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The Effects of Globalization on Youth Culture and Identity: A Zimbabwean Experience

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study sought to understand the effects of globalization on youth culture and identity. Culture is the ensemble of practices – linguistic, stylistic, and religious, among other factors combined to form a way of being for a given social community. Culture is conceptualized as the ontological foundation of a person's lived existence. Such an analysis is used to form a proper appreciation of how culture produces identities, societies, and realities. Youth culture is more than the dressing that adorns the window through which they perceive their lived existence. It is not just the clothes that youth wear, the songs they sing, or the holidays that they observe. Youth culture is the language through which they learn to read the world. It is the collection of learned assumptions that youth bring to their daily practice of interpreting the meaning of their reality and themselves (Solomon & Scuderi, 2002:13). The youth sub-cultures developed during the 21st century have become implicitly rebellious, born as much from a desire to reject the culture and identity of the previous generations. Zimbabwean youth are seen as the part of society that is most likely to engage in a process of cultural borrowing that is disruptive of the reproduction of traditional cultural practices, from modes of dress to language, aesthetics, music, and ideologies.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is guided by the Adolescence Identity Crisis theory. According to Erikson (1956, 1963),

individuals go through eight life stages whereby they are faced with an existential psycho-social crisis in each stage. Adolescents aged 12 to 18 years are faced with the crisis of identity formation versus role confusion. The successful resolution of the stage-wise crisis is the key to beneficial psycho-social adjustment. Marcia (1964) utilises two dichotomized concepts: exploration and commitment to elucidate adolescents' journey to identity formation. Exploration is characterised by adolescents actively seeking out experiences with and exposure to different value systems, ideologies, and role models in an attempt to find out the best fit for them. Commitment, on the other hand, refers to the dedication, devotion, and group loyalty one has chosen in relation to goals, roles, values, and beliefs. Ideally, individuals start from a state of 'diffusion' (low in exploration, low in commitment), move through the stage of 'moratorium' (high in exploration, low in commitment), and reach a stage of resolution, i.e. 'achievement' (high in exploration, high in commitment). For those who have prematurely committed to a set of pre-conceived goals, values, and beliefs, they are described as 'foreclosed' (low in exploration, low in commitment). Throughout the process, 'crisis' is considered to be the driving force behind identity formation. In a globalized world, exposure to new information and novel ideologies creates an awareness of the 'unknown', which can lead to a state of anxiety that expedites the process of identity formation.

In many ways, a cultural identity includes the key areas that Erikson (1968) emphasised as central to the formation of an adolescent's identity. These key areas pertain to ideology (beliefs and values), love (personal relationships), and work. Erikson's focus was on how adolescents make choices about ideology, love, and work in order to arrive at an independent and unique sense of self within the culture in which they live (Erikson, 1950, 1968). Forming a cultural identity, however, involves making choices about the cultures with which one identifies. Put another way, the Eriksonian identity formation task centres on the process of developing an individual identity within one's cultural community, whereas the process of forming a cultural identity involves deciding on the cultural community to which one belongs.

Adolescence and emerging adulthood may also be a time of life with a pronounced openness to diverse cultural beliefs and behaviours. Researchers have noted that, in many ways, adolescents and

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emerging adults have not yet settled on particular beliefs and behaviours (Arnett, 2000; Cote, 2000, 2006). Some research with immigrants in the United States of America (USA) has also shown that adolescents change their behaviours; beliefs, values, and identifications more than adults (Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). This phenomenon, also known as dissonant acculturation, may apply not only to immigrants but also more generally to adolescents and emerging adults who have been exposed to globalization (Portes, 1997).

a) *Understanding Globalization*

Globalization, as defined by Malcolm Waters (2001, p. 5), is a "social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social, and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding and in which people act accordingly." Globalization describes the increased interconnectedness and interdependence of people and countries. It is generally understood in terms of the increased mobility of goods, services, finance, people, and ideas across borders. It affects not only economic but also political, cultural, environmental, and security activities. Globalization has increased rapidly in recent years, driven by advances in technology and the increased mobility of capital (World Health Organisation, 2014). In general, the term globalization refers to the transformation of temporal and spatial limitations, that is, the shrinking of distance due to the dramatic reduction in the time needed to bridge spatial differences which has, in turn, resulted in the gradual integration of political, economic, and social space across national borders. Although globalization is often exclusively associated with the economic sphere, that is, with processes of production, distribution, and consumption as well as with ever-increasing global trade, and financial services, economic globalization is intricately interwoven with changes within the social, cultural, and political spheres (Featherstone, 1990; Waters, 1995; Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999).

