Negotiating Local and Global Values in a Globalized World: The Envisioned Futures of Thai Adolescents

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This study investigates how adolescents growing up in a rapidly globalizing Thai city psychologically manage local and global values when considering their envisioned futures. Qualitative analysis of interviews conducted with 20 (16–18 years old) adolescents reveals four distinct patterns of local–global value negotiation. Findings indicate that adolescents at times dynamically reshape local values in order to encompass global values; at other times, adolescents conceive of themselves as sitting at the crossroads of value systems that cannot be readily integrated. By revealing how global youth negotiate local and global values, this study pushes forward the scientific understanding of biculturalism in contexts of rapid cultural change.

INTRODUCTION

Mounting evidence from Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America suggests that modern globalization renders local and global cultures salient in youth identity formation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Hansen et al., 2014; Huntsinger et al., 2019; Manago & Pacheco, 2019; McKenzie, 2019a; Ozer et al., 2017; Rao et al., 2013; Shin, 2019). Such research suggests that youth growing up in nearly every corner of the world navigate both local and global practices and beliefs when forming their identities. Yet, little is known about the process through which local and global values are navigated among global youth. Little is known, too, about how global youth manage multiple value systems when considering the future—an important area of study given that identity is made up of "multiple potentially competing past, present, and future identities" (Oysermann & Destin, 2010, p. 1004). This study set out to investigate how adolescents growing up in a rapidly globalizing city in northern Thailand psychologically manage local and global values when visioning their futures. Findings indicate that adolescents navigate sometimes seemingly contradictory local and global values in creative

ways. By revealing how global youth manage both sets of cultural values, this study reveals psychological processes that lie beneath biculturalism in a globalized world.

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IN CONTEXTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Developmental psychologists have recently turned their attention to the macrolevel context of globalization and its microlevel implications on youth development (e.g., Greenfield, 2009; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Jensen et al., 2011; McKenzie, 2019b). Globalization is presently defined as "the increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas, and people brought about by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel, and by the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism, and . . . the local and regional adaptations to and resistances against these flows" (Lewellen, 2002, p. 7). Globalization therefore facilitates intercultural contact, even for those who have never traveled beyond their hometown (McKenzie, 2019d). Theoretical work suggests that such contact enables people around the world to be socialized into, identify with, and participate in distant or global cultures while retaining an identification with one's local culture (Hermans, 2015; Jensen et al., 2011). This form of biculturalism enabled by globalization is particularly relevant for adolescents and emerging adults, who are engaged in the developmental tasks of internalizing cultural values (Knight et al.,

2010) and exploring and committing to an identity (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968).

Empirical research overwhelmingly supports the proposal that adolescents and emerging adults in rapidly globalizing cultural contexts may develop bicultural identities, maintaining identification with local culture while developing an identification with global culture(s). Remote acculturation (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012) and globalization-based acculturation (e.g., Chen et al., 2008) research demonstrate that youth can and do identify with remote and global cultures as a result of indirect and/or intermittent intercultural contact (e.g., via exposure to media, consumer products, and tourists).[1] In Jamaica, for instance, a large minority of urban adolescents take on bicultural identities as "Americanized Jamaicans" (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). A growing body of quantitative work has exposed some negative consequences of such remote acculturation to U.S. culture. In Jamaica, early adolescents with stronger American identities and behavioral practices have more negative academic, dietary, and behavioral outcomes (Ferguson & Dimitrova, 2019; Ferguson et al., 2018).

Research in Asia, too, points the presence of biculturalism among youth residing in rapidly globalizing contexts. In western India, quantitative research suggests that urban middle-class early adolescents have "remixed" identities, simultaneously identifying with traditional Indian collectivistic and individualistic values, beliefs, and practices (Rao et al., 2013). Likewise, in the Ladakhi region of northern India, qualitative research suggests that emerging adults possess hybrid identities that combine traditional Ladakhi culture and global culture (Ozer et al., 2017). In urban Armenia, too, quantitative research shows that late adolescents develop global identities through exposure to worldwide media, while retaining their local Armenian identities (Huntsinger et al., 2019).

Globalization, however, does not engender cultural uniformity. Indeed, globalization promotes internal heterogeneity (Van de Vijver, 2019), and localization (the counterforce of globalization) promotes the maintenance, defense, and even expansion of local values and practices (Hermans &

Dimaggio, 2007) in rapidly changing cultural contexts. This point provokes the question: What are the global ideologies to which young people in far-flung regions of the world increasingly identify, and what are the local ideologies that young people maintain? *Global values* are presently conceptualized as those values that empirical and theoretical scholarship have associated with globalization, including the following: choice and agency, commerce and capitalism, democracy, egalitarianism, individualism, international travel and dwelling, material consumption, mobility and migration, pursuit of happiness and high-arousal positive affective states, self-development, and self-expression (Arnett, 2002; Greenfield, 2009; Jensen et al., 2011; Manago et al., 2015; McDevitt et al., 2013; McKenzie, 2019a; McKenzie, Rooney, et al., 2019; Rao et al., 2013; Uchida & Ogihara, 2012). Though such values generally typify WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic) societies (Henrich et al., 2010), modern globalization has widened their spread. *Local values* are broadly defined as those values that are indigenous to the region of study. Because adolescents and emerging adults adapt to and resist against globalization in locally specific ways (McKenzie, 2019d), the particular global values that are integrated and local values that are maintained are likely culture-specific.

This point provokes a follow-up question: How do young people psychologically manage local and global values, and how does sociocultural context influence this internal process? Remote and globalization-based acculturation research has overwhelmingly focused on documenting the co-existence of local and global identities, identifying the factors that promote this co-existence, and determining the consequences of this co-existence (e.g., Chen et al., 2008; Ferguson & Dimitrova, 2019; Ferguson et al., 2018; Huntsinger et al., 2019; Rao et al., 2013). Less is known about *how* global and local interpenetrate one another (Hermans & Kempen, 1998) in our increasingly interconnected world and about *how* young people manage global and local values when they contradict one another. Are local and global identities likelier to be compartmentalized—rather than integrated—in contexts where there is more distance (vs. overlap) and more conflict (vs. harmony) (see Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) between local and global values? The fact that late adolescents in urban Thailand alternate between local and global dietary and linguistic practices based on interactional partner (McKenzie, 2019a) suggests that young

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[1] Remote acculturation research examines people's identification with specific, geographically distant, and historically separate cultures (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Globalization-based acculturation research, meanwhile, examines people's identification with "global" (broadly Western) culture (Chen et al., 2008). Whereas remote acculturation emerged from the field of developmental science, globalization-based acculturation emerged from the field of personality and social psychology.

people in rapidly globalizing contexts may compartmentalize local and global identities due to perceived impracticality or impossibility of their integration.

