THE INTERCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT INVENTORY

A New Frontier in Assessment and Development of Intercultural Competence

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In today's global environment, study abroad is an essential experience for students in universities and secondary schools. As U.S. President Barack Obama recently commented,

> I'd like to find new ways to connect young Americans to young people all around the world, by supporting opportunities to learn new languages, and serve and study, welcoming students from other countries to our shores. . . . Simple exchanges can break down walls between us. (Oaks, 2009, paras. 3 and 4)

Former U.S. President George W. Bush stated similar aspirations in 2001:

> By studying foreign cultures and languages and living abroad, we gain a better understanding of the many similarities that we share and learn to respect our differences. The relationships that are formed between individuals from different countries, as part of international education programs and exchanges, can also foster goodwill that develops into vibrant, mutually beneficial partnerships among nations. (The Center for Global Education, 2001, para. 3)

Building positive relations among cultures, breaking down walls of prejudice and racism, and fostering international goodwill are noble—and

critical—goals for universities and K–12 schools in the 21st century. If international education efforts are to consistently achieve such lofty goals, however, it is imperative that intercultural competence development becomes a core mission when students go abroad. Yet this is no easy task. Building intercultural competence involves increasing cultural self-awareness; deepening understanding of the experiences, values, perceptions, and behaviors of people from diverse cultural communities; and expanding the capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behavior to bridge across cultural differences (Hammer, 2009a, 2010, 2011).

In this chapter, I discuss intercultural competence development within study abroad and how the work others and I are doing with the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) and IDI Guided Development is helping students, faculty, and study abroad professionals achieve increased capability in shifting cultural perspective and adapting behavior across cultural differences. More specifically, I review the IDI and the theoretic framework that the IDI measures: the Intercultural Development Continuum (IDC). I then discuss the impact of the "immersion assumption" as a common raison d'être for supporting international education and summarize how IDI findings challenge the veracity of this assumption as it applies to developing intercultural competence during the study abroad sojourn. I conclude with a discussion of two important concerns: (a) how to reconcile students' often reported statements that learning from study abroad is transformational, when IDI results indicate only marginal gains in intercultural competence capability of students enrolled in "immersion-based" exchange programs; and (b) what IDI research reveals to be key IDI Guided Development programmatic learning strategies in international education that substantially increase the capabilities of students abroad to adapt to diverse cultural values and practices.

The Intercultural Development Inventory

The IDI v3 is a 50-item questionnaire, available online and in a paper-and-pencil format, in either an education version or an organization version.[1] The IDI can be completed in 15–20 minutes and, in addition to English, it has to date been back-translated into 13 languages. Back-translation protocols, unlike simple translation, ensure both linguistic and conceptual equivalence of the IDI items (Brislin, 1970, 1976, 1980). The IDI is used by individuals and organizations across academic disciplines as well as a wide

range of organizations and industries. In this chapter, I discuss the use of the IDI specifically within international education.

Once individuals complete the IDI, the IDI web-based analytic program scores each person's answers and generates a number of reports. The IDI can be used to assess an individual's level of intercultural competence; in this case, an IDI Individual Profile Report is prepared only for that individual, who could be, for instance, a student participating in study abroad, a faculty member, or a study abroad facilitator or advisor. In addition to the individual IDI Profile Report, a customized, Intercultural Development Plan (IDP) is also prepared. This IDP provides detailed guidance for the individual to further develop his/her intercultural competence. The IDI can also be used to identify a group's (or an organization's) overall approach to dealing with cultural differences and commonalities. In this case, various group and subgroup IDI Profile Reports are produced.

The IDI questionnaire includes contexting questions that allow respondents to describe their intercultural experiences in terms of (a) their cross-cultural goals, (b) the challenges they face navigating cultural differences, (c) critical (intercultural) incidents they encounter around cultural differences during their study abroad sojourn, and (d) ways they navigate those cultural differences. Responses to these questions provide a cultural grounding for relating IDI profile scores to the actual experiences of the individual.

When using the IDI to determine group or organizational levels of intercultural competence, interviews (e.g., individual or focus group interviews) are conducted that assess these same domains of cross-cultural goals, challenges, and critical (intercultural) incidents involving navigation of cultural differences and commonalities. When used with a group, results from the interviews provide valuable information regarding how the group members' IDI profile results are manifest in their intercultural competence strategies while living/studying in a foreign culture. Overall, these qualitative strategies help situate the individual, group, and/or organizational IDI profile results in the cultural experiences of the respondents.

