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John Myers

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JOHN P MYERS
University of Pittsburgh, USA

This research examined US high school students' thinking about economic and cultural globalization during their participation in an international education program. The findings mapped the students' categories for the two aspects of globalization and showed that the students' positions were shaped by relatively stable narratives characterizing the phenomenon. In general, the ethnic minority students were found to have more critical perspectives. Suggestions based on the findings for improving the teaching of globalization in international education programs are described.

KEYWORDS: *concept mapping, international education, student learning, globalization*

Introduction

Globalization, the most significant concept for explaining the modern world system, has profound implications for international education. It shapes the way that we know and explain the world, driven by heightened interconnectedness and new communication technologies that have increased cultural contact with distant peoples (Turkle, 2004; Mansilla and Gardner, 2007). For example, persistent human problems, such as poverty and conflict, have taken on new complexities and scale due to globalization (Held and McGrew, 2003). The phenomenon has also created a rapid expansion of social knowledge and of access to it. As a result, global education scholar James Becker (2002) has argued that globalization calls for a rethinking of the nature and content of international and global education.

International education programs and schools are ideally situated to prepare youth to make sense of the complexities of current world realities by studying globalization. This aim is particularly important because globalization receives little attention within most national official

curriculum. As commented by Karen, a high school student participant in this research (whose name, as in the case of all student participants, was changed to preserve her anonymity), 'In school we don't really talk about global issues that much… I didn't really understand the idea of globalization until I came here.' Globalization is also a challenging topic to teach and there is not an established 'content knowledge' for it. Consequently, Mansilla and Gardner (2007: 52) suggested that globalization should be approached pedagogically 'as a phenomenon for exploration' that examines a range of legitimate positions rather than employing narrow and fixed learning goals. This view aligns with the scholarship challenging the portrayal of globalization as a monolithic phenomenon by documenting its multiple aspects that are not all of Western origin (Berger and Huntington, 2002).

Moreover, because globalization is a relatively new topic of study, it is likely that many teachers are unequipped to teach about it. Bestsellers, such as Thomas Friedman's (2005) *The World is Flat*, are widely quoted and often the first (and only) source for educators. However, Friedman's work has been criticized for lacking empirical evidence and for presenting an overly optimistic, ethnocentric and elitist account (Kellner, 2005). Survey research indicates that the US public has limited, and often inaccurate, understandings of globalization as well as ambivalent attitudes toward it (Pew Research Center, 2007). In this context, there is a danger that youth will primarily learn about globalization through the media, which generally transmits mainstream views espoused by political and business elites (Foley, 1996; Mittelman, 2004).

To address these issues, this article examines high school students' conceptions of globalization formed during their participation in the Pennsylvania Governors School for International Studies (PGSIS), a 5-week summer program. To limit its scope and to give focus to the ambiguous concept, I focused the study on two aspects of globalization drawn from Mansilla

and Gardner's (2007) curricular framework: economic integration and cultural encounters (two other areas identified by Mansilla and Gardner, environmental stewardship, and governance and citizenship, were not considered). This research is exploratory in terms of constituting a first step in providing evidence of students' significant categories of meaning for these two aspects of globalization.

The premise of this study is that international educators and researchers need to think of globalization as an important curriculum topic. Studying the ways that students make sense of this topic can provide insights for teaching and curriculum development efforts. Ultimately, researching adolescents' conceptions of globalization contributes to the ways that schooling can best prepare adolescents to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Globalization in the curriculum

Schools and educational systems across the world are actively pursuing an agenda of internationalization of pre-university curricula, generally within some locally-prescribed limitations (Vidovich, 2004; Frey & Whitehead, 2009). However, the coverage of globalization in official national curricula has been a slow and uneven process emerging from a patchwork of sources. Frequently, globalization is framed as a context and rationale for international education rather than as a topic in the content area.

Although it is challenging to characterize the ways that globalization is taught across the world, there are some broad trends. First, the primary emphasis is on economic globalization during its contemporary phase (from 1945 to the present), especially in economics, history, and geography courses. Furthermore, in wealthy nations the global economy is portrayed largely as a beneficial process. For example, in Canada the Ontario Secondary Curriculum promotes the

study of globalization in history and economics courses in terms of its impact on Canadian institutions. The course 'Canadian History in the Twentieth Century' for grade 10 requires that students 'analyse economic developments and international agreements and organizations that have contributed to the globalization of the Canadian economy since World War II' (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005: 46). Also, in some national curricula globalization is rarely mentioned, as in the case of England's National Curriculum, which only mentions the term three times in its 286 pages describing Key Stages 3 and 4 (ages 11-16) (QCA, 2007).