Research addressing the implications of globalization on adolescents and emerging adults has typically examined their endorsement of local and global values at present (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Manago & Pacheco, 2019; Ozer et al., 2017). To be sure, though, the futures of adolescents in rapidly globalizing sociocultural contexts likely involve local and global cultural streams (McKenzie, 2019a; Ozer et al., 2017). Indeed, research suggests that adolescents in relatively globalized urban settings in Armenia and India invoke traditional local and contemporary global values when discussing their future aspirations (Huntsinger et al., 2019; Rao et al., 2013). Though a helpful starting point, such quantitative studies do not address the process through which local and global value systems are integrated. Understanding how these value systems are—and are not—integrated is particularly useful in understanding how global and local values are psychologically managed when they do not neatly align with one another. Studying how youth draw from local and global value systems when visioning the future self therefore offers a unique—and mostly untapped—opportunity to center adolescent perspectives of their development in a globalized world.

THAILAND AS A CULTURAL CONTEXT AND A CONTEXT OF CULTURAL CHANGE

Bordered by Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Malaysia, Thailand is the only Southeast Asian country never to have been colonized by Europeans. The country has, however, experienced dramatic economic, sociocultural, and technological changes over the past 30 years. Economically, the nation transitioned from a low-income to an upper-middle-income economy in less than a generation (World Bank, 2019). Socioculturally, Thailand has experienced rapid rates of urbanization and expansion of major cities, increased educational attainment, expanded career opportunities, movement away from traditional agricultural livelihoods, a dramatic decline in birth rates, and a dramatic increase in tourism (Michael & Trines, 2018; Plecher, 2019; Rigg & Nattapoolwat, 2001). Technologically, Thailand has experienced dramatic transformation. Just two decades after commercial Internet was introduced, Thailand is among the top four countries in the world for time spent on social media (Koanantakool, 2001; Leesa-Nguansuk, 2018). Empirical scholarship has linked Thailand's economic, sociocultural, and technological changes to shifting dietary and linguistic practices, religious practices, moral reasoning and personhood, and family relationships (McKenzie, 2018, 2019a, 2019c; McKenzie, Rooney, et al., 2019; McKenzie, Tsutsui, et al., 2019).

Research from across the social sciences speaks to the local values that typify Thailand and, to some extent, to how these cultural values are transforming with modern globalization. Like many Asian nations, filial piety (lôok gà-dtan-yoo) is a central Thai value (Kanchanachitra, 2014; Thanakwang, 2015). Filial piety—the belief that children have a responsibility to care for their parents in their old age—is rooted in values of age-based hierarchy and the expectation that children should be grateful for and defer to their parents and other elders (Eberhardt, 2014). This value is traditionally reflected in the practice of intergenerational living and children caring for elder family members. And yet, such cultural practices are changing. With plummeting birth rates (from more than 6 children in 1960 to 1.5 children in 2018 [The World Bank, 2019]) and a dramatic increase in urbanization, elders are increasingly without this traditional form of care (Setboonsarng & Thepgumpanat, 2018).

The overwhelming majority of Thais report adhering to Theravada Buddhism, and polls suggest that Thailand is home to among the highest percentages of Buddhist adherents in the world (Pew Forum, 2015). Theravada Buddhism is therefore at once a core Thai value itself and a religious framework that underpins other core Thai values (Cassaniti, 2015; Swearer, 2010). Giving—transferring part of one's own resources by donating one's time or money—is interwoven into Buddhist laws of karma and reincarnation (Kanchanachitra, 2014). Indeed, selfless generosity (náam jai)—giving to others without expecting anything in return—is an ideal behavior and attitude in this Buddhist country (Swearer, 2010). It has been suggested, however, that giving behavior is likely to transform as Thai families transform with the aforementioned demographic transition (Kanchanachitra, 2014). A recent study on youth orientations toward religion aligns with this proposal (McKenzie et al., 2019b). Although donation to Buddhist monks was a practice in which youth in less and more globalized regions of Thailand engaged, urban Thai youth perceived donating to monks as contributing to internal satisfaction and benefitting their own current life and future lives; rural Thai youth,

meanwhile, perceived donating to monks as benefitting the community and their family's karma. Such research indicates that youth orientations toward the cultural value of giving diverge across contexts of globalization.

Contentment *(sà-baai)*—peaceful relaxation—is a valued emotional state that is tied to Buddhism. Theravada Buddhist texts frame an attitude of contentment as an ideal emotional state for monks and laity alike (Swearer, 2010). Research suggests that Thai laity perceive meditation as a tool that assists the achievement of this peaceful emotional state (Liamputtong & Suwankhong, 2015). The Thai value of contentment and relaxation aligns with research which shows that Southeast and East Asians tend to idealize low-arousal positive affective states (e.g., *calm, relaxed, peaceful*); European Americans, on the other hand, tend to idealize high-arousal positive affective states (e.g., *enthusiastic, excited, elated*) (Cassaniti, 2015; Tsai, 2007; Uchida & Ogihara, 2012). And yet, research suggests that Asian cultural norms and ideals for emotional states are shifting toward European American ideals (Uchida & Ogihara, 2012).

Gender roles of women as deferential and submissive toward men are also embedded in Thai values (Keyes, 1984; Klunklin & Greenwood, 2005; Paek et al., 2011). In the Thai context, a virtuous woman *(kulasatrii)* is graceful, sexually conservative, and proficient in and responsible for household duties (Klunklin & Greenwood, 2005). Such gender roles are reflected in Thai television ads, which overwhelmingly portray women as homemakers, and in less prominent and professional roles than men (Paek et al., 2011). And yet, women's participation in the workplace has increased since Thailand's aforementioned period of dramatic economic growth. In spite of the fact that women comprised 46% of the workforce in 2019 (The World Bank, 2020), gender equity remains an issue, with women receiving just 60% of the salary paid to men (Cho et al., 2015). Though little is known about whether and how gender roles might be changing alongside economic and social shifts in Thailand, research in Mexico and Greece suggests that cultural values pertaining to hierarchical gender roles are shifting faster than cultural values pertaining to family obligation (Georgas et al., 2006; Manago, 2014).

CURRENT STUDY

Because Thailand has undergone rapid economic, sociocultural, and technological change in recent years, it is an ideal context in which to examine how youth in rapidly globalizing cultural contexts negotiate local and global values. This study focused on late adolescents for reasons that are both developmental and cultural in nature. As previously noted, the period of adolescence is characterized by exploring, internalizing, and committing to values and identities (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968; Knight et al., 2010). Late adolescents are therefore likely aware of, and moving toward committing to, their values and identities. Among this age group in this sociocultural context, such values and identities likely draw from local and global cultures, as do their dietary and linguistic practices (McKenzie, 2019a). As they are on the brink of the next life stage, late adolescents are furthermore likely not only to draw from local and global values in their lives at present, but also when considering their future.