More than 1,400 Qualified Administrators in more than 30 countries have extensively applied the IDI in academic and nonacademic contexts. In addition, IDI-related literature is rapidly expanding and currently consists of more than 60 published articles and book chapters as well as over 42 PhD dissertations.

The IDI has been rigorously tested and has cross-cultural generalizability, both internationally and with domestic diversity. Furthermore, in developing the instrument, psychometric scale construction protocols were

followed to ensure that it is not culturally biased or susceptible to social desirability effects (i.e., individuals cannot "figure out" how to answer in order to gain a higher score) (Hammer, 2011; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003).

The IDI possesses strong content and construct validity (Hammer, 2009a, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003; Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova, & DeJaeghere, 2003). Recent studies indicate strong predictive validity of the IDI as well (Hammer, 2011). In one study within the corporate sector, higher levels of intercultural competence, as measured by the IDI, were strongly predictive of successful recruitment and staffing of diverse talent in organizations. In another study, higher IDI scores among students were predictive of important study abroad outcomes, including greater knowledge of the host culture, less intercultural anxiety when interacting with culturally diverse individuals, increased intercultural friendships, and higher satisfaction with one's study abroad experience (Hammer, 2005a, 2011).

The Intercultural Development Continuum (IDC)

Results from the IDI are arrayed along the IDC, a theoretical framework that ranges from the more monocultural mindsets of Denial and Polarization through the transitional orientation of Minimization to the intercultural or global mindsets of Acceptance and Adaptation. The capability of deeply shifting cultural perspective and bridging behavior across cultural differences is most fully achieved when one maintains an Adaptation perspective (see Figure 5.1).

The IDC is a model of intercultural competence grounded in the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) originally proposed by Milton Bennett (1986, 1993). Since the original DMIS was proposed, IDI research findings have both supported the basic tenets of the DMIS and provided a revision of some aspects of its framework (Hammer, 2009a, 2011). The IDC represents this revised theoretic framework, which the IDI in turn measures. Following are some of the revisions to the original DMIS that are incorporated into the IDC:

- The Minimization orientation is identified in the original DMIS formulation as ethnocentric, although IDI research indicates that the Minimization orientation is not ethnocentric (i.e., not monocultural). However, Minimization is also not ethnorelative (i.e., this

FIGURE 5.1
Intercultural Development Continuum
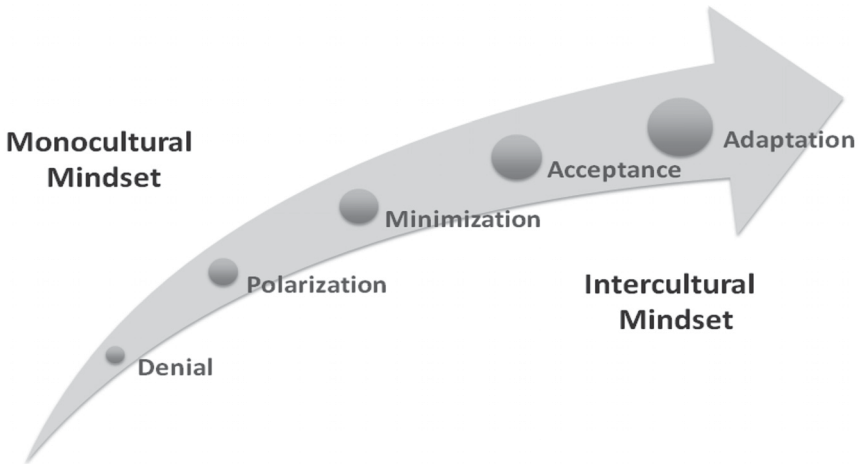
mindset is not intercultural/global); its focus on identifying common-alities among diverse groups tends to mask deeper recognition of cultural differences. Thus, Minimization is now represented as a transitional orientation between monocultural and intercultural mindsets.

- The DMIS identifies Denial, Defense, Reversal, Minimization, Acceptance, Adaptation, and Integration as the primary stages of intercultural development. IDI v3 validation confirms Denial, Polarization (which consists of Defense and Reversal), Minimization, and Adaptation as the primary orientations of intercultural competence. Integration, posited in the DMIS as a stage beyond Adaptation, is not theoretically related to the development of intercultural competence—the focus of the IDI (Bennett, 2004; Hammer, 2011). Rather, Integration, as described in the DMIS, is concerned with the construction of an intercultural identity rather than the development of intercultural competence.