Globalization has brought with it both opportunities and challenges. Many youths are migrating for better work, and education opportunities which allow them to acquire greater knowledge, and skills, and expand their networks (United Nations, 2010). While youths benefit from the immense opportunities that accompany employment and education options available internationally, competition has also stiffened. Youth now need to compete with a global pool of talent, and ensure that they remain competitive internationally. A survey carried in 2013 across four countries (USA, Brazil, Switzerland, and Singapore) by Credit Suisse found youths in Singapore concerned over the issue of immigration from the increased competition for jobs, and housing. In the USA, organisations such as World Savvy have started pushing for students to gain global

competence. Tensions have arisen among youths who miss out on the benefits of globalization (Brown, 2014).

Globalization brings with it diversity. The 21st century society is more diverse culturally than generations ago. Youth culture and identity are being changed. Rather than pledging allegiance to a single national identity, youths today are embracing hybrid cultural identities. This is part of the influence from the global youth culture facilitated by the internet. Globalization offers clear economic opportunities, and benefits, but comes with substantial social costs that often appear to affect young people disproportionately, given their tenuous transitional status within an uncertain and rapidly evolving global context.

According to Hermans & Dimaggio (2007), although globalization expands many people's vision through economical, ecological, educational, informational, and military connections, it inevitably hampers and encapsulates other's horizon as a reaction to new information and experiences that pose potential threats to their values and beliefs. As globalization gathers its momentum, few people are immune to the force of becoming multi-cultural individuals. In many countries across the world, people are experiencing the so-called cultural shock. Hermans & Dimaggio (2007) proposed that the impact of globalization on self and identity is creating an uncertainty that motivates individuals and groups to construct a counterforce of 'localization.'

b) *Understanding Culture*

Culture is the ensemble of practices – linguistic, stylistic, and religious that together forms a way of being for a given social community. Culture is the language through which we learn to read the world. It is the collection of learned assumptions that we bring to the daily practice of interpreting the meaning of our reality and ourselves (Arnett, 2003). The degree to which culture exerts effects upon the way in which we interpret the world is made apparent when we compare the different ways in which a language can present reality to a linguistic community. Culturally specific assumptions, contained within a diverse range of interrelated practices (such as language, religion, sexuality), mean that a person's identity is always a multi-dimensional conglomerate of many identities. Cultural diversity further compounds the complexity of identity insofar as it opens up gaps and discontinuities between the way in which a particular community might perceive itself and the way it is perceived by others. Physical characteristics, styles of dress, and behaviour, language, and communicative accents, and, numerous other distinguishing phenomena, act as symbolic triggers in practices of cultural interpretation that attribute collective characteristics to the members of a particular community in a way that locates them within

relationships of class, gender, and ethnicity among other issues (Fong, 2004).

Arnett (2003) proposes that for youth in non-Western traditions, globalization is culpable for an increased level of identity confusion as youth struggle to find the delicate balance between local culture and global culture. On one hand, some elements of local culture have lost their original charm. For example, as discussed by Fong (2004), state-sponsored discourses of nationalism have lost appeal for many Chinese youth who identified with a global community where China is usually put on an inferior place. On the other, many youth find it difficult to relate to the global culture because it differs drastically from and sometimes contradicts their local culture (Arnett, 2002). For example, global culture has as its characteristics individualism and consumerism, which is in contrast to the cultural tradition of collectivism and frugality in Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, and China. As a result, youth in these countries are faced with a cultural dilemma that puts added stress to their identity formation process. Arnett (2002) attributes the rise of social problems among youth in non-Western countries, such as substance use, prostitution, homicide, and suicide to the prevalence of identity confusion as a result of globalization.

Kjeldgaard & Askegaard (2006) challenge the myths of a homogenized 'global youth culture'. They point out that global youth culture usually becomes localized as youth in different parts of the world try to incorporate the global culture along with its symbols and meanings into their locality and everyday life (Bennet, 1999). Either 'globalized' or 'localized', youth culture seems to have become an integral part of the discussion on globalization and global economy.

Arnett (2002) suggests the development of a typology similar to one that has become popular in the ethnic identity/acculturation literature (Berry, 1993; Phinney, 1990) whereby people are surveyed in terms of strength of identification with both the dominant national culture and their particular sub-group minority culture. According to Berry (2003), research on the acculturation process originated from studies on the cultural impact of European colonisation in the mid-1940s, moved towards investigations of immigrants and cultural ethnic minorities, and evolved into a new focus on globalization and the resultant intensification of interconnections between diverse ethno-cultural groups. Berry (2003) advocates a multi-dimensional or multi-linear view of the acculturation process, whereby people adopt different acculturation strategies including assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. According to Berry (2003), acculturation is not measured in a uni-dimensional fashion such as 'level' or 'degree'. Rather, individuals take different paths in their attempt to cope with the changed cultural climate. A person who identifies strongly with both cultures is referred to as

having a 'bicultural' identity (integration), while others may identify far more strongly with one over the other (or with neither) culture.