This study addresses two overarching research questions: (1) What local values and global values are integrated into the envisioned futures of adolescents growing up in a rapidly globalizing northern Thai city? and (2) How do these adolescents psychologically manage local and global values when considering their envisioned futures? Adolescents' envisioned futures were examined, first, to stimulate a broader view of oneself and meaning-making with an eye toward a self which has not yet been realized and thus contains a multitude of possibilities. Second, adolescents growing up in other globalized urban settings in Asia invoke both local and global values when discussing their future (Huntsinger et al., 2019; Rao et al., 2013). Considering one's future aspirations is therefore likely to promote dialogue pertaining to the local and global values that are prioritized and to enable the examination of how young people negotiate these potentially contradictory sets of values.

Because this study is the first to examine how local and global values are managed among urban-dwelling Thai adolescents when envisioning their futures, a grounded theory approach (described in detail in the following section) was used to analyze data. Although familiar with Thai culture and globalization via long-term fieldwork and research in this area, the author did not enter data collection and analysis with a pre-established framework for interpretation. Rather, analytic frameworks for "local values" and "global values" were developed during focused coding, when participant discourse was compared to literature pertaining to Thai values and to globalization. (See

discussion of analytic approach for details.) Indeed, determining the salient local and global values for Thai youth when considering the future was a key aim of this study.

METHOD

Cultural Context

Chiang Mai city is the capital of Chiang Mai Province and home to over 234,000 people. Including the metropolitan area, its population jumps to nearly one million. Chiang Mai's status as capital of the Lanna Kingdom from the 13th to the 18th centuries contributes to its historical significance. The traditional Lanna language, *Kam Muang*, is a regional dialect that continues to be spoken in Chiang Mai. The city is also a religious and cultural hub, with many of the 300 Buddhist temples in Chiang Mai and surrounding areas dating back to the 13th and 14th centuries. This renders the city a popular destination for international and Thai tourists alike.

Professions in Chiang Mai are highly diverse; the two most common professions are wage laborers (who typically work in the service industry) and students. Census data show that over 61% of the population have completed at least some high school, and a sizeable chunk of the population (23%) has a bachelor's degree or higher. Parents in the city have a number of options regarding type of school to which they send their children, including a variety of government, private, and international schools.

Participants

Adolescents were recruited through a secondary government school located in central Chiang Mai. After building rapport with administrators and teachers, I visited classrooms and held several focus group discussions in order to build rapport with students and to finalize the interview protocol. Adolescents interested in participating in the study provided contact information for themselves and their parents. Those adolescents who resided within a 10-mile radius of the school (to ensure a sufficiently "urban" sample) and whose parents consented to their child being interviewed were invited to participate.

A total of 20 adolescents (M_{age} = 17.10 years, SD_{age} = 0.45) were interviewed. All adolescents were entering their final year of secondary school. Participants included more females than males

(60% and 40%, respectively). Ninety percent of participants reported their ethnicity as Thai; the remaining 10% reported their ethnicity as Thai—Chinese.[2] Ninety percent of participants reported their religious affiliation as Buddhist; the remaining 10% reported their religious affiliation as Christian.[3] Forty percent of participants lived in multigenerational households. Seventy-five percent of adolescents had at least one parent holding a Bachelor's or Master's degree, and 65% of adolescents had at least one parent who was employed full-time.

Parents commonly reported being a "government worker" (or civil servant), a profession which encompasses a diverse array of occupations. In this sample, government workers included teachers and employees in various departments associated with the government (e.g., the Department of Labor Policy and Affairs). Other parent professions included the following: electrician, family business owner, teacher, wage laborer, housewife, driver, and nurse. Although not true of all participants, adolescents in this study generally resided in upper-middle-class families. The average annual household income reported by adolescents' parents was 498,500 Thai Baht (THB)—approximately $16,480 USD.[4]

Interview Procedure

This study was part of a larger, ongoing ethnographic research project on the developmental implications of globalization which began in 2012. Data collection for this study took place over the course of one year, after obtaining approval from Clark University's Institutional Review Board and the Office of the National Research Council of Thailand. Data collection was preceded—this visit and while residing in Thailand several years prior—by my learning Thai and Kam Muang, making preliminary site visits, and building relationships with informants.

Data analyzed for this study consist of semistructured interviews, which were conducted several months after the initiation of fieldwork. Interview questions were informed by

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[2]This ethnic background is on par with the national average, which is 10–12% ethnically Chinese (Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in Thailand, 2018).

[3]On a national scale, 95% of Thais report being Buddhist and 1% report being Christian (National Statistical Office, 2017).

[4]This figure is higher than the 323,352 THB average annual household income (National Statistical Office, 2018).

conversations that arose during focus group discussions.[5] To ensure their comfort, participants chose interview location (65% requested interviews at school) and language (of the three options [Thai, Kam Muang, and English], 75% requested interviews in English).[6] A local research assistant accompanied me for each interview, and a native speaker of the participant's preferred language led each interview. When in Kam Muang or Thai, I asked follow-up questions on occasion during the interview and conversed with participants before and after interviews. Interviews were administered after written consent was obtained from adolescents and their parents. Following the interview, participants received a "thank you" gift (e.g., hat, notebook, wallet).

Participants' responses to the two following questions were the focus this study: "What goals do you have for your life in the next 10 years?" and "What goals do you have for your parents' lives in the next 10 years?" Because Thailand has a history of intergenerational interdependence, it would be unusual in this cultural context to ask about oneself without asking about one's direct kin. Follow-up questions were included to encourage participants to fully and freely discuss their envisioned futures.

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[5]During one focus group, a heated debate arose about the meaning and consequences of globalization (lo-ka-piwat). When one adolescent suggested that "globalization is bad because we'll care more about making money and technology, and forget about our parents," a classmate retorted: "We can get a lot of wealth but still take care of our parents! It's not so difficult to make them happy, right? Only three minutes to call them and they'll feel good…we can use our money for good, not only for ourselves. We can still take care of our parents. Now it's up to you…if you're a good person, you'll do good and take care of others. If you're bad, you'll only care about your own success." This conversation informed my decision ask about participants' envisioned futures and the futures they envision for their parents. It also informed follow-up questions that were asked during interviews (e.g., when participants said they wish to "make a lot of money" in 10 years, they were asked what they hope to do with the money they earn).

[6]The prevalence of participants requesting to be interviewed in English should be situated alongside opportunities that adolescents receive to speak English at this school. Although students attending government schools primarily learn in Thai, students are also required to take English language courses. Twenty-five percent of participants were further enrolled in the school's English Program, which uses English as the primary medium of instruction. In line with the school's mission statement, which emphasizes the importance of students becoming global citizens, students are encouraged to cultivate and exercise their understanding of English and other global languages (McKenzie, 2018, 2019a).