Second, in less developed countries, although there is also a tendency to focus on economic globalization in the school curriculum, a more critical perspective is evident. For example, the Brazil National Curriculum Standards, which are voluntary guides for school districts outlining subject-specific curricular goals and principles, cover globalization as a key concept in geography, history and sociology. The Brazilian Standards also primarily emphasize its economic dimension with topics such as the globalization of the financial system (Ministério da Educaçao, 1999). The contrast with the portrayal of globalization in wealthy countries becomes more apparent in the enacted curriculum. For example, a popular Brazilian history textbook, *História Global: Brasil e Geral*, includes a chapter entitled 'Rich and Poor Countries and Globalization' (chapter 54) that critically examines the ways that globalization exacerbates world inequalities and social inclusion as well as the spread of global culture (Cotrim, 2005). In one of the chapter sections, 'The Globalization of the Economy', the textbook states that the global economy 'has favored even more the concentration of riches, increasing the distance between the rich and the poor' (p. 530).

A third trend is that educational programs associated with international organizations and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provide probably the most comprehensive and

in depth coverage of globalization. However, they are voluntary and reach only a small segment of teachers. These organizations provide teaching materials, curriculum units, and lesson plans on globalization and global issues that teachers can adapt to their classrooms. For example, the United Nations-sponsored program, Cyber School Bus (see www.un.org/cyberschoolbus) provides extensive coverage of the social and cultural impact of globalization on peoples around the world. These materials are quite diverse and include a range of views and topics. Another example is the International Baccalaureate (IB) Diploma Programme curriculum, which provides balanced yet not extensive coverage of globalization, primarily in geography, business and management, and history courses. The curriculum includes economic and cultural dimensions, emphasizing themes such as interdependence and homogenization. It also balances positive and critical views of globalization, such as in the *IB Diploma Programme Guide: Geography* (2001), which states as a learning objective: 'Recognize that the effects of cultural integration include homogenized landscapes, economic dominance and dependence, threats to cultural diversity and sovereignty, and shrinking time and space' (p. 40). Although providing more coverage than many national curricula, globalization remains a relatively minor topic in the IB curriculum.

International education at the secondary level in the U.S. generally reflects these trends. Despite increased attention to international topics and 21st century skills, there is weak coverage of globalization in the formal curriculum, depending on the particular state curriculum, and it is often overlooked as a content topic. The best coverage remains in special programs, such as the IB Diploma Programme or international-themed magnet schools. The Pennsylvania Governor's school, which is the subject of this article, is another notable model of international education. It provides extensive and in depth study of international topics because it is free of the constraints of the formal curriculum.

Learning about globalization

In order to understand students' conceptions, it is necessary to examine some of the complexities and contradictions of learning about this topic. Scholars have analyzed the significantly different definitions for globalization that refer to related processes such as universalization, deterritorialization, and westernization (see Scholte, 2000). Critical globalization theorists have highlighted the way that individual and group positions in the international system shape the ways that economic, cultural and political aspects of globalization are experienced (Kellner, 2002). Accordingly, globalization does not have a uniform effect on people across the world; instead, it 'constitutes a plethora of stories that define, describe, and analyze these very processes' (Steger, 2004: 4). These different experiences can be understood in terms of an 'ideology of freedom' for wealthy nations and as an 'ideology of domination' for poor nations (Mittelman, 2004: 47). As a result, critical views of the role of Western nations in globalization as imperialistic and exploitative are widespread in less economically developed countries.

Globalization also shapes knowledge construction and ideological formation that produce certain ways of knowing and representing the world. Mittelman (2004: xi) argued that 'Globalization is becoming a form of intellectual power embodied in a knowledge system, propagated by institutionalized authority, and manifested in neoliberal ideology'. Thus, position and power are important lenses for understanding the impact of globalization on diverse peoples and neoliberalism is highlighted as the dominant discourse.

However, international education programs that teach about globalization must also confront the ways that adolescents already learn about globalization through the popular media.