According to Berry (1997), minority members who embrace a 'bicultural' identity experience the least acculturative stress, as compared to individuals who employ the strategies of assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Berry's proposition was further supported by studies conducted in other countries of the world. For instance, Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond (2008) found that in highly developed multi-cultural societies such as Hong Kong, integrated bicultural identities are positively associated with better psychological adjustment. That is, individuals who are successful in balancing and harmonizing their multiple cultural identities tend to adjust better psychologically. It is important to note that Berry (2003, p. 24) also points out 'the portrayal of acculturation strategies was based on the assumption that none-dominant groups and their individual members have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate'. In other words, the acculturation strategies used is not just an individual preference/choice. It is in many ways shaped and limited by the attitudes and expectations of the larger culture (dominant culture).

Based on Berry's model, Arnett (2002) argues that with the intensification of globalization, people around the world are increasingly exposed to and involved in the global culture (especially Western and American culture), while local cultures continue to exert strong influence as well. He speculates that the 'bicultural identity' not only describes identity adopted by immigrants and members of minority groups, but also is applicable to research on globalisation. Arnett raised the question of whether the same relationship between bicultural identity and acculturative stress holds for the global culture.

Based on Arnett's (2002) suggestion, Cheng, Briones, Caycedo, & Berman (2008) have developed a paper and pencil measure, the Global Identity Survey (GIS), which asks participants about the degree to which they identify with either the local or global culture. A new typology was proposed, with behaviours and attitudes falling into one of the four following categories: 'locally encapsulated' (high in local identification, low in global identification), 'globally assimilated' (low in local identification, high in global identification), 'alienated' (low in both local and global identification), or 'bicultural' (high in both local and global identification).

c) *Understanding Identity*

Within the fast globalizing world with all its contradictions, struggles for identity have emerged as one of the most striking characteristics of the social, cultural, and political scene. One of the most important features of the identity discourse is the relative recency of its emergence and proliferation. In 1996 the

prominent British cultural scientist, Stuart Hall (1996a:1), remarked that there was a veritable discursive explosion in recent years around the concept of 'identity'.

A proper appreciation of the ontological significance of culture engenders an equally significant conceptualization of the role of identity: the specific instance of interpreting the world that invests a person and those around them with meaning. Identities structure the way a person understands themselves and their world in both a descriptive and a prescriptive sense. From infancy onwards, a person is addressed by others through identities that invite the addressee to regard them in a certain way. Culturally specific ways of being masculine or feminine are among the first identities that most people will encounter, along with the identity of infancy itself. In the course of a person's biological and social development, the identities in which they will invest themselves will change according to circumstance, and to some extent, preference – resulting in an always complex, often contradictory and typically deep seated understanding of the nature of themselves, others, and their world. In this way, identity negotiation is a dynamic process.

The term identity first gained salience through the work of the psychologist Erikson in 1968. While Erikson associated identity as a definition of personhood that is, with sameness or continuity of the self across time and space, other authors also emphasised uniqueness, that is, those characteristics that differentiate a person from other people or the whole of humankind (Baumeister, 1986; Brewer, 1991, 1993; Rouse, 1995). Erikson (1968) used the term identity crisis to refer to individuals who had lost a sense of sameness or continuity. While he regarded an identity crisis as a normal and passing stage in adolescent development, he held that it should be regarded as pathological in adults. He typified a healthy state of identity development as an invigorating subjective awareness of sameness and continuity. Although Erikson (1968) theorised on identity from a psychoanalytic point of view, he also emphasised the role of the environment, and particularly the social environment, in the development of identity. He used the term psycho-social identity in this regard. Psycho-social identity refers to the awareness of who a person is, both as an individual, and as a member of a family, various societal groups, and a particular society. The prominent role of social groups in identity formation has been emphasised by other social psychologists such as (Tajfel, 1981). Tajfel held that membership of social groups is internalized as part of the self-concept and as such forms an integral part of the identity of an individual.

As scholars continue to discuss and theorise the effects of increasing globalization in the world, some psychologists have questioned its effects on people's sense of identity (Jack & Lorbiecki, 2007; Kjeldgaard &

Askegaard, 2006; Nett & Hayden, 2007). Arnett (2002) argued that globalization had a major influence on people's sense of identity. Notwithstanding the fact that globalization as well as struggles for identity is mostly associated with the economic, political, and social spheres, these processes also have far-reaching effects in the lives of individuals. According to Bauman (2001), disruptions in identity formation on the individual level can be ascribed to the combined effects of globalization, on the one hand, as well as to the new and extreme forms that liberal ideas on individualism have acquired in the modern age.