Analytic Approach

Audio-recorded interviews were first transcribed by a native speaker of the interview language. For interviews that took place in Thai or Kam Muang, a native-speaking research assistant first transcribed and translated the interviews into English. I then compared each interview transcript to the original audio record to ensure transcription accuracy and detail.

Grounded theory analysis. Participants' framings of their envisioned futures were analyzed using constructivist grounded theory, an approach which studies how participants construct meanings (Charmaz, 2006). Data collection and data analysis were concurrent. Following each conversation in the school setting, each interview, and each meeting with my research assistant, I took informal analytic notes. Early memoing helped me refine the interview protocol and facilitated theoretical sampling by helping me determine whom to recruit. For instance, several of the earliest participants that were interviewed were enrolled in the school's English Program and shared key components of their envisioned futures (e.g., wealth accumulation, international travel). To ensure that data gathered did not reflect a narrow subsection of urban-dwelling Thai adolescents who were perhaps more oriented to and influenced by global languages and values, I began actively recruiting students who were enrolled in the school's general Thai Program.

Each stage of analysis employed the constant comparative method in order to interpret and explain the underlying meanings of participant discourse. At the stage of initial coding, I engaged in iterative readings of participant discourse and coded at the level of words and sentences. A total of 18 codes were derived, each which represented a distinct value pertaining to participants' envisioned futures or to the futures that participants envision for their parents.

During the next stage of focused coding, I examined the codes that had been identified with the aim of synthesizing across and explaining these codes. This synthesis was informed by a review of literature documenting Thai values and values associated with globalization (both detailed in the introduction). As a result of this probing of codes and literature review, analytic subcategories were developed in order to capture linkages between codes. At this stage, 8 codes (*filial piety/giving back to parents*, *generosity/helping others*, *contentment/*

relaxation, among others) were collapsed into a single subcategory and labeled "local values"; 10 codes (*financial or material wealth, international travel or residence, happiness/pleasure,* among others) were collapsed into a single subcategory and labeled "global values." (Table 1 provides a full list of codes and corresponding subcategories.)

During axial coding, subcategories were further processed with the aim of reassembling the data, and broad explanatory categories for how global and local values were employed were developed. At this stage, each participant's discourse was analyzed for the manner in which local and global values were framed in relation to one another. After iterative readings of participant discourse, it was determined that participants psychologically managed local and global values in four distinct manners. These negotiation patterns were named: (1) global values serve local values; (2) global and local values are antithetical; (3) global and local values occur sequentially; and (4) global values are interspersed in a local value-laden framework. (Table S1 provides an example of coded interview data.)

In the final stage of theoretical coding, all categories were examined in tandem with the aim of integrating findings. Theoretical saturation was achieved by examining the patterns utilized between and within participants and by considering the conceptual relationships between negotiation patterns and dominant framings of local–global cultural management in the literature. At this stage, it was determined that the four local–global value negotiation patterns at times co-occurred within a single participant.

It is important to note that the grounded theory analytic process is not linear in nature. As such, the two research questions guiding this study

themselves emerged and were refined throughout the analytic process. Similarly, the codes that were identified during the initial coding stage were refined throughout the analytic process via successive memoing and diagraming. An example of such code refinement is provided in the section that follows.

Reflexive process. Reflexivity—the practice of examining how the researcher's background might have influenced the research process—is critically important for qualitative work (Levitt et al., 2018) and for work that extends across cultural boundaries. For this reason, I engaged in the reflexive process before and during data collection, and during data analysis.

The manner in which interviews were conducted was informed by a reflexive awareness of how participants may interpret the interviewers. Interviews were attended by me (a European American female) and a northern Thai female research assistant. Beyond aligning with the cultural practice of traveling with others, traveling alongside a local research assistant ensured that the project was understood as locally and internationally sponsored. One implication of this practice is that it likely served to balance out potential social desirability in participants' framings of local and global practices and perspectives.

Let us consider a concrete example from this study regarding how the interviewer may influence the data gathered. It is possible that *international travel or residence* was a dominant framing of participants' envisioned futures, in part, because being interviewed by a European American woman elicited such thinking. It is important to note, though, that this code—and other "global values" codes—emerged across participants for whom the lead

TABLE 1
Cultural Values Endorsed by Urban Thai Adolescents When Discussing Their and Their Parents' Futures

Local Values	Global Values
Filial piety/giving back to parents (*n* = 14)	Financial or material wealth (*n* = 13)
Generosity/helping others (*n* = 6)	International travel or residence (*n* = 12)
Contentment/relaxation (*n* = 6)	Happiness/pleasure (*n* = 7)
Buddhist practices or ideology (*n* = 4)	Lucrative career (*n* = 6)
Not burdening parents (*n* = 3)	Choice or freedom (*n* = 5)
Reside locally (*n* = 3)	Autonomy/independence (*n* = 3)
Traditional gender roles (*n* = 3)	International language proficiency (*n* = 3)
Intergenerational residence or work (*n* = 2)	Equality/egalitarianism (*n* = 2)
	Self-development (*n* = 2)
	Financial independence (*n* = 2)

Note. "*n*" refers to the total number of participants that invoked each code.

interviewer was me and my Thai research assistant. "Local values" codes, too, emerged across participants, regardless of the ethnic background of the lead interviewer. Throughout data collection, I engaged in reflexive note-taking, and my research assistant and I engaged in reflexive dialogue.

A reflexive stance is core to the constructive grounded theorist's research process and products (Charmaz, 2006). Engaging in recurrent analysis aided in tempering and digging beneath expectations based on my familiarity with research discussed in the introduction. In the paragraph that follows, I share an example of the reflexive process at the stage of data analysis and discuss how this reflexivity ultimately strengthened the interpretations.

One code that emerged during initial coding was *financial independence*. During the next stage of focused coding, I labeled this code a "global value." This decision was informed by research which suggests that financial independence is conceived as an important criterion for adulthood in highly industrialized, Western countries (Arnett, 2000; Nelson & Luster, 2015). As I revisited this code during subsequent readings of interview transcripts, it became clear that participants often framed financial independence as a future ideal insofar as it would render them no longer burdensome to their parents. In the Thai context, burden (*paa-rá*) is associated with having duties or responsibilities to others; it is therefore a psychological experience that arises from one's fundamental interconnectedness with others. Burden is a distinctly "local value." At this point, it became obvious that two distinct cultural ideals were embedded—and as we shall see in the results, were often embedded—in a single framing. In other words, a single vision for the future can fulfill both global and local cultural goals. The recursive analytic procedure itself pushed me to probe data in a manner that centered adolescent perspectives of local and global values in relation to their envisioned futures.

RESULTS

The four local–global value negotiation patterns will now be discussed in turn.

Global Values Serve Local Values

The dominant form of local–global value negotiation (*n* = 15) was framing global values as serving local values. Here, participants highlighted global value-oriented future plans. And yet, these global values were psychologically linked to local values, with global values framed as enabling the expression of local values.