Globalism, the term for the dominant discourse of globalization, is the ideology underlying popular myths. It is based on neoliberal economic principles that present globalization positively in an ideological package that includes the promise of rising living standards for all and the spread of democracy (Steger, 2004). Myths based on this discourse include globalization as economically beneficial for all (the 'rising tide lifts all boats' metaphor), as creating either a 'global village', and as an inevitable process (Veseth, 2005). In contrast to the views presented to the public, scholars have made a range of claims about the effects of globalization, from highly optimistic to critical, which generally contradict public myths. Two primary and highly contested areas of globalization are its effects within the economic and cultural spheres (see Lam, 2006; Stromquist, 2002: 37-62).

Globalization and economic integration

The debate over the effects of economic integration considers which countries benefit from it through the creation of economic growth. Mainstream media promote the view that globalization is economically beneficial for everyone, which is a key tenet of neoliberal economic theory (Rapley, 2004). This approach prioritizes free markets, competition and economic liberalization. Resistance to globalization is primarily against this neoliberal form of economic globalization, although protesters tend to support social forms of globalization in congruence with the democratization of the global economy. Also, they seek to highlight the historical development of globalization over centuries in order to point out the ways groups have shaped it (Gills and Thompson, 2006).

Researchers from a range of disciplines, however, have demonstrated that the rewards of the global economy are distributed in highly unequal patterns both within and between nations.

Developing nations, in particular, have either been excluded from global markets or relegated to the lower rungs of the international division of labor (Ghosh and Guven, 2006; Kaplinsky, 2005). Some scholars further argue that globalization does not, and was not intended to, promote evenly-distributed economic growth, but instead creates a trend of increasing income inequality and poverty across the world (Castells, 2003; Harvey, 2006).

Globalization and cultural encounters

The scholarly debate over cultural globalization focuses on the effects of an increase in contact across diverse cultures. On one hand, this context leads to greater uniformity across cultures and, on the other, to rich cultural mixing and hybrid identities (Friedman, 2000; Tomlinson, 1999). As Dirlik (2006: 3) contends, 'This is the world of global modernity, a world not of global homogeneity, but a site of conflict between forces of homogenization and heterogenization within and between regions, civilizations, and nations.' The uniformity position is particularly strong in less developed countries where many believe that globalization is a vehicle for the Westernization of local cultures (Chua, 2004). There is also a perception that globalization is another tool for extending hegemony over less developed countries, resulting in a homogenous global culture. Conversely, large-scale immigration is raising related concerns in Western nations about the loss of cultural identity (e.g. Huntington, 2004).

Recent work has suggested that the effects of cultural globalization are more complex than the straightforward supposition that it creates a homogeneous, global culture based on Western values (Tomlinson, 2003). Although the global culture is Western-oriented, globalization also comprises a range of processes and manifestations, including sub-globalizations that link regions with the global culture, alternative globalizations that originate

independent of Western culture, and others that reject entirely the dominant narrative. Another academic position views the formation of a global culture as producing rich, but largely benign, cultural mixing (Legrain, 2002). Within this position, a more critical perspective draws on postcolonial theory to describe this process of mixing as hybridity, which emphasizes the role of dominate-subordinate relations and the fluidity and unboundedness of cultural practices (McCarthy et al., 2003). This process refers to the intentional adaptation of foreign with indigenous cultural elements (Berger, 2002). Hybridization best expresses the uneven impact of globalization on world cultures (Hopper, 2006) that involves adaptations as well as reactions to, and rejections of, global cultural influences (Blum, 2007).

This brief review of the scholarship on economic and cultural globalization outlines the range and diversity of understandings that are possible for globalization. The review provides a frame to situate the students' responses in this research study in relation to the current scholarship. I also wanted to better understand the role of the students' preconceptions and alternative frameworks that they brought to the PGSIS program for their understandings. Drawing on these insights, the following two research questions guided this study:

1) How do adolescents conceptualize the cultural and economic aspects of globalization while studying it in an international education program?

2) What patterns in the students' conceptions are evident, especially in terms of the range of their beliefs and of their ethnic and cultural backgrounds?