- The IDI assesses Cultural Disengagement, which is the degree to which an individual or group experiences a sense of disconnection from a primary cultural community. IDI research shows that this dimension is conceptually located outside the IDC, is not an orientation or dimension of intercultural competence, and is not a dimension of the "Integration" stage identified in the original DMIS

(see Hammer, 2009a, and 2011 for a detailed delineation of these distinctions).

The Denial and Polarization mindsets are monocultural in their orientation and reflect the view that "one's own culture is central to reality" (Bennett, 1993, p. 30). The intercultural/global mindsets of Acceptance and Adaptation represent a greater capability of shifting perspective and adapting behavior to cultural context. Individuals with an Acceptance or Adaptation mindset understand that one's own cultural patterns are "not any more central to reality than any other culture" (Bennett, 1993, p. 46). In between the intercultural/global mindsets of Acceptance and Adaptation and the monocultural perspectives of Denial and Polarization is the transitional orientation of Minimization. Minimization is not monocultural in its capability, yet it is also not fully intercultural in its recognition of deeper patterns of cultural difference and the ability to appropriately respond to these differences (Bennett, 2004; Hammer, 2009a, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003).

Monocultural Mindsets

A Denial mindset reflects less capability for understanding and appropriately responding to cultural differences, what Triandis (1994) terms "subjective culture" (i.e., the values, beliefs, perceptions, emotional responses, and behavior shared by a group of people). Individuals with a Denial orientation often do not recognize differences in perceptions and behavior as "cultural." A Denial orientation is characteristic of individuals who have limited experience with other cultural groups and therefore tend to operate with broad stereotypes and generalizations about the cultural "other." Those at Denial may also maintain a distance from other cultural groups and express little interest in learning about the cultural values and practices of diverse communities. This orientation tends to be associated more with members of a dominant culture, because they may have more opportunity to remain relatively isolated from cultural diversity. By contrast, members of nondominant groups are less likely to maintain a Denial orientation, because they may more often need to engage cultural differences. When Denial is present within an organization, cultural diversity often feels "ignored."

Study abroad students with a Denial mindset may become rapidly overwhelmed upon arrival in a foreign culture, because they typically will have had little if any "other culture" experiences and few intercultural frameworks or lenses to make sense of the host national's behavior. Although they may

initially approach their experience in an unknown culture with a sense of naïve optimism, they fairly quickly find that their monocultural skill set is simply insufficient for the challenges of cultural difference that they often face in trying to live and study in a foreign country. Therefore, a Denial orientation can quickly develop into a Polarization mindset if cultural differences are not systematically focused on in ways that are supportive. This support is important, because venturing into the unknown experience of host nationals is quickly seen, from a Denial perspective, as fraught with perils of misunderstanding, confusion, and increasing frustration.

The primary intercultural competence development strategy for Denial is to help the individual or group notice and confront cultural differences (Bennett, 2004; Hammer, 2009a, 2010, 2011). This process begins with working to help them perceive and understand cultural differences in more observable areas of human behavior (e.g., clothing, food, music, art, dance), and then to move to more subtle arenas (e.g., nonverbal behavior, customs, dos and taboos). The individual's or group's development across the continuum is aided through increased interaction with people from different cultures under communicatively supportive conditions, and by having the individual or group closely observe things that are perceived to be both common and different (in terms of perceptions, values, and behaviors).

Polarization is a judgmental mindset that views cultural differences from an "us versus them" perspective. Polarization can take the form of Defense ("My cultural practices are superior to other cultural practices") or Reversal ("Other cultures are better than mine"). Within Defense, cultural differences are often perceived as divisive and threatening to one's own cultural way of doing things, while Reversal is a mindset that values and may idealize other cultural practices while denigrating those of one's own culture group. Reversal may also support the "cause" of an oppressed group, but this is done with little knowledge of what the "cause" means to people from the oppressed community. When Polarization is present, diversity typically feels "uncomfortable."

Host nationals typically see study abroad students who exhibit a Polarization perspective of Defense as possessing a cultural "chip on their shoulder." Students with Defense mindsets often engage in conversations with host nationals that are comparative in nature; that is, they say, "We do things this way in my country," and then expect host nationals to state how things are done in their country. Defense orientation students largely frame their interaction in terms of whether they judge the comparison favorably or unfavorably. Learning in the host culture tends to reinforce preexisting views

and/or stereotypes, and interactions in the host country tend to be with like-minded individuals, either those from the student's own country or host nationals who share a favorable view toward the student's country and way of life.