In the following exchange, the participant invokes global values by referring to financial gain, international travel, and equality. As we shall see, though, these global aspirations are perceived as serving the local value of filial piety. (Here and throughout, "I" indicates interviewer, and "P" indicates participant.)

I :   How do you see your life in 10 years? What do you want your life to be like?

P :   Working and saving up money.

I :   Working and saving up money?

P :   Yes. And maybe after I save enough money, I'll travel [abroad], something like that.

I :   OK. And with your money—what do you want to do with it?

P :   I think I'll separate the money. Half of it my parents will keep, and I'll use half.

This participant begins by emphasizing her focus on working and saving money, which affords the global value of travel. Asked what she plans to do with her money, she clarifies her intention to distribute it equally (with equality constituting a global value). And yet, her plan to give half of her money to her parents speaks to the local value of filial piety—albeit in a financial form.

Another participant had a rather simple aim for her life in 10 years:

I :   How about your future—what goals do you have for your future?

P :   Like—rich.

I :   OK, rich. So in 10 years, how do you want your life to be?

P :   Rich.

I :   Why?

P :   Because it's convenient. I wanna take my parents to travel—sit in business class on the plane.

I :   OK, OK. And business class is better because—?

P :   It's wider.

I :   You're only a small person? [laughs]

P :   You can sit in comfort.

I :   [Laughs] OK, OK. Are there any other goals—anything else you want in your life?

P :   No [laughs], rich is my goal.

Here, too, we see that the global value of financial wealth is framed as serving the local value of filial piety. That is, her wealth will not only enable her to travel comfortably; it will also enable her parents to travel with her and to do so comfortably. So even though she focuses on the singular goal of wealth in response to the follow-up probes, she frames this wealth as facilitating her giving back to her parents by taking them traveling: filial piety—reconstituted.

Asked what she envisions for her life in 10 years, another participant explained that she plans to be a doctor. Asked whether there is anything else she wants for her future, she responded: "In the future, I will buy a car for myself—and by myself. That way [I] won't ask for money from my parents." In this response, she first expresses her desire to obtain a lucrative job and then expresses her plan to buy a car for herself—*by* herself. She follows by clarifying why financial independence from her parents is important. Although financial independence is an autonomous, global virtue, her framing—"that way I won't ask for money from my parents"—suggests that this global value enables the local value of not burdening her parents.

Beyond framing global values as serving local values, another common occurrence in the data is evident in each of the above examples: Participants frequently mentioned their parents before they were directly asked about their parents. Participants discussed what they wanted to do for their parents in 10 years (seen in the first example), what their parents are currently doing for them and/or what they want their parents *not* to be doing for them in 10 years (seen in the second example), and what their parents want for their future. Parents, then, are clearly integrated into these adolescents' thinking about their envisioned futures.

Other participants framed financial wealth as enabling another local value: generosity. One participant explained that his aim in 10 years is to "have a salary of more than 15,000 baht." Asked whether there is anything else he wishes for the future, he explained that he wanted to "do something that's for society—like donate to orphans." Another participant suggested that his goal in 10 years was to be wealthy and that his wealth will allow him to "help beggars." For both participants, the global value of wealth is conceived as facilitating the local value of generosity.

As this negotiation pattern illustrates, most adolescents framed obtaining a lucrative job and wealth (global values) as enabling their support of parents and others in need (local values). And yet, the focus on giving back to others financially—whether parents, orphans, or beggars—suggests a reconstitution of local values in a globalized world. Urban Thai adolescents have found a way to maintain local values in a global environment by reworking local values such that they align with and are deemed a result of fulfilling, global values. As we shall see in the following section, though, not all participants perceived global values as aligned with local values.

Global and Local Values are Antithetical

Several participants (*n* = 4) framed local and global values as at odds with one another. By psychologically distinguishing local and global values and pitting them against one another, participants pointed to contradictions in these value systems. Ultimately, the mutual incompatibility perceived between local and global values forced a choice between them—which we see reflected in the following exchange with a female participant who wished to pursue a career as a doctor:

P :   If I decide to be a doctor, I—I don't need a [romantic] partner.

I :   Oh, you don't want one?

P :   Well, it's too high to get a partner.

I :   Too high? What do you mean?

P :   Good position in work—Thai people think if the girl has more prestige in work, it might not be good for men. Yea.

I :   Why?

P :   Because others will think that he doesn't have the ability to take care of his family.

This participant recognizes the tension between the global value of gender egalitarianism in the workplace (expressed as her desire to enter into the male-dominated medical field) and local gender

roles pertaining to women's submission to men (expressed as her awareness that Thai men are threatened by powerful women). Her suggestion that she does not *need* a romantic partner if she becomes a doctor indicates that the social stigma associated with being a high-powered woman—at least as far as romantic relationships go—has been psychologically integrated into her thinking about the future. In fact, we also see her recognition and acceptance that it may be necessary to sacrifice romantic partnership should her line of work render her financially powerful.

Another participant highlighted the tension between international residence and filial piety, saying:

P :   I want to be a teacher in a foreign country … My dream country is the States.

I :   You want to be a teacher in the States —anything else?

P :   Aaaa, traveling, spend several years [traveling] around the countries like America, Canada, Europe, everywhere. To make me—to give me happiness, because I spent like 20 years for education …

I :   OK, so traveling and living somewhere else and teaching?

P :   Because I love new languages, new people, new societies, you know? I love challenges, that's why. [laughs]

I :   Mmm—I respect that. And what about for your parents, what do you want for them in the future?

P :   You know, my mom, I questioned her once, "Mom, if I decide to spend my life in a foreign country, in a foreign land—what about you and Daddy?" … My mom was just like, "Oh, let [my work] finish and I will go if you— wherever you are."

It is worth highlighting the world regions she hopes to visit and perceives as "giv[ing] her happiness": United States, Canada, and Europe. Indeed, all participants who discussed traveling or living abroad referred to wealthy, Western countries. In addition to the countries this participant discussed, other countries participants mentioned for travel and relocation included the following: Australia, Japan, Norway, and Singapore.

Also evident in this exchange is her pitting the pursuit of international residence against filial piety and intergenerational connectedness ("If I decide to spend my life…in a foreign land—what about you and Daddy?"). Ultimately, she explains, it may be possible for her to choose a global value-aligned path because her mother is willing to engage in a global practice (residing abroad) in order to achieve the local value of intergenerational residence and proximity to kin. Here, then, the local–global value tension is to be resolved not by the participant, but by her parent.

Another participant pointed out that her desires (for financial wealth and self-development) directly contradict Buddhist teachings that desire causes suffering, thus pitting local religious values against global capitalistic values. She described her 10-year plan:

P :   Get a job, earn an income. [My] parents are only concerned about one thing: me getting a job. And I also plan for myself—only a job.

I :   OK—to have a job, to have money. And is there anything else you want, or is that the most important?