Methodology

This study is situated within the broader interpretivist tradition of qualitative research in terms of collecting rich data on participants' understandings and interpretations of the meaning

9

of social phenomena (Creswell, 2002). It drew on the phenomenographic approach in attempting to capture the diverse, although limited, number of ways that individuals qualitatively understand and construct meaning about the world, as opposed to a view of the world as having an essential character and meaning (Marton, 1986). This approach contrasts with an understanding of learning as memorizing historical facts or grammatical rules and, I contend, is particularly suited for studying understandings of complex phenomena such as globalization. A phenomenographic approach aims to map how a group of learners adopts diverse meanings and understandings for a specific phenomenon from a shared educational experience at a particular time (Marton and Booth, 1997; Van Eekelen et al., 2006). In accordance with this tradition, this research focuses on understanding as an interpretative process for making sense of the world, which 'implies understanding, sense-making, and seeing things in new ways' (Booth and Hultén, 2003: 69).

Like other phenomenographic research of social science topics (e.g. Bradbeer et al., 2004), the main goal of this study was not to develop an ordered hierarchy of categories of conceptions. As a controversial topic, there are not fixed higher order understandings of globalization that can be rationally and systematically related. Rather, there are a range of accurate but contested conceptions that typically do not capture the entire scope of the phenomenon.

Case Study: The Pennsylvania Governor's School

At the time of the study, the Governor's School model for international education existed in only three US states: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Tennessee. The programs aim to supply valuable educational experiences for subjects that are not traditionally covered in depth in public schools. For the Pennsylvania PGSIS, the majority of its funding is from the Pennsylvania State

Department of Education, which initiated the program in 1984. It is one of eight Pennsylvania Governor's Schools of Excellence in the state. The mission of the PGSIS is 'to augment each student's global perspective along substantive and perceptual dimensions' (PGSIS, 2006: 1).

The PGSIS curriculum provides broad coverage of globalization as a topic. Before the program began, students were required to read Friedman's (2000) *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. This work provided a common source of background knowledge that was used in several classes. Globalization was also an overarching theme in five of the six courses that comprised the curriculum: Global Issues, Global Bouquet: Societies and Cultures, International Political Economy, Global Economic Perspectives, and Global Citizenship. The students attended each course twice a week for one hour each class. A key feature of the PGSIS curriculum was that students were encouraged to form their own beliefs about it by critically analyzing and assessing the readings.

For the two aspects of globalization that are the focus of this article, culture and economy, the PGSIS program presented the key scholarly perspectives and case studies. For the economic aspect, the curriculum included the debate over which countries benefit from globalization through the creation of economic growth. This approach problematized the mainstream view that globalization is economically beneficial for everyone. For example, the International Political Economy course focused on interpretive questions of whether globalization is a 'myth or reality', whether it is economically beneficial for all nations, and whether there was too much or too little economic globalization. The course also taught the currency crisis in Argentina that began in the late 1990s as an international case of the effects of globalization on less developed countries. For the cultural aspect of globalization, the PGSIS curriculum examined the effect of increased contact across diverse cultures. For example, in the

11

Global Bouquet course, students studied a 'range of media and genres depicting/analyzing cultural patterns from numerous parts of the world'. To explore the question concerning the relationship of globalization with world cultures, students also participated in online discussion boards before and during the program to debate controversial issues, such as whether globalization causes Westernization.

Data collection and analysis

Of the 100 students enrolled in the PGSIS program during the summer of 2005, 77 agreed to participate in the research and provided informed consent. Of these students, 35 percent were male and 65 percent were female. Twenty-five percent of the participating students were ethnic minorities (Latino, African-American, and Asian).

In order to identify a diverse sample of students, I selected 20 students from this larger sample for interviews, which were evenly split according to the categories of gender and ethnic background. Following a phenomenographic approach, I used semi-structured interviews to pose open-ended questions that explored the students' thinking. Each of the interviews was audiotaped and transcribed verbatim. The interviews were administered during the last week of the program. The questions inquired about the economic and cultural effects of globalization; its potential to increase wealth in the world and its effect on the diversity of cultures, languages, and customs in the world; and the form of globalization that each student would prefer to have.

In addition to the interviews, 31 discussion board posts by 21 students (six of whom were also in the interview group) formed the primary data sources. Discussion board posts are a potentially rich source of data that complement oral interviews because they access participants' thinking about a topic and build in complexity and detail as responses are made to previous

posts. For this research, I analyzed discussion boards for the PGSIS students on the effects of globalization in the world today. The average length was 163 words per post, with a range between 23 and 405 words. Each PGSIS student was required to post a message to at least one of the boards and to respond to other students' posts, although many students posted more frequently.