Students with a Reversal form of Polarization mindset express a favorable view toward the host country and the people from that country. Host nationals can perceive this more positive evaluation of their own culture, at least initially, in a favorable light. Students with Reversal may also denigrate their own culture and in this way provide a mental comfort zone for themselves. However, Reversal is grounded in a judgmental platform that interferes with a deeper understanding of the host culture's values and practices. Students with a Reversal orientation tend to gravitate toward groups that may be underrepresented in the host country and may attempt to "help" those groups during their study abroad program. Unfortunately, students with Reversal mindsets often may engage in helping actions with little deep understanding of what the situation means to the underrepresented group.

The primary intercultural competence development strategy for individuals or groups at Polarization is, first, to help them recognize when they are overemphasizing differences without fully understanding them; and, second, to help them search for commonalities and adopt a less evaluative stance toward understanding differences.

Minimization, as a transitional mindset, highlights cultural commonality and universal values and principles that can mask a deeper understanding and consideration of cultural differences. Minimization can take one of two forms: (a) the highlighting of similarities due to limited cultural self-awareness, which is more commonly experienced by dominant group members within a cultural community; or (b) the highlighting of similarities more deliberatively as a *strategy* for navigating the values and practices largely determined by the dominant culture group, which is more commonly experienced by nondominant group members within a larger cultural community. "Minimization as a strategy" may have survival value for nondominant culture members and may be expressed as "go along to get along." When Minimization from a dominant culture perspective exists, diversity often feels "not heard."

Students studying abroad who have a Minimization orientation generally experience a certain degree of success in navigating unfamiliar cultural practices. Students at Minimization are often skillful in identifying commonalities that can be drawn upon to bridge different cultural practices. When the overall goals and challenges in the host culture do not demand

accommodation to *different* values or practices, students at Minimization will experience a sense of effectiveness in living and learning in the host country.

The more the educational imperative allows commonality strategies to be functionally sufficient, the more Minimization mindsets will likely be reinforced during the study abroad program and the more reinforcement students will receive for maintaining a Minimization mindset rather than further developing toward Acceptance or Adaptation orientations. However, students at Minimization may find themselves needing to adapt more to the challenging cultural experiences that they encounter, rather than trying to navigate these differences through a commonality strategy.

The intercultural competence developmental strategy for Minimization is to increase cultural self-awareness, including awareness around power and privilege. In addition, increasing understanding about deeper patterns of cultural difference (e.g., conflict resolution styles; Hammer, 2005b, 2009b) and culture-general frameworks (e.g., individualism/collectivism), as well as culture-specific patterns of difference, is essential to gaining a balanced focus on similarities and cultural differences.

Acceptance and Adaptation are intercultural/global mindsets. In Acceptance, individuals recognize and appreciate patterns of cultural difference and commonality in their own and other cultures. An individual with an Acceptance orientation begins to understand how a cultural pattern of behavior makes sense within a different cultural community. Acceptance "involves increased self-reflection in which one is able to experience others as both different from oneself yet equally human" (Hammer, 2009a, p. 209). Although students with an Acceptance mindset are often curious about different cultures, they are not clear about how to appropriately adapt to cultural difference. When Acceptance is present, diversity feels "understood."

Students with an Acceptance orientation experience the foreign culture as a complex maze of differences, with each recognized difference enlarging intercultural understanding. Acceptance orientation students face challenges, however, around ethical or moral dilemmas that may arise while overseas. While a student at Acceptance searches for a deeper understanding of cultural differences, this mindset often leads to the student having difficulty reconciling behavior in the host country that although arising within a cultural context nevertheless is considered unethical or immoral from his or her own cultural viewpoint.

The intercultural competence development strategy for Acceptance is to help individuals or groups engage in intercultural interactions in order to

gain more knowledge about cultural differences, including culture-general and culture-specific frameworks, and to gain skills in adapting to these differences. In addition, their focus should be on developing strategies for making ethical judgments by fully considering what a particular practice means from their own cultural perspective, and the meaning and value that a cultural practice represents in a different cultural community.

Adaptation is an orientation that is capable of shifting cultural perspective and changing behavior in culturally appropriate and authentic ways. Adaptation involves both deep cultural bridging across diverse communities and an increased repertoire of cultural frameworks and practices available to draw upon in reconciling cultural commonalities and differences. For those at Adaptation, intercultural competence means adaptation in performance. When an Adaptation mindset is present, diversity feels "valued and involved."

