Coming of Age in a Multicultural World: Globalization and Adolescent Cultural Identity Formation

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The aim of this article is to explore implications of globalization for adolescent cultural identity formation. The thesis is that adolescents increasingly form multicultural identities because they grow up knowing diverse cultural beliefs and behaviors. First, ways that adolescents increasingly have exposure to different cultures are illustrated with ethnographic and cross-cultural work. Then, 3 emerging research issues are raised: (a) the extent to which it is important whether a multicultural identity is based on first-hand versus indirect (media-based) interactions with diverse peoples, (b) how cultural identity formation may take diverse developmental paths depending on the particular cultures involved, and (c) gains and losses that occur when persons form a multicultural identity rather than an identity based primarily on one cultural tradition. Finally, the article suggests using multiple methods that are sensitive to different perspectives in research on globalization and adolescent identity formation.

Contemporary adolescents are coming of age in a world that is considerably more multicultural than the world in which their parents and grandparents grew up. Due to the processes of globalization, adolescents increasingly have knowledge of and interactions with people from diverse cultures. The flow across cultures of ideas, goods, and people is not new, but the current extent and speed of globalization are unprecedented. With increasing migrations, worldwide media disseminations, multinational corporations, tourism travel, and so forth, diverse peoples interact with one another more than ever (Friedman, 2000; Giddens, 2000; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Sassen, 1998).

My aim in this article is to explore implications of globalization for adolescent cultural identity formation. I will argue that developing a cultural identity in the course of adolescence has become more complex. Adolescents seldom grow up knowing of only one culture but increasingly have interactions with people from diverse cultures, either first-hand or indirectly through different media. Increasingly, then, adolescents forge multicultural identities.

There are many issues to address on the topic of globalization and adolescent identity formation. My aim here is to draw attention to some of the emerging issues. Writings that specifically address adolescent psychology in light of globalization are still few (e.g., Arnett, 2002; Larson, 2002). I will draw on writings on globalization as well as writings from related areas on ethnic and immigrant identity formation (e.g., Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1990; for other specific issues on ethnic identity formation see Spencer, this issue).

In the following, I will start by defining the term *cultural identity* and discuss why globalization may be particularly salient for adolescent cultural identity formation. Then, I will provide a few examples illustrating how adolescents increasingly grow up in a multicultural world and form multicultural identities. Next, I will discuss three issues pertaining to adolescent multicultural identity formation that would seem to be fruitful and timely areas for research:

1. The issue of the extent to which it is important whether a multicultural identity is based on first-hand versus indirect (media-based) interactions with diverse peoples.
2. The issue of how cultural identity formation may take diverse developmental paths depending on the particular cultures involved.
3. The issue of gains and losses that occur when a person forms a multicultural identity rather than an identity based primarily on one cultural tradition.

Finally, I will end on a brief methodological note, raising the issue of using culturally sensitive and valid methods when studying cultural identity formation.

A Definition of Cultural Identity

What is a cultural identity? Forming a cultural identity involves taking on worldview beliefs and engaging in behavioral practices that unite people within a community (Shweder et al., 1999). Typically a worldview provides answers to four questions: Who am I? Where am I? Why do people suffer? What is the remedy for suffering? (Walsh & Middleton, 1984). Thus, worldview beliefs often pertain to conceptions of human nature, the relation of the individual to others in society, and moral and religious ideals.

Worldview beliefs find expression in and are passed on from generation to generation through a variety of everyday practices (such as behaviors pertaining to eating, dressing, sleeping, work, and recreation) as well as practices marking life course transitions (such as graduating from school, marriage, and having children). One's cultural identity, then, subsumes a broad range of beliefs and behaviors that one shares with members of one's community.

Cultural identity formation also in some respects intersects with the formation of identity in spheres such as religion and morality. Often religious beliefs and behaviors as well as moral beliefs and behaviors are crucial elements in peoples' understanding of their cultural identity. For example, the extent to which one values autonomy and independence, or familial duties and obligations, or adherence to spiritual precepts and practices constitute important elements in one's understanding of one's cultural identity. In fact, the globalization ethos, in many ways a Western and even American ethos, often emphasizes individual autonomy and secular values, and quite frequently these values are not easily reconciled with those of more traditional cultures emphasizing community cohesion and religious devotion. Thus challenges involved in forming an adolescent cultural identity in the face of globalization extend to aspects of one's identity formation centering specifically cn moral and religious issues. (For articles on emerging issues in moral and religious identity formation, see Benson, Roehlkepartain, & Rude, this issue; Damon, Menon, & Bronk, this issue; King, this issue; Nasir, this issue; Reimer, this issue).

