

Globalization as a Context for Moral Development

Jessica McKenzie

The Oxford Handbook of Moral Development: An Interdisciplinary Perspective

Edited by Lene Arnett Jensen

Print Publication Date: Apr 2020 Subject: Psychology, Social Psychology

Online Publication Date: Feb 2020 DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190676049.013.38

Abstract and Keywords

Though the developmental psychology of globalization is an emerging field of study, little is known about whether and how globalization affects moral development. Drawing from interdisciplinary research across diverse world regions, the author argues that globalization alters moral development by transforming the socializers to which youth are exposed. This chapter begins by proposing the moral relevance of scholarship that addresses the impact of globalization on identity development and cultural values. The chapter then turns to the author's research with adolescent-parent dyads in rural and urban Thai communities, the findings of which indicate that urban adolescents stand alone in moral reasoning and conceptions of the moral self. The double-gap in moral personhood across contexts of globalization (urban, rural), and across generations (adolescents, parents) in the urban Thai community, suggests that globalization affects constellations of moral reasoning among youth in rapidly changing cultural contexts. The chapter concludes by posing pressing questions for moral developmentalists in a globalizing world.

Keywords: moral development, globalization, culture, cultural-developmental approach, adolescence

On a rainy July evening, my research assistant and I wove our battered truck through narrow Thai country roads. We were following a 17-year-old boy on a motorbike who was leading us to his house, where we had an appointment to interview his mother. When we arrived at their simple teak home, the boy's aunt was dusting the front walkway. His grandmother and grandfather came outside to greet us. His mother then emerged from the house, followed by another aunt, who laid a large mat on the front porch floor and delivered glasses of water and a basket of *longans* (a Thai fruit) that had been picked from the family orchard that afternoon. Shortly thereafter, the boy's father arrived. He stripped off his mud-caked rice farming boots and joined us on the porch.

The grandparents invited my research assistant and me to have a seat on the mat and to begin the interview. As I lowered myself to the ground, the boy's mother followed suit. So, too, did the boy, the aunts, and the father. The grandparents moved inside, but with the front door slightly ajar, I could hear the television buzzing and see the grandparents' feet

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extending just into the periphery of my vision. I smiled and explained to the family in my most polite (p. 664) Thai that the interview with the mother would need to be private. No one moved. After a brief silence, the father asked where I learned Thai, how often I visit his son's school, and where in Thailand I live.

Though by this time we had interviewed more than 40 Thai adolescents and parents, it was among the first interviews we would conduct in this rural village. For several months prior, we had conducted interviews in a nearby city. Not coincidentally, this was my first experience in which a "private interview" had been interpreted as including five family members (seven if the grandparents seated a mere 10 feet away were included). Having been trained in psychology, I was well-versed in the importance of protecting participants' privacy. But being anthropologically-minded and having lived in a rural Thai village several years prior, I was not particularly surprised that "privacy" in this context extended far beyond the individual self.

This situation, as it turned out, would not be unique. Over my months of interviewing adolescents and parents in the rural community, grandparents, parents, parents-in-law, aunts, uncles, and neighbors inserted themselves into the interview context. Some were silent, like the elder who sat on a platform amid a pile of folded laundry while I interviewed her granddaughter. Others were more vocal. While interviewing one mother, her mother-in-law sat on a stool just within earshot of our conversation. When the participant suggested that Thai values are changing, I asked her why. After a brief pause, the mother-in-law shouted from her stool: "What about superstars?! They're nude in magazines and shoot photos wearing revealing clothes and the media says nothing!" Affirming her mother-in-law's claim, the participant added, "When media is accessed, it might become a role model for kids." In another memorable interview, the mother-in-law of the father being interviewed sat nearby on the front porch, embroidering traditional northern Thai shirts. Each question the father was asked received two responses: One from the father and another from his mother-in-law. On occasion, she answered for him. Asked if he often eats at restaurants, she piped up, "He's *never* been there! Only to the small cook-to-order shop in the village." Asked if he eats fast food, she laughed loudly, explained that he does not, and proceeded to detail her son-in-law's favorite foods.

What I found most interesting about these recurrent experiences in the rural community was the question they spurred: How do the values that undergird this interpretation of the interview context convey indigenous conceptions of the moral self, and how might these conceptions transform as a result of globalization? This formidable question will be addressed in the pages that follow.

For now, let us consider a somewhat simpler question: Why was it deemed "right" for individual interviews to be a family affair in this rural community? It could simply have to do with living arrangements. Most of my rural participants lived in multigenerational households, whereas most of my urban participants lived in nuclear households. Or it could have to do with time. Rural participants tended not to be in a hurry to get somewhere—back to work for parents, or to tutoring classes for adolescents—as was so often

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the case for my urban participants. Or it could reflect distinct understandings of the self, with members of smaller, subsistence-based communities viewing the self as fundamentally interconnected with the other, in which case “privacy” need not exclude others. Or perhaps individual-centered research expectations are simply foreign to rural, but not urban, families. Indeed, globalization is implied whether (p. 665) considering divergent living arrangements and livelihoods, definitions of success and ways of achieving it, degrees of familiarity with research expectations, constructions of self and of self in relation to other, or senses of duty and to whom duty should be directed.