Students with an Adaptation mindset typically engage people from the host culture in deep and meaningful ways while consciously focusing on learning adaptive strategies. Problems can arise when students with an Adaptation mindset express little tolerance toward the "non-adaptive" intercultural competence capability of study abroad counterparts. This can result in students with an Adaptation mindset interactionally distancing themselves from their fellow study abroad students. When this happens, learning from fellow students is compromised.

The intercultural competence development strategy for Adaptation is to continue to build on one's knowledge of cultural differences and to further develop skills for adapting to these differences. Another competence-building strategy is to engage in cultural mediation between two or more cultural groups that are experiencing problems or misunderstandings in order to support more productive relations. The overall task for individuals at Adaptation is to further deepen their understanding of cultural patterns of difference and to incorporate adaptive strategies when interacting across cultural diversity.

The Immersion Assumption

Political, business, and international education leaders often support study abroad opportunities based on the view that immersion in another culture will lead to students increasing their intercultural competence—their capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behavior to cultural context (see

chapter 1 of this volume). This view is a central assumption of many academic study abroad programs as well as college summer programs that are more humanitarian in nature, such as those that ask students to build homes on the Navajo reservation in Arizona or work on water purification projects in Guatemala.

Consistent with this immersion assumption, leaders in international education have established *mechanisms and structures* to increase study abroad programs (see chapter 1 of this volume). As a consequence, colleges have increasingly committed resources to establish international education offices that "send" students abroad to study and "receive" international students to learn on their home campuses. In many cases, the mission of the study abroad and international student professional—if we define this in terms of what often comprises a good part of their work priorities—is to market study programs to their own students or to arrange for international students to study at their university. In short, the focus is on ensuring that efficient mechanisms and structures are in place to fluidly move, situate, and facilitate the departure and return of students to the home campus or the entrance and eventual departure of students from other countries.

One implication of the immersion assumption is that study abroad professionals can simply focus on the mechanics and logistics of ensuring that students are placed—or, better still, "immersed"—within a suitable cross-cultural environment. That is, once educators have taken steps to immerse students in a culturally diverse experience, it is then often assumed that students' intercultural skills will be enhanced, and they will return to their home culture better prepared to navigate complex cultural differences in perceptions, values, and practices among diverse communities.

While the immersion assumption may provide a rationale for increasing study abroad opportunities for students, it has also allowed the study abroad community to ignore whether, in fact, immersing students on study abroad actually increases their intercultural competence.

Challenging the Immersion Assumption

The work others and I have been doing over the past 10 years with the IDI, in examining the impact of study abroad experiences on students' intercultural competence development, directly challenges the veracity of the immersion assumption. First, colleges and universities often claim they are "global," preparing students to function across cultures in the 21st century. This is said to occur through such efforts as the internationalization of the

curriculum; cross-cultural dormitory living arrangements; increased domestic and international diversity in the student body; and across-the-curriculum international or global courses (e.g., requiring all first-year undergraduate students to take a course in intercultural communication). Yet IDI research reveals that students' intercultural competence does not significantly develop as a result of their on-campus, presumably "global" education. In other words, immersion in the college experience—even at an institution with a culturally diverse student body—does not result in increased intercultural capability (see chapter 2 of this volume; Hammer, 2005a; Pedersen, 2009, 2010; Sample, 2009; Vande Berg et al., 2009).

Second, IDI research findings on the study abroad experience itself, in examining both shorter-term programs (e.g., three-week sojourns) and longer study abroad experiences (e.g., semester or full-year programs), reveal that longer durations overseas tend to result in only slightly higher levels of intercultural competence. These findings suggest that duration does exert some marginal influence on intercultural competence development, but overall, the results are underwhelming in terms of supporting the assumption that the amount of time students spend abroad is meaningfully associated with their increased intercultural competence (see chapter 2 of this volume; Pedersen, 2009, 2010; Sample, 2009; Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009).

These results serve to confirm the observation that being in the vicinity of an event in another culture does not mean that one has an intercultural experience merely by being exposed to it. For many students, being immersed in a foreign culture does not necessarily demonstrate that they are learning how to shift cultural perspective or adapt behavior; even those enrolling in programs of longer, rather than shorter, duration are on average showing only marginal gains in intercultural development when left to their own devices.

Transformation and IDI-Documented Intercultural Competence Gains

Recent research findings are drawing the study abroad community's attention to a serious disconnect regarding the impact of simple immersion study abroad experiences: Returning students not infrequently report that they have been "transformed" through their "immersion" study abroad program, whereas research using the IDI is showing that students are, on average, not making substantial gains in their intercultural competence development.