The transcribed interviews and discussion board posts were analyzed by inductive categorization, following guidelines for the constant comparative method (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Two steps were followed. First, I read the transcripts several times to identify key statements expressing the students' understandings of globalization. These statements were then organized under the categories of cultural or economic globalization and in subcategories that outlined a distinct position, such as 'Heightened Economic Inequalities'. An iterative process of re-reading and revising these subcategories produced the final categorization schemes that are outlined in the findings section.

In accord with the phenomenographic approach, the analysis emphasized the categories of variation in the students' thinking. I analyzed the interview and discussion board data to create several levels of coding categories. I first coded the data in terms of the students' meanings for cultural and economic globalization, such as that economic globalization has 'mixed economic effects'. When students made comments that applied to more than one category, I reviewed the transcript to identify the category to which they most strongly related. Lastly, I coded each of the students separately as supportive, ambivalent or critical for economic and cultural globalization, in order to compare stability of their views across these two domains.

I categorized all statements (interviews and posts) for different understandings to outline the range of views. This was done without tracking the number of students (i.e. 'weighting' their

responses) for each category because in many cases they made comments that fit in several categories. This was unsurprising due to the use of open-ended questioning for the interviews as well as to the controversial nature of globalization within the academic literature.

Results

Categories of students' conceptions for globalization

The findings present the categories of the students' thinking about economic and cultural globalization expressed in the interviews and discussion board posts. Then in the following Discussion section, I use these findings to provide answers for the two research questions for this study.

Economic integration

Economic integration concerns the benefits and costs of global markets. The students' thinking on this topic as examined through written and verbal comments was categorized for different positions. The results were three categories of thinking (see Table 1): 1) a catalyst for economic growth, 2) creating winners and losers, and 3) a mechanism for domination. It is important to emphasize that the categories are not fixed because the students' comments sometimes fit in more than one category. For example, some understood globalization as a process with different effects over time that presently causes some national economies to suffer (Creating Winners and Losers) yet still believing that in the long run it would strengthen all countries (Catalyst for Economic Growth).

Table 1: Conceptions of Economic Integration

Category	Summary	Perceived Effect	Position toward Globalization
Catalyst for Economic Growth	Stimulates economic development for all countries.	Produces a level playing field in which all countries can succeed.	Largely positive in terms of providing equal opportunity for all.
Creating Winners and Losers	Increases economic inequalities, especially between developed and less developed countries.	Gains by developed countries cause losses by poorer countries.	Mixed; economic gains by some countries lead to corresponding losses for others.
Mechanism for Domination	Acts as a system of economic and political control over less developed countries.	Developed countries exploit less developed countries for economic profit.	Largely negative due to view as neocolonial and the expression of imperialistic power.

Catalyst for economic growth

In this category, the students' comments characterized the economic effect of globalization as stimulating economic growth for all countries. Their thinking recognized globalization as the solution for intransigent economic problems and asserted that the opportunities outweighed the costs. In general the thinking in this category was guardedly optimistic, although it did not completely embrace economic globalization as a salvation or 'ideology of freedom'. For example, Jennifer explained how economic integration provides benefits for all economies:

> That's why I think outsourcing isn't so bad because even if jobs are leaving here, other parts of the world are getting jobs. Like with free trade, even if we're losing workers here, it's being moved to more efficient industries that are developing in other parts of the world. It's about looking at in the global context instead of each individual nation's context.

Although the thinking in this category recognized some negative effects, economic integration was understood as 'the solution' to the poverty gap, as David, a male student with a dominant culture background, asserted. Likewise, Julia stated that the costs of globalization 'will balance out'. This optimism is one of the key differences in thinking between the first category and the other two categories.

Winners and losers

The students' thinking in this category emphasizes that globalization increases economic inequalities in the world, both within and between countries. This view did not necessarily understand economic globalization as a flawed or inherently unequal system; rather that it is not realizing the claims of creating wealth for all (i.e. the 'rising tide lifts all boats' metaphor). Thus, thinking in this category refers to the ways that groups within countries are losing income as well as increasing economic disparities between industrialized countries and less developed countries. Typical to this category was the belief that the effect of globalization depends on your geo-economic position in the world. For example, Andrew, whose family emigrated from Nigeria, represented this thinking in discussing that globalization is not a uniform phenomenon for peoples across the world:

> When you look at the effects of globalization, it depends on the location you're in. Here in the US and in developed countries, globalization is great because it makes us able to purchase products for cheaper. But if you think of it in the Third World, it's not so good because they get low wages for their work and don't have basic rights that we Americans take for granted. Well, in some situations.