In this chapter, I draw from interdisciplinary research on identity, morality, and cultural values to argue that moral values and reasoning become increasingly autonomy-driven as a result of globalization. I further argue that youth are particularly likely to endorse autonomous moral values. Among other new and transforming socializers, media are proposed as a mechanism through which globalization alters moral development. The chapter concludes by posing questions and future directions for moral developmental scholars in a rapidly globalizing world.

Defining Key Terms

Anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, political scientists, and economists have a more than two decade history of studying globalization (e.g., Allen & Hamnett, 1995; Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 2000; Ina & Rosaldo, 2008; Lewellen, 2002; Robertson, 1992; Sassen, 1998; Sen, 1999; Shangquan, 2000). Such work has overwhelmingly focused on the process of globalization, including macro-level investigations of its structure and content. Some anthropologists and sociologists, though, have proposed micro-level implications of globalization regarding identity development and the potential for emergent intergenerational rifts as a result of shifting cultural practices (Bucholtz, 2002; Ganjapan, 2003; Giddens, 2000; Lewellen, 2002; Schlegel, 2001). In spite of the developmental relevance proposed by our sister disciplines, developmental psychologists have been slow to empirically study globalization.

Globalization

Globalization has been defined in many ways. At its most basic level, globalization entails a multidirectional flow of people, goods, and ideas (Tomlinson, 1999) and consists of changes in economy, urban life, and cultural practices (Arnett, 2002). In this chapter, globalization is conceptualized more specifically, drawing from anthropologist Lewellen’s (2002) definition: “Contemporary globalization is 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” (pp. 7–8).

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This definition is used for several reasons. First, it conveys three overarching—and overlapping—components of globalization: economic, sociocultural, and ideological. Second, it points to the uniqueness of contemporary globalization. Globalization has existed in some form for as long as there has been contact among culturally diverse people. What is distinct about contemporary globalization is the degree and intensity at which culturally diverse people, products, and ideas are in contact (Arnett, 2002). Third, it foregrounds local adaptations to and resistances against globalization-related processes, a topic of great interest from a developmental perspective.

Moral Development

In contrast to the youth of globalization as a psychological field of study, morality has been examined for nearly a century (e.g., Freud, 1962; Kohlberg, 1971; Piaget, 1932). As with globalization, though, morality has been defined and examined in a number of ways. Most basically, morality refers to conceptions of right and wrong. Psychologists have conceived of and studied (p. 666) morality as an internal structure (e.g., moral cognitions, emotions, intuitions, identity) and as external or behavioral (i.e., prosociality). Moral psychologists have asked and debated the answers to fundamental questions: What is the locus of morality? Is there a predictable sequence through which it develops? Do—and how do—developmental sequences vary across cultures?

We now know that moral development is culturally situated (e.g., DiBianca Fasoli, 2018; Dien, 1982; Huebner & Garrod, 1991; Jensen & McKenzie, 2016; McKenzie & Jensen, 2017; Miller, 2005). Moral researchers are therefore tasked with determining how culture and cultural socialization structures moral development. Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, and Park's (2003) "big three ethics" of morality and selfhood offers a starting point for researchers in this regard. With its roots in cultural psychology and anthropology, their theory proposes three overarching ethics of moral reasoning that exist across cultures. The *Ethic of Autonomy* focuses on the individual self and includes moral concepts such as individual rights, justice, and harm to other individuals. The *Ethic of Community* focuses on the social self and includes moral concepts such as group welfare, role obligations, and hierarchy. The *Ethic of Divinity* focuses on the spiritual self and includes moral concepts such as virtues of holiness, purity, and sanctity. Research has empirically validated the three ethics by demonstrating their existence across cultures; the extent to which each ethic is prioritized, however, varies widely (e.g., Arnett, Ramos, & Jensen, 2001; Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993; Jensen, 1998; Vasquez, Keltner, Ebenbach, & Banaszynski, 2001).

Extending this cultural theory into the field of developmental psychology, Jensen's cultural-developmental approach (2008, 2011, 2015a) affords a window into the development of perceptions of morality, immorality, and self across diverse cultures. Based on findings that cut across moral psychological research traditions (including cognitive-developmental theories, domain theories, cultural psychological and anthropological perspectives, and research on prosocial emotions and norms), Jensen (2015a) proposed a cultural-developmental template of trajectories for each ethic from childhood into adulthood (see

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Figure 36.1). The template suggests that Ethic of Autonomy reasoning emerges early in childhood across cultures and that degree of Autonomy reasoning use stays relatively stable into adulthood, with the exception of a possible decline of Autonomy reasoning “in cultures where there is a strong push for collectivity or submission to divinity” (Jensen, 2015b, p. 239). The template predicts that degree of Ethic of Community use rises throughout the life course and that Ethic of Divinity use is low among children, but rises in adolescence, when it becomes similar to adult use (Jensen, 2008, 2015a). Importantly, though, because culture and development comodulate one another (Jensen & McKenzie, 2016), these developmental trajectories depend on cultural norms and hence are variable.



Figure 36.1. The cultural-developmental template of moral reasoning

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Cultural-developmental research mapping ethic use across age groups and cultural communities has illuminated distinct (p. 667) patterns of moral reasoning in Brazil (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2015), Finland (Vainio, 2015), India (Jensen, 1998; Kapadia & Bhangaokar, 2015; Pandya & Bhangaokar, 2015), Thailand (Hickman & DiBianca Fasoli, 2015), and the United States (Hickman & DiBianca Fasoli, 2015; Jensen & McKenzie, 2016; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2015). The cultural-developmental approach, then, is beginning to expose variations in moral reasoning and conceptions of self across cultural contexts and the life course. But how does *cultural change* affect moral development? With its interdisciplinary situatedness, the cultural-developmental approach is poised to address this question.