Where divergent results are found, battle lines are drawn, and this battle has been largely argued under the guise of the familiar quantitative-qualitative research methods debate.

Those in the quantitative camp typically point out that qualitative self-reports or interview results are less valid and reliable measures than psycho-metrically derived quantitative assessments. Proponents of qualitative methods often reply that quantitative measures simply are not methodologically sensitive enough to capture the kinds of insights and learning that self-reports or interviews identify. Thus, with shields raised, the quantitative versus qualitative war continues on the battlefield of study abroad—at the cost of student learning and intercultural competence development.

Developmental Interviewing

As noted earlier, the IDI incorporates both quantitative assessment protocols (via the 50-item questionnaire) and qualitative methods, depending on whether the assessment is focused on individual development (in which case, contexting questions are included in the IDI questionnaire), or on group or organization development (in which case, individual, developmental interview guides and/or focus group interview guides are used in place of the contexting questions). The kind of qualitative data gathering that we do with the IDI is fundamentally different, however, from student reports, made during reentry interviews or focus groups, about being "transformed."

When the IDI is used in study abroad, we gather qualitative data from students that specifically focus on the ways in which they have engaged cultural differences and commonalities during their study abroad experience. We ask them to provide accounts of specific situations or critical incidents that they encountered overseas and to explain what the cultural differences were that "made a difference" in each situation; what strategies they used to navigate these identified differences; and, finally, what they perceive the outcomes to have been.

This kind of qualitative data gathering is what I term *developmental interviewing*. I have found that developmental interviewing more accurately represents a student's actual experience relevant to a gain (or the lack of any gain) in intercultural competence as assessed by the IDI. When developmental interviewing is used, we find a strong relationship between "what the IDI says" in terms of the students' overall developmental orientation and

the ways they have experienced cultural commonalities and differences during the developmental interviews they complete at the end of a program overseas or upon their return to the home campus.

The reason is that developmental interviewing asks student to meta-reflect on their experience from the vantage point of specific situations that demand intercultural competence. Notice that we are *not*, in using the IDI, asking students general, open-ended questions about what they think they learned by studying in another country; we are not, that is, relying on the more non-referent, open-ended qualitative interviewing methods traditionally used in debriefing study abroad returnees.

Traditional Open-Ended Interviewing

In other qualitative assessments of student learning abroad, interviewers often ask open-ended questions regarding what the student has learned while overseas. When such unfocused, non-referential questions are posed, the accounts that emerge are grounded in hypersensory memories—not developmental recollections. Whalen (2009) identifies this important characteristic of study abroad when he observes that education abroad is distinct and memorable, with the study abroad experience recalled more frequently and with more emotion than other college memories.

Precipitating sensory stimuli activate emotion and subsequent cognitive appraisals of an event and are expressed through physiological changes (e.g., heart rate) (Hammer, 2007). The study abroad experience often serves its student participants with what can be characterized as a hypersensory buffet. Upon arrival in the host country, students are typically assaulted by new and unfamiliar sensory stimuli, including more pungent smells, exotic colors and sights, and never before encountered combinations of sounds. These hypersensory perceptions situate study abroad memories as more vivid, real, and impactful than other more mundane sensory memories that students may have stored before, during, or after their extraordinary encounter with a new and largely unknown cultural milieu.

When interviewed (or when their journals are reviewed), it is common to find that students often express strong certainty about and enthusiasm for their study abroad experiences. They readily relate (at least from their self-reported vantage point) that the overseas experience has dramatically increased their awareness, deepened their commitment to working across cultures, allowed them to form international friendships, and helped them

achieve a wide assortment of other outcomes. Unfortunately, these reflections are not particularly insightful where their capacity for navigating cultural differences and commonalities is concerned. In other words, traditional open-ended interviewing protocols do not gather developmental information; they simply gather different (i.e., hypersensory memory) data from students about their experiences.

IDI Guided Development: Lessons Learned

IDI research reveals that when educators make use of IDI Guided Development in intervening in their students' learning abroad, they are able to increase substantially their capability to adapt to diverse cultural values and practices. While intercultural competence development is dependent on students' "experiencing another culture," it is equally dependent on their becoming "*interculturally* experienced." That is, while being in a foreign country is the platform in which learning may take place, students also need guided reflection on their "experiences" in another culture in order to learn and develop interculturally (see Hammer, 2009a and chapter 2 of this volume). In this regard, IDI research is identifying key programmatic components of IDI Guided Development that have the greatest impact in increasing intercultural competence development during study abroad.

