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Navigating Local and Global Worlds: Opportunities and Risks for Adolescent Cultural Identity Development

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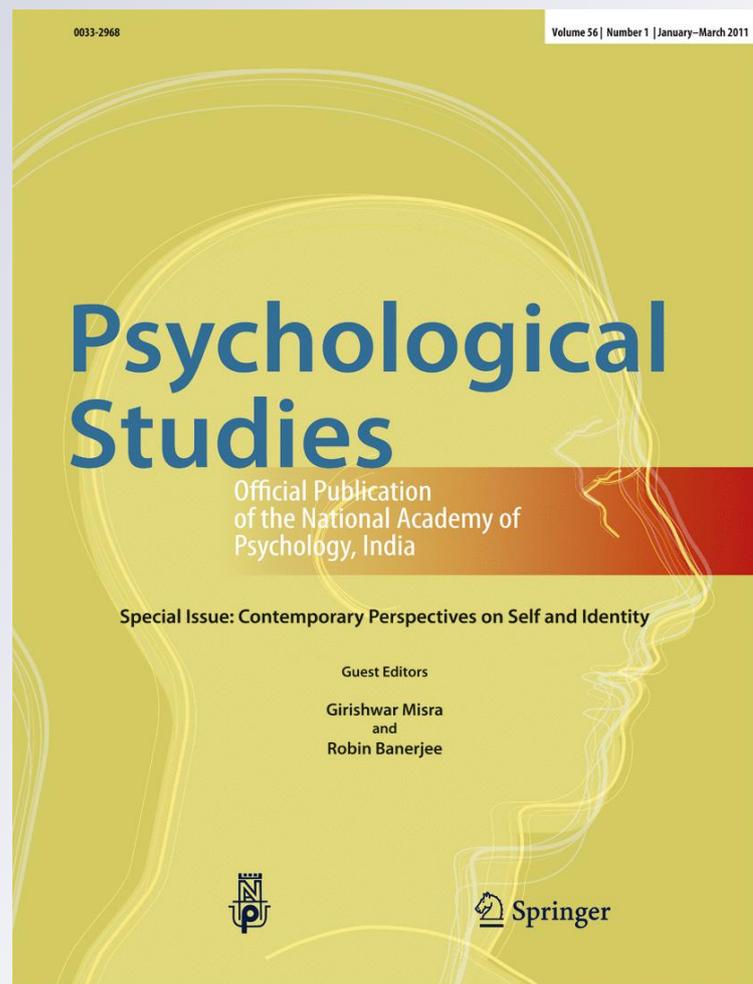**Abstract** This essay focuses on the opportunities and risks that adolescents face when developing cultural identities in the context of globalization. It starts by illustrating how globalization entails that adolescents increasingly have interactions with people from diverse cultures in myriad domains. Adolescents navigate local and global worlds, for example, with regard to language, diet, dating, and work. With the exposure to diverse cultures, new opportunities and risks arise. The nature of and evidence for three of these are highlighted. One is the risk of adolescent cultural identity confusion, with attendant internalizing and externalizing pathological behaviors. A second is the emergence of cultural gaps between adolescents and parents, a phenomenon that may constitute both a risk and a necessity. The third issue discussed is the way that globalization may open up more opportunities for youth civic involvement, even if such involvement sometimes aims to resist globalization.

Keywords Adolescence · Civic involvement · Cultural identity · Family relations · Globalization · Moral values

Introduction

The number of adolescents (ages 10–19) has reached an all-time high of 1.2 billion, or nearly one-fifth of the total world population (Population Council 2005; Ranade 2003). More adolescents than ever also have exposure not only to their local culture, but also the beliefs and practices of other

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peoples. The flow across the world of ideas, goods, and people is not new but the current extent and speed of globalization are unprecedented.