Identity Development and Cultural Values Across Contexts of Globalization

Little is known about how rapid economic and sociocultural change affects moral development (McKenzie, 2018a). Research on closely related topics, however, provides important clues. This section discusses research on identity development and cultural values in globalizing contexts and proposes its moral developmental relevance.

Identity Development

Literature on the developmental implications of globalization has thus far focused overwhelmingly on identity development. As we shall see, this work carries clear implications for moral development.

Bicultural Identities, Bicultural Moralities?

In their seminal articles on the psychological implications of globalization, Hermans and colleagues (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Arnett 2002) each propose an intermixing of identity as a result of exposure to more than one culture. Hermans and Kempen (1998) suggest that increasing cultural complexity renders increasingly complex self and identity positions. Pointing to dialogical relationships between multiple self positions, they contend that hybridization is the major result of cultural connection. Arnett (2002) likewise suggests that, worldwide, most people develop a bicultural identity that combines local and global cultures.

Empirical research has largely supported the theoretical proposal of a bicultural identity as a result of globalization. Rao and colleagues (2013) found that urban middle-class Indian adolescents develop bicultural identities—an “identity remix”—by identifying with traditional Indian and individualistic values, beliefs, and practices. Multisited research has found variations in biculturalism among youth residing in urban and rural regions of a globalizing society. In his study of college students from Ladakh, a northern Himalayan region of India, Ozer (2015) found that students residing in Ladakh were more strongly oriented toward ethnic Ladakhi culture, while students residing in Delhi (India’s capital) were more strongly oriented toward the new culture. It was thus concluded that students with less acculturation exposure (a topic to which we return shortly) were more oriented toward ethnic culture. In Armenia, too, research has pointed to a gap between urban and rural adolescents’ identities, values, and visions of the future (Huntsinger, Shaboyan, & Karapetyan, 2019). Empirical findings thus far therefore suggest that extent of exposure to globalization varies across urban and rural contexts and that this exposure determines—at least in part—whether youth develop bicultural identities.

To link this biculturalism literature to morality, let us recall three cultural-developmental template proposals: that Autonomy emerges early in life and stays relatively consistent, that Community (p. 668) increases throughout the life course, and that Divinity rises in adolescence and stays fairly consistent through adulthood. Mapping globalization-based bicultural or remixed identities onto moral development, we might predict that youth in rapidly globalizing cultural contexts where Community and Divinity reasoning has historically dominated will maintain Community and Divinity reasoning while increasingly reasoning in terms of Autonomy.

This leads us, however, to an important question: The three ethics are not mutually exclusive, but just how compatible are they? Could one—or an entire demographic within a particular community—be equally guided by Community- and Autonomy-based moral rea-

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soning? Can, for instance, group harmony and social role obligations be prioritized alongside self-interest and justice? Or might higher use of Autonomy reasoning necessitate lower use of Community reasoning? If they cannot be held in perfect conjunction, how do dialogical selves navigate these philosophically distinct ideologies?

If the notion of an identity “remix” extends to morality, the remix is likely to depend on both the particular local and global cultures in dialogue and the cultural distance (Berry, 1997; Jensen & Arnett, 2012) between local and global cultures. Global, like local, cultures are neither static nor monolithic. In Thailand, for instance, there are distinct—but overlapping—global cultures of influence, including those coming from proximal Eastern (Japan, Korea, China) and distal Western (US, European) locations (McKenzie, 2018b). Discussions about emulating or hoping to relocate to these proximal and distal locations emerged in interviews I conducted with urban Thai adolescents in particular (McKenzie, under review). Hence, discussions of biculturalism—moral or otherwise—as a result of globalization must consider the internal heterogeneity of local and global cultures.

Acculturation Patterns and Their Moral Implications

An additional line of identity research with implications for moral development is the study of globalization-based acculturation. Early in the days of theorizing about the developmental implications of globalization, Jensen (2003) proposed that cultural identity development takes diverse paths as a result of globalization and multiculturalism. More recently, Jensen and colleagues (Jensen & Arnett, 2012; Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011) delineated four pathways of cultural identity development as a result of globalization. These pathways, an extension of Berry’s (1997) model of adaptation to immigration, include *Assimilation* (shedding local culture in favor of global culture), *Separation* (maintaining allegiance to local culture and avoiding contact with new global culture), *Integration* (maintaining local culture while developing a sense of belonging to new global culture), and *Marginalization* (feeling at home in neither the local nor the global culture).

In his mixed methods study, Ozer (2015) found that acculturation pathways endorsed by Ladakhi college students varied according to level of acculturation exposure. That is, *assimilation* was most common among those residing in Delhi (who had more acculturation exposure), while *integration* was most common among those residing in Leh (who had less acculturation exposure). In a qualitative study, Ozer, Bertelsen, Singla, and Schwartz (2017) found that globalization-based acculturation creates multiple dialogical positions within Ladakhi college students, with multiple—sometimes incompatible—cultural and religious voices. This study supports Hermans’s (2015) proposal that feelings of uncertainty and instability can result from perceived distance between local and global cultural streams.