Engle and Engle (2003) provide a useful framework to discuss essential programmatic elements of study abroad. They originally proposed seven "defining components of overseas programs" (p. 8) but added an eighth in 2004:

1. Duration of the student sojourn
2. Entry target language proficiency
3. Extent of target language use (the extent to which the language is used/required language in class and outside of class)
4. Nature of the teaching faculty (i.e., home institution faculty, local faculty)
5. Type of coursework (e.g., advanced language study, history)
6. Whether students received mentoring or guided cultural reflection
7. Experiential learning activities (e.g., community service)
8. Type of housing (e.g., homestay, college dormitory)

IDI research results suggest that some of these factors have a significant impact on the development of intercultural competence among study abroad students (Vande Berg, 2009; Vande Berg et al., 2009).

Cultural Mentoring

Cultural mentoring that involves guided reflection on the students' cultural experience is a foundational developmental strategy of IDI Guided Development. Such mentoring, which facilitates students' reflection on their encounters with cultural difference and commonality, is developmentally grounded in the students' individual IDI and/or group profile results. Of the eight factors identified by Engle and Engle (2004), findings from the Georgetown Consortium study have shown group cultural mentoring to have the greatest impact in increasing students' intercultural competence, as measured by the IDI (chapter 2 of this volume; Vande Berg, 2009; Vande Berg et al., 2009). Findings from Engle and Engle's (2003) study of students enrolling at the American University Center of Provence (AUCP) (chapter 12 of this volume) strongly suggest that immersion in the host culture and cultural mentoring interact to increase the intercultural competence of students; the Georgetown Consortium study reported that AUCP students averaged 12.47 points of IDI gain, compared with average gains of 1.32 points of gain for students at 60 other study abroad programs who were not benefiting from this approach (Vande Berg et al., 2009).

Some study abroad programs are expanding the concept of cultural mentoring to include the provision of individual IDI profile feedback to students prior to departure. Pedersen (2010), for example, incorporates individual IDI mentoring in her pre-departure preparation of students and relies on these IDI profile results to help them continue to develop their intercultural competence afterward. Results from her pre-posttest administration of the IDI reveal that students participating in her pre-departure cultural mentoring program had average gains of 11 points on the IDI, compared with gains of only 1.22 points for students who remained on the home campus.

Vande Berg, Quinn, and Menyhart (see chapter 16 of this volume) describe another approach to cultural mentoring with the IDI. They are using the IDI as an integral part of their training of teachers abroad who will be teaching an intercultural course, the Seminar on Living and Learning Abroad. They coach new seminar teachers extensively during their first two semesters teaching the course, using their individual IDI profiles to tailor the coaching to each teacher's developmental needs. Students enrolled in the seminar also complete pre- and post-IDIs; trained to interpret individual student IDI profiles, the teachers rely on these results while they intervene in the students' intercultural development, individually and as a group, throughout their semester abroad. By the end of the spring 2011 semester, 13

of these seminar classes had improved by an average of 9.0 IDI points—a considerable gain when compared with the 1.32 points of gain that students enrolling in 60 Georgetown Consortium study programs made during their terms abroad (Vande Berg et al., 2009).

In short, research findings are showing that cultural mentoring can produce very substantial gains in intercultural competence among study abroad students. These average gains, ranging from 9 to more than 12 points on the IDI, translate into movement representing nearly a full developmental orientation—that is, movement from, for example, Minimization to Acceptance.

Duration of Study Abroad

IDI research findings show only modest increases in intercultural competence when students abroad complete longer- as opposed to shorter-term sojourns (see chapter 2 of this volume; Medina-López-Portillo, 2004). However, when there is systematic use of the IDI and IDI Guided Development interventions, duration seems to have an intercultural competence multiplier effect, resulting in substantially greater gains over the same period of time, compared with non–IDI Guided Development efforts (see chapters 2, 8, 12, 14, and 16 of this volume; Pedersen, 2009).

Intercultural Content

IDI research demonstrates that intercultural competence development depends on interventions that help students increase their cultural self-awareness as well as their cultural other-awareness (e.g., differences between their own cultural values and those of other culture groups). This suggests that helping students achieve more general, *non-culturally* grounded personal or even interpersonal awareness does not migrate into the cultural domain. As Paige and Vande Berg comment, "Cultural content anchors the intercultural experience by serving as a foundation for reflection and learning" (see page 54 of this volume).