Globalization has profound implications for adolescent cultural identity development. Recent news reports and ethnographies provide vivid, thought-provoking illustrations. In Chile, for example, parties that each draw adolescents in the hundreds, even thousands, flout the traditional sexual mores of what once was one of the most conservative countries in Latin America. At the parties, promoted through the highly popular Fotologs and MSN Messenger, adolescents meet up with assorted and fleeting partners to dance and make out with enthusiasm and abandon (Barrionuevo 2008). In China, a mass movement of "factory girls" in their late-teens to mid-twenties streams from rural villages to cities to work. In the process, their lives are changed in myriad ways as some attend English classes, some become escorts for wealthy businessmen, and many increasingly emphasize self-reliance while also sending hard-earned money back home (Chang 2008). In Samoa, bygone tattooing rituals have been revived in recent decades in an effort to reassert indigenous ways and resist globalization. The majority of male Samoan teenagers get tattoos to demonstrate their pride in their traditional culture (Côté 1994). The tattooing ritual is more than skin deep. It is a ritual representing their belief in the value of Samoan culture and their desire to retain a Samoan cultural identity.

The "snapshots" begin to show how globalization impacts adolescent identities worldwide in such key areas as sexuality, dating, work, and moral values. Below I provide demographic information further documenting the reach of globalization with regard to other areas salient for adolescent identity formation, such as language, diet, and media. My starting premise, then, is that with globalization adolescents increasingly have interactions with people from

diverse cultures, either first-hand or indirectly through various media. Consequently, developing a cultural identity has become more complex—no longer a question of becoming an adult member of one culture but instead of figuring out how to navigate multiple cultures (Jensen 2003). Previously, I and other scholars have examined the diverse cultural identities resulting from globalization, such as hybrid, marginalized, and bicultural identities (e.g., Arnett 2002; Giddens 2000; Hermans and Kempen 1998; Jensen 2003). Here, the focus will be on outcomes linking cultural identity development and globalization. I will discuss outcomes that range from positive opportunities to risk and psychopathology.

Before addressing the intersection of globalization and adolescent cultural identity development, however, a definition of cultural identity is provided, as well as a discussion of what I mean by globalization and why it may be particularly salient for adolescents.

A Definition of Cultural Identity

About half a century ago, the anthropologists Whiting and Child (1953) described the relation between 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). Forming a cultural identity involves adopting the beliefs and practices—the custom complexes—of one or more cultural communities (Jensen 2003). For example, the extent to which one acts on the basis of familial and communal obligations, or adherence to spiritual precepts, or notions of autonomy and independence typically constitute important elements of one's cultural identity (Jensen 2008).

A cultural identity in many ways includes the key areas that Erikson (1968) emphasized as central to the formation of an adolescent's identity. These key areas pertain to ideology (beliefs and values), love (personal relationships), and work. 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 culture in which they live (Erikson 1950, 1968). Forming a cultural identity, however, involves making choices about the cultures with which one identifies. Put another way, the Eriksonian identity formation task centers on the process of developing an individual identity within one's cultural community, whereas the process of forming a cultural identity involves deciding on the cultural communities with which one affiliates.

Researchers conducting work on ethnic identity formation in many ways address issues similar to those involved in cultural identity formation (see Umaña-Taylor 2004). 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 (Phinney 1990). One difference between research on ethnic identity formation and on 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, Hindu Indian adolescents living in India with exposure to the global economy and media negotiate culturally diverse custom complexes in forming a cultural identity. As Saraswathi and her colleagues have observed, Indian adolescents may observe Valentine's day by exchanging sweets and cards while simultaneously desiring or ending up with a marriage arranged by their family (Saraswathi 1997; Saraswathi and Larson 2002; Saraswathi et al. 2011; Verma and Saraswathi 2002). Or to give another example, Dutch college students in Holland have recently started camel farms to sell camel's milk to Moroccan and Somali immigrants, a career path greeted with puzzlement by their college professors and prohibitions by the Dutch agricultural authorities and the European Union (Heingartner 2009). One important similarity between ethnic and cultural identity formation pertains to the issue of dominance. As diverse ethnic, racial, and cultural groups come into contact with one another, there are invariably differences in status and power among those groups.