P :   Some people say [we] have to stop our mind, our desires, that we have to be satisfied with what we have. Some people want that. I want to have.

I :   OK, so for you desire isn't a bad thing?

P :   Not a bad thing. Desire makes me develop myself to get a better job—to get more money … Like now, if I want to enter into a good university, a big one, I have to study hard. Not just like sitting here, doing nothing. So desire—desire helps me pursue.

In this exchange, she first invokes the contrast between religious and capitalistic values by referring to people who say that "[we] have to stop our mind, our desires, that we have to be satisfied with what we have." Here, she refers to the second and third of the Four Buddhist Noble Truths: Desire is the source of suffering, and suffering can be overcome when we are no longer attached to our desires. In the final two sentences of her explanation, she again alludes to Buddhism—this time, to meditation ("sitting here, doing nothing"), and contrasts it with the pursuit and attainment of career and financial goals. Her choice between these contradictory value systems,

she reiterates throughout, aligns with global rather than local values.

Global and Local Values Occur Sequentially

Some participants ($n = 2$) framed global and local values as occurring sequentially across the life course, with global values pursued during one life segment and local values pursued during another life segment.

One participant, for instance, planned to spend 10 years living abroad, working in a consulate, and earning a good amount of money. After that period of time, she planned to return to Thailand and open a bakery with her mother. She explained:

P :   I want to study law…like my father, in the university. [When] we know the law, we can do everything—we know what's wrong, what's right. I will take a job in another country. In the consulate, I'll take care of foreigners…make relationships with another country.

I :   …So in 10 years, you want to have a job with the consulate. Anything else you want for your future?

P :   If I get that job, I'll work for maybe 10 years and I'll save money. Then I'll quit. And I think with my mom, we'll [open] a vegetarian restaurant and bakery. That's because my mother, she can bake. And I think I'll build a resort for foreigners—a small house, with beautiful flowers … My father, I want him to stay at home or grow the flowers, because he loves orchids—he's very happy when he sees orchids or takes care of [them].

For her, global and local pursuits occur sequentially, with global values and pursuits (living abroad, gaining financial capital) preceding local values and pursuits (living locally, working intergenerationally). In this way, her pursuit of global values is temporally distinct from her pursuit of local values.

And yet, global values are also interspersed in the local value segment of her envisioned future, with dreams of opening a restaurant and resort for foreigners representing a commercial enterprise geared toward a decidedly global audience. Importantly, though, her framing of this restaurant and resort dream fundamentally integrates her mother (as baker) and her father (as gardener). Here, then, a global pursuit is integrated into an endeavor that is structured by the local value of intergenerational work. This brings us to the final negotiation pattern.

Global Values are Interspersed in a Local Value-Laden Framework

Some participants ($n = 2$) interspersed global values in a local value-laden narrative. Asked about his life in 10 years, one participant responded:

P :   Mmm, I'm happy about my life…I don't want anything. Just stay here.

I :   In 10 years, you want to be here?

P :   Yes, it's relaxed. Because my mom takes care of everything. [laughs] In the future, I want to be a [computer] programmer.

I :   …Anything else you want for your life?

P :   Nothing, nothing. Because I'm happy about my life. I'll go to work, go home to rest, go to work, go rest. Sometimes I'll go travel abroad to other countries.

I :   …And what about your parents? What do you want for their future?

P :   I want them to take a rest—to rest and I'll take care of them.

I :   You want to take care?

P :   Yes…I—I want to live together with them.

In this exchange, the participant endorses local values of filial piety, intergenerational residence, living locally, and relaxation—both his own relaxation and the relaxation he wishes for his parents in the future. The global value of international travel ("Sometimes I'll go travel abroad to other countries") is included, but is not primary, in his envisioned future narrative. This pattern, then, entails the co-existence of local and global values, with local values structuring the narrative. Global values appear in, but do not direct, the future narrative.

Multiple Negotiation Patterns

Several participants ($n = 5$) engaged in multiple local–global negotiation patterns. In the example that follows, the participant both frames global and

local values as antithetical and frames global values as serving local values.

The following exchange captures the participant's two distinct visions of her future self. She begins by discussing each vision, framing local and global values as antithetical:

I :   What goals do you have for when you're 28?

P :   I think I'll marry at 25, and I don't want to work. Oh, well—no, no, no—I have two ideas: That I'll have a family at like 25 and maybe take care of my children. And another idea is that I don't have children and just go traveling around the world with my partner.

I :   Oh?

P :   Um, I don't know—I haven't decided yet.

I :   So either of those you think would be cool?

P :   Yea. But traveling is like doing something for yourself, because first you see something and get an idea of how you can help people and make the world a better place. But if you, like, just get married, it's—I think it's a narrow world.

I :   A narrow world?

P :   Yea. You'll have children to take care of and you will—you'll be worried about them all the time.

In this exchange, she first invokes a vision of the self that aligns with local values ("I think I'll marry at 25, and I don't want to work"). Quickly, though, she follows with a counter-narrative that aligns with global values. Indeed, she offers an astute self-analysis that she sees two distinct tracks for her future: one that aligns with distinctly local gender norms (having a family, not working, taking care of children) and another that aligns with distinctly global norms of exploring the world (traveling the world with her partner, having no children). Ultimately, she invokes a language of choice, emphasizing that a decision must be made between these two very different life trajectories. In this first negotiation pattern, global and local values systems are framed as antithetical—in fact, they are expressed as two distinct potential future selves.

In her next chunk of discourse, she frames global values as serving local values. Though she acknowledges that "traveling is like doing something for yourself," she suggests that traveling facilitates a targeted form of generosity ("you see something and get an idea of how you can help people and make the world a better place"). Here, she situates her desire to travel as a prosocial act. Especially intriguing is her concluding suggestion that having and taking care of children *hinders* one's ability to engage in prosocial behaviors that make the world a better place. She conceives of getting married and having children as "narrow" and people who follow this life path as less capable of fulfilling the local value of generosity.

DISCUSSION

This study contributes to literature on youth development in contexts of rapid cultural change, first, by revealing the local values that are maintained and the global values that are integrated into the envisioned futures of urban Thai adolescents. Second, it reveals how local and global values are psychologically negotiated. Finally, it provokes key questions for future research on local–global negotiation patterns.

Local Value Maintenance, Global Value Integration

For youth in this globalized Thai context, local values of *filial piety* and *generosity* are particularly salient. It is possible that these indigenous values are impervious to—or at least, slower to—change, due in part to localization (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Indeed, local Thai values may be promoted by, and perhaps expanded through, capitalistic endeavors. In 2015, for example, the government launched a "Discover Thainess" tourism campaign. The front page of the website (Discover Thainess, 2015) read:

The Thai people's way of life and culture, or what we call "Thainess," is not just found in murals or other artwork…they are deeply implanted in the people's souls. Thailand boasts a strong culture, traditions, beliefs, values and customs that are extraordinary.