Andrew distinguished between developed and less developed countries as the dividing line for the way that globalization affects national economies. In this sense, globalization for him is neither an inherently good nor bad phenomena but is a location-specific process that depends on your place in the world. His comments also illustrate an understanding of the effects of economic integration and causal mechanisms that explain them.

Mechanism for domination

This category represents thinking about economic integration as a means of political and economic control of less developed countries by wealthy countries. It should be noted that there were fewer comments in the interviews or discussion boards that fit in this category. As one discussion board post stated, 'what I've seen in politics the last few years has led me to doubt the benevolence of the globalization system'. From this perspective, economic globalization is closely related to imperialism and acts to exploit weaker countries. Rodrigo summed up the thinking in this category:

> To tell you the truth, I really don't like globalization in our world the way it is. Globalization only works for certain nations, not every nation… I think it's good for developed countries. It works out for them. They have the money, they have the power. But for underdeveloped countries, it doesn't work for them because they don't have that power.

Power was the key operative concept for this category of thinking. Rodrigo's comments refer to an exploitative relationship favoring developed countries that occurs through global economic markets.

Cultural encounters

The second area of thinking deals with the effect of globalization on the contact between different cultures. This topic was important because globalization is typically portrayed as solely economic in nature and its cultural effects are largely overlooked (Berger and Huntington, 2002).The students' thinking expressed in interviews and discussion board posts was categorized in three distinct positions (see Table 2): 1) rich cultural mixing, 2) creating a global culture, and 3) a process of Westernization. Like their thinking on economic integration, students often commented in multiple categories that recognized the contradictory aspects of globalization. For example, some students supported that globalization spread human rights but disliked its role in weakening local cultures. Further, it should be noted that categories 2 and 3 both consider the process of cultural homogenization across the world. However, the former emphasizes the positive and negative effects of this process in the creation of novel cultural practices, while the latter asserts that globalization is fundamentally a neocolonial process that serves as a pretext for westernizing other cultures.

Table 2: Conceptions of Cultural Encounters

Category	Summary	Perceived Effect	Position toward Globalization
Rich Cultural Mixing	Cultural contact produces hybrid cultures that adapt and combine elements of diverse cultures.	Contributes to diversity and multiculturalism as part of the path to modernization.	Largely positive due to facilitation of cross-cultural contact.
Creation of a Global Culture	Creates a new global culture with universal characteristics.	Leads to homogenization of national and local cultures.	Mixed; highlights tension between universal values and cultural diversity.

	Spreads Western culture due to neocolonial relationships maintained by globalization.	Highlights the imposition of Western cultural values in less developed countries.	Largely negative due to assertion of neocolonial relationship and acculturation.
Process of Westernization			

Rich cultural mixing

The first category of thinking on cultural encounters emphasizes that globalization produces rich cultural mixing. This thinking recognizes that globalization may weaken some cultures but assumes that it is ultimately a beneficial aspect of the process of modernizing. In this sense, cultures are understood as dynamic and adaptable systems. Anthony illustrated this thinking:

> In comparison to all the other cultures in the world, we're fairly new. We're still in the development process. We're still trying to find our own culture and again, it's a different case because our history has to do with immigration and the melting pot… I don't know of any one, unifying thing that defines our culture with the whole idea of globalization and the intermingling of cultures.

These comments exemplified the thinking in this category that the US is a model of cultural mixing and in this sense an exception to the homogenization thesis. As Ravi explained, 'I like a mixture of cultures. I like being able to go around the world by just walking around downtown'. Ravi portrayed the US as a fundamentally cosmopolitan, multicultural society in which he can 'go around the world'. His thinking suggests that the question of homogenization and cultural mixing depends on the nature of the society's culture as static or fluid. The thinking in this category believed that the constant state of cultural mixing protected the US from changes to its basic values, as Luis asserted: 'I don't think we could become any "-inazation" of anything'. His

view identified hybridization with modernity and developed status, and homogenization with traditional and developing nations.