One's cultural identity, then, encompasses a broad set of worldview beliefs and behavioral practices. Half a century ago, anthropologists (Whiting & Child, 1953) described the relation between these cultural beliefs and practices as a "custom complex" consisting of "customary practice and of the beliefs, values, sanctions, rules, motives and satisfactions associated with it" (quoted in Shweder et al., 1998, p. 872). Given the broadness of beliefs and practices that a cultural identity subsumes, it in many ways includes the key areas that Erikson (1968) emphasized as central to the formation of an adolescent's identity as a whole. These key areas pertain to ideology (be-

liefs and values), love (personal relationships), and work. However, Erikson's focus was on how adolescents make choices about ideology, love, and work in order to arrive at an independent and unique sense of self *within* the cultural context in which they live (Erikson, 1950, 1968). Forming a cultural identity, however, involves making choices about the cultural contexts that one identifies with in the first place. Put another way, the Eriksonian identity formation task centers on deciding what distinguishes you as an individual among the members of your cultural community, whereas forming a cultural identity involves deciding on the cultural communities to which you will belong—a task that has become more complex as more and more people have exposure to multiple cultural communities with their diverse and divergent custom complexes. In fact, forming a cultural identity becomes mainly a conscious process and decision when you have exposure to more than one culture.

Researchers conducting work on ethnic identity formation in many ways address issues similar to those involved in cultural identity formation. As Phinney (1990) pointed out, there are widely discrepant definitions of ethnic identity. However, a central focus of research on ethnic identity formation is how members of ethnic and racial minority groups negotiate their identifications with their own group in the context of living among other ethnic and racial groups. One difference between research on ethnic identity formation and cultural identity formation as described here is that the former focuses on minority groups. However, cultural identity formation in the context of globalization also pertains to people who form part of a majority culture but who still have exposure to other cultures as well. For example, an Indian adolescent living in India but with exposure to the global economy and media will likely negotiate culturally diverse custom complexes in forming a cultural identity.

One important similarity between ethnic and cultural identity formation pertains to the issue of power and dominance. As diverse ethnic, racial, and cultural groups come into contact with one another there are invariably differences in power and status among those groups. This is clearly the case with respect to processes pertaining to globalization. Later in this article, I will discuss some problems and losses that arise in forming a multicultural identity in the context of globalization.

One last issue is worth mentioning with respect to defining the concept of cultural identity. Although one's cultural identity subsumes a broad range of beliefs and behaviors that one shares with members of one's community or communities, this does not entail that all members of a cultural community hold uniform beliefs and engage in identical practices. There is invariably variation within communities based on factors such a generation, gender, individual differ-

ences, religious affiliation, and social class (e.g., Jensen, 1997, 2003; Turiel & Wainryb, 2000).

Adolescence and the Saliency of Globalization

The influence of globalization on cultural identity formation may be particularly salient in adolescence. Some have argued that adolescents are at the forefront of globalization (Dasen, 2000; Schlegel, 2001). Popular and media culture (television, movies, music, and the Internet) contribute to the rapid and extensive spread of ideas across cultures, and adolescents have more of an interest in popular and media culture than children or adults.

Adolescence may also be a time of life with a more pronounced openness to diverse cultural beliefs and behaviors. Adolescents have developed enough maturity to think in more complex ways about that which is new and different, and often there are many areas of life in which they have not yet settled on particular beliefs and behaviors (Arnett, 2002). Some research with immigrants to the United States indeed shows that sometimes adolescents change their beliefs and values more than adults. Nguyen and Williams (1989) in a study with Vietnamese immigrants found that adolescents' values varied with length of time in the United States whereas parents' values did not. Also, Phinney, Ong, and Madden (2000) found greater value discrepancies between adolescents and parents who had lived in the United States for a longer time, than between adolescents and parents who had immigrated more recently. Phinney et al. found this pattern for Vietnamese and Armenian immigrants. This phenomenon is also known as dissonant acculturation (Portes, 1997), when exposure to a new culture leads to more rapid change among adolescents than among adults. The research results with immigrants to the United States suggest that adolescents may be more receptive to new and foreign cultural values and beliefs as compared to adults. Thus processes of globalization may particularly influence adolescents in their cultural identity formation.