An accompanying video depicts foreigners engaging in an impressive array of traditional Thai practices. Among them, foreigners are depicted learning how to weave silk, weave baskets, make

ceramics, and cook Thai dishes from elders, as well as make *phuang malai* (flower garlands hung on Buddha statues at temples). Advertising not only cultural sites, but also cultural practices and values, for a global audience serves to mark local practices and the values that underpin them as worthy of protection.

It is also notable that adolescents commonly discussed their parents before being asked what they envisioned for their parents' futures. Some spoke about the wishes they had for and concerns they had about their parents' futures; others spoke about their parents' wishes for their futures. Such findings indicate that youth have integrated their parents' wishes into their thinking about their own wishes and that the interdependent-oriented local value of filial piety remains even as independent-oriented global values of autonomy and independence emerge in this cultural context (McKenzie, 2018; McKenzie et al., 2019a).

This study also points to the global values that are featured in global youth's visions of their future selves. In the Thai context, capitalistic and consumption-oriented goals of *financial and material wealth* dominated. Thailand's recent shift to an upper-middle-income economy may help explain this finding. It is notable that in the lower-middle-income economy of India, adolescents identified more with frugality than with materialistic attitudes toward money (Rao et al., 2013). With items such as "It is important to make a lot of money when I grow up," it is likely that youth in the current study would score relatively high on the materialism scale that Rao et al. (2013) used. Perhaps urban Thai adolescents' orientation toward financial and material wealth reflects Thailand's status as a somewhat wealthier country than India.

Research in the United States, a high-income economy, has found that materialism is negatively correlated with generosity among adolescents (Kasser, 2005). Although the current study did not quantitatively assess intercorrelations between *financial and material wealth* and *generosity*, it is striking that adolescents' frequent espousal of financial and material wealth did not undermine their interest in generosity—both to their parents and to people in society more generally. In fact, adolescents planned to mobilize their financial and material wealth to engage in acts of generosity. Such a finding suggests that even as cultural values transform in this era of modern globalization, they are not erased in favor of a singular global value system. This also speaks to the power of localization and to the maintenance of local values alongside

transformation in contexts experiencing rapid cultural change (Manago & Pacheco, 2019; McKenzie et al., 2019a).

It is perhaps unsurprising that in this country, where much of its economy is supported by and reinvested into tourism (Thailand Sets New Tourism Record, 2019; Therapat, 2017), *international travel and residence* was threaded into Thai adolescents' envisioned futures. In the urban context of Chiang Mai, youth are frequently exposed to foreigners—both in person (as teachers and classmates in their schools, as neighbors, and as fellow shoppers at markets and malls) and via mass media. Several adolescents interviewed for this study had international travel experience. Four adolescents had studied abroad—two in the United States, one in France, and one in Germany. Those adolescents who studied abroad are likely especially influenced by global values and perhaps also especially attuned to tensions that exist between global and local values. The fact that youth in Chiang Mai are so exposed to foreigners, foreign languages, and foreign foods via (for some) living internationally and (for all) living in this city (McKenzie, 2019a) aids in interpreting the priority among youth in this study to travel to and live in foreign countries.

The second research question guiding this study asked how local and global values are psychologically managed among adolescents growing up in this rapidly changing cultural context. It is perhaps obvious that some local and global values endorsed by youth in this study are more blendable than others. It is clear, for example, how financial independence could align with not burdening *(paa-rá)* one's parents. It is also clear how financial and material wealth could be utilized to give back to parents *(lôok gà-dtan-yoo*: filial piety) and to others in society *(náam jai*: generosity). For other local and global values endorsed, the alignment is less obvious. How can youth at once prioritize taking care of their parents and living abroad? How can youth at once prioritize the Buddhist belief that desire causes suffering while also harnessing desire to achieve their lofty professional goals? How can female youth at once prioritize gender egalitarianism while also striving to attain the virtuous woman *(kulasatrii)* ideal? Such questions were addressed in the local–global value reconciliation patterns revealed in this study, a point to which I now turn.

Beneath and Beyond Biculturalism

This study reveals the psychological processes that lie beneath and beyond biculturalism in a rapidly

globalizing northern Thai context. Because most urban-dwelling Thai adolescents endorsed local and global values when discussing their envisioned futures, they may be considered "bicultural." This study interrogates the meaning of that label by examining how adolescents negotiate the local and global values that they endorse. More specifically, it illustrates how local and global value systems are blended, and how local and global value systems are navigated when they are not blended. Most adolescents psychologically integrated local and global values by conceiving of global values as feeding into and allowing the expression of local values. Some adolescents, though, experienced local and global values as contradictory and not capable of integration. For example, the adolescent who suggested that at age 28, she could see herself as either married with children and not working or traveling the world with her partner illustrates that the cultural value systems she endorses express themselves as two distinct versions of herself—as two potential life tracks.

Findings point to heterogeneity across urban-dwelling Thai adolescents in how local and global values are managed. Two of the documented negotiation patterns provide insight regarding how remotely bicultural adolescents blend or combine local and global identities (Ferguson et al., 2019; Jensen et al., 2011). The first, most common, pattern (global values serve local values) entails a reformulation of local values such that global values align with and facilitate them. The fourth pattern (global values are interspersed in a local value-laden framework) incorporates certain global values into a local value-centered future. In both patterns, global and local values are interlaced (e.g., international travel and filial piety, financial wealth and generosity), and in both, local values play a key role—even if they are adapted to accommodate global values. These patterns align with psychological constructs that emphasize *integration* or blendedness of two cultural identities (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Jensen et al., 2011) and illustrate the internal processes that may underpin the "integration" acculturation pattern, where a global identity is adopted while one's local identity is maintained (Jensen et al., 2011). Research has revealed, though, that young people may experience challenges with integrating local and global cultures (Ferguson et al., 2019; McKenzie, 2019a; Ozer et al., 2017). The other two negotiation patterns provide insight regarding how young people deal with these potential integration-related challenges.

The second and third patterns illustrate how urban Thai adolescents psychologically manage contradictory global and local values (e.g., capitalistic vs. Buddhist virtues, gender egalitarianism vs. the *kulasatrii* ideal). The second pattern (global and local values are antithetical) involves choosing one over the other, while the third pattern (global and local values occur sequentially) involves assigning each as guiding a part of the life course. Both patterns suggest *compartmentalization* of local and global value systems—a strategy that is likely when cultural values are oppositional to one another and cannot be readily integrated (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Like Mexican American adolescents for whom attempting to reconcile Mexican and American values can provoke internal conflict (Knight et al., 2010), urban-dwelling Thai adolescents may experience internal conflict when attempting to reconcile local and global values. The second and third negotiation patterns suggest that internal conflict was reconciled by rejecting one value system or by partitioning the life course such that global and local values take turns directing one's life. These two patterns further contribute to understanding the internal processes that may underpin the acculturation patterns that involve choosing one cultural identity over another: "assimilation" (adopting a global identity, rejecting a local identity) and "separation" (maintaining a local identity, rejecting a global identity) (Jensen et al., 2011). This study suggests that young people may choose—or be forced to choose—to assimilate or to separate when local and global values cannot be simultaneously prioritized. (For further consideration of biculturalism-related challenges that arise when two sets of cultural values are incompatible, see Rudmin, 2003.)

