERNYHOUGH, 2010). Self-regulatory processes are considered as higher-order functions involved in the reflective control and monitoring of thought and action (Carlson, 2005), sometimes also referred to as executive function (Sokol et al., 2015). At the end of age two, the child becomes able to reflect the outcome of an action (Heckhausen, 1988) which paves the way for anticipated positive self-regard and expected outcome of an action. As already mentioned, expectations for success are a powerful mechanism for future goal-related activity, letting the child persist in activities that lack immediate rewards and reduces their need for immediate gratification (Mischel et al., 2011; Mischel, Shoda, & Rodriguez, 1989).

Self-regulated behaviour requires the child to have an awareness of socially approved behaviours and therefore the development of self-regulation represents a significant aspect of children's socialisation (Kopp, 1982). The quality of the parent/caregiver-child relationship is believed to be a key influence on children's internalisation of their parent/caregivers' values and goals (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Grolnick & Farkas, 2002) (Brody et al., 2005; Kochanska, Murray, & Harlan, 2000; Li-Grining, 2007; Slagt, Dubas, Dekovic, & van Aken, 2016) especially during early childhood (Choe, Olson, & Sameroff, 2013; Ng-Knight et al., 2016). For instance, close and affectively warm parent/caregiver-child relationships support the learning of socially desirable behaviour by facilitating communication between parent and child (Estrad, Arsenio, Hess &

Holloway, 1987; Cecil, Barker, Jaffee & Viding, 2012). Additionally, the stable emotional base provided by close parent/caregiver-child bonds allows children to explore and engage with difficult and challenging tasks which affords children the experience and practice required to develop good self-regulatory skills (Alessandri & Lewis, 1996). Conversely, parent/caregiver-child relationships characterised by high levels of conflict and hostility arouse negative emotions in children which then interfere with the cognitive processes underlying self-control (Pessoa, 2009).

Moreover, interactions with significant others (i.e. parents, caregivers, siblings, peers) affect children's appraisal of their experiences, the identification of the appropriate timing to regulate their emotions as well as the selection and implementation of specific strategies and behaviors (Diaz & Eisenberg, 2015). The development of the ability and motivation to self-regulate is closely related to the motivation and intention to act in accordance with the expectations of others. These expectations in turn are influenced by cultural values (Trommsdorff, 2012). More specifically, when trying to meet the expectations of their caregivers, children internalise social values and rules that reflect the cultural environment in which the family is embedded (Grusec and Goodnow, 1994). Processes of internalization and integration of extrinsically motivated activities have been identified by Ryan and Deci (2000) as key mechanisms involved in rendering extrinsic motivation personally important, to become part of the person, and when enacting the behaviour it will be an autonomous action.

3.4. Self-concept and identity

Entering primary school marks the period when children move from the home into wider social contexts. They spend less time under the supervision of their parents and come increasingly under the influence of teachers and activity leaders, such as coaches, tutors or instructors. They learn to cooperate with their peers and adults other than their family members. As they enter formal schooling they experience both increased individual freedom and heightened demands to control their behaviour – to be good, to show respect and to cooperate.

The start of formal schooling and organised activities introduces the child to new social roles where they earn social status by their competence and performance. They develop their personal identity, self-concepts and orientations toward achievement (Eccles, 1999). The expanding social world includes contact to peers, adults and activities outside the family brings new opportunities to develop competences and interests in different domains, as well as exposure to social comparison and competition in the classroom and in peer groups. Cognitive changes enable children to reflect on their own successes and failures and to recognise their strengths and weaknesses. They also develop a notion of how one goes about learning, and discover that strategies such as studying and practicing can improve their learning and performance. Feelings of competence and personal esteem are of central importance for a child's wellbeing. Successful experiences in different settings can support the development of a healthy, positive view of one's competences and a positive attitude towards learning and engagement in school.

Children who during their elementary school years do not perceive themselves as competent in academic, social, athletic, artistic or other domains might experience feelings of depression and social isolation (Eccles, 1999). Repeated feelings of frustration and incompetence may bring about a negative feelings about school and learning. They might conclude that failure is an indication of incompetence and not a condition that can be modified through increased effort in learning or practicing. If they believe they lack

innate ability they become discouraged and withdraw from the task. By contrast, if they perceive their abilities as subject to possible improvement, they might become more competent through practice and development. A differentiation has been made between a fixed and a growth mind set (Dweck (2006), emphasising that a belief in one's own agency and the capacity to effect change is fundamental to the learning process (see also Leadbeater, 2018). When accompanied with appropriate help and support from peers or adults, the belief that ability can be cultivated reduces frustration with failure and allows children to maintain high expectations for future success (Eccles, 1999).

Early manifestations of agency continue to develop and change. With the transition to secondary school new demands and opportunities to experience autonomy, competence and belonging to new social groups arise. When adolescents are in settings within the family, the school, or community programs that are not attuned to their needs and emerging independence, they can lose confidence in themselves and slip into negative patterns of behaviour, such as truancy or school drop-out. Moreover, if these settings produce stressful social relationships between youth and adults, young people will not turn to adults for help and support (Eccles, 1999). These interactions between individual and context have been specified in the stage-environment fit theory (Eccles & Midgley, 1989; Eccles & Roeser, 2004) which argues that a mismatch between the learner's needs and the stimulation and support provided by the environment can have negative consequences for the development of agency and wellbeing (Gutman & Eccles, 2007), which in turn has implications for later attainment and readiness to engage in learning.

3.5. Purposeful and intentional action: Taking responsibility

Another important building block in the development of agency is learning to understand what is right and what is wrong and to adjust one's behaviour accordingly. During primary school children learn to recognise the normative constraints of a situation and to recognise negative emotions resulting from guilt and remorse for violating moral standards (Sokol et al., 2015). For example, they learn that it is not acceptable to break a toy belonging to another student or to intentionally harm another student. They learn to differentiate between accidental and intentional behaviours (such as breaking a toy), and the associated moral accountability.

They also learn to take the perspective of others, and come to understand that others might have a different point of view and different knowledge than they have (Eccles, 1999) and that they can be hurt by one's action. They also learn to empathise with other's emotional states (Eisenberg et al., 2010). While in young children the understanding of another's emotional state may be fairly rudimentary, it becomes more salient and conscious during middle childhood. The development of empathy, in turn, is considered to play an important role in the degree to which individuals respect others, and their engagement in prosocial or antisocial behaviour. Through interaction with others (for example their peers) they begin to adjust to the needs of others and pursue mutual interests. Moreover, they try to win acceptance from their peers and must learn how to manage tensions and conflicts. Managing tensions and conflict, to balance the need for independent action and collaborating with others is one of the most important lessons young people have to learn (OECD, 2018).

The development of responsible and moral behaviour is context-bound, varying from situation to situation, and depends on advances in cognitive development (Damon, 1999). While in middle childhood, i.e. during primary school, children connect moral feelings with adult observation and their behaviour is largely depended on whether they think they

would be caught. For example, a 7-year old chocolate thief is unlikely to feel guilty unless she gets caught in the act.

With advancing cognitive development children learn to understand that they are responsible for their action. Parents and caregivers play an important role in facilitating moral development. Of particular importance is the establishing of consistent rules and firm limits, reflecting an 'authoritative' style involving high demands and high levels of responsiveness encouraging open discussion and clear communication to explain and, when justified, revise the rules (Baumrind, 1978; Steinberg, 2001). Another critical aspect is for parents or teachers to encourage the right kinds of peer relations, as interactions with peers can spur moral growth by showing children the conflict between their preconceptions and social reality (see also Salmela-Aro, 2018).

3.6. Social responsibility and citizenship

Over time children come to understand that social rules are made by people and thus can be renegotiated and that reciprocity in relationships is fairer than unilateral obedience (Damon, 1999). Students learn to think for themselves, to reflect on their actions and that of others in the light of their experiences, their personal and societal goals, what they value and what they consider as right and wrong. Going to school is a profound and formative experience for children because they understand what it means to be part of a community larger than a family, with authority exercised by strangers, and where the child learns to respect and get along with others (Leadbeater, 2018).

Advances in developmental processes also involve reflection about existing norms or behaviours, establishing if they are appropriate and relevant, or if they are no longer functional. For example, confrontation with a disorienting dilemma, such as experiencing bullying or discrimination in the class room or the wider society, serves as a trigger for reflection and can lead to the transformation of meaning perspectives, a phenomenon also identified as transformative learning (Illeris, 2014; Merzirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009).

Regarding the development of agency this can imply the emergence of social responsibility and civic engagement (Lerner, Fischer & Weinberg, 2000; Sherrod, Torney-Purta & Flanagan, 2010), linking individual experiences to collective experiences. Indeed, previous research has underlined that high levels of self-efficacy are associated with pro-social behaviour, sharing and helping others (Bandura, 2001). Recognising shared social values and norms, in turn, could empower individuals to engage in collective action to bring about social change.

For example, a student might notice that one of her peers is being bullied or discriminated against (e.g. due to their race, religion, physical appearance, or skill level). She might then question her own behaviour, i.e. if she is behaving in ways that might harm or disadvantage her peers, and aim to change it (personal agency). She might befriend the peer and engage in joint activities inside and outside school, showing her solidarity. She might also talk about her observations to the teacher and ask for the bullying to be stopped. Both forms of action reflect co-agency, i.e. initiating a change of behaviour through collaborating with others. Recognising that bullying or discrimination is not a singular case, but is a common concern across the whole school, they could start an initiative to raise awareness with the aim to call a halt to these unvalued practices generally (collective agency).

Similar engagement might be initiated not only in the social sphere, but also regarding environmental or economic challenges. For example, a student notices and is annoyed by the amount of litter they encounter on their way to school. They might change their own behaviour (i.e. stop throwing litter), convince others to stop doing it, or start a local campaign raising awareness and calling for a change in behaviour. Or they might notice that there is a need for a new technology or practice of how to handle their lives. They might, for example, develop a new app to facilitate the coordination of different timetables, try it out themselves, get others to test it, and if they consider it as a useful tool, market it on a larger scale.

Parents, teachers and caregivers can support this process of civic engagement by creating opportunities for learners to understand contradictions, interlinkages and interdependencies of modern society. The learning process can be adapted to the learner's own needs and relevant opportunities, asking students for example to reflect on what they find meaningful, worthwhile and valuable, and what they think is valuable to others. This should not only be on an abstract level, such as discussing concepts (e.g. respect, empowerment, or freedom), but also in terms of specific behaviours and practices using images and objects used in everyday life, and giving visibility to alternative approaches or perspectives (Thoeresen, 2017). It could involve approaches using peer mentoring and tutoring, or service learning where teachers utilise volunteer activities outside of the classroom to guide students' understanding of concepts specific to academic courses and disciplines (Sokol et al., 2015).