Globalization and the Focus on Adolescence

As noted at the outset, globalization involves a multidirectional flow of people, goods, and ideas (Appadurai 1990; Hermans and Kempen 1998; Tomlinson 1999). The impact of globalization is worldwide. At the same time, however, experiences with globalization vary by location. For example, an ethos of individual autonomy and secular values in many ways flows from the West to other parts of the world. The movement of migrants, however, is far more often from less developed to more developed countries, than the other way around (Martin and Zurcher 2008). Also, globalization is more evident in urban than rural areas (United States Development Programme 2001). In fact the largest proportion of migration by far occurs within countries, from rural to urban areas (Human Development Report 2009)—as in the example above of Chinese factory girls.

The influence of globalization on cultural identity formation may be particularly salient in adolescence. Media such as 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 compared to children or adults (Dasen 2000; Schlegel 2001). For example, market

researchers aim to sell to "global teens" because urban adolescents worldwide follow similar consumption patterns and have similar preferences for "global brands" of music, videos, clothing, and so on (Friedman 2000).

Adolescence may also be a time of life with a pronounced openness to diverse cultural beliefs and behaviors. Research has noted that, in many ways, youth have not yet settled on particular beliefs and behaviors (Arnett 2002; Coté 2000). Some research with immigrants to the United States has also shown that adolescents change their beliefs and values more than adults do (Jensen and Dost-Gozkan 2010; Nguyen and Williams 1989; Phinney et al. 2000). This phenomenon, also known as dissonant acculturation (Portes 1997), may apply not only to immigrants but also more generally to adolescents who are exposed to globalization. As I will discuss below, it is this adolescent propensity to be open to new beliefs and behaviors that may entail both opportunities and risks.

Before proceeding, I wish to observe that adolescence takes many forms across cultures. For example, although more and more adolescents worldwide obtain secondary education, substantial numbers of adolescent boys, and especially adolescent girls, do not. Larson and his colleagues have documented worldwide diversity in adolescence on such factors as education, work, and marriage age (Larson et al. 2011). Variation is also notable on poverty rates, health indices, and age at birth of first child (Population Council 2005). In recognition of the diversity of the experience of adolescence across the globe, I often write here of cultural identity developments.

With Globalization Comes New Complexity

The worldwide reach of globalization is occurring in many arenas. Here, I describe it with regard to language, diet, and media. Each of these three arenas typically forms important components of the custom complexes of a culture, as well as the cultural identity developments of adolescents. Scholars have noted linguistic changes resulting from globalization (Crystal 2003; Tomlinson 1999; Tsui 2007). The number of people who have exposure to or are learning the English language is at an all-time high. As of 2002, one-third of the world's population had English language exposure, and one billion people were currently learning English (Lieber and Weisberg 2002). Also, English is the first language for over 400 million people; it is spoken on a daily basis as a second language by 375 million people; and it is used occasionally as a foreign language by over 700 million people for business or pleasure. Moreover, exposure to English is expected to rise exponentially in the years to come. By the year 2050, it is estimated that half of the world's population will be proficient English speakers

(English Language Guide 2009; ESL Market Statistics 2009).

While English is becoming a global language, many local languages are dying out. More than 7,000 languages are in existence today. With the current rate of "language death" at 1 per 14 days, however, the expectation is that fewer than half of today's languages will remain in about 100 years (National Geographic Web 2009). Although this threat to local languages has propelled preservation programs such as National Geographic's Enduring Voices Project and local preservation academies, many indigenous languages are becoming extinct.

With its communicative, symbolic, and social functions, language constitutes a key part of cultural identity, and the linguistic changes occurring as a result of globalization are likely to influence the cultural identity developments of many adolescents. Thus, around the world, youth are particularly likely to learn English. This occurs formally in school, but also informally through work, the media, contact with tourists, and so forth. Youth are also particularly likely to lose the languages of their local communities, either because the local languages are not passed on from the older to the younger generation, or as a consequence of adolescents moving away from their local community (Giridharadas 2008). In some case, the loss may not be outright, as when second generation immigrant youth adopt a hybrid language such as Spanglish or Chinglish.