Findings also point to internal heterogeneity in how local and global values are managed. Some adolescents mobilized multiple negotiation patterns, which suggests that remotely bicultural youth may integrate *and* compartmentalize their local and global identities. Similar to the alternation of local and global behaviors in which urban-dwelling Jamaican and Thai adolescents engage (Ferguson et al., 2019; McKenzie, 2019a), adolescents may alternate their strategies for reconciling local and global values depending on the feasibility of integrating the local and global values in question.

Limitations, Lingering Questions, and Future Research Directions

This study is not without limitations. First, data gathered in this study were influenced by the

researcher's positions and perspectives, which informed both the kinds of questions that were asked and the interactions that unfolded. The fact that adolescents were asked about the futures they envision for themselves and for their parents likely rendered certain global and local values more salient than others. It is not surprising, for instance, that *filial piety* was a dominant local value, given that adolescents were directly asked about their parents. And yet, adolescents commonly discussed wishing to give back to their parents prior to being asked about their parents. This corroborates research which points to filial piety as a cultural ideal that is maintained even in the rapidly changing Thai context (McKenzie et al., 2019a). Other global and local values were perhaps less likely to be addressed given the focus of these interview questions. For example, research suggests that even in globalized urban Thai contexts, Buddhism is a salient value for youth (McKenzie, 2019c), yet *Buddhist practices or ideology* came up relatively infrequently in this study. The local and global values discussed in this manuscript are therefore not assumed to fully capture the values held by Thai youth. Future work would do well to draw from a variety of interview questions and methodological tools to assess the local and global values endorsed by youth.

Second, the sample size and characteristics require that conclusions be made with caution. The fact that all adolescents in this study were entering their senior year of high school likely influenced the kinds of things that adolescents considered when looking to the future. Furthermore, all adolescents were recruited from a respected government school in an urban city. Future research that addresses the envisioned futures of adolescents attending costlier bilingual and international schools, as well as those adolescents not receiving formal education, would be welcome. Research that addresses the envisioned futures of individuals across the life course is also warranted. It would be interesting, for example, to determine what local and global values are endorsed by, and what negotiation patterns are used among, older Thais, whose lifetimes straddle pre- and post-dramatic economic, technological, and sociocultural shifts. Future research should also address the envisioned futures of individuals residing in different cultural communities—particularly rural-dwelling youth and youth in other countries.

This study raises five key questions for future research:

(1) Do—and how do—negotiation patterns shift across the life course? Are any (or all) negotiation patterns specific to the developmental period of adolescence, when youth are sorting through their identities (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968; Knight et al., 2010) and global and local values are perhaps less likely to be integrated? Might viewing local and global values as antithetical be comparatively more common in early adolescence and comparatively less common in adulthood—reflecting a gradual consolidation of local and global value systems? Might additional negotiation patterns emerge and fall away with age? Addressing such questions longitudinally will enable researchers to trace the particular forms of local–global interpenetration (Hermans & Kempen, 1998) across the life course.

(2) Are negotiation patterns cohort-specific? The adolescents in this study belong to a cohort for whom a great deal is changing. Might local values (e.g., filial piety) play a less prominent role, and global values (e.g., choice and freedom) play a more prominent role, in the envisioned futures of future generational cohorts? Might negotiation patterns also differ for future generational cohorts? As globalization continues and it becomes increasingly adaptive for young people to be acculturated to global values, might the "global values serve local values" pattern transform such that local values are perceived as serving global values? Comparing the values endorsed and the negotiation patterns utilized across cohorts of Thai adolescents will help address questions regarding intergenerational change.

(3) Are negotiation patterns gendered? Male participants rarely framed local and global values as antithetical. Although conclusive claims cannot be made due to the relatively small sample size, it is an interesting question: Might Thai females perceive certain incongruities between local and global values more keenly than males in part because gender roles structure their lives so profoundly? For example, a female adolescent may be particularly aware of the incongruities between the global value of gender egalitarianism in the workplace and local gender norms whereby men are threatened by powerful women because it bears directly on their future professional and personal lives.

(4) To what extent do the global and local values endorsed and the local–global negotiation

patterns employed by youth in this study align with youth in other rapidly globalizing contexts? Are local–global negotiation patterns influenced by the local values that are indigenous to, and the global values that are particularly salient in, the cultural community? Do negotiation patterns depend on the ease of integration of these two value systems? In contexts where there is greater distance and less compatibility between local and global values (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), conceiving of local and global values as antithetical and temporally segregating local and global pursuits may be more common. Similarly, in contexts where there is less distance and more compatibility between local and global values, conceiving of global values as serving local values and interspersing global values in a local value-laden framework may be more common.

(5) Is one negotiation pattern more adaptive than others? Is it more beneficial for youth to integrate global and local values? Might the forced choice required due to perceiving global and local values as antithetical engender identity difficulties (Knight et al., 2010)? Understanding the psychological processes that youth employ to negotiate local and global cultures offers promise in more precisely situating the outcomes of youth who are remotely acculturated to nonlocal cultures. That is, the negative physical (Ferguson et al., 2018; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2018) and psychological (Ferguson et al., 2017; Rao et al., 2013) outcomes of remote acculturation may be traced back to *which* local values are maintained, *which* global values are integrated, and *how* those values are psychologically navigated.

There are unlikely one-size-fits-all answers to these questions, as answers are expected to vary both between and within nations. Investigating these variations across sociocultural contexts is therefore crucial in particularizing the integration—and lack thereof—of local and global values among global youth.

CONCLUSION

This study sharpens the scientific understanding of biculturalism in an era of modern globalization by exposing how Thai youth psychologically negotiate local and global values when thinking about the future. The study demonstrates that urban Thai adolescents navigate sometimes seemingly contradictory local and global values in creative ways.

For some, local and global value systems are intertwined via the dynamic reshaping of local values in order to encompass global values. For others, the self is conceived as sitting at the crossroads of values systems that cannot be readily integrated—a psychological experience which requires that one value system be cast aside in favor of the other. For still others, local and global value systems are interspersed or activated sequentially via divvying up the life course. This study thus highlights the complex psychological negotiations in which Thai youth engage in order to manage local and global values, and calls for scholarship that addresses local–global negotiation patterns among youth in other rapidly globalizing cultural contexts.

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Table S1. Coded interview data example.