Globalization-based acculturation has also been empirically investigated among multicultural Hong Kong college students who identify with Chinese and Western cultures (e.g., Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Chen, Benet-Martínez, Wu, Lam, & Harris Bond, 2013). These studies show that among individuals who have come into contact with a sec-

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and cultural stream as a result of globalization, those who perceive their two cultural identities as integrated experience less contradiction in their self-concept (Chen et al., 2013) and better psychological health (Chen et al., 2008, 2013). Across globalization-based acculturation studies, then, we see the psychological importance of perceived compatibility and integration of local and global cultural streams (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002).

Acculturation literature carries implications and questions for moral researchers: Are—and how are—distinct moral views integrated by youth exposed to local and global messages about morality, values, and selfhood? Do moral acculturation patterns exist in rapidly globalizing societies? How might such patterns depend on one's age? Generational cohort? The rapidity of local cultural change? The particular global cultures infiltrating the local culture? The cultural distance between local and global cultures? Finally, in line with dialogical self theory (Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), might people not fall neatly or exclusively into one of these four categories, but rather blend or dialogically dance from one to the other? When (developmentally, circumstantially) and with whom (self, other) does one morally reposition oneself to navigate local and global moral worlds?

Cultural Values, Cultural Change

Given the intertwinedness of morality and culture, research on cultural values and cultural value change is also relevant when considering the moral implications of globalization.

Two dominant theories of cultural values have long been the dimensions of interdependence and independence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and collectivism and individualism (Triandis, 1989). Markus and Kitayama (1991) contend that individuals in many non-Western cultures are characterized by interdependent self-construals, which assumes fundamental connectedness between human beings. Individuals in Western cultures, meanwhile, are characterized by independent self-construals, which assumes fundamental separateness between human beings. These distinct construals of the self, they argue, influence cognition, emotion, and motivation. In the decades since their theory was proposed, these dimensions and their relation to culture have been extensively examined and extended (e.g., Kitayama, Karasawa, Curhan, Ryff, & Markus, 2010; Kühnen & Oyserman, 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 2010). Linking this theory to moral selfhood, the dimensions of interdependence and collectivism reflect the Ethic of Community, which conceives of the self in relation to one's social roles. The dimensions of independence and individualism reflect the Ethic of Autonomy, which conceives of the self as an independent actor.

More recently, Greenfield (2009) proposed that cultural values transform as sociodemographic conditions transform. Drawing from terms introduced by sociologist Tönnies in 1887 (1887/1957), Greenfield uses *Gemeinschaft* (community) (p. 670) and *Gesellschaft* (society) to describe two distinct ecologies. Each represents an environment that includes a set of dimensions, with the prototypical *Gemeinschaft* environment being rural, small-scale, low in technology, and internally homogenous. It also has a relatively poor, subsis-

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tence-based economy. The prototypical *Gesellschaft* environment, meanwhile, is urban, large-scale, high in technology, and internally heterogeneous. It also has a wealthy, commerce-based economy. Although there have been cases of movement in the opposite direction, Greenfield argues that current globalization-based shifts are overwhelmingly transforming *Gemeinschaft* communities into *Gesellschaft* societies.

Greenfield proposes a multilevel causal model that links changing sociodemographic ecologies to cultural values, learning environments, and developmental pathways. The transformation from a *Gemeinschaft* to a *Gesellschaft* ecology, for instance, renders historically adaptive values of interdependence and collectivism no longer adaptive. As values shift toward independence and individualism, learning environments also shift. For instance, infant care practices that have historically been characterized by body contact and social stimulation are increasingly characterized by face-to-face contact and object stimulation. In turn, human development is transformed in a number of ways (e.g., toward earlier self-regulation and later self-recognition).

Greenfield cites several studies that support the link between shifting sociodemographics and cultural values. In one such study, Cho, Sandel, Miller, and Wang (2005) examined awareness and perceived importance of self-esteem among mothers and grandmothers in Taiwan and the United States. This study found that US mothers perceived children's self-esteem as much more important than did US grandmothers. Among Taiwanese mothers, all but one of whom was familiar with self-concept terms; nearly half of the grandmothers in their study had no familiarity with self-concept terms. Cross-culturally, familiarity with self-esteem was higher among US grandmothers, who had experienced more *Gesellschaft* ecologies than had Taiwanese grandmothers. Importantly, though, the direction and pattern of change was the same in the US and Taiwan: a generational shift toward greater importance placed on self-esteem coincides with increasing *Gesellschaft* sociodemographic characteristics over the decades. Self-esteem, according to Greenfield, is a psychological adaptation to a *Gesellschaft* environment in which personal achievement is prioritized.

In another study, Kağitçibaşı (2007) found that as Turkish mothers became more educated, urbanized, and wealthier between the early 1970s and the early 2000s, they shifted away from valuing child obedience (adaptive in a *Gemeinschaft* ecology) toward valuing independence and self-reliance (adaptive in a *Gesellschaft* ecology). The shift in perceptions of desirable child qualities was prominent particularly for the urban high socioeconomic status group, while child obedience retained its importance more for rural and urban low-income parents. These studies, among others, support Greenfield's theory: that sociodemographic shifts in the *Gesellschaft* direction render individualistic—and indeed, autonomous—values of self-reliance, self-esteem, and independence increasingly recognized and prioritized cultural values.