Creation of a global culture

The thinking in the second category, Creation of a Global Culture, emphasized the development of a new, homogenous culture as a result of cross-cultural contact. Similar to the Rich Cultural Mixing category, this view recognized that new universal cultural forms are spreading as a result of cultural encounters. However, it asserted that the emerging culture is shaped by universal characteristics, such as human rights, which diminish cultural diversity. Sabrina explained:

> I think the good is the interconnectedness. I think it's good in a way that we can come together and everything we do is connected to one another and that we don't just live in isolated parts of the world. The negative thing is that I kind of like the diversity we have and with too much globalization that might ruin it and it won't be like we want it to be.

Although the global culture is primarily seen as beneficial, Sabrina's comments also illustrate the inherent tension that universal values raise concerning shared and diverse cultural elements. Jennifer also expressed this view, arguing that there are both positive and negative aspects of global culture: 'I like the idea of having individual liberty spread to different parts of the world but I don't think that the consumer culture needs to be spread everywhere because it's corrupting'.

Process of Westernization

The thinking in this category conceives of globalization as a form of neocolonialism that imposes Western cultural values on less developed nations. This view asserts that globalization spreads Western culture as a result of economic and political dominance and that it weakens other cultures. This category rests on the belief that globalization is not benign but is an involuntary process of acculturation and domination of local cultures. Vanessa expressed this notion: 'It [Westernization] is true. It's very true… It just seems like the West is pressing it on them like colonization and the idea is that globalization is just a new form of it.' For example, one discussion board post connected globalization directly to colonialism: 'The cultural effects of globalization are more tilted towards changes to Western culture patterns. For centuries Western countries have conquered great expanses of the world, had the greatest economic successes, and now they're the leaders of globalization'. This student made the case that globalization is an extension of colonial practices into the present through economic power.

The comments of Fatma, whose family background is Turkish, exemplified the outcomes that cultural globalization is having. She discussed the effects on Turkish youth that she has personally witnessed:

I think there are a lot of negatives to globalization personally because my dad's Turkish and I go to Turkey. Every year I go back and things change. I've been noticing that the kids are dressing differently. They started drinking coke and then they started doing a lot of things that my friends in America would do. And it kind of made me worried. Where is their culture that I used to love? I don't think it changed the roots of their culture, like their religion or anything, but I can still see more of the Westernized way of life in them.

In contrast to the previous category of thinking, Fatma here suggests that, rather than a truly universal culture, globalization is spreading Western popular cultural practices. Drawing on her

21

own background and experiences, Fatma was concerned that globalization, because it represents Western culture, was diluting Turkish culture although she also expressed that it has not yet completely changed 'the roots of their culture'.

Discussion

Adolescents' Conceptions of Economic and Cultural Globalization

Considering the challenges to comprehension of the term globalization, my interest was in providing a clearer understanding of the ways adolescents make sense of its cultural and economic aspects. In regard to the first research question, I found that the students in this research did not interpret the concept in a consistent manner, but that they articulated a range of multifaceted and relatively well-defined understandings of its cultural and economic dimensions. They generally understood globalization as a complex process with multiple dimensions rather than as a monolithic phenomenon. Although they held a generally consistent core meaning for globalization, their interpretations of its effects were variable.

However, in respect to the globalization scholarship, their conceptions were predominantly accurate and were situated across the range of contested ideological meanings. In this sense, these findings contrast with public surveys of the meaning of globalization (e.g. Pew Research Center, 2007), which demonstrate the prevalence of popular myths and misunderstandings that misconstrue its meaning. Instead, the participants in this research drew on a range of interpretive frames for making sense of the term. Their frames depended on the extent to which they viewed the cultural and political aspects of globalization as experienced across the world, and on the way they perceived power to operate within this process. Thus, the students' own subjectivities and previous knowledge played important roles in determining the

core meaning that they provided. For example, the students who understood economic globalization as an economic 'Mechanism for Domination' adapted critical perspectives that reflected a belief in globalization as an 'ideology of domination'.

Given these findings, it is apparent that the students drew on mixed sources for their responses. One hypothesis is that they combined elements of what they learned from the PGSIS program with their personal experiences and prior knowledge. Such a finding is consistent with the scholarship on globalization as a set of multiple processes with multiple effects, which Steger (2004: 4) characterized as a 'plethora of stories.' Furthermore, with the lack of other external influences, the findings suggest that the students' study of the term in the PGSIS program is one possible explanation for the accuracy of their conceptions and avoidance of misconceptions. However, the precise role that these various influences played is unclear and represents an important direction for future research.