It is a Multicultural World

The title for this article—Coming of Age in a Multicultural World—was inspired by Margaret Mead's (1928/1961) title for her well-known book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*. The focus of Mead's work on the socialization of adolescents and ways that culture influences socialization remains important. Yet, descriptions such as Mead's of adolescents coming of age within one cultural tradition are becoming a rarity. Mead spoke of "one [Samoan] girl's life [being]

so much like another's, in an uncomplex, uniform culture like Samoa" (p. 11). What is striking about much contemporary anthropological and cross-cultural work from all over the world is the way it describes the many changes that traditional societies undergo due to globalization—the ways that many societies have ceased to be "uncomplex and uniform" (e.g., Brown, Larson, & Saraswathi, 2002; Burbank, 1988; Condon, 1988; Liechty, 1995; Naito & Gielen, 2002). In the following, I will discuss a few examples from ethnographic and psychological work of the ways that globalization is changing traditional cultural beliefs, everyday practices, and life-course transitions. The intent of these examples is to provide specific qualitative illustrations of changes that occur in adolescents' custom complexes as they are exposed to diverse cultures.

The Inuit of the Canadian Arctic

The anthropologist Richard Condon (1988) provided a fascinating ethnographic description of dramatic cultural changes occurring in a relatively short period of time among the Inuit of the Canadian arctic. Just a generation ago, the Inuit were nomadic. Family groups followed the movements of fish and game. Children and adolescents assisted their parents and elders with work necessary for daily survival, and they grew up under the close protection and supervision of their families. There were few influences from the outside.

Today's Inuit children and adolescents, however, live very different lives. They reside in fixed settlements established by the Canadian government. The traditional nomadic work of ice fishing and hunting has become recreational, and Inuit children and adolescents now attend school in pursuit of skills required in a changed world. Unlike before, Inuit children and adolescents now spend much time outside of the socialization environment of the family both in school and in peer groups.

Inuit adolescents have also gained access to Western media, especially television. According to Condon (1988), the influences of television on Inuit adolescents have been striking. He had a rare opportunity to observe a variety of clear effects of the introduction of television because he studied the Inuit both before and after the introduction of television. Adolescent boys and young men avidly took up the game of hockey after being exposed to pro hockey games on TV. During the long summer nights, they play hockey for hours on end. Along with playing the sport has come a new ethos. Traditional Inuit culture discourages calling attention to individual skills and accomplishments. From watching pro hockey players, however, adolescent boys learned to be competitive and even to brag about their sports abilities. TV also

seems to have brought along a new ethos for dating and relationships between girls and boys. Previously very reserved about their romantic relationships, after the introduction of TV young couples became publicly affectionate. When Condon queried adolescents about this change, they attributed it to watching the show "Happy Days."

Today, then, Inuit adolescents no longer form a cultural identity solely based on their traditional culture. Their worldview and everyday behaviors (such as dating, sports participation, and school work) reflect and express values that derive from multiple cultures. From their traditional Inuit culture, adolescents still take collectivist values. Condon (1988) wrote that young people grow up with a "pronounced sense of belonging, of being integrated into a social network" (p. 92). From Canadian culture and Western culture more generally, Inuit adolescents also take new values and identity ideals centering on individual expressiveness and accomplishment. Condon's ethnography reflected how Inuit adolescents form multicultural identities that incorporate diverse beliefs and practices. This is a complex task as some beliefs from the different cultures can be integrated with ease, but others are more difficult to reconcile—a point that I will elaborate on later.

An Example From India

As described earlier, cultural identity formation occurs in the context of everyday cultural practices. It also occurs in the context of practices marking life course transitions. One example of how globalization has influenced life course transitions comes from research in India, where marriage (a highly significant life course transition often culturally marking the transition into adulthood) appears to have become subject to diverse cultural interpretations. In an in-depth interview study in which Indian young and midlife adults where asked to describe a personal moral experience (i.e., a time in their life when they had faced an important decision pertaining to right and wrong), almost 50% chose to discuss the issue of whether to have a traditional arranged marriage, that is, a marriage where a person's parents and family decide who they will marry, or whether to have what Indians call a "love marriage," that is, a marriage where persons decide for themselves whom to marry (Jensen, 1998).