The two sets of values accompanying these distinct ecologies (e.g., individual choice and pursuit of individual desires in *Gesellschaft*, and family connection and role obligation in *Gemeinschaft*, ecologies) are not, however, necessarily incompatible. Manago and colleagues (Manago, 2012, Manago & Pacheco, 2019) have investigated how individuals in

rapidly transforming (p. 671) societies blend these values. In her study of first-generation Maya university students who transitioned from a rural to an urban environment in Mexico, Manago (2012) found that students perceived themselves as departing from traditional values by endorsing choice, exploration, self-fulfillment, expanded norms for behavior, and gender equality. This supports Greenfield's theory about the value-based implications of rural-to-urban transformation. She also found, though, that students worked to "harmonize new values of independence, self-fulfillment, and gender equality with the traditional values of respect for elders and family obligation" (Manago, 2012, p. 663). Manago suggests that emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000) provides a developmental mechanism for shifting cultural values toward individualism and autonomy.

Although neither Greenfield nor Manago invoke moral language, the theory of social change and human development likely extends beyond cultural values to conceptions of right and wrong—including conceptions of one's own and other's behaviors. Mapping this onto the cultural-developmental approach of moral reasoning, movement in the *Gesellschaft* direction likely renders Autonomy reasoning increasingly adaptive. But what about Community and Divinity reasoning? And how does this play out across the life course? Might reliance on Autonomy reasoning characterize emerging adults who have relocated from rural to urban regions, or might the implications of globalization-based cultural change extend far beyond this age group and life circumstance? Will moral hybridization emerge, whereby those who are reared in or move to urban settings maintain moral values and reasoning that are adaptive in a local *Gemeinschaft* ecology while also developing moral values and reasoning that are adaptive in the more global *Gesellschaft* ecology?

With regard to moral development, it might reasonably be predicted that in rural *Gemeinschaft* communities, one's moral reasoning, emotions, and behaviors map onto dominant cultural values and norms from a young age. In such communities, child and adolescent moral reasoning will likely "match" their parents' Autonomy, Community, and Divinity reasoning early in life. As communities increasingly become *Gesellschaft* in composition and experience corresponding adaptations in cultural values and learning environments, we are likely to see less continuity in moral reasoning, emotions, and behaviors across generations.

Moral Development Across Contexts of Globalization

Scholars have in recent years proposed that globalization-based cultural change carries consequences for moral development (Jensen, 2015b; McKenzie, 2015, 2018, 2019). Although little is known about the moral implications of globalization, the literature described thus far suggests that globalization likely transforms moral developmental trajectories.

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In this section, I discuss moral developmental findings from my ethnographic research in Thailand, a country that has undergone dramatic economic and sociocultural shifts over the last 30 years. In less than a generation, Thailand transitioned from a low-income to an upper-middle income economy (World Bank, 2019). It has also experienced rapid rates of urbanization and expansion of major cities, as well as plummeting fertility rates, dropping from more than 6 children per woman in 1960 to less than 1.5 children in 2017 (World Bank Group, n.d.). Thailand's fertility rate is now lower than the United States, the United Kingdom, and China. Shifting fertility rates and resettlement from rural to urban communities have transformed household composition from (p. 672) multigenerational to nuclear and kinship relations by altering cultural mores of children caring for their parents when they grow old.

Media use has also undergone dramatic transformation in Thailand since the turn of the 21st century. In 2000, just 3.7% of Thais used the Internet; by 2019, 82.2% of Thais used the Internet (Internet Usage in Asia, 2019). Its population, too, is far more likely to be online than those in neighboring countries. Compared to Thailand's 82.2% Internet penetration rate, Internet penetration rates in Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia are 33.1%, 35.4%, and 48.6%, respectively. Thailand is now among the top 20 countries in the world with highest number of Internet users (Internet World Stats, 2017) and among the top 4 countries in the world for time spent on social media (Leesa-Nguansuk, 2018).

Moral Personhood and Ethical Co-Occurrence

I now summarize relevant findings from my work on the moral psychological implications of globalization in northern Thailand. Data for this particular project is derived from ethnographic fieldwork I conducted over 1 year in an urban city and in a rural village. Although separated by just 25 miles, these settings are sociodemographically distinct, with the rural village constituting a *Gemeinschaft* ecology and the urban city constituting a *Gesellschaft* ecology. Eighty participants (40 16- to 19-year-old adolescents and 40 parents [one of each adolescent], evenly divided across the two cultural communities) were interviewed about a range of topics. At present, I focus on analyses of moral personhood—or how one thinks about, reasons about, and judges one's own moral behaviors (McKenzie, 2018a)—as assessed via analyses of discourse surrounding participant-generated moral issues.

Content analyses indicated that rural adolescents and parents shared similar types of moral experiences, focusing overwhelmingly on experiences pertaining to *helping* and *social roles*. *Social roles* was a common experience type among urban parents as well, though the roles to which they referred were typically those of employee or employer; this contrasts with rural parents, who focused on family-based social roles. Urban adolescent moral experiences diverged from all other participant groups, with the most common experience involving *dishonesty/honesty*. Findings indicate a rural-urban and an urban adolescent-parent gap in considerations of what and whom falls within the moral realm.