It is not only that adolescent language use is changing rapidly, so are their dietary habits. Globalization has made local cuisines available far from their original locales (Mendez and Popkin 2004; Tomlinson 1999). A rapid increase in the availability of Western fast foods is occurring in the developing world. In India, for example, the fast food industry is growing an average of 40% per year (World Watch Institute 2008). The flow of foods and cuisines also moves in the other direction. Non-native restaurants increasingly permeate the U.S. and European food markets. In Britain, for example, Indian "take-aways" now outnumber fish and chip shops (Tomlinson 1999).

Clearly, global dietary changes have health effects. One such effect is the worldwide obesity epidemic, which the Worldwide Health Organization (2009) attributes primarily to economic growth and the globalization of food markets. Rising obesity rates are particularly pronounced among children and adolescents (French et al. 2001).

Global dietary changes also have psychological implications. Food—what, when, where, and with whom we eat—is part of daily cultural customs. Food is also a crucial part of a culture's holidays. Finally, food is often linked to moral values and cultural worldviews. For example, foods can be seen as sacred, forbidden, virtuous, disgusting, male or female, and so forth. As with language, youth are particularly likely to

change their dietary habits. Also as with language, the changes are likely to have implications for their worldviews and cultural identity development.

Perhaps one of the most notable aspect of globalization is the media explosion. The global world begs for our attention today more than ever. For example, worldwide Internet usage skyrocketed between 2000 and 2008, going from about 360 million users to more than 1.5 billion (Internet World Stats 2009). Particularly notable is the rapid rise of internet connectivity in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Cell phone usage has also become increasingly common. Four of every five U.S. teenagers carried a cell phone in 2008, representing a 40% increase since 2004 (Marketing Charts 2008). Currently, the most rapid increase in cell phone use is occurring in the developing world. In 2002, less than half of mobile subscriptions globally were in the developing world. By 2008, the proportion had risen to two-thirds. As of 2009, 60% of people globally have cell phone subscriptions (ABC News Website 2009).

Another relatively recent media phenomenon is Facebook, a social networking website that allows people to bring their social lives to the Web. According to Facebook's senior platform manager, Facebook is about "giving users the ability to take their identity and friends with them around the Web" (CNET News 2009). The website has 175 million active users as of 2009, more than 70% of whom are living outside of the U. S. (Facebook 2009). It is noteworthy that 54% of Facebook users are under 25 years of age (iStrategy Labs 2009). Facebook, then, provides instantaneous connectivity, overcomes geographic boundaries, and goes along with particular conceptions of how to self-present and connect with others.

In sum, today's 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. These interactions influence their everyday lives in myriad ways, from everyday habits such as diet, and media and language use to key life-course decisions about where to live and work. Consequently, developing a cultural identity has become more complex. It involves navigating both local and global cultures.

New Opportunities and Risks

Next I turn to a discussion of opportunities and risks that adolescents face when navigating local and global cultures. Specifically, I will discuss cultural identity confusion, the emergence of cultural gaps between adolescents and parents, and youth civic involvement.

Cultural Identity Confusion

Revisiting Erikson's (1950, 1968) concern with the possibility of a negative outcome of the identity development process, authors have voiced concern that having exposure to multiple cultures may result in some adolescents experiencing identity confusion (Arnett 2002; Hermans and Dimaggio 2007; Nsamenang 2002). Such confusion may take somewhat different forms. In some cases, there may be lack of commitment to any culture—traditional or new, local or global. "Marginalized" (Berry 1997), "de-cultured" (Giddens 2000), "deterritorialized" (Tomlinson 1999), "delocalized" (Thompson 1995), and "unrooted" (Friedman 2000) capture different facets of this risk where an adolescent feels bereft of a sense of home and custom complexes to guide positive involvement in local or global communities. For example, ethnographic accounts have documented how international media are the driving force of globalization in Nepal, but how the distance between media images and daily reality leads to a deep sense of disconnect among Nepalese youth (Liechty 1995). The media ideals of Western life raise youths' expectations for their own lives to unattainable levels, and these ideals eventually collide with the incompatibility between their expectations and their real lives. In the moving words of 21-year-old Ramesh (Liechty 1995, p.187):

> You know, now I know sooooo much [from films, books, and magazines about the West]. Being a frog in a pond isn't a bad life, but being a frog in an ocean is like hell. Look at this. Out here in Kathmandu there is nothing. We have nothing.