These two types of marriages reflect very different conceptions of individual choice, family obligations, and the purpose of marriage. Arranged marriages seem perfectly sensible within a traditional Indian worldview that emphasizes duty to family, respect for elders, and behaving according to one's station in life rather than according to individual preferences. Love marriages fit much better with the values of globalization and the West that emphasize freedom of choice and individual rights, as well as a media culture saturated with images of romance and interpersonal attraction. In the interviews, one young woman discussed her unwillingness to have an arranged marriage in the context of a changing Indian society. She said:

I've always insisted that I've got to have the right man and I won't just be able to adjust to anyone … There have been pressures, if I can call them that, from family, but I've … not given in to it. I won't do that ever because I know the situation now … From the very beginning things foreign and imported were very glamorous to me. From those days onward [when I became familiar with things foreign], I was against having an [arranged] marriage … Arranged marriages in India are becoming obsolete, I think. Because even now in [arranged marriages], girls and boys they talk to each other. They come to know each other. Perhaps the decision may not be theirs, because in some traditional households it's not theirs. But they get to know each other. But as for me, I should [decide] and know him.

Although arranged marriages are still by far more common than love marriages in India, the research finding reflects how Indian adolescents and adults now are aware of and at times contend with values and identity conceptions that are different from the traditional Indian conceptions with respect to a life course transition as crucial as marriage (for more on globalization in India, see Verma & Saraswathi, 2002).

The findings from India and the Inuit are by no means unique or unusual. What is striking about much contemporary ethnographic and cross-cultural work is the way it describes the many changes that traditional societies undergo due to globalization. Descriptions of adolescents coming of age within one cultural tradition are becoming less and less common. Adolescents increasingly come of age in a multicultural world and they face the task of forming their identities in the context of multiple traditions. Robertson (1992) phrased it very well when writing that today's children and adolescents develop "the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (p. 8).

Three Emerging Research Issues

With contemporary adolescents growing up in a multicultural world, many complexities of adolescent identity formation arise that merit further research. In the following, I will discuss three such issues.

First-Hand Reality
Versus Virtual Reality

One issue pertains to the agents of cultural socialization: To what extent is it important whether adolescent cultural identity formation is based on the first-hand reality of interactions with diverse peoples or based on indirect exposure to diverse cultural traditions through the virtual reality of media? Or to use Robertson's (1992) language, does it matter if an adolescent's consciousness of the world as a whole derives primarily from first-hand interactions with diverse people or from media exposure?

The classical definition of acculturation by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz (1936) assumed direct interactions; "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into *continuous first-hand contact* [italics added] with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). Increasing numbers of adolescents indeed do experience first-hand contact with people from different cultures as a consequence of migrations and tourism. However, for many adolescents much of their exposure to cultures other than their traditional one occurs indirectly through media. Thus in a world of fast-paced and abundant media transmissions and interactions, Redfield et al.'s definitions of acculturation might fruitfully be expanded to encompass more indirect interactions occurring in virtual reality.

Arnett (2002) proposed that many adolescents in today's world of globalization develop a "local identity" based on their indigenous tradition, as well as a "global identity" based on their exposure to a global (often Western) culture conveyed through media. Television, in particular, provides exposure to new ideas, events, and people. For example, the number of televisions per 1,000 persons rose from 5 in 1970 to 255 in 1995 in East Asia, and from 70 in 1970 to 220 in 1995 in Latin America and the Pacific. The comparable figures were from 280 in 1970 to 525 in 1995 for Western industrialized countries (United Nations Development Programme, 1998). As described previously for the Inuit, television exposure can influence adolescent identity formation in important ways. (The Internet may at some point rival or even surpass TV in providing adolescents with global access.) Friedman (2000) described how companies cater in global media to a new market of "global teens" because urban adolescents from all over the world follow similar consumption patterns. To conceptualize adolescent development that entails both a local and a global identity, Arnett suggested a need to expand the traditional use of the concept of bicultural identity. In this expanded use, the term *bicultural identity* would refer not only to acculturative processes occurring with first-hand exposure to different cultures (as for immigrants, minority groups, or workers who come in frequent contact with foreigners) but also to acculturative processes occurring with exposure to different cultures through media.