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Discourse was also coded for participants' evaluations of their behaviors. Statistical examinations of moral evaluations indicated an interaction effect, such that rural adolescents and parents similarly evaluated their behaviors as more morally right than wrong. Urban parents evaluated their behaviors as almost exclusively morally right. Urban adolescents, meanwhile, were the sole participant group to evaluate their behaviors as more morally wrong than right.

Finally, participants' explanations of why they deemed their behaviors morally right or wrong were coded according to the Ethics of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity (Jensen, 2015a). Statistical examinations revealed cultural and urban dyadic divergences in degree of ethic use. Rural adolescents and parents shared a Community-driven moral language and invoked the same amount of Autonomy reasoning (see Figure 36.2). Urban adolescents, meanwhile, used the least Community reasoning of all four participant groups. They also used significantly more Autonomy reasoning than their parents, making them the sole group whose moral discourse was dominated by Autonomy reasoning (see Figure 36.3). Urban participants used less Divinity reasoning than rural participants; there were, however, no dyadic differences in Divinity use. Findings indicate a disconnect across contexts of globalization and across generations in the urban *Gesellschaft* setting in Autonomy and Community use, and a disconnect across contexts of globalization in Divinity use.

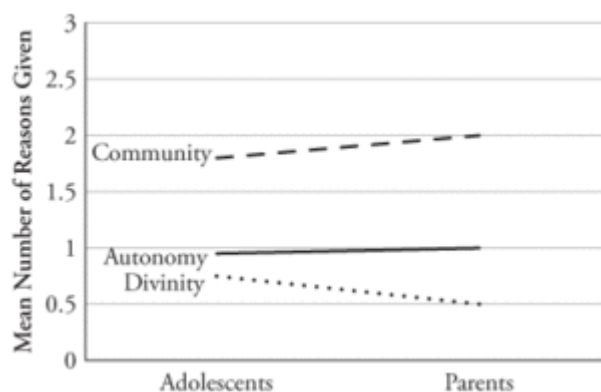


Figure 36.2. Rural Thai moral reasoning

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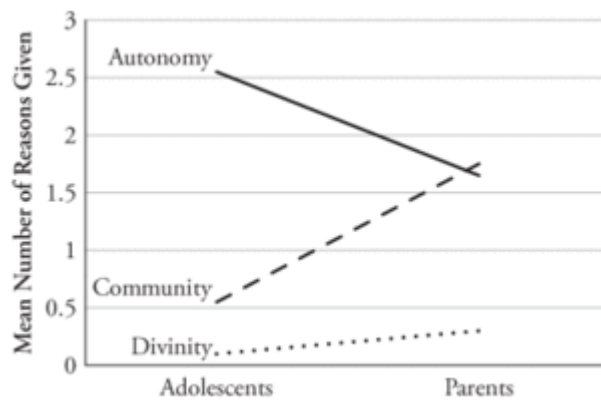


Figure 36.3. Urban Thai moral reasoning

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In sum, rural adolescents and their parents shared similar types of moral experiences, similarly evaluated their behaviors, and invoked similar moral discourse to reason about their behaviors. Urban adolescents and their parents, meanwhile, differed in moral experience type, evaluation, and discourse. Whereas rural adolescent and parent conceptions of the moral self mapped onto one another, urban adolescents and parents diverged at each level of analysis.

In another study (McKenzie, 2019), I focused on Ethic of Divinity use among rural and urban Thai adolescents when discussing personal moral experiences. In particular, I was interested in whether Divinity reasoning co-occurred alongside Community or Autonomy reasoning for each participant group. Results indicate that, among rural adolescents, the Ethic of Divinity co-occurred alongside the Ethic of Community; among urban adolescents, the Ethic of Divinity co-occurred alongside the Ethic of Autonomy. Findings suggest that globalization-based cultural change does not completely wash away youth Divinity reasoning—rather, Divinity becomes decontextualized from traditional community-driven Thai Buddhism and recontextualized to align with values that are adaptive in a globalized society.

Across both studies, analyses point to divergent patterns of moral reasoning across contexts of globalization and, in the urban setting, across generational cohorts. Were these studies conducted only with an urban sample, Autonomy and Community patterns would likely be interpreted as developmental (i.e., Autonomy reasoning decreases and Community reasoning increases with age). It might further be concluded that Divinity is not salient in the Thai context. The rural adolescent and parent similitude in moral reasoning, though, suggests that urban dyadic differences must be understood in light of divergent generational cohort experiences.

Distinct Moral Developmental Templates Across Contexts of Globalization

Recall that the cultural-developmental template predicts that the Ethic of Autonomy emerges early and that degree of Autonomy use stays relatively stable across adolescence and into adulthood in most cultural contexts. The template also predicts that Ethic of Community use rises across the life course (Jensen, 2008, 2015a).

(p. 674) The present results demonstrate that, in the rural Thai context, adolescents already rely on Community reasoning and prioritize it to the same degree as their parents. Rural adolescents also interweave Community and Divinity reasoning. This is not the case in the urban context, where adolescents use more Autonomy and less Community reasoning than their parents. When Divinity reasoning is used, it is interwoven with Autonomy reasoning. Findings point to a double-gap in moral personhood, with differences across contexts of globalization and, in the urban context, across generations. That these findings diverge from cultural-developmental template predictions suggest a modified moral developmental template across contexts of globalization.