In summary, the manifestations of agency change over time and they address different concerns, ranging from personal, social, economic or environmental issues. The development of agency depends on processes of individual maturation regarding physical, cognitive, social and emotional competences, as well as changing social relationships and a changing social context. It is a relational process, build on reciprocal interactions with others. As such the development of agency can be learned through guided instruction, providing opportunities for action, initiative and reflection, and conveying a feeling of belonging. Moreover, agency involves the capacity for working together, i.e. the capacity to offer support and asking for support from others (Edwards, 2005a).

Agency has to be understood as a dynamic and relational process that emerges through interaction with others and develops over time. Agency is shaped through early interactions with caregivers in the family, and with increasing age through interactions with a wider range of people and institutions, including teachers, peers, community members, employers as well as wider social systems which will be discussed next.

4. The social embeddedness of agency

Individual lives do not unfold in a social vacuum. The wider social and historical context matters in how individual lives develop (Elder, Shanahan, & Jennings, 2015), what resources one has available and what experiences one makes. Individual development is shaped by historical settings, social institutions, social rules, norms, values, social structures and networks of relationships that exist independent of the individual, and which can vary across countries.

4.1. Historical conditions

From a historical perspective, societal contexts differ substantially as settings for individual agency due to a number of factors, including economic conditions (i.e., boom or bust), the current cultural climate or “Zeitgeist” (for example as represented in an aspirational mindset versus depressive mood), political circumstances (i.e., political stability versus unrest, war or rapid political change), demographic changes (i.e. longer life expectancy, changing family structures), globalisation versus nationalism, and technological innovations. The impact of historical conditions on the development of individual agency has been demonstrated by Elder’s pioneering work on Children of the Great Depression (Elder, 1974), the study of risk and resilience in times of social change (Schoon, 2006; Schoon & Bynner, 2017; Schoon & Mortimer, 2017), or research conducted following the dissolution of the communist order in Europe after 1989 (e.g., Diewald, 2007; Silbereisen, 2016). The impact of the historical conditions on the manifestation of agency thereby strongly depends on the specific socio-cultural conditions in which certain events are experienced. For example, institutional settings regulating access to education and employment are important levers to buffer potential negative effects of events, such as a sudden economic downturn.

4.2. Social institutions

Social institutions (i.e. family, school, university, work place) structure the life course and generate an age-graded and sequentially organised pattern of opportunities and pathways regarding the assumption of social roles and positions (Heckhausen et al., 2010; Levy & Buhmann, 2016). For example, societies regulate the timing of major educational transitions, such as the age at entering primary school, the transition to secondary school, the end of compulsory schooling, and the duration of tertiary education. Social status transitions (e.g. entering primary education, the move to secondary or tertiary education and the labour market) are part and parcel of the institutionalised life course and imply changes in individual status, social affiliations and access to valued assets and social participation. These structures can vary across countries (Blossfeld, Klijzing, Mills, & Kurz, 2005; Schoon & Bynner, 2017), yet are typically transparent and are reflected in cultural beliefs and social norms about age-appropriate behaviour and individuals’ expectancies, i.e. that they have to graduate from upper secondary school before gaining admission to tertiary education. On-time transitions, such as entering university after the

completion of upper secondary education are well prepared offering optimal opportunities for a smooth transition. Off-time transitions, such as applying for tertiary education after early school leaving or extended periods of full-time employment, are less common. They require greater effort and initiative of the individual and can be more risky.

4.3. Social norms

In addition to institutional structures, social norms regarding appropriate conduct govern individual behaviour. For example, social norms about age-appropriate behaviour, for example the timing of transitions can influence individual's goal setting (Heckhausen et al., 2010; Neugarten, 1996; Settersten, 1997). Social age norms are generally defined as social rules for age-appropriate behaviour, including everyday actions (such as walking unattended by an adult to school, school attendance and absence, consumption of alcohol or smoking) and the timing and sequencing of major life events (e.g. entering pre-school, age at school leaving, age at first child or marriage) which can vary across different cultural contexts. These age norms constitute a social clock, or a 'script of life' (Buchmann, 1989). They are associated with positive or negative sanctions, and can potentially influence individual attitudes and behaviours. Individuals internalise such norms and compare themselves and their standing with regard to important developmental tasks (e.g., entering pre-school, completing education, starting full-time employment) as well as other people's standing with these norms.

Another example are gender norms, i.e. ideas about how males and females should be and act. These include a range of expectations, such as how females should dress, what they are good at, what interests them, what occupations they choose. A persistent assumption is that females are nurturing, while males are striving for independence; that females are good in languages, while males are good in math, etc. It's important to note that these gender stereotypes are not necessarily true; they are assumptions that a critical mass of people generally believe about male and female genders, guiding individual behaviour, self-concepts, aspirations and attainment (Schoon & Eccles, 2014). Gendered beliefs become apparent in early childhood, as for example in classroom behaviour and the competences manifest at school entry. Early gender beliefs become more stereotypical over the life course and are shaped by multiple influences experienced in interactions within the family, the school, peer groups, as well as in the labour market. They are recreated through everyday social relations with significant others as well as interactions with the wider social context, accumulating over time. These cumulative experiences are internalised and can become self-fulfilling prophecies, leading to biased perceptions about one's own competence which in turn can affect engagement and performance, as well as aspirations, preferences and values.

Moreover, individual behaviour is guided by social norms regarding appropriate 'agentic' regulation which can differ across cultural contexts (Jaramillo, Rendon, Munoz, Weis, & Trommsdorff, 2017; Trommsdorff, 2012). Evidence from cross-cultural studies suggest that in Asian cultures, the regulation of behaviour, emotions, and cognitions is generally subordinated to the preservation of social harmony with the group and nature, while in the European American culture, self-regulation serves to improve the autonomy of the individual and the opportunities to fulfil personal goals (Trommsdorff, 2012). These differences in social norms imply different views of the self as an agent that develops, either in close connection and interdependence with others, or as a separate, unique entity. In the first case, the self is viewed as malleable and adjustment to social expectations and the given environment is promoted. Values of duty, respect, self-

restrained and obligation acquire great relevance because they allow to adjust personal goals to the goals and expectations of others and to maintain community ethics. In the second case, the self is considered as individual and fixed, expressing itself and reaching its own goals. Accordingly the goal of socialisation practices is to help children to achieve independence and self-enhancement. The emphasis is in the differentiation, but not in the coordination among selves.

4.4. Social Structures

To fully comprehend the manifestation of individual agency, we also have to consider the role of social structures that influence the available socio-economic resources, the likelihood of access to a quality education, as well as the goals individuals set for themselves. For example, family background assessed in terms of parental social class, parental education, social status or income has shown to impact on the development of agency among their offspring and is associated with attainment across multiple domains (BrooksGunn & Duncan, 1997; OECD, 2017c; Yoshikawa, Aber, & Beardslee, 2012). Even in highly developed countries there is concern about persistent rates of children growing up in poverty and social inequality in educational opportunities.

Across all OECD countries 13.5% of children on average live in families experiencing income poverty (OECD, 2015). Poverty rates differ considerably from country to country, pointing to the role of institutional leverage and regulation. In some countries, including the United States, more than 20% of children live in poverty, compared with less than 5% in Denmark and Finland. Moreover, between 2004 and 2014, child income poverty rates have increased in nine of the 16 OECD countries with available data (OECD, 2015). This is against the background of rising unemployment and precarious employment in the aftermath of the 2008 recession, including long-term unemployment and labour market insecurity (OECD, 2017b). Moreover, growing sections of the population, including those with academic qualifications, encounter low paid temporary jobs, underemployment or zero-hour contracts (Schoon & Bynner, 2017; Standing, 2011).

Children growing up in relatively disadvantaged families show, in general, lower levels of educational achievement motivation and aspirations (Duckworth & Schoon, 2012; Mortimer, Zhang, Hussemann, & Wu, 2014; Schoon, 2014), self-confidence and locus of control (Ahlin & Antunes, 2015; Battle & Rotter, 1963; Flouri, 2006; Moilanen & Shen, 2014), lower levels of educational and occupational attainment (BrooksGunn & Duncan, 1997; Engle & Black, 2008; OECD, 2017c; Schoon & Lyons-Amos, 2017) and wellbeing (Bradshaw, 2016). Inequality in educational attainment starts early in life. A report examining educational inequalities across different OECD countries identifies gaps in attainment already at school entry and points to the important role of schools to reduce inequalities rather than exacerbate them (Reardon & Waldfogel, 2016).

Explanations of association between socio-economic resources and individual attainment refer to cumulative risk effects including poor housing conditions, lack of a place to study, lack of access to quality education institutions, lacking financial resources to provide extra tuition or support prolonged education participation, lack of familiarity about how to engage with different cultural institutions (i.e. being the first in the family to go to university), lack of connections to social networks facilitating access to important information and contacts (DiPrete & Eirich, 2006; Levy & Buhlmann, 2016; Schoon et al., 2002), or lack of time and energy of parents to engage in warm and supportive parenting (Conger, Conger & Martin, 2010). Moreover, the horizon of perceived possibilities regarding education and career pathways among children from less

advantaged family background is foreshortened, as they feel constrained by perceptions of limited opportunities and resources (Gottfredson, 1981; Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997; Schoon & Heckhausen, submitted).

There have, however, been significant changes regarding the association between parental socio-economic background and manifestation of agency in their offspring. In the aftermath of the massive education expansion since the 1980s and changing employment opportunities, young people have become more ambitious regarding their education and career aspirations. Increasingly young people from disadvantaged background aspire to go to university and to enter a professional career, thus climbing the social ladder (Reynolds & Johnson, 2011; Schoon, 2010, 2012; Shane & Heckhausen, 2017). Indeed, a new norm of ‘college for all’ (Rosenbaum, 2001) has emerged, encouraging high education expectations regardless of academic aptitude or social background. Indeed, most young people in the Global North are striving to obtain degree level qualifications, and the association between parental socio-economic status and achievement orientations has weakened (Johnson & Reynolds, 2013; Reynolds & Johnson, 2011; Schoon, 2010, 2012). Moreover, associations between indicators of family SES (such as parental education, social status, income) and indicators of individual agency, such as control perceptions and self-regulation among recent cohorts are only small – while associations between family SES and academic attainment are considerably higher (Kay, Shane, & Heckhausen, 2016; Ng-Knight & Schoon, 2017). However, within a context of generally expanded higher education levels and reduced value of educational credentials, current cohorts of young people will need higher levels of educational qualifications to maintain the social status of their parents and avoid downward social mobility (Suton Trust, 2017; Schoon & Bynner, 2017).