Patterns in the Students' Thinking

For the second research question, two patterns could be discerned from the analysis. First, there was a tendency for students to adopt conceptions that viewed globalization as either predominantly beneficial or harmful. A majority of the students held the same position—critical or supportive—toward economic integration and cultural encounters. In this regard, they held relatively stable narratives (or informal theories) that describe globalization as either a new guise for imperialism or as the foundation for positive interdependence. The implication is that these adolescents organized their knowledge and experiences in a coherent theory that they present to make sense of the world system. However, these narratives limited the extent to which they

distinguished between diverse aspects of globalization, instead conflating its economic and cultural dimensions within a single narrative.

Another pattern from the findings is that the students' ethnic backgrounds help to explain their conceptions, which reinforces other research on the differentiating role of students' ethnic and cultural backgrounds for their understandings of the social studies curriculum (e.g. Epstein, 2000). The ethnic minority students, many of whom were immigrants or first generation, were more likely to hold critical perspectives on globalization and less likely to accept the portrayal of globalization as beneficial. This was especially true for their conceptions of the effects of globalization on local cultures, as these students often had personal experiences with the negative effects of globalization in other countries such as with the spread of Western consumer culture. Generally, they believed that globalization was having a negative effect on world cultures, fearing that commercialism was the primary cultural currency spread by globalization. Fatma tellingly asked about Turkish youth, 'Where is their culture that I used to love?' The transnational perspectives of students such as Fatma allowed them unique insights and sensitivity to such changes.

These patterns present important considerations for teachers from across the world for teaching about globalization as a contested process. In particular, the different perspectives of the minority students, particularly those with transnational ties, indicate that one's cultural perspective is an important influence on how globalization is understood. One implication is for teachers to use multiple case studies from diverse world regions to present students with multiple perspectives on globalization. Multiple case studies provide students with the knowledge that the perception of globalization's positive and negative effects depends on location and perspective by examining its impact in diverse world regions and different populations within countries.

Furthermore, especially in wealthy nations where the negative effects of globalization are less understood, educators should provide an explicitly justice-oriented perspective when teaching about globalization that uncovers who is benefitting from globalization and who is not. Two categories in the students' thinking, a 'Mechanism for Domination' and a 'Process of Westernization', provide insight into such a justice-oriented view (see also Bigelow and Peterson, 2002).

One instructional approach to address these issues is for educators to integrate a historical perspective on the origins and development of globalization in the curriculum. The study of globalization in the PGSIS curriculum focused almost entirely on the contemporary phase, which is the typical emphasis in social studies curriculum across the world. However, this phase has only became a focus of scholarship during the past 15 years. A historical approach would help students in all parts of the world to understand globalization as multi-centered with multiple causes and effects.

In this regard, a historical approach would also avoid a Western view of globalization that overlooks its negative impact in less developed countries. Global and world history scholars have made significant progress in documenting the worldwide development of globalization and regional and local experiences with it that avoid a Eurocentric, 'rise of the West' narrative (Mazlish, 2006; Sachsenmaier, 2006). A historical perspective also aids in untangling myths, such as globalization as an inevitable and uniform phenomenon, and provides a perspective on the ways that globalization developed (as well as periods of de-globalization, or shrinking world interdependence) that transcend the nation-state framework. Such a framework mitigates an ethnocentric perspective by facilitating the perception of large-scale patterns and systems of human activity, thereby extending students' historical understanding to a global scale. It also

allows for a more critical understanding and sharper analysis of the unique features of the contemporary phase of globalization in respect to past phases (Grew, 2008).

In conclusion, I argue that globalization should become a more central part of the curriculum of international education programs and schools. The study of globalization is essential for adolescents to understand how the world functions and can help them to develop a cosmopolitan outlook. My hope is that learning about globalization will help to prepare adolescents as global citizens to tackle the challenges of making globalization and global society a more democratic, equal and inclusive process for all. A starting point for educators is to treat globalization as a complex, contested and historical topic in the curriculum.

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    Comparing policy processes in two settings'. *Compare,* 34(4): 443-461.

Biographical Note

John P Myers is Assistant Professor of Social Studies Education in the Department of Instruction and Learning at the University of Pittsburgh (US), where he coordinates the Social Studies Education Program. His areas of interest include civic identity, diverse adolescents' understanding of and thinking about global issues, cross-cultural studies of learning and teaching, and political discourse in the classroom. His recent work has been published in journals including the *British Education Research Journal* and *Teachers College Record*. [email: myersjp@pitt.edu]