Reflection on Intercultural Experiences

IDI research shows that *unexamined* cultural experiences do not facilitate intercultural competence development. Rather, experience plus cultural reflection result in greater cultural insights and increase students' intercultural competence. Targeted cultural reflection, grounded in IDI profile results, can be obtained through cultural mentors (discussed earlier) as well

as journals, group discussions, and one-on-one dialogue with host nationals and/or other international students (see chapters 4, 10–12, 14, and 16 of this volume). The caveat is that these activities must be framed to elicit inquiry into one's own cultural assumptions, values, and practices vis-à-vis the assumptions, values, and practices of host country nationals or other international students. Cultural reflection is often best gained through in-depth analysis of critical incidents, in which cultural differences emerge through reflection on the students' experiences that "make a difference."

Involvement in the Cultural Setting

Paige and Vande Berg comment that although "immersion in another culture, in and of itself, is not as powerful as immersion plus reflection, engagement with the culture is still at the heart of the study abroad experience" (see page 54 of this volume). Intercultural competence development is aided when students become involved in the day-to-day life of host country nationals rather than isolating themselves within their own cultural group. Living in the host country demands greater intercultural capabilities of students than living in their own cultural island; when they remain in their own cultural bubble, students perceive and respond to the host culture primarily on their own terms.

Pre-Departure and Reentry Preparation

IDI research supports the proposition that intercultural preparation prior to departure and the integration of study abroad learning following the return home facilitate significant gains in intercultural competence. The type of pre-departure and reentry programming that appears to be most beneficial directly focuses on cultural learning as opposed to either "dos and taboos" or noncultural content (e.g., sights to see) (Sample, 2009; chapter 11 of this volume).

Virtual and On-Site Learning Interventions

IDI research suggests that online intercultural learning activities can also aid the development of intercultural competence among study abroad students. One study shows that students abroad whose intercultural learning and development is facilitated online, through courses taught by faculty in the home culture, make considerably higher gains, on average, than students whose learning is not facilitated (see chapter 14 of this volume). Research also shows that students who are enrolled in intercultural courses on-site

with faculty members who physically meet with them that facilitate their learning outperform those who are learning online (compare, e.g., the average gains reported by Engle and Engle as well as Vande Berg, Quinn, and Menyhart with those reported by Lou and Bosley in this volume). Both of these results are encouraging insofar as both online and face-to-face formats appear to help students increase their intercultural competence. Presumably, these results would also support "blended" programs that incorporate both online and in-person learning modalities.

Conclusion

Research and practice with the IDI is generating significant insights about the development of intercultural competence during a student's study abroad experience. This body of emerging work has challenged the accuracy of the immersion assumption as a justification for supporting study abroad programs that largely or wholly leave students to their own (cross-cultural learning) devices. IDI research indicates that students who are "immersed" in their institutions' "global" learning initiatives on the home campus do not significantly increase their intercultural competence. Furthermore, students who go abroad through universities and colleges that enroll them in programs that aim simply to "immerse" them in the host culture also fail to significantly increase their intercultural competence.

In contrast to these findings, IDI research indicates that students who participate in programs that take steps to deeply immerse them in the host culture as well as provide expert cultural mentoring that is developmental— that is, mentoring that asks the students to reflect on their experiences, and to reflect on how they characteristically make meaning of their experiences—do succeed in helping their students develop intercultural competence. IDI-based research is showing specifically that interventions based on IDI assessments of students' intercultural competence (i.e., IDI Guided Development) result in significantly greater capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behavior to cultural differences—the essence of intercultural development. This research has identified the following program components as most influential in building intercultural competence during study abroad: cultural mentoring, learning about patterns of cultural differences, reflection on intercultural experiences, active involvement in the cultural setting, pre-departure and reentry preparation, and onsite intercultural interventions.

As we move further into the second decade of the 21st century, international education has the potential to build dramatically the intercultural competence of the next generation of global leaders. This vision can be realized by recognizing (a) that the immersion assumption cannot support the development of intercultural competence and (b) that intercultural competence is teachable, learnable, and achievable if learning interventions are appropriately designed based on the developmental mindset of the student.

Note

1. IDI v1, v2, and v3 are owned by Mitchell R. Hammer, IDI, LLC. The current IDI v3 and its web-based analytical system were developed by Mitchell Hammer and revised from earlier versions of the IDI developed by Mitchell Hammer and Milton Bennett.

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