4.5. Can individual agency potentially compensate for socio-economic disadvantage?

Individuals are not passively exposed to structural constraints, but shape the context that shapes them. Moreover, it has been argued that individual agency can potentially function as a protective resource, even in conditions of socio-economic adversity, and enable individuals to achieve against the odds (Ng-Knight & Schoon, 2017; Schoon & Heckhausen, submitted; Schoon & Lyons-Amos, 2017). The term ‘resource substitution’ (Ross & Mirowsky, 2006) has been used to describe thus potential compensatory effects, where one resource (e.g. economic, social, or personal resources) can substitute for another or can fill the gap if the other is absent. The ‘resource substitution’ hypothesis predicts the worse outcomes for those with neither resource.

Evidence regarding potential compensatory effects of agency suggests a mixed picture and is not clear cut. For example, achievement goals, such as aspirations to participate in further and higher education or to enter a professional career are associated with subsequent educational and occupational attainment, over and above the influence of social background and cognitive ability (Domina, Conley, & Farkas, 2011; Johnson & Reynolds, 2013; Reynolds, Burge, Robbins, Boyd, & Harris, 2007; Schoon & Polek, 2011; Villarreal et al., 2015), as are subjective expectations of success (Ashby & Schoon, 2010; Hitlin & Johnson, 2015) and indicators of self-regulation and self-efficacy (Moffitt et al., 2011; Ng-Knight & Schoon, 2017). However, while high aspirations among relative disadvantaged students enable them to do better than their less ambitious peers from a similar background (Schoon & Parsons, 2002; Schoon & Polek, 2011; Schoon, 2014), educational attainment for these students is at least as strong, if not a stronger

predictor of career attainment than individual aspirations. This is especially the case for young people born in later cohorts, who made the transition from school-to-work after the expansion of higher education in the late 1980s (Duckworth & Schoon, 2012; Schoon, 2007, 2012), pointing to the important influence of a changing labour market insisting on higher level qualifications.

Compensatory effects of individual agency were also evident in studies examining the effect of the Great Recession on young people making the transition from school-to-work. When young people held onto a more positive outlook for the future, their parents' economic troubles posed less risk to their socioeconomic functioning as young adults (Mortimer, Zhang, Hussemann, & Wu, 2014; Vuolo, Staff, & Mortimer, 2012). Even among young people growing up with workless parents (Schoon, 2014), high levels of academic achievement orientations were associated with a reduction in the time spent not being in education, employment or training (NEET). Similar buffering effects were observed for young people maintaining high levels of control perceptions in situations of family socio-economic adversity, although control perceptions could not provide protection against long-term inactivity, i.e. being more than 6 months NEET (Ng-Knight & Schoon, 2017).

However, young people from higher socioeconomic status families were more likely to hold onto their high education expectations than their less privileged peers, and these more persistent high expectations might help explain the greater success of young people from higher socioeconomic status backgrounds in earning a 4-year degree (Johnson & Reynolds, 2013). In addition, parental resources, in particular parental education can buffer the effect of economic hardship, and in an interesting twist to the story there is evidence to suggest that the academic orientations of parents back when they had been adolescents themselves, appeared to be protecting their children from the risks of economic troubles many years later (Mortimer et al., 2014).

These findings drive home the fact that individual agency (i.e. achievement goals, career aspirations, expectations for success, or self-regulation) can provide a motor to push individuals to carry on, even in times of hardship and potentially enable them to do well in school as well as in the transition from school to work. The findings also suggest that individuals tend to hang on to their hopes and dreams even in times of adversity unless socio-economic conditions are overpowering their ability to cope, or changing circumstances require them to change the course of their action and the associated aspirations.

There is however also a potential 'dark side' to high levels of agency beliefs. For example, while life goals focused on self-acceptance, affiliation and community feeling were associated with higher levels of wellbeing and low distress later on in life, the reverse was the case for aspirations focused on financial success wealth - suggesting that not all goals are equivalent in their relationship to wellbeing (Kasser & Ryan, 1993). Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that unrealistic optimism can harm individuals by promoting inappropriate persistence and overconfidence, which in turn hinder performance and attainment (Armor & Taylor, 1998; K. Salmela-Aro, 2017; Schoon & Lyons-Amos, 2017). This is particularly the case in situations where the demands of the task are higher than individual capabilities, or where agency beliefs are not matched to individual competencies. There are however also variations by socio-cultural context. For example, the less structured and more permeable educational system of the USA provides better opportunities for highly ambitious students than the highly structured education

system in Germany, where educational aspirations need to be closely calibrated to one's social status and prior school achievement (Heckhausen & Chang, 2009).

In summary, the manifestation of individual agency cannot be understood without considering the social conditions in which it is enacted. Structural and cultural conditions shape the situations that individuals encounter. Yet, the structural conditions should not be taken to determine individual action and behaviour – they are always mediated by the emergent reflective powers of agents (Archer, 2000). Social and cultural structures do not impact directly on the individual, they are subjectively interpreted and mediated through the agent's perceptions and evaluations of them, opening up a 'horizon for perceived action' (Schoon & Heckhausen, submitted). Actions can then lead, within the structurally conditioned space of perceived possibilities, to either the reproduction of existing structures or to their transformation. For example, individuals becoming aware of injustice or unfairness in their society, of persisting inequalities such as gender differences in pay, precarious working conditions, social inequality or discrimination of minorities might try to get other people (such as their community representatives) who have more expertise or influence to act on their behalf, or they might work together with other likeminded individuals to achieve a shared desired goal of a fairer society through collective action. The resulting social structures then become again the preconditions for subsequent behaviour and action. Both agency and structure are interconnected through reciprocal interactions and one cannot be reduced to the other.

Within an integrated, socio-ecological developmental perspective, agency is not understood as a personality characteristic. It is a relational process, a phenomenon that emerges through the unique interplay of individual capacity and the socio-cultural structures in which it is enacted. Even highly capable individuals might fail to achieve agency if the conditions are difficult or non-supportive.

5. Implications for the OECD Learning Framework 2030

Global trends regarding social, economic and environmental change impact on individual lives. In particular rapid technological advances, widening inequalities and social fragmentation require a new orientation enabling young people to become agents of change (OECD, 2017). As pointed out in the OECD program regarding *The Future of Education and Skills 2030* (OECD, 2017, 2018) education systems thereby play a vital role in equipping young people with the competencies to mobilize relevant knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to meet complex and changing demands. They will need to apply their competencies in unknown and evolving circumstances, to develop and pursue future-oriented plans for action, and to actively engage with an ever changing socio-cultural context. In the previous discussion I have described a) how these agentic capabilities develop along processes of maturing physical, cognitive, social and emotional competencies; b) how they are shaped by influences from a wider socio-historical and cultural context; and c) how they develop through interactions with more knowledgeable ‘significant others’ (i.e. parents, teachers or peers) who provide developmentally appropriate input and support for learning. Here I shortly summarize how this evidence might be relevant for the OECD Learning Framework 2030.

5.1. Developing Transformative Competencies

The OECD Learning Framework 2030 conceptualises learner agency as the ability to navigate through a complex and uncertain world. Learning has always been intentionally transformative. The demands imposed by a rapidly changing social and economic context require learners of tomorrow to acquire a broad set of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that enable them to be active agents, to visualise and create new values, take responsible action, and reconcile tensions and dilemmas.

5.1.1. *Creating new value.*

Agency refers to the human capability to anticipate the unknown (based on prior experiences and current competencies, skills, knowledge, values, attitudes and beliefs), to set goals, to plan their pursuit and attainment, and to accept responsibility for one’s action. To be an agent means to intentionally make things happen, to have a vision about what is possible (foresight, aspiration, goal), to evaluate one’s own strengths and weaknesses, available opportunities and the adequacy of one’s goals by taking into account the perspective of others (meta-cognition, self-reflection, expectations for success, perspective taking), to make plans of how to achieve the goal (intentionality, planning), and to regulate one’s own behaviour to stay on track with the set task (self-regulation, self-monitoring, persistence, grit, self-control) but also to recognise when it becomes necessary to disengage from a set goal or to change track when the opportunities become unfavourable, time is running out or the costs become too high.

The manifestation of agency can refer to changes brought about in one’s own life (such as learning a new skill), changes in interaction with others (i.e. acting out of concern for

others), and changes in the wider community (empowering oneself and others in the pursuit of a shared goal). That is, agency has different manifestations, ranging from personal agency (controlling one's own life), co-agency (collaborating with others) and collective agency (common goal). All these manifestations of agency are achieved through reciprocal interactions between a developing individual and a changing context – they are the result of a dynamic relational process.

5.1.2. Taking responsibility

The manifestation of agency does not imply that individuals impose their will on others. It involves recognising the consequences of one's actions on others, to be able to take the perspective of the other and to develop modes of self-regulation in accordance with valued and shared social norms, e.g. not harming others. This also includes the recognition that by taking action in a world that one does not wholly determine that actions can bring unexpected and sometimes unintended consequences. Being a responsible agent implies to take ownership for one's actions and to be accountable, even if an outcome was not intended.

5.1.3. Reconciling tensions and dilemmas

Balancing the urge for independent action and collaboration with others, being able to reconcile diverse perspectives and interests and to manage interpersonal or intergroup conflicts is a key characteristic of effective agency. This is particularly relevant for collaborative or collective action, which depends on developing a joint vision and objective. It is however also relevant in learning a new skill. For example in instances where the learner might become over-confident, not listening or taking on board relevant advice, and potentially hamper their own progress. In addition, they have to recognise when to let go of a desired goal, or wait for improved conditions to complete a task. This could also involve that they recognise the need to ask for help or to acquire additional competencies to be able to succeed, i.e. they need to recognise that their will does not correspond to their skills or available opportunities and support.

More generally, in developing one's own plans, the individual has to learn to reconcile different interests, i.e. that it is not possible to pursue too many goals at the same time and that opportunities might be more favourable regarding one goal versus another. They also have to recognise that often there is not one possible solution to a problem that different paths can lead to the same anticipated outcome, requiring the ability to understand manifold interconnections and interrelatedness of different ideas, and being able to deal with tensions, dilemmas and trade-offs.

They also should be able to take the perspective of others, recognise potential conflicts of interests, respect the position of others and resolve disagreements and differences amicably (see for example Schulprojekt der Deutschen Stiftung Mediation).

These competencies emerge through interactions between a developing individual and others in a changing social context. Agency is not a fixed personality characteristic but is shaped and develops through reciprocal interactions with others. Beginning with early interactions characterising the parent-child relationship, and with increasing age, through interactions with a wider range of people and institutions, the individual acquires a repertoire of skills and competencies that enable self-directed activity, i.e. to act independently of stimuli in the immediate situation, to be creative, proactive, reflective and not just reactive.

Educators play a central role in facilitating this process by providing developmentally appropriate instruction which is matched to existing skills and at the same time offers challenges for further development (Eccles & Midgley, 1989). They should help the learners in the establishment of goals and guide them toward achievement of these goals. The challenge for learner and teacher is to discover and develop a common interest, i.e. to advance learning and the growth of competencies, to interact effectively with each other, to build joint agreements for classroom goals and shared responsibility for their enactment.