Apart from an outright sense of disconnect from local and global cultures, identity confusion may also take the form of bouncing between different cultural identities across situations and contexts. Although some degree of "alternation" might allow for useful flexibility, in other cases it may be confusing (Phinney and Baldelomar 2011; see also Downie et al. 2004; Falmagne 2004). Globalization, then, appears to go with a particular kind of identity confusion—one that I will refer to as *cultural identity confusion*.

One question is whether cultural identity confusion may lead to psychopathology. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) have suggested that there may be a link between globalization and "identity disturbances." They note that, since about 1980, there has been a dramatic increase in the diagnosis of multiple personality disorder or dissociative identity disorder. Furthermore, the "alters" (or personalities) reported by patients have increased in number, and they have become more diverse in type of identity. In more recent cases, for example, patients report alters based on media characters, and alters who vary widely in terms of language, ethnicity, religion, and so forth.

To the extent that these changes in prevalence of dissociative identity disorder are valid, they begin to indicate how awareness of diverse cultural identities may be internalized in pathological ways. However, the extent to which exposure to globalization is a cause per se of psychopathology appears to remain an open question, as does the question of the extent to which adolescents may be particularly vulnerable.

Another question is whether cultural identity confusion may be related to problems such as substance abuse, prostitution, and suicide. In a study drawing on multiple data sources from the period between 1980 and 1991, researchers reported increases in suicide, drug abuse, and male and female prostitution in Ivory Coast youth aged 16–20 (Delafosse et al. 1993). The researchers attributed the increase in problems to the confusion that young people experienced between the values of their traditional cultures and the values of the West. Increases in recent decades, sometimes steep, in rates of suicide and suicide attempts have also been reported by a considerable number of researchers working in Pacific societies, parts of Sri Lanka, and Native American cultures (Booth 1999; Hezel 1987; Johnson and Tomren 1999; Kearney and Miller 1985; MacPherson and MacPherson 1987; Novins et al. 1999; Reser 1990; Robinson 1990; Rubinstein 1983). At a general level, researchers have attributed the increases in suicide to youth feeling alienated from both local and global values. It should be added, however, that researchers working in different locations vary in their more specific explanations, such as the emphasis they place on changing family roles, the irreconcilability of increased economic expectations and decreased opportunities, and the loss of traditional pathways of adolescent socialization.

Still another question is whether cultural identity confusion is tied to hostility and aggression toward others. In a study of immigrant adolescents, Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) found that "alternating biculturals" whose ethnic affiliations varied notably across social settings were more negative in their attitudes toward ethnic groups other than their own, as compared to "blended biculturals" who had integrated cultural mores of both their ethnic group and the receiving society into a fairly stable identity. In their research in the Ivory Coast, Delafosse and colleagues (1993) also attributed increases in armed aggression by youth to experiences of internal conflict between local and global values. At a broader level, Lieber and Weisberg (2002) have argued that "problems of identity" (p. 275) occur in some parts of Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East, where frustration with locally corrupt or unresponsive governments coupled with exposure to global cultural values leads to "rage" (p. 275) and sometimes violence, either locally or directed toward the West (see also Hermans and Dimaggio 2007; Kinnvall 2004).

In sum, there is empirical and theoretical basis for concern that globalization, cultural identity confusion, and serious internalizing and externalizing problems are connected. At this time, however, the specific nature of the connections and how they might manifest in different locales requires further research.

There are some factors that may be fruitful for future research to consider. The risks of cultural identity confusion and pathology may be pronounced where there is a substantial gap between the cultures to which an adolescent is exposed (Jensen 2003). Berry (1997) has observed that the greater the "cultural distance" in beliefs and behaviors between cultures, the greater the psychological and social problems in immigrants. Also, the extent to which one is voluntarily motivated to adopt the custom complexes of a new culture and shed some from one's traditional culture appears to be important. Researchers have noted this in comparisons of immigrants and refugees, where immigrants show fewer acculturation problems (Berry 1997). Nsamenang's (2002) observations about African families are also suggestive. He noted that fathers are loath to relinquish patriarchal power in the face of changes resulting from globalization. Nsamenang (2002) described the father as "the net loser" whose "once undisputed authority is declining as teenagers and their mothers find their ways around the world without depending on his guidance or intervention" (p. 23). In sum, exposure to cultures that are highly divergent in their custom complexes, lack of volition, and the prospect of loss of power raise the likelihood that cultural identity confusion will arise and develop into psychological and social problems.