It may make a difference in identity formation whether contact occurs first-hand or through media. One possibility is that identity formation on the basis of media exposure is more *subjectivized* or *individualized*. Sociologists of religion have used these two concepts fruitfully to refer to the ways that people increasingly construct individual and idiosyncratic religious or spiritual belief systems as the establishment of a religious identity less frequently occurs in the context of shared practices with a community of fellow believers and more frequently as an individual process of exploration (Arnett & Jensen, 2002; Berger, 1967; Luckman, 1963).

Media, more so than first-hand interactions with others, allow the adolescent to choose what to see and hear. Also, media usage would seem to allow for more individual interpretations than first-hand interactions in which other people are more likely to coconstruct experiences. Media messages are not interpreted within an immediate group context (unless, e.g., a group of adolescents watch a TV program together and talk about it). Thus when Inuit or Indian adolescents watch an American TV show or a music video, the messages they come away with may vary substantially from individual to individual. Adolescent cultural identity formation on the basis of media exposure, then, may be more subjectivized or individualized than cultural identity formation on the basis of first-hand interactions.

Clearly adolescent identity formation in the face of globalization encompasses the classic form of acculturation based on first-hand interactions as well as a more recent form of acculturation based on media exposure. The extent to which a person's cultural identity is influenced in different ways by these two types of acculturation merits further attention.

Not One, but Multiple
Developmental Paths

A second research issue meriting attention pertains to the extent to which adolescent cultural identity formation may take diverse developmental paths depending on the particular cultures to which they have exposure. In a very interesting study by Phinney, Kim, Ossorio, and Vilhjalmsdottir (2002), they asked 240 adolescents to reason about vignettes describing adolescents and parents disagreeing about a variety of everyday and major issues. The vignettes pertained to issues such as doing household chores, everyone gathering for family dinner, and dating.

The research included four different ethnic groups residing in the United States and showed interesting interactions between culture and development. European American adolescents moved from assertions of

autonomy in midadolescence (ages 14 and 17) to increased consideration of the views and feeling of their parents in late adolescence (ages 18 to 22). This pattern fits well with what some psychologists have described as a movement from unilaterality to mutuality in young persons' relationships with parents (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Armenian American and Mexican American adolescents, however, moved from consideration of parents in midadolescence to self-assertion in late adolescence. Finally, Korean American adolescents maintained a high degree of consideration for parents' point of view at all ages.

As discussed earlier, conceptions of individual autonomy and family obligations are typically important aspects of people's cultural identities. Phinney et al.'s (2002) research indicated that during adolescence these conceptions appear to develop in different ways and in varying orders across cultural traditions. Thus cultural identity formation becomes more complex as adolescents have exposure to more cultures. They have to form identities in the face of cultural traditions that may hold out different end goals (such as differing emphases on the assertion of autonomy from parents and the fulfillment of responsibilities to parents) and different pathways to those end goals (such as acceptance of assertions of autonomy in midadolescence but not in late adolescence or acceptance of assertions of autonomy in late adolescence but not in midadolescence). This suggests, then, that we cannot assume a universal developmental pathway to adolescent cultural identity formation in a world of globalization.

Gains and Losses

A third research question that arises is what gains and losses occur when an adolescent forms a multicultural identity rather than an identity based primarily upon one cultural tradition. Based on a review of the immigration literature, Berry (1997) suggested that the psychological adjustments and problems accompanying acculturation can be divided into three levels, moving from minor to severe adjustment issues. These levels are helpful in thinking about adolescent multicultural identity formation. At one level, acculturation may involve "culture shedding" in which an adolescent has to leave behind or unlearn aspects of their parents' culture. Such culture shedding may entail some sense of loss, as well as some positive sense of leaving behind undesirable beliefs and practices. At a second level, acculturation may involve more serious psychological adjustment in which an adolescent experiences "culture shock" or "acculturative stress." In other words, the adolescent has difficulty forming a coherent identity in the face of culturally distinct worldviews that are difficult to reconcile. Finally, at a third level, acculturation may lead to major difficulties in the form of psychopathology.

Many factors will influence the kind of psychological adjustment experienced by adolescents who are forming multicultural identities. One notable factor that may influence the balance between gains and losses is the degree of cultural distance between the cultures to which an adolescent has exposure. Here the immigration literature suggested that the greater the cultural distance in beliefs and behaviors between cultures, the greater the psychological and social problems (Berry, 1997). Returning to the Inuit, Condon's (1988) work showed how Inuit adolescents attend school in sporadic ways because they find it boring and alienating. Perhaps the distance between the traditional Inuit nomadic ways of life and the sedentary school culture introduced by the Canadian government is too great to be smoothly bridged. In fact, Condon suggested that boredom and alienation are among the factors contributing to adolescent risk behavior, such as shoplifting and alcohol use, in contemporary Inuit society.