5.2. Challenge for educators – Developing teacher agency

Teacher–student relationships constitute the core of instruction, providing the primary context of both teachers’ and students’ learning (Heikonen, Pietarinen, Pyhältö, & Soini, 2017; Spilt, Koomen, & Thijs, 2011). To facilitate student learning, teachers themselves need to actively learn from and reflect on their interactions with students. This requires teachers’ professional agency, i.e. they have to acquire the capacity to intentionally manage learning in classroom interaction (Pyhältö, Pietarinen, & Soini, 2012).

As any form of agency, teachers’ professional agency is relational by nature and embedded in the reciprocal interactions with students and other members of the school community (Lipponen & Kumpulainen, 2011). It refers to the teacher’s capacity to intentionally and responsively manage their own teaching and learning in order to enhance student learning in the classroom (Pyhältö et al., 2012). Professional agency consists of teachers’ will and motivation to learn, their self-efficacy beliefs about teaching and learning and intentional activities towards learning in the classroom (Edwards, 2005b; Soini, Pietarinen, & Pyhältö, 2016).

Teachers who experience professional agency perceive themselves as being in control of their everyday pedagogical and practical decisions and actions, which are based on their goals, interests and motivations (Heikonen et al., 2017). Furthermore, they draw on their experiences with others (e.g., pupils and peers) as resources for learning how best to provide support for learning (Edwards, 2005b; Edwards & D'Arcy, 2004). This, in turn, requires the capacity to create and sustain functional teacher–student relationships, and to perceive instruction as a reciprocal process (Martin & Dowson, 2009). It also implies continuous reflection on teacher–student interaction and intentional transformation of classroom practices (Soini et al., 2016).

5.3. Challenges for Curriculum Development

To facilitate teacher agency, teachers should be empowered to use their professional knowledge, skills and expertise to deliver the curriculum effectively. There is however evidence to suggest that the development of teacher agency can be undermined by educational policy aiming to impose prescriptive curricula and oppressive regimes of testing and inspection (Biesta, Priestly, & Robinson, 2015; G. J. J. Biesta, 2010). To enable the development of teacher agency it is thus necessary to involve teachers in the design of a new curriculum for *The Future of Education and Skills 2030* Framework, to clarify underlying concepts and principles and how they can be implemented in the classroom.

To achieve a joint vision, empowering teachers, students, and the wider community, it is however also necessary to involve other key stakeholders in the design and development of a new curriculum. These include students, teachers, school leaders, parents, national

and local policy makers, academic experts, unions, as well as social and business partners.

A key challenge in aiming to integrating different needs and demands into a coherent and manageable program of education, is to avoid curriculum overload. As a basic requirement it is crucially important to make sure that students acquire a solid foundation of knowledge in key disciplines such as literacy, numeracy, the sciences, languages, history, social and cultural studies as well as the arts and sports. The central aim of *The Future of Education and Skills 2030* Framework should thus be to ensure that all students have a solid foundation of knowledge and skills. Young people should emerge from school being able to read and write, to add and subtract, be familiar with modern technology and IT, and be familiar with their culture and national history (Leadbeater, 2018).

However, aiming to support the development of agency it is not enough to have the curriculum focused on the transmission of subject specific knowledge – it should also aim to develop the whole person, to enable students to take initiative, to apply their knowledge in novel situations and to reflect on and take responsibility for their actions.

Programs to encourage student agency could be tied appropriately to the student's acquisition of relevant curricular knowledge and socially responsible conduct (Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004; Martin, 2004). This could be achieved through engaging students in well selected tasks that encourage self-directed experimentation with alternative possibilities that challenge their existing understandings. For example, teachers can agree with students the learning goals in advance, identify what matters to the students, demonstrate new material, provide opportunity for practice, encourage search for likely alternatives, use group projects and group learning, peer tutoring, as well as strategic use of reinforcement (see for example Kay and Kibble (2016), or Thoresen Wyszynski, 2017).

Through the process of instruction, students should be encouraged to recognise potential difficulties and concerns raised by the tasks and to experiment actively with possibilities to address these difficulties and concerns. They should feel comfortable with taking risks, i.e. the possibility of being wrong, and be encouraged to focus on the issues, concerns and difficulties at hand. In addition students be provided with opportunities for evaluating the results of their experimentation and reflection of the learning activity.

In addition, instruction needs to be developmentally appropriate – matched to existing skills and offering opportunity for development (Eccles & Midgley, 1989). It also needs to be relevant to the interests and needs of the student, and establish meaningful connections between the learning content and their daily lives, e.g. regarding the usefulness of mathematics in everyday lives and for future careers (Dicke, 2017).

Formal learning in the classroom is not the only aspect to be considered as part of the curriculum. Clubs, sports, and other co-curricular activities are significant contributors to the development of a total individual and to curriculum effectiveness. Learning and personal growth do not take place strictly within the confines of a classroom or laboratory. Students develop skills and competence through a variety of learning activities and experiences, and instruction can be offered in school or extra-curricular programs, opening up a wider space for students to experience feelings of autonomy, competence and belonging.

6. References

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*Attitudes and Values and the OECD Learning Framework
2030: A critical review of definitions, concepts and data*

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1. Introduction

The OECD Learning Framework 2030 project requires common ground and shared understanding of concepts in order to move discussion forward productively with stakeholders and across cultures. To develop effective pedagogy it needs clear and in-depth definitions. This review paper presents arguments and examples of theory and research focusing on the domain of ‘attitudes and values’. It will explore their relationship to competencies and the Learning Framework’s goals. It will explore areas of possible ambiguity, lack of clarity and potential pitfalls.

The OECD Learning Framework 2030 rests on a core concept of *competencies*, originally developed in the 2001 DeSeCo Project (Rychen & Salganik, 2001; Haste, 2001, 2009). While knowledge and skills are learned elements, a competency implies their dynamic adaptive and flexible application in appropriate circumstances and different contexts. This implies a model of human beings as active agents in interaction with the environment, ideas and people, situated within a sociocultural context, and also integrating affect and cognition (Corno & Anderman, 2016; Bruner, 1986, Bruner & Haste, 1987; Jensen, 2010, 2016).

The Learning Framework identifies three ‘transformative’ competencies; *creating new value*, *reconciling tensions and dilemmas*, and *taking responsibility*. The implication is that acquiring these will lead both to desirable individual development and ‘wellbeing’, and to cultural and societal flourishing. The goal is to create pedagogy that facilitates both the necessary skill and knowledge base, and the social and psychological attributes that enable agency. Attitudes and values are integral to each of the competencies and to agency:

- as motivation for acquiring and using knowledge and skills and providing the cognitive and affective engine for agency
- framing the priorities for what comprises ‘well-being’, good personhood and good citizenship
- endorsing and supporting societal and global values that promote social capital and societal well-being

The review will address how research and theory inform the relationship between attitudes and values, competency, agency, goals, motivation and sociocultural context, with particular critical attention to potentially problematic issues. Clarifying terminology and concepts is essential for a common language and shared understanding. First, because many terms are widely, and vaguely, used in lay language there is considerable potential for misunderstanding. Second, concepts might be differently interpreted in different cultural contexts because they have different meaning or because there are different value priorities, for example different assumptions about what comprises good personhood, good citizenship or a good community. Discussion may be inhibited or distorted because certain terms or concepts are sensitive in different political or cultural contexts.

The review will address:

- Issues of terminology and key concepts; values, attitudes, wellbeing, agency, identity, narratives
- Models of values development
- Culture and values
- Searches for common values
- The relationship between values and the competencies.

The paper will address issues of definition and follow up with research data that elaborates how definitions are currently applied.

2. Issues of terminology and key concepts:

2.1. Values

Values are about what matters to us. They are central to our personal identity; they frame the beliefs which form our worldview, and they motivate us to action. “Value may be defined as a general belief that an individual holds about the desirable goals that should be striven for in life; values transcend specific actions and contexts, have a normative prescriptive quality about what ought to be done or thought in different situations, and may be used to guide individuals’ attitudes, judgments and actions.” (Council of Europe, 2016). Values define the qualities and behaviour to which we aspire or admire in others. They also define the goals, norms and structures that we believe create a society that promotes human flourishing. Some values impose ethical or moral obligations. Other values are about aesthetics, or ideas of civilized behaviour such as good manners, which may exert an equally strong pressure to conform. Values are underpinned by implicit theories of well-being and social capital; *why* a particular preference serves one’s best interests, or *why* certain values are desirable for social capital.

Education for values is therefore *educating people to want*, (or indeed, *not to want*). It goes beyond education for knowledge and skills. The Learning Framework offers a vision and some underpinning principles for the future of education systems and it is about orientation, not prescription (OECD Education 2030 Position Paper, 2018). The goal is to provide the guiding principles to enable making deliberative choices. The questions that need addressing therefore are:

- How do competencies function in facilitating how and on what bases might value decisions and preferences be made?
- How do values operate as motivating forces?
- How are values acquired, and what are the implications for education?

2.1.1. Goals and value categories

Two questions have been evident in thinking about values, historically going back to Aristotle;

- What is the relationship between individual values and societal values?
- What different kinds of motivation and commitment might fuel individual and societal values?

Individual values are those seen to facilitate personal development and fulfilment; societal values serve social order and collective flourishing. Does either one subsume the other? Is one causal in relation to the other? If everyone cultivates the qualities that promote their personal wellbeing, will this inevitably engender an optimal society? Will values that serve collective well-being lead to individuals developing the personal values and aspirations which optimally promote their individual well-being? We can expect diversity of opinion both on what values best serve society and general flourishing, and

what values best serve individual well-being, and we can also expect diverse views about the relationship between them. Can we expect the same powerful motivation that is associated with personal aspirations and well-being, closely aligned to personal identity, to be attached to collective values that serve societal goals?

The OECD Learning Framework 2030 includes both strands of value goals; promoting values that will lead to human flourishing, social and economic progress and environmental responsibility, and developing the personal and social values that enrich selfhood, self-direction and flourishing and effective relationships with others. The Framework defines four levels of values: *personal*, *social*, *societal* and *global*. These facilitate thinking about the relationship between individual and societal wellbeing and they also reflect different loci of motivation. The concepts that underpin these levels of values and the implications for research on well-being, agency, identity, motivation and narratives, will be discussed in later sections.

Personal values are associated with who one is as a person and how one wishes to develop self-enrichment, aspirations for personal qualities that enable us to define and lead effective lives and meet our goals. ‘Well-being’ lies in choosing the goals and personal attributes which best serve one’s potential for growth and development. Personal values are closely aligned with and motivated by personal identity.