A Cultural Gap Between Adolescents and Parents

With globalization, a widening gap may open up between adolescents and their parents in terms of views of parental authority and adolescent autonomy. In traditional cultures where adolescents spend the majority of their time with parents and are integrated into adult groups, adolescents and parents typically share common views of obedience, responsibility, self-reliance, and so forth (Schlegel 2011). With modernity and globalization, however, a gap may open up (Friedman 2000).

Research comparing immigrant adolescents and parents in the U.S. has shown that adolescents have expectations for behavioral autonomy at an earlier age and endorse parental authority less, as compared to their parents (Jensen and Dost-Gozkan 2010; Juang et al. 1999). Similarly, findings from ethnically diverse immigrant groups in Canada have shown that parents sanction parental authority more than their adolescents, whereas adolescents desire more autonomy than their parents are willing to grant (Kwak and Berry 2001). In Japan, researchers have noted

that adults in their 20s who continue to rely on parental support while engaging in various forms of self-explorations and postponing marriage are termed "parasite singles" by their parents and older generations—a term that is hardly flattering (Naito and Gielen 2002). Taken together, these findings suggest that a gap opens up between parents and their adolescents as they cease to share one traditional culture and instead are exposed to various cultures and globalization. This gap pertains to views and behaviors that revolve around autonomy and authority—values that are central to custom complexes and cultural identity development.

The extent to which this gap has negative repercussions seems more of an open question. Friedman (2000) proposed that parents resent the gap that globalization creates between themselves and their children. Interestingly, however, with regard to the finding above on Japanese "parasite singles," Naito and Gielen (2002) reported that while parents clearly had some misgivings about their adult children, some parents simultaneously expressed admiration for their children's creativity and self-assertiveness. Also, research has found that only 10–20% of Japanese adolescents report that their parents understand them, but at the same time 80–90% describe their family life as "fun" or "pleasant" and say that they communicate with their parents on a "fairly regular" basis (Stevenson and Zusho 2002).

For research with immigrant adolescents and their parents, findings on the extent of conflict and cohesion are inconsistent. Some studies report more conflict among immigrants than non-immigrants (Farver et al. 2007; Rosenthal et al. 1989), some find no differences (Fuligni 1998), and some report less conflict among immigrants (Barber 1994). Furthermore, there is very little research that has attempted to demonstrate that a gap between adolescents and parents on views of authority and autonomy predicts conflict and cohesion. In one recent study of immigrants to the U.S., however, the gap between adolescents' and parents' beliefs on parental authority predicted less cohesion and more conflict in Asian Indian families, but not in Salvadoran ones (Jensen and Dost-Gozkan 2010).

In sum, the current research indicates that with globalization a gap may well arise between parents and their adolescents on views of parental authority and adolescent autonomy. The consequences of such a gap, however, require further research (see also Mistry and Wu 2010 for a conceptual model of identity development involving the combination of family with other factors). Some findings suggest that resentment and conflict between parents and youth may arise. But findings also intimate that sometimes both parents and youth recognize the necessity or even desirability of a gap in a globalizing world. Finally, even as gaps arise, parents and adolescents may continue to share other values such as interdependence, respect, and familial

harmony that mitigate or supersede the importance of the gaps (Jensen and Dost-Gozkan 2010). To return to Africa for a last example on this topic, Nsamenang (2002) has noted how globalization has partially delocalized many African families and some youth have developed more autonomous or self-focused identities, yet he observes that the importance of "African familialism" remains unmatched (Nsamenang 2011).