Traditionally, studies of identity formation focused primarily on factors such as career choices, social-political ideologies, religious beliefs, value systems, worldviews, sexual orientation, role-stereotypes, and ethnic identities. However, with the expansion of globalization, multi-culturalism has become an inseparable component of youth existence and identity formation. Arnett (2003) suggested two reasons why youth are most receptive to the global culture. First, they are more curious about and interested in popular culture and media influence than children, and adults. Secondly, youth are at a time in their lives where they are most open to new ideas, beliefs, and values. A third explanation of why youth are at the forefront of globalization is that English has been included as a prerequisite course of study in primary, secondary, and higher education in many African countries. For these African countries, English is used either as the tool of formal instruction or required as a major course at various levels of educational institutions.

Arnett (2003) argues that due to the intensification of globalization, youth around the globe now face greater risks and more opportunities simultaneously in their journey to develop a coherent cultural identity. Arnett (2002) argued that while Erikson's theory on youth identity formation centres primarily on how youth develop a firm sense of self in relation to others *within* their own cultural context, forming a multi-cultural identity requires youth to choose among different cultural patterns and eventually determine their group loyalty to one, some, or none of these diverse cultures. In other words, youth today are faced with a much more complicated world when they attempt to make choices about their values, beliefs, and ideologies.

Finally, information brought in by globalization may work to shatter youth sense of nationalism, sense of pride, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. In honour-oriented cultures such as China and Japan, a sense of shame is usually incurred as a result of comparing one's own country to other more advanced societies. Becoming locally encapsulated, therefore, could be seen as a cultural defence mechanism to protect the cultural ego. Youth culture is highly globalized in many parts of the world. Not only are youth major consumers

of global culture, they are sometimes advocates and creators of the global culture. Youth utilize a variety of avenues to express and promote their newly hybrid identities, such as the Quebec Hip-hop described by Sarkar & Allen (2007) in their studies of rappers of Haitian, Dominican, and African origin.

d) *Global Identity*

Arnett (2002, p. 777) defines 'global identity' as 'a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles, and information that are part of the global culture.' In other words, individuals who have achieved a 'global identity', those who are capable of formulating an identity that moves about smoothly and freely between cultures are called 'global citizens' (Suárez-Orozco, 2004). However, some scholars have questioned the validity of the very concept of 'global identity'. Watson (2004) distinguished between adolescent consumers' preference for global brands such as Nike and McDonald's and a more deep-seated sense of cultural identification. He posed the questions of whether this external attraction to popular brand names can be taken as an indication of a more sophisticated psychological process that characterizes identity formation. On the other hand, 'local identity' is seen as "one based on the local circumstances, local environment, and local traditions of the place where they grew up" (Arnett, 2002, p. 777). Furthermore, a third category named 'hybrid identity' (Arnett, 2002) or 'trans-cultural' identity (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) is formulated by scholars to describe the combination of local culture and aspects of the global culture.

Global culture has emerged as a dynamic and fluid concept that encompasses interconnecting, contradicting, and often competing cultural models and patterns around the globe. In a globalized world, both immigrants and youth living in their home country are impacted and challenged in unique ways by globalization (Suárez-Orozco, 2004). It is important to point out that during the interplay of globalization, 'global culture' and 'local culture' are not equal in status, and power. For most non-Western societies and cultures, global culture is usually associated with glamour and status. For example, people with fluency in English (usually considered the 'global language') are usually more competitive in the job market. Another example can be found in consumption patterns of urban adolescents around the world. Today, young people around the world are fascinated with 'global brands' such as Apple, McDonald's, KFC, Pizza Hut, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Levis, Nike, Adidas, and IKEA.

e) *Youth in the Developed World*

Like all identities, youth is a culturally relative manifestation whose meanings and applications are specific to certain times and locales. For those living in present-day Western cultures, the term youth refers to

persons who are no longer children and not yet adults. In a strictly legal sense, the term is typically applied to a person from the time of their early teens until a point between the age of 16 and 24, after which time the person is legally an adult. As an adult, they are endowed privileges such as the right to vote and consume alcohol among other issues. Used colloquially, however, the term generally refers to a broader, more ambiguous, field of reference – from the physically adolescent to those in their late 20s. The United Nations, for example, defines youth as people between the ages of 15 and 24 years inclusive (UNESCO, 2002). Traversing both sides of the legal distinction between childhood and adulthood, the youth identity presents those in their teens and their 20s as participants in a shared social experience that is distinct from that of other age groups.

To be a youth in this colloquial sense of the term is to be distinguished from the remainder of the population not just by age but by a certain level of agency (youth typically enjoy a greater amount of agency, or social power, than children but less than adults); a particular relationship to the labour market (youth are more likely to be unemployed, earn less or be engaged in study than adults); and youth-specific cultural pursuits (youth typically consume cultural phenomena and assume styles