Social values relate to the quality of interpersonal relationships. They are also ‘personal’ in that one’s identity as a good person includes how one behaves to others, what skills need to be cultivated, and how one manages interactions, including conflict. However social values also reflect cultural assumptions about what makes a community and society work effectively, for example that skilful conflict resolution not only facilitates face to face harmony, but also affirms a cultural norm of peaceful coexistence.

Societal values define the priorities of a culture, the shared principles and guidelines for practice that frame social order, institutional life and the conditions for enhancing and societal well-being. They frame public debate and they endure when they are enshrined in social and institutional structures and democratic practice, and are endorsed through public opinion.

Global values have much in common with societal values, however they are defined as transcending national or cultural domains and applying to the well-being of humanity in general. There are paradoxes. On the one hand, global values are quite abstract and beyond the power of individual implementation. However, their strong moral appeal may fuel personal behaviour. ‘Saving the planet’ is a utopian rallying cry, but it leads to personal commitment to recycling, carbon reduction etc.

2.2. Attitudes

“An “attitude” may be defined as the overall mind-set which an individual adopts towards an object (e.g. a person, a group, an institution, an issue, a behaviour, a symbol, etc.) and typically consists of four components: a belief or opinion about the object, an emotion or feeling towards the object, an evaluation (either positive or negative) of the object, and a tendency to behave in a particular way towards that object.” (Council of Europe, 2016). This definition reflects the standard social psychology usage. Attitude research has been a major component of social psychology throughout its history, in contrast with values, which have been researched extensively within philosophy, sociology and anthropology but relatively little empirically within psychology except in relation to morality (Halstead & Taylor, 2000; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2012). Something to consider is that different

people might have a different understanding of the term ‘attitude’. Therefore, the Learning Framework should offer a clear definition of the term ‘attitude’.

A value expresses a general orientation, an attitude is normally targeted to an object. Further, holding one attitude towards an object by definition precludes holding a contrasting one. Therefore, caution should be taken to not prescribe values ‘Educating for attitudes’ could entail specific choices – for example endorsing one political party rather than another, or one form of punishing crime rather than another. It would be useful to see an attitude as one aspect or manifestation of a value. Educating for values therefore is towards deliberating how that value might be expressed among a range of attitude options. For example, ‘reverence for life’ as a generic value across cultures might be manifested in different contexts as anti-abortion attitudes, refusal to eat meat, or objections to the death penalty. ‘Respect for others’ may have specific local salience regarding a minority group, a religious sect, or people of an older generation. An attitude may derive from different values; believing in vegetarianism for example might be on the grounds of avoiding cruelty to factory-farmed animals, objection to taking life, or the wasteful use of potential agricultural land for grazing. Or it could just reflect taste preference (Beardsworth, & Kiel, 1992; Harris, 2012).

Attitudes are studied usually by statements to be rated ‘agree-disagree’. Typically several attitude items that correlate with each other are clustered in a scale, for example ‘rightwing political attitudes’ might include items relating to several aspects of opinion, on race, social control, religion, economic policy. Such a scale may be used to establish relationships with other attitudes or beliefs, or with attributes which may have some causal function such as personality. For example, ‘conservative’ political attitudes may be associated with a general anxiety about change, ‘liberal’ attitudes with an openness to new ideas (Carney, Jost, Gosling & Potter, 2008; Verhulst, Eaves & Hatemi, 2012).

On one hand, attitude research may treat attitudes as enduring attributes of the individual; once established they reliably predict both other attitudes and behaviour. As in the example above, this enables seeking causal explanations in other characteristics such as personality traits. Therefore fostering the development of particular attitudes may be seen as a foundation for individual well-being (certain attitudes enhance self-confidence, efficacy or sense of purpose (e.g. Dweck & Molden, 2005; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Or they may serve societal well-being - the widespread and normative presence of particular attitudes may promote the pursuit of justice, responsibility to the community, diversity, trust in institutions (e.g., Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

On another hand, focus on attitude *change* explores the conditions under which attitudes are malleable. Winning elections depends on persuading significant numbers of people to change their attitudes. Commerce, the market and health education depend on successful attitude (and behavioural) change. Factors which affect change include the persuasive power and credibility of communicators, and the extent to which the beliefs that underpin attitudes can be undermined by counter evidence. New personal experience or changed perceptions of social issues may modify beliefs. (Crano & Prislin, 2006; Wood, 2000; Albarracin, Johnson & Zanna, 2005). Attitude change is not necessarily accompanied by value change; switching party allegiance may arise because Party X seems now more consistent with my personal values than Party Y. In times of social change we see alternative attitudes promoted as counter perspectives to those regarded as unhelpful to the current cultural agenda. In recent decades for example we see the deliberate

promotion of entrepreneurial attitudes and competition by the Chinese government in the transition from a community and collective oriented society (Kipnis, 2011; Keane, 2001)

2.3. Well-being:

The OECD Learning Framework 2030 embraces the goal of well-being both for individual development and for society. This is in line with recent moves in social science and education to focus less on specific skills, performance, outputs or products and more on the concept of flourishing – what it comprises and how it can be achieved (Doyal & Gough, 1991; Nussbaum, 2011; Biggeri, Ballet & Comin, 2011; Brighouse, Ladd, Loeb & Swift, 2018). The concept of well-being is rooted in Aristotle’s *eudaemonia*, the good life lived for the benefit of the state and the individual (Aristotle, 1955). As with Aristotle, in some formulations there is assumed intersection of individual and societal well-being. A state of societal well-being inevitably promotes, and is essential for, individual flourishing, or promoting the attributes of individual flourishing will lead to a happier and better society. The relationship lies in establishing the societal values which enable individual *capabilities or capacities* – the bases for developing one’s potential fully. Brighouse et al for example argue that the common societal values are distributive; adequacy, equality and benefitting the disadvantaged.

The lists of capabilities are characterised not by specific content but by what options are made available by facilitating their functioning in a society. Brighouse et al include ‘capabilities’ for autonomy, democratic competence and healthy personal relationships; the form in which these are manifested may be very diverse. Nussbaum identifies ten ‘capabilities’, including bodily health, being able to use one’s imagination, form relationships, exercise critical reflection and have control over one’s environment. Again, these may be manifested in different ways in different cultural contexts; the important element is that choice is available and people are able to make choices freely and competently.

A more individual-oriented version of well-being is developed in ‘positive psychology’ (Seligman, 2002, 2011). Here the emphasis is on what factors contribute to, or are manifested in, a state of individual ‘happiness’ and meaningfulness. This is achieved through focused engagement with tasks, effective relationships with others, self-efficacy and having a sense of purpose. Well-being is associated with mental health, self-motivation and perseverance (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Sheldon et al 2004).

An advantage for the Framework of fore-fronting a well-being model, especially where this includes the intersection of individual and societal factors, is that its expression and manifestation can be interpreted widely, provided that the necessary institutional and value criteria for choice and development are met. This can avoid problems of culturally diverse norms and values. This is consistent with the agenda of competency being about agency and adaptability.

2.4. Agency, motivation and identity:

The concept of agency is central to the Framework’s definition of competency: being able to actively and creatively interact with values, being able to coordinate the organization of conflicting perspectives or reconcile interpersonal dilemmas, being able to identify one’s own values and take responsibility for them. Being an effective agent requires a range of skills but also the commitment and inclination to apply them. Such commitment

derives from the identity of being an effective agent, and feeling that the responsibility to take action lies with oneself.

An example of agency is the work of Bandura, who has studied the role of *self-efficacy* across a wide range of behaviour (Bandura, 2015). Self-efficacy is a core belief that one has the resources to manage one's environment, enabling the actions that are implicated by one's values. Disengagement from a particular value can be the consequence of losing one's sense of self-efficacy with regard to that value. Bandura's concept has been widely applied in research on agency. Another similar concept is *purpose*. Damon (2008) and Moran (2017) argue that essential to individual agency and well-being is having a sense of purpose and value-based goals as a core element of one's identity.

2.4.1. Agency, identity and civic engagement

Research on civic engagement is productive regarding the role of agency. Hardy and Carlo (2005), Carretero, Haste and Bermudez (2016), Yates and Youniss (1999), and Flanagan (2013) argue that ethical and civic identity are defined by interpreting experience and events through the lens of value concerns, and feeling engaged with deliberating and acting in accordance with these. The data reported by these authors on youth civic and moral engagement indicate that taking personal responsibility in support of a societal value often arises out of moral concern, which creates a personal commitment to action (Hart & Gullan, 2010). A sense of agency is a consequence of participating in successful civic or value-based action and so acquiring relevant skills as well as a belief that one can be effective (Breakwell, 2001; Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). Single issues are frequently more important triggers for youth engagement in civic action than party politics (Flanagan, 2013; Haste & Hogan, 2006; Tausch et al., 2011). Young people describe the experience of being upset by, for example, acts of injustice or cruelty and feel moved to make a personal investment; their identity as a civic or moral actor becomes engaged (McIntosh & Youniss, 2010; Carretero, Haste & Bermudez, 2016; Seif, 2011). The experience of such engagement also changes their perceptions and values around institutional or power relations (Yates, 1999; Beaumont, 2010).

Youth use of social media for civic goals, and the political empowerment and educational strategy of Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), both illustrate these processes. Social media have had a large impact on young people's sense of agency, giving them the chance to feel that their actions have an effect. Young people actively negotiate their civic identity through their digital interactions (Weinstein, 2014; Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016). This has changed political action to more 'bottom up' immediacy; it has given voice to groups who previously had to go through gatekeepers (Allen & Light, 2015). In YPAR, young people define the 'problem' to be addressed, usually something that directly concerns their identity or community, and design the intervention project and its evaluation (Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Rodriguez & Brown, 2009; Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Caraballo & Lyiscott, 2018; Seif, 2011).

2.4.2. Identity and motivation

These data from studies of youth civic engagement show that of the four levels of values, personal and social values are most invested in identity and selfhood – the kind of person I want to be, the kind of person I wish to be in my interactions with others, how I maintain trust with others, and how I am seen by them as an effective interpersonal agent. Societal and global values in contrast are, in the main, culturally available, culturally salient and collectively shared ideas of what promotes and reflects the kind of world we

want to inhabit, benefitting overall well-being. Under most circumstances, most individuals sustain societal and global values through endorsing public opinion and social institutions. While we believe that such values enable our personal and collective well-being and flourishing, there is less personal engagement, agency or identity. However under perceived threat to those values individuals may make an identity investment, take personal responsibility. It becomes a personal value no longer only a societal value. Research on social activism demonstrates this consistently (Klandermans, 1997; Kirshner, 2015; Tausch et al, 2011; Henderson & Jeydel, 2009; Beaumont, 2010).