Youth Civic Involvement

Turning now to positive opportunities that may accompany globalization, one interesting area pertains to youth civic involvement. An article in the *Economist* (February 7, 2009) addressing the impact of globalization and worldwide electronic media on youth asked: "Will they try to change the world, or simply settle for enjoying themselves?" While this article went on to describe the popularity of so-called "cyber-hedonism" such as online gambling and viewing of pornography in highly diverse regions of the world, there also seem to be ways in which globalization may provide new kinds of political and civic opportunities for youth.

Giddens (2000) noted that globalization pushes for more democratic and less authoritarian forms of governance, and he speculated that youth may play an important role in civic activism in this new political climate. Saraswathi and Larson (2002), in their reflections on adolescence in a global world, also called for attention to emerging youth political movements, such as "Children's Movement for Peace" in Colombia. Welti (2002) highlighted how youth in a number of Latin American countries have become interested in supporting indigenous movements and have mobilized against privatization of public services. Welti notes that these youth movements in part are driven by an anti-globalization stance. Recent reports on China suggest that youth are at the forefront of evading government filters on the Internet in order to participate in the global online community (Stone and Barboza 2010). In some cases, then, youth civic involvement may be supported by some of the characteristics of globalization, such as easy media access and a worldview that conceptualizes adolescents in more egalitarian, independent, and agentic terms. Moreover, globalization may be tied to youth civic involvement as youth mobilize either to support or counter the occurrence of globalization itself.

How globalization, cultural identity, and civic involvement go together, then, becomes an intriguing question (see also Jensen and Flanagan 2008). Huntington (2004) has proposed that incorporating more than one culture into one's identity—something increasingly likely with globalization—might threaten civic involvement. Focusing on the U.S., Huntington specifically argued that immigrants who maintain an identity based in their culture of origin or an immigrant sense of self

represent a threat to national coherence and civil society. In his view, immigrants who have multicultural affiliations will see their loyalties and time divided and hence will put less effort and energy into civic associations, public life, and politics in the U.S.

An empirical examination of Huntington's proposal, however, found that immigrants' cultural identities were related to civic involvement in a way opposite to what Huntington predicted. The study examined the extent to which immigrant adolescents and parents spoke of "cultural motives," that is their affiliation with their culture of origin or their self-identification as immigrants, to account for their involvement or lack thereof in political and civic activities (Jensen 2008). Results showed that cultural motives were twice as likely to be mentioned as sources of engagement than disengagement. In fact, cultural motives rarely accounted for lack of participation. The research also indicated that cultural motives for civic engagement were diverse. They included a concern for the welfare of one's cultural community, appreciation for civic opportunities afforded by American democracy, and a desire for "bridging" where one comes to know other American communities and vice versa (see also, Jensen 2010, 2011). In the vivid and enthusiastic words of an Asian Indian high school student:

> [We] should be involved in school [organizations]! If you're new to the culture, new to life in America, you experience how things are in America. And like I've been living [here] for 12 years. Even for me, it's very nice to see things in a different perspective and to talk to different people, because not only are there Americans in these organizations, there's Asians, there's German, you know. There're so many different cultures in these organizations. It's nice! You see things from many perspectives (Jensen 2008, p.80).

Clearly more research is needed. But the extent to which youth civic involvement is tied to the means of globalization (such as the Internet), as well as associated mobility (such as migration), values (such as democracy, youth agency, and capitalism), and consequences (such as bicultural identities) constitute an innovative research area.

Conclusion

"Globalization fundamentally transforms the relationship between the *places* we inhabit and our cultural practices, experiences, and identities" (Tomlinson 1999, p. 106, emphasis in original). As I have discussed here, the transformations of globalization are quite evident in the complexity and diversity of cultural identity developments in adolescents. Moreover, the last three decades or so likely

represent only the beginnings of globalization. For example, China and India each have more than a billion people, of which only a minority have fully entered the global economy and culture. The future, then, is likely to hold quite dramatic changes for even larger groups of adolescents on a worldwide scale. With these transformations come both risks and new opportunities. We clearly need to examine these risks and opportunities, not only in order to know them but also to work towards creating support systems for adolescents and their families as they navigate changing local and global worlds. Such supports are important everywhere, but nowhere more than in developing countries where 90% of the world's adolescents live.

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