Media as a Mechanism for Moral Change

These distinct moral personhoods must be situated in light of the differential media penetration across contexts of globalization and the psychological implications of media exposure. As media become increasingly integrated into the lives of youth around the world, identity development entails navigating global cultures in addition to local one(s) (Jensen et al., 2011). Particularly in less developed and traditionally collectivistic cultures, media further carry moral developmental implications by facilitating exposure to diverse worldviews and moral values—including those that may conflict with indigenous values. For youth developing views about themselves and the world, media offer both opportunities to learn about other cultures and potential challenges in navigating messages coming from one's own culture and those depicted in the media.

Research has shown that media exposure alters cultural values. Across studies, Hansen and colleagues (e.g., Hansen, Postmes, Tovote, & Bos, 2014; Hansen, Postmes, van der Vinne, & van Thiel, 2012) have found that technology promotes cultural value change in Ethiopia, a historically collectivistic culture. In one experiment, Hansen and colleagues (2012) assessed cultural values and self-construals among three groups of early adolescents: one group that received a laptop, a second that did not receive a laptop, and a third that received a laptop but whose laptop stopped working. After 1 year of laptop use, they found that laptop users endorsed individualistic values and independent self-construals more strongly. They did not, however, find evidence of decreasing collectivistic values among laptop users. Research coming out of Thailand, too, indicates that media use alters traditional cultural values of age-based hierarchy and deference to elders (McKenzie et al., 2019).

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In addition to affecting cultural values, media exposure affects social relationships and moral socializers, including with whom and how time is spent. Manago, Guan, and Greenfield's (2015) proposal that rapid technological change drives development toward greater family tensions and intergenerational conflict has been largely supported by empirical research. Among urban Korean children, Lee and Chae (2007) found that total time spent using the Internet was related to perceived declines in time spent with family. They also found that more time spent online for the purposes of entertainment or socializing with friends was linked with lower levels of perceived closeness to parents. In China (Lei & Wu, 2007) and in Israel (Mesch, 2003), too, research has linked more time spent online among adolescents with less family closeness. Similarly, in an urban Thai context, parents of adolescents at once perceived connecting with their children as a media-based affordance and perceived conflict in the family as a media-induced challenge (McKenzie et al., under review).

As previously mentioned, Thailand has a very high Internet penetration rate. Yet (p. 675) access to and use of the Internet varies widely across urban and rural regions of the country. Urban adolescents in my study reported using the Internet on a daily basis. Some said they were online "all day" and shared stories about logging into Facebook before brushing their teeth in the morning (McKenzie, 2018a). Others spoke about spending virtually the entire summer break chatting with friends on Facebook and watching videos on YouTube. Still others had virtual avatars they used to play games with people from around the world. Rural adolescents' time online was far more limited (McKenzie et al., under review). Most did not have Internet access in their homes, so accessing the Internet typically required traveling 10 kilometers or more to an Internet café or purchasing an AirCard that provides slow and unreliable in-home Internet. Likely due to these barriers, rural adolescents tended to use the Internet primarily for schoolwork.

Media, then, are differentially integrated into—and serve different functions for—adolescents across geographic locations (McKenzie et al., under review). Drawing from work in Ethiopia (Hansen et al., 2012, 2014), we can speculate that urban adolescents' high Autonomy reasoning is linked in part to media exposure in that setting. Drawing from work in Korea (Lee & Chae, 2007), China (Lei & Wu, 2007), and Israel (Mesch, 2003), we can speculate that urban adolescents' low Community reasoning and the disconnect between their and their parents' moral personhood is linked to altered intergenerational socialization due in part to the role of new media in the lives of urban Thai adolescents.

Remixed Identities, Remixed Moralities?

An identity remix (Rao et al., 2013) calls to mind an integration cultural identity acculturation pattern (Jensen et al., 2011) because it implies identification with local and global cultures. The work of Hansen and colleagues (2012), too, demonstrates that local values of interdependence and collectivism need not decrease as global values of independence and individualism increase. Moral integration would presumably entail the addition of Autonomy while Community and Divinity remain stable. Although cross-sectional, my data

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suggest that globalization affects moral reasoning not only by adding a(n Autonomous) layer, but also by reshaping Community and Divinity reasoning.

Importantly, though, media are not the only socializers in the urban Thai setting that include, reflect, or have been influenced by global cultures. On a daily basis, urban adolescents confronted global cultures and values via encounters with teachers, tourists, classmates, and friends. Alongside media, the demands and discourses coming from these global socializers often conflicted with parents' demands and discourses. In interviews, urban parents often lamented what they perceived to be the competition and self-focus of Thai teens today, framing these qualities as antithetical to Buddhist teachings. They tended to blame foreigners and media for instilling these problematic values. Meanwhile, the school that urban adolescents attended employed many foreign teachers and emphasized global citizenship and the necessity of competition for success (McKenzie, 2018b). The degree to which global values are infused in urban adolescents' lives, the distance between local and global values, and the tension between messages coming from key socializers assist in explaining why the moral landscape has transformed more dramatically than is captured with the language of integration or remix in the urban Thai context.