This is even more the case with exceptional activists, such as rescuers; people who make an extended commitment to a cause. They often report ethical epiphanies, an event in which their perception of the situation and their responsibility with regard to it, changed profoundly. This is described as a realization that they ‘had no choice’ but to make a commitment which sometimes radically changed the direction of their lives (Haste, 1990; Monroe, 2008; Colby & Damon, 1992; Andrews, 2007; Walker, 2017).

3. Narratives as sources of values:

Narratives and discourses frame the way we make sense of experience and prioritize values. They normalize personal, social, societal and global values. They communicate, prescribe and proscribe values (Bruner 1990; Hammack, 2011; Andrews, 2007; Andrews et al, 2000). A narrative includes causes or origins of that which is being storied, and likely consequences or outcomes. Narratives provide explanations and justifications which rest on culturally normative theories of what ‘works’ for individual and societal flourishing and why (Billig, 1995a; Haste & Bermudez, 2017). Narratives are also powerful because they engage with affect and identity as well as fact. Social change involves change in values and the narratives that support them; a different perspective, different explanations, and different value priorities.

Looking at values in terms of narratives is consistent with the discursive perspective of the Framework. Each of the competencies requires dialogic negotiation and continual internal deliberation; these are part of agency. These take place within a cultural context from which explanations and justifications are continually drawn (Bruner, 1990; Billig, 1995a, b; Haste & Bermudez, 2017). Both sustaining and innovating values require the management and development of narratives, to provide meaning, coherence and rhetorical power.

The French sociologist Foucault strikingly describes historical shifts in accounts of madness: from mediaeval possession by demons, cured by exorcism, through imbalance of the humours, cured by bleeding or herbs, to physiological or psychological disturbance cured by drugs or by therapy (Foucault, 2006). Over the last half century ethnic and sexual rights have evolved dramatically as a consequence of changing narratives about difference, and about values around freedom and equality (Haste, 1994; Faderman, 2015). Environmentalism brought major new narratives about collective and individual responsibility to the planet, the relationship between human behaviour and nature, and how scientific data should be regarded – or disregarded (Harré, Brockmeier & Muhlhausler, 1998). The choice of historical narratives – whether in the curriculum or the cinema - plays a vital role in defining a culture’s dominant values and the desired national identity of its citizens, though stories of ‘civilizing’ conquest, revolt against tyranny or the establishment of a society governed by lofty ideals (Billig, 1995b; Carretero, Asensio & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2012; Carretero, Berger & Grever, 2017; Haste & Bermudez, 2017). Reicher and Hopkins for example note the role of *Braveheart* in foregrounding values in the period preceding the devolution of Scotland (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Social movements generate narratives of a reformed system, to change societal and global values and social institutions. But they also need narratives around new paths to personal agency, empowerment and well-being (Bellino, 2014; Klandermans, 1997; Goodwin and Jasper, 2003). One example is the post-Apartheid efforts of Nelson Mandela and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; they explicitly created narratives that did not vilify the white population, but spoke of a new united South Africa, and the need for

forgiveness – and what this meant – not retribution (Andrews, 2007; Haste & Abrahams, 2008).

4. How do values develop? The potential confusions of contrasting theories.

The theory underpinning the Framework is innovative, implicitly drawing on Critical Theory, critical thinking and the avoidance of linear problem-solving, the integration of affect and cognition, and the sociocultural context of meaning construction (Haste, 2001, 2009). These roots are evident in how the processes and functions of competencies are presented, as well as in the challenge to a neoliberal focus on outcomes and products. This is a very encouraging development consistent with the contemporary climate of social science and pedagogy. However if we are considering possible misunderstandings or different perspectives, we must recognise that people bring to the table different models. This can impede discussion if their assumptions are not made explicit. There are three contrasting models of the origins and development of values that offer different explanations and have different implications for education. They prioritize different elements of values, they imply different versions of what constitutes ‘well-being’ and what psychological and social processes should be fostered for maximising individual and social capital. They are rooted in different philosophical traditions as well as different psychological theories of development.

1. Values and well-being development rest on *habits, skills and predispositions*, enduring attributes of the person, established through practice.
2. Values, beliefs and attitudes depend on *reasoning*
3. Values and their motivation include or are determined by *emotional factors*.

4.1. Values as habits, virtues and character

Virtue-based ethics are historically associated in the West with Aristotle and in the East with Confucius (Aristotle, 1955; Confucius, 1979). Virtues are personal qualities that are assumed to be enduring and consistent, disciplined habits of responses and behaviour that enable good relationships and social order. Their foundations are laid down early in life and are strengthened by practice. They are strongly linked to identity; being or becoming a certain type of ‘good’ person. Fostering such habits in the population maintains good interpersonal and community relations and social responsibility towards the polity.

Virtues are seen as the basis of both individual and societal well-being. Living a good life means doing the right things in the right way at the right time. The good life benefits the community as well as the individual. A core concept is moderation; choosing the mean not extremes. Reason plays a role in virtue but virtues are more than reasoning. Aristotle identified four cardinal virtues; *prudence or practical wisdom, temperance or self-regulation, courage, and justice or fair dealings with people*. Over the centuries, numerous other virtues have been added.

Confucius shared with Aristotle, who was roughly a contemporary, the concept of the ‘gentleman’ as the goal of self-development and personal morality (Confucius, 1979). His core concepts were skilled judgment, knowledge and sincerity, and following moral exemplars. *Li* means following appropriate reverence of ancestors, social etiquette and

actions contributing to building the ideal society. *Yi* means doing the right thing for the right reason, for the common good. *Ren* is about fulfilling one's responsibilities to others; through benevolence, empathy and diligence. Many Confucian principles are being revived in contemporary Chinese thinking about character (Puett, 2018).

Character, virtue and the idea of a 'good person' have a strong appeal in lay thinking. However early research on 'character' failed to find a consistent relationship between the various elements (Peck & Havighurst, 1960). Recent work on character and virtues attempts to find an integration. Berkowitz, Bier and McCauley (2017) for example define character as 'a set of psychological characteristics that motivate and enable one to function as a moral agent, to perform optimally, to effectively pursue knowledge and intellectual flourishing and to be an effective member of society'. These include moral reasoning as a 'core' moral process, but also the attributes of perseverance, loyalty and courage which support moral agency.

Damon offers a generic concept to underpin character development; the cultivation of a *sense of purpose* (Damon, 2008). *Character Counts*, a group dedicated to promoting core values, identifies six 'pillars of character': *trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring* and *citizenship*. <http://charactercounts.org>. The Jubilee Centre at the University of Birmingham focuses on virtues but with a meta-perspective of practical wisdom which entails 'considered deliberation, well-founded judgment and the vigorous enactment of decisions... foresight... being clear sighted and far sighted about the ways in which actions will lead to desired goals' <http://jubileecentre.ac.uk>. The proposed 'moral' virtues are compassion, courage, gratitude, honesty, humility, integrity, justice and respect, but the model also included *intellectual virtues* 'traits necessary for discernment, right action and the pursuit of knowledge, truth and understanding'; *civic virtues*: 'citizenship, civility, community awareness, neighbourliness, service, volunteering' and *performance virtues*: 'confidence, determination, motivation, perseverance, resilience, teamwork'.

Accounts of character are therefore eclectic. In common they have lists of virtues which are seen as morally obligating and serving individual and social well-being. Virtue development contributes to the individual's capacity to develop autonomy and self-determination (Seligman, 2011). Societal well-being and social capital are seen as benefitting from the personal qualities that lead to good community interaction and the maintenance of social order. Education for character development is also eclectic, covering a wide range of qualities, skills and behaviour. There is an emphasis on the whole environment in fostering these. Seider's ethnographic comparison of three Boston schools demonstrates how whole-school programmes differently reflect assumptions about good personhood, routes to creating the desired product and different individual outcomes (Seider, 2012). Most schools, worldwide, have mission statements that reflect their concept of character and good personhood, and how the school structure and practices foster these.

4.2. Values as reasoning

Fore-fronting reasoning as the basis for moral values derives from the Kantian view that something can only be moral if it is based on reasoning from universalizable principles, with the purpose of moral improvement (Hare, 1963). Maturity, whether in ethical or other areas of decision-making, requires the cultivation of good reasoning abilities including critical deliberation. Both individual wellbeing and social order, including democracy, rest on effective education for these skills (Kohlberg, 1981, 1984).

Late 20th century research on morality was primarily on moral reasoning, especially arising from Kohlberg's work on moral stages (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). Based on his 20 year longitudinal study of boys from Chicago, Kohlberg identified six stages of increasing complexity in moral reasoning. Research supports the sequence of stage development, though less than 10% of adults in fact reach 'post-conventional' reasoning (Stage 5), able to reason from principles beyond exemplars found in current society, and Stage 6 is largely a hypothetical construct based on very exceptional individuals. Increasing moral complexity depends upon perspective-taking, the number of actors or persons of interest incorporated into the reasoning (from a single actor, through to abstract or hypothetical social order) and upon the extent to which the reasoner can draw on principles in making a judgment. Perspective taking comprises imagining different standpoints among those involved directly or indirectly, in the situation, and the extent to which one can manage the different interests effectively in order to arrive at a morally appropriate solution (Selman, 1980). Research established that moral reasoning development is enhanced by open-ended discussion in a democratic classroom environment or 'just community' (Power, 1988; Althof, 2015; Zizek, Garz & Nowak, 2015).

Not all work that advocates critical reasoning about values relies on a stage model. A democratic environment, institutional structures and a classroom climate that encourages multiple points of view are conducive to the acquisition of skills of dialogue, conflict management and innovative solutions and the development of critical thinking. The use of controversial material in the classroom is productive of critical reasoning about values (Havermans, Claes & Maurisse, 2017; Hess, 2009; Hess & McAvoy, 2015.)

4.3. Values as integrating emotion

There are three distinct strands of research that prioritize emotion and values development; *conscience*, *immediate affective reactions* to ethical situations, and the development of *socio-emotional responses* such as compassion. The emotionally-powerful responses of guilt or shame are widely recognised in many cultures as prime moderators of behaviour. Recent work has revived interest in the phenomenon described by Hume, that we experience an immediate ethically-charged emotion such as disgust, or compassion, or anger even before we have time to reflect cognitively. Young children demonstrate empathy even before they can verbalize their feelings; this is widely recognised as a foundation for interpersonal interactions, and may contribute to societal values around caring for the less fortunate.

4.3.1. Conscience

Conscience is widely understood as an emotionally powerful organ of self-criticism and regulation that is the criterion of moral competence (Koops et al., 2010). Both guilt and shame rest on the operation of conscience and in many cultural contexts cultivating guilt and/or shame is seen as the primary educational route to moral competence development. Guilt, shame and conscience are experienced in highly personal ways, but they are shaped by social and cultural norms. Individual well-being is seen as being in harmony with one's inner judge or the sanctions of one's community. Social well-being, social control and order are sustained by guilt and shame inducing artefacts, institutions and belief systems (including religion). Classically, Freud developed the theory of the Ego, Superego, Ego Ideal and Id which captured and promoted the subjective experience of the 'inner voice' which judges one when one departs from standards associated with one's

ego ideal, and the accompanying pain (Freud, 1923). More recent work has tended to focus on the conditions under which young children acquire self-regulatory affect (Kochanska et al. 2002).