Arnett (2002) suggested that recent increases in adolescent problem behaviors such as substance use, prostitution, armed aggression, and suicide that have occurred in a variety of traditional cultures may in part result from processes linked to globalization and attendant identity confusion and sense of marginalization in the face of diverse cultural values that are difficult to reconcile.

Forming a multicultural identity clearly presents adolescents with psychological challenges that may be difficult to meet in a positive way. Yet, it may be worthwhile to keep in mind potential positive outcomes. Berry (1997) pointed out that with respect to immigrants (with most of the research focusing on immigrants in North America), the assumption among scholars used to be that acculturation inevitably brings social and psychological stress and problems. However, this view has changed as research has indicated that the gains and losses of immigrant acculturation are varied and complex (varying by factors such as age, gender, level of education, degree of social support, intergroup attitudes, and discrimination). Also, research indicates that children and adolescents who are first and second generation immigrants to the United States tend to do very well with respect to grades in school, physical and mental health, and avoidance of risk behavior (Fuligni, 1998).

Multicultural identity formation in adolescence, then, is likely to involve gains and losses, sometimes mostly losses, sometimes mostly gains, and sometimes both. The factors that influence the outcomes are likely to be varied and complex. Also, assessment of what constitutes gains and losses

may at times be complex. Whereas some outcomes seem clearly to be either a gain or a loss, other times perceptions of what is a gain or loss may be dissonant. For example, adolescents may see shedding some parts of their parents' cultural traditions as a positive (e.g., getting rid of an outdated custom), whereas the parents and other adults of the community experience this as a loss of a valuable tradition. Clearly, we have to carry out research on psychological gains and losses entailed by adolescents forming multicultural identities in a world of globalization. This is a vast area requiring research on many factors influencing acculturation, and the research must be carried out in a way that is sensitive to divergent conceptions of what constitutes gains and losses.

Methodological Multiplicity

Earlier in this article I have discussed several issues that seem to me to merit further attention. The nature of these issues and the nature of the topic of globalization more generally point to the need for the use of research methods that are culturally appropriate. I will end by briefly discussing a few methodological points. In recent years, cultural psychologists have called for the need to reassess more common and standard methodologies when working with participants from different cultures (e.g., Shweder et al., 1998; Stigler, Shweder, & Herdt, 1990). Their advice would seem particularly apt as more and more cultures come into contact due to the processes of globalization.

In studying adolescent cultural identity formation in which different socialization agents, different cultures, different pathways to identity formation, and different conceptions of the best end goals are in play, methodological multiplicity would seem to be helpful. By this, I mean two things. First, by using more than one method we might better capture different cultural concepts, and capture these concepts as they are understood within their respective cultures. Of course in deciding on more than one method, it helps to use those that maximize cultural sensitivity and ecological validity (Briggs, 1986). Second, methodological multiplicity also entails understanding globalization from different perspectives. As mentioned previously, adolescents and parents may not view the gains and losses of multicultural identity formation in the same ways. In fact, adolescents themselves may at times view the same outcome as both a gain and a loss. Hermans and Kempen (1998) pointed out that in the face of globalization, "self or identity can be conceived of as a dynamic multiplicity of different and even contrasting positions or voices that allow mutual dialogical relationships" (p. 1118). Thus using methodologies that allow room for different perspec-

tives, or voices (Gilgun, 1992; Gilligan, 1982), would be helpful.

Conclusions

Contemporary adolescents are coming of age in a multicultural world where creating a cultural identity has become complex. Often, they face the task of integrating diverse cultural beliefs and behaviors conveyed to them by multiple agents of socialization—socialization agents that at times are at odds with one another (e.g., parents and TV). The task of forming a coherent cultural identity that allows adolescents to become contributing members of society presents challenges that may be stressful or even considerably more problematic. However, adolescent cultural identity formation also presents challenges that may be met by developing new skills, the kinds of skills necessary for a multicultural world, that allow adolescents to function well psychologically and to contribute to society.

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