Cultural—and Moral—Values

Earlier in this chapter, I proposed that, in *Gemeinschaft* ecologies, moral reasoning, (p. 676) emotions, and behaviors map onto dominant cultural values at a young age and that, in such communities, child and adolescent moral reasoning likely “match” their parents' moral reasoning earlier than in *Gesellschaft* ecologies. The overlapping adolescent and parent moral personhoods in the rural *Gemeinschaft* Thai ecology support this proposal. Such value alignment is likely due to convergent messages across key socializers (parents, teachers, grandparents, villagers, monks) into a cultural moral framework in which the self is fundamentally intertwined with others.

The chapter's opening ethnographic anecdote, in fact, foreshadowed this finding. It illustrated that interviews in the rural setting were envisioned as a family affair and that privacy was conceived as extending beyond the individual self. Even when expectations of individual interviews were clearly expressed, interdependent self-construals and the prioritization of Community-based virtues were evident. It also illustrated that not only were social others often present, but also that elders often presided over interviews by responding on behalf of adolescent and parent interviewees—thus illustrating their assumed authority. The anecdote, then, provided a window into the intergenerational transmission of moral values and the interconnectedness of self and other in the rural Thai context, which in turn help explain the previously described interview findings.

The lack of intergenerational moral congruence in the urban *Gesellschaft* Thai ecology should be understood in light of global values and moral messages to which adolescents are exposed in their virtual and physical worlds. The argument is certainly not that parents are not key socializers for urban adolescents, but that they are exposed to many other socializers—including those whose messages diverge from parents' messages—via con-

temporary globalization. Many questions, however, remain: Will the distinct patterns of moral reasoning and conceptions of the moral self persist across the life course? For urban adolescents, have both globalization and the developmental period of adolescence “activated” their Autonomous focus and “deactivated” Community and Divinity foci? Might their Autonomy reasoning decrease and Community reasoning increase with age such that their moral reasoning mirrors their parents’, as was already the case for adolescents in the less globalized rural context?

Conclusions and Implications for Future Research

Moral psychology is young in the extent to which it foregrounds the role of culture. Younger still is moral psychology in foregrounding the role of cultural change. In this chapter, I reviewed what is known about how globalization impacts identity development and cultural values, and I proposed the moral developmental implications of each. I also discussed the promise of the cultural-developmental approach for empirically assessing the moral psychological implications of globalization, and my work using this approach, which indicates gaps in moral personhood across variously globalized locations in Thailand, and across generations in the urban Thai setting.

As youth around the world increasingly grow up as members of local and global cultures, researchers are tasked with determining how moral development varies across contexts of globalization, as well as what globalization-based changes affect moral development. Based on theoretical and empirical scholarship discussed in this chapter, I argue that cultural-developmental constellations of moral reasoning in rapidly globalizing contexts vary according to the following dimensions: developmental age, generational cohort, traditional local moral values, the proximal and distal global moral (p. 677) values that are particularly salient in that cultural context, the distance between local and global values being navigated, the extent of exposure to proximal and distal global cultures (e.g., via daily interactions with foreigners as opposed to exclusively media-based exposure to foreigners), and the extent and type of schooling that individuals receive.

Questions for Future Research

In this chapter, I contended that moral development transforms as a result of rapid economic and sociocultural change. Because this is a nascent field of study, though, there are at least as many questions as answers at this time. Four critical questions for future research include:

- Will the double-gap in moral personhood across cultural contexts and urban dyads (McKenzie, 2015, 2018a) hold over time? Is it reasonable to assume that urban adolescents’ unique moral reasoning and conceptions of self will carry through emerging adulthood and adulthood? Or are urban adolescent patterns a result of the confluence of developmental age and residence in this globalized urban location? Longitudinal re-

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search is necessary to answer these questions; hence, researchers studying globalization as a context of moral development must endeavor to tease apart age and cohort effects.

- Does a moral double-gap exist in other cultural contexts? Research in diverse societies, and particularly in less developed parts of the world, is sorely needed for psychology as a discipline (see Arnett, 2008; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). For globalization researchers, it is essential. Now more than ever, research sites must extend beyond North America, Western Europe, and even urban cities in India, Japan, and China, to include regions of the world that are both understudied and experiencing rapid cultural change. It is furthermore imperative that measures and materials be grounded in an understanding of cultural norms.
- What are the processes of moral meaning-making in rapidly globalizing contexts? As globalization engenders multiple self positions (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Hermans & Kempen, 1998), it likely also engenders multiple moral positions. These multiple self and moral positions are perhaps less blended than they are dialogically navigated and expressed based on circumstance (McKenzie, 2018b). Qualitative research and analytic methodologies are capable of capturing complex moral positions and negotiations in globalizing contexts. Creative methodologies may further include focus groups with family members and peers, observational research in home and school settings, and drawing (e.g., Brown & Johnson, 2015). Creative analytic techniques may include analyses of ethical co-occurrence (or whether and how the Ethics of Community, Autonomy, and Divinity are used in conjunction or in isolation; e.g., Hickman & DiBianca Fasoli, 2015; McKenzie, 2019) and analyses of talk-in-interaction (DiBianca Fasoli, 2018).
- Does—and how does—globalization affect moral behavior? Developmental scholars have overwhelmingly focused on globalization's impact on internal processes, including identity, values, and moral reasoning. Will globalization affect morality in its externalized, behavioral form? Here, too, utilizing observational methodologies in naturalistic settings will provide a powerful lens.

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Jessica McKenzie

California State University, Fresno, CA, USA