4.3.2. Immediate moral affect

The immediacy of moral reactions and their motivating power, and the conflict between this ‘hot’ experience and the ‘cold’ cognition involved in moral reasoning has a long history, not least the debate between Kant and Hume (Haidt, 2001). It raises the question of where the response originates; is it the product of a habitual reaction, is it even rooted in some evolutionary source? Recent work by Greene, Cushman and others has been exploring the conditions under which different kinds of moral responses arise (Cushman & Greene, 2012; Greene, 2013). They conclude that these derive from different psychological and physiologically-based systems. Judgments based on rights violations seem to be associated with emotional responses triggered automatically in the brain, while judgments that rest on consequences are supported by conscious reasoning. These data suggest that it is useful to recognise different domains of moral and value function and that emotion is salient, or more salient, in one rather than the other. From an education point of view this implies cultivating both cognition and affect, and finding ways to enable people to manage their intersection or parallel processes.

4.3.3. Empathy and compassion

The idea that ‘love is all you need’ has cultural force in many societies and religious traditions, and is manifested in educating the emotions especially of empathy and compassion, the emotional perspective-taking of feeling another’s pain (or joy); ‘walking in their shoes’, the admonition, ‘How would you feel if someone did that to you?’ In formal as well as informal education, the arts especially fiction, are a major source of emotional perspective-taking or role-playing. The data on socio-emotional development shows that very young children can show empathy with others (Eisenberg, 2002).

Perspective-taking as a cognitive act may produce ethically valid reasons. However, without affect, the conclusions reached through reason may not engage personal identity and therefore, motivation. There is an implied balance between experiencing the other’s pain vicariously, through role-playing or perspective-taking, and this informing the reasoning which both supports a moral position, principle or justification and supply the personal and social values that fuel appropriate action, pro-social behaviour (Selman 2007; Selman and Kwok, 2010). This is exemplified in the work of the education programme Facing History and Ourselves. FHAO uses historical events or dilemmas on bystanding and upstanding, to engage young people in affective and cognitive perspective-taking around highly charged ethical and affective dilemmas (Barr, 2005).

4.4. Culture and values

Values are heavily embedded within the cultural context, including whether a particular value is seen as ethical. For productive discussion, it is important to unpack the assumptions, principles and implicit theories behind a value; for example, being a vegetarian can be on health grounds, it can be tied to religious beliefs, or it can be based on ethical concerns about meat production (Beardsworth & Kiel, 1992). Is competition among children to be encouraged because it leads to healthy achievement motivation that may benefit both the individual and society, or discouraged because it interferes with the

development of collaborative skills? Or because it institutionalizes hierarchy and difference?

There is considerable diversity between (and within) societies about what values, beliefs and attitudes should be prioritized. What will teacher Ms Wong in Shanghai think is important to prioritize in values education? What will Mr Kingoro in Nairobi? Will Ms Baskin in the US Bible Belt be able to – or want to - promote the same agenda as Mr Robbins in liberal North London? Furthermore, there is considerable variation in how these are interpreted; even where there appears to be commonality in terminology, what is meant by the concept, and so what is emphasised in fostering learning, maybe very different. Also, we need to know what a particular value goal means in different contexts. ‘Respecting one’s elders’ will mean different things to the students in Ms Wong’s class from Mr Robbins’ and this will also have different implications for what kind of actions and relationships are required of them.

There are also sensitive connotations regarding certain concepts. ‘Civic’ for example is not an acceptable term in China; education for values may be described as ‘moral’ (“deyu”, which covers a number of areas that in other countries would come under ‘civic’) (Lee & Ho, 2005; Zhong & Lee, 2008). ‘Political’ education is an explicit curriculum however, conveying the ideological foundations of ‘Communism with Chinese characteristics’ (Kipnis, 2011). ‘Socialism’ is a mainstream concept, formally institutionalized in political parties in most democracies, but is a problematic term in the USA.

Values are normalized in a culture by how behaviours are described, prescribed and proscribed and by what dominant themes, narratives and justifications are highlighted. Most cultures are quite pluralistic, manifesting several parallel ‘ethics’ or value patterns. Recognising such pluralism is vital for understanding cultural diversity and avoiding the dangers of seeking either universal values or a simple cross-cultural consensus. Shweder’s work, in India, for example identified three coexisting different ethics; *autonomy, community and divinity (sanctity)* (Shweder, Mahapatra & Miller, 1987). The ethic of autonomy prioritizes individual choice and self-determination. The ethic of community emphasises one’s relationship with the community and the need to place community needs above individual needs. The ethic of divinity or sanctity defines actions and objects in terms of pollution, taboo or observance of religious codes. Shweder’s respondents were highly skilled in knowing to which terrains of life each ethic was applicable.

A useful example of potential pitfalls is Kohlberg’s theory of moral development which rested, in the Kantian tradition, on both the universalizability of principles and a core ethic of justice (Kohlberg, 1981, 1984; Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). It increasingly emerged from international studies that in other, non-Western, countries justice was not the dominant ethic but, for example, filial piety or honour (Snarey, 1985). When Kohlberg’s team tried to code the obviously sophisticated reasoning of Shweder’s senior participants, the justice-based coding scheme could not adequately capture this complexity within a very different ethic. Further, Gilligan found that US women and girls often preferred an ethic of care and responsibility to one of justice (Gilligan, 1982). Later research showed that an ethic of care and responsibility coexists in American culture with an ethic of justice, for both sexes, and that in addition the moral dilemma itself prompts different ethics; personal dilemmas for both sexes tend to invoke a care ethic, whereas more abstract dilemmas evoked justice reasoning (Walker, 1984). Haidt’s further development

of Shweder's work, in the form of *moral foundations*, also reflect a range of different ethics in American society (Haidt, 2014; Graham et al, 2011)

Another example comes from China where values are in transition. Since 1989 there has been an explicit policy to create a more individualistic, entrepreneurial values culture, in order to stimulate economic development (Xiang & Yan, 2011; Kennedy, Fairbrother & Zhao, 2013; Keane, 2001). China's cultural values have traditionally emphasized the maintenance of community and the obligations of individuals towards this. Chinese young people express strong morally-charged motivation to maintain the social harmony of their classroom and the community in general (Xiang et al, 2018; Zhao et al., 2014). The value of autonomy presents an interesting case. In Western culture autonomy is associated with individual striving for self-determination and achievement. In current Chinese society autonomy is valued, but explicitly the individual should be autonomously motivated to best use his or her talents for the benefit of China's growth (Jacka, Kipnis & Sargeson, 2013; Trnka & Trundle, 2017).

5. Searches for common values, and their problems

Studies of how different values correlate or cluster, within or across cultures, are performed for a range of purposes. There are several possible goals for such research. Searching for consensus might reveal sufficient commonality to support a unified definition, for example the most significant values seen as necessary for well-being. Or such a study could reveal national variations which would preclude such a consensus but prompt useful questions about how the same value term has the different meaning or implications in different cultural contexts. ‘Respect for elders’ which is likely to be widely valued, has very different implications for actions, relationships and mutual obligations in Asian societies from many Western cultures (Kleinman et al., 2011). ‘Freedom’ is widely valued, but is applied to different issues by the political Left and Right.

Here are six kinds of studies of value constellations.

1. *Explanations for the antecedents of values.* This research explores a relationship between personality, styles of managing information, and values. Most of this research is European or American-based. *The Authoritarian Personality* study immediately after the Second World War found that rightwing authoritarian values were associated with anxieties about change, intolerance of uncertainty, and xenophobia (Adorno et al. 1950). Rokeach’s study a decade later found a dimension of open versus closed-mindedness, the latter, which could be found in both leftwing and rightwing values, reflecting dogmatism about values and a tendency to classify people around stereotypes (Rokeach, 1960). Eysenck, working with a British sample, argued that ‘tender-minded’ values on both Left and Right, were associated with introversion and ‘tough-minded’ values with extraversion (Eysenck, 1954).

Personality-based explanations of value clustering have re-emerged recently with the argument that there are physiological bases for anxiety versus open-ness to new experience, tolerance and intolerance of ambiguity and uncertainty, and that these underpin conservative versus liberal values. They suggest that different values reflect different ways of managing anxieties and motivations around novelty, uncertainty, and control. (Verhulst, Eaves and Hatemi, 2012; Carney et al., 2008). These studies have largely been conducted in the USA, with survey value items that reflect American culture, and it is uncertain how applicable the data are internationally.

2. *Seeking the common element.* The goal is to find psychological structures *within* values, rather than seeking possible extrinsic causal factors (such as personality). One of the most comprehensive international studies of values is by Schwartz, with several thousand respondents in more than 80 countries (Schwartz, 2012). He asked respondents to rate 30 items according to their importance as ‘guiding principle in my life’. These instructions slant the project more towards ‘personal

and social' values than 'societal and global' values and reflect an orientation more towards personal well-being and self-development rather than ethics.

Schwartz identifies ten basic values which further group into four dimensions: *openness to change*, *self-transcendence*, *conservation* and *self-enhancement*. Openness to change includes self-direction, and stimulation (eg wanting a varied life). Self-enhancement includes hedonism (enjoying life), achievement and power (recognition, authority). Conservation includes security (social order, sense of belonging), conformity (honouring elders, obedient, self-disciplined) and tradition (respect for tradition, accepting one's portion in life). The fourth dimension, Self-transcendence, includes the most social or global values. Universalism includes protecting the environment, equality, social justice, peace and wisdom. Benevolence includes responsibility, loyalty, mature love and honesty. However in the main Schwartz's respondents appear to stress personal and social, rather than societal or global, values in 'what matters to them'.

3. *Identifying national and cultural patterns*. An example is the World Values Survey. This explores moral, social, economic and political values with the implication of a 'developmental' trajectory towards more democratic systems; how do nations' dominant values change as they approximate more closely to Western-style democratic structures? The authors, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) explicitly claim that beliefs contribute to economic development, the emergence of democratic institutions and gender equality, and the extent to which societies have effective government.

The WVS identifies two dimensions along which nations can be classified: *traditional versus secular-rational values*, and *survival versus self-expression* values. Sweden and Japan score highest on Secular-rational values; Ghana, El Salvador and Puerto Rico highest on Traditional values. Scandanavian countries and Canada score highest on Self-Expression values, some former Soviet bloc countries and some African countries score highest on Survival values, but these ratings have varied over several waves of the WVS. The authors make a strong claim also that emancipative values, which combine 'an emphasis on freedom of choice and equality of opportunities...priorities for lifestyle liberty, gender equality, personal autonomy and the voice of the people', act towards 'human empowerment. Once set in motion, this process empowers people to exercise freedoms in their course of action.' The WVS therefore appears to claim that individual values precede, and implicitly cause, social and cultural change. This claim has considerable implications for the potential power, and role, of education to effect social change.

4. *International comparisons of youth values around citizenship*. There have been three waves of data around 14 year olds' knowledge and values relating to civic participation and civic goals, conducted by the IEA in 1999, 2009 and 2016 (Torney-Purta et al, 2001; Schulz et al, 2017). In total 36 nations took part, some in all three waves, some in only one, overall reflecting a global representation. In focusing on 14 year olds, the last year of universal compulsory education, the studies avoid selecting school samples biased only to high achieving students. For current purposes the interesting findings concern values in which the data show significant international variation.

To select a few examples: Regarding whether conventional (e.g. voting) and social-movement (e.g. protest) forms of civic participation are important for 'good citizenship', students in Latin American countries saw both as significantly more important than did students in Scandanavian or northern European countries. Trust in their government was

significantly higher in Scandinavian than in Latin American or former Soviet bloc nations. Gender equality was highly valued by Scandinavia and northern European students in contrast to those in particularly former Soviet bloc or Latin American nations, where the gap between male and female students was also larger. These data suggest strong cultural norms already in place by early teens.

5. *The core ethical concerns underlying values.* Building on Shweder's work, Haidt and his colleagues address *moral foundations*, what is the dominant ethical theme behind different values and how are themes prioritized for their moral importance (Haidt, 2014; Graham et al., 2011). They identified at first five, then six, 'foundational' value patterns among American respondents. Each emphasises a different value as a basis for moral decision-making. These are *care* (avoiding harm), *fairness* (rendering justice), *loyalty* (to one's group or nation), *authority or respect* (with regard to tradition or order, in contrast to subversion), *sanctity or purity* (abhorrence for disgusting or polluting objects, actions) and – a later addition - *liberty* (freedom). The extent to which moral foundations accurately map value patterns in non-US cultures is still uncertain but cross-cultural data do suggest commonalities.

The theory derives from *moral intuitionism*, that there are immediate affect-laden responses to moral dilemmas (Haidt, 2001). This suggests that personal values and identity are engaged. However the ethical bases of the foundations apply as well to public societal and global values. Evidence from the first five foundations showed that American respondents who self-defined as 'liberal' gave greater weight to *fairness* and *care*, downplaying *authority*, *sanctity/purity*, and *loyalty*. In contrast, self-defining 'social conservatives' give equal weight to all five (Graham et al, 2011). When Haidt and colleagues introduced a sixth foundation, *liberty*, they found that 'libertarian' conservatives prioritized this over all. The data suggest that different societal values are rooted in different ethical systems. This could be a promising development. However 'liberal' and 'conservative' do not capture the range of political positions in countries that have established leftwing parties and it is unclear how to interpret moral foundations in cultures which have a wider political spectrum than the US (Haste, 2013).

6. *Value patterns embedded within religious traditions.* Religions provide primary narratives both for personal-social, and societal-global values. Analyzing the texts of eight world religions, Dahlsgaard, Peterson and Seligman (2005) found that there seem to be six common virtues, or aspirational values; courage, justice, humanity, temperance, wisdom and transcendence. They note that these match well the traits that modern research find contribute to the good life and positive mental health. They do however find that the prioritizing of these values varies across religions. Further, they note that how each virtue is interpreted and manifested varies across religions and in some cases is implied rather than explicitly defined. This again suggests that any attempt at finding 'consensus' must look carefully at implicit theories of good personhood and how these serve both individual and societal well-being.

6. Discussion and Implications: Competencies, definitions and education

Two domains of questions emerge that need to be addressed in order to promote productive discussion. One domain concerns what *definitions* need to be clarified in order to frame an operationalizable agenda, the other concerns what *processes are involved in values development and change* and therefore what *educational policies and practices* are needed to implement any agenda. The review reveals a number of problems and pitfalls, but also suggests possible resolutions.

6.1. Definitions

The quest for common values may be fuelled by various goals: To arrive at a consensus of societal values that are internationally agreed as providing societal well-being – the ‘good society’. To arrive at a set of values which have equivalent meaning and implications in all societies. To arrive at a consensus of values about how to describe the ‘good person’ and personal well-being. To establish a consensus of views about the extent to which fostering individual values and personal well-being will lead to a general climate of well-being, for example whether it is assumed that if everyone is virtuous then society will flourish and appropriately beneficial institutions will emerge.

Defining ‘well-being’ poses two kinds of questions. How should this be defined? And on what basis? Are the attributes of well-being as a state or condition of society which enables flourishing and the common good, the same as those that apply to the well-being of an individual member of that society? Individual well-being, especially if it is defined by holding a set of values that enable individual flourishing and development, depends on how those values are experienced, whether people feel fulfilled and optimistic about meeting their goals. The data suggest that values associated with mental health, effective relationships and the pursuit of purpose function effectively when they are integral to individual identity and agency. There are questions about the causal relationship between individual values and well-being, and societal values and well-being. Does the promotion of particular individual values and subjective well-being lead to the development of parallel societal and global values and institutional practices? Or do normative societal and global values and practices lead to the development of the values that serve individual well-being?

The review reports a number of efforts to find common sets of values, though few studies mentioned cover a culturally broad enough range to claim ‘international’ consensus – exceptions are the World Values Survey, the IEA study, and Schwartz’s work. The different purposes and approaches among these studies have produced a rich range of data, drawing on several different theoretical perspectives. The overall conclusions must be that any pursuit of value consensus is fraught with problems. While there are superficially apparent commonalities, the data indicate that before assumptions are made the local meaning and salience, of any value needs to be carefully scrutinized. It is important to enquire whether apparently similar terms have the same cultural meaning in

different contexts. The research data show that the same term can have different meaning, apply to different qualities or behaviours, in different contexts, or that they have different implications or connotations. Also there may be different implicit or underlying theories about why, and how, a particular value or attribute contributes to individual or societal well-being or order.

A further factor is the agenda of the researcher; this frames what values are included. This makes generalization difficult. Patterns that reflect societal or global values – what a good society would look like – differ from patterns deriving from personal and social values. For example when people are asked about their personally significant values they seem to refer to identity-related aspirations rather than societal or global values, as we see in Schwartz’s work. This seems to suggest a possible non-linear relationship between personal-social and societal-global values; that they co-exist in different psychological terrains.

The data on different theories of the processes of value development also impact definitions. As we saw, different theories not only explain different socialization and developmental processes which have implications for education, they also impart different meaning. Reasoning – a valued skill – has different connotations when seen as one element among a range of virtues from when it is the primary process of ethical decision-making, or critical thinking. Perspective-taking implies different skills with different goals when it is a cognitive process of conceptual role-taking within a reasoning-based model of development from when it draws on affectively-charged empathy.

Here are some questions from the literature review that can be useful to consider in developing the Learning Framework for 2030 regarding values and attitudes:

- What values are seen as promoting individual well-being, what values are seen as promoting societal well-being, and what values are presumed to promote both?
- What values are inherently ‘personal’ or ‘social’ and close to personal identity and commitment to action, and what values are inherently ‘societal’ or ‘global’?
- What values would be associated with each of the capabilities, as described by Nussbaum and Brighouse et al.?
- To what extent does a value implicitly reflect a model of development; a virtue, reasoning, or the integration of affect and cognition?
- How would a value be reflected in, or utilised as part of agency, within each of the transformative competencies?
- How do the classifications of values according to the above differ across cultures, and why?

6.2. Education and social change

The review describes a number of areas salient to the discussion of potential educational practice, or the potential for social change and the promotion of new societal values. First, the research indicates that there are different theories of development which have different goals and focus for values education. Both have implications for programme development. Second, there are questions about motivation; how do people become engaged with values such that they act to express or endorse them, how do they ‘own’ them. What does education need to focus upon, and to generate agency, identity and motivation? Third, there are questions about how values are manifested within a society, how they change, and how these act as resources for individual engagement. Fourth, what

experiences lead to the relevant skills and attributes associated with specific values, and how do these contribute to competence development?

Theoretical models of development impact considerably on how education programmes should be developed, and on what the focus should be. The goal of socialization is determined by the theory of how socialization is affected. The review illustrates that a virtues-based model, for example, emphasizes the cultivation of good habits, through practice and role modelling, over a long period. The cultivation of reasoning as the primary goal may largely exclude affect, and concentrate on cognitive and dialogic skills and the critical management of information. Theory that involves affect pays attention to experiences and interactions that cultivate socio-emotional and interpersonal skills. As the review shows, substantively different methods of education are employed to achieve the different goals. At the very least, we should be aware of which paradigm is being assumed in discussion. The temptation to say 'they are all important' misses the point that different mechanisms of development and of education are involved in the different models and may be incommensurate.

The review highlights the problems of motivation; how to get young people to *want* (or not) particular values, and how to engender motivation towards action or sustained commitment. The literature suggests that personal and social values are closely associated with identity; who one is and what one wishes to become. This renders challenges or threats to values a potential assault on selfhood and well-being. Societal and global values however are more distant from personal identity, and commitment to them lies in normative acceptance that they contribute to the common good – taken for granted unless threatened. For some individuals, or for many individuals in times of social crisis, societal or global values take on an identity status and become part of one's personal responsibility; this is where we see social activism. Educating for identity requires exposure to the relevant values, but also opportunities for experiencing personal responsibility and agency that engage the individual.

The review illustrates the role of narrative in producing and reproducing values; the power of stories that provide causality and consequences, highlighting or normalizing a value message, and offer models for behaviour and attributes. Narratives are a resource for individual aspirations and well-being development; educators have always used exemplary stories. Narratives are effective for communication because they resonate with shared values, affect and allusions. The review also explores the role of narrative in cultural construction. Societal and global values are sustained by shared narratives of what comprises the common good; they include also historical justifications and future scenarios. Social change depends upon changing narratives, providing new ways of framing meaning that endorse innovative values.

Experiencing opportunities for agency and taking responsibility is a vital part of acquiring skills for value development and commitment but also is an important factor in engaging individual motivation – 'owning' a value, and seeing it as central to one's own well-being and to the common good. The benefit of service or community action opportunities is widely recognised in civic and moral education and many countries are exploring mandatory programmes of extracurricular activity. However, for this to be useful it is essential to incorporate reflection on the meaning and implications of the experience, especially on how personal connection and responsibility derive from the experience of one's agency making something actually happen. It is not enough to know that something will benefit the common good and well-being; one must want to be an agent in making it so. This is centrally important in the transformative model of competencies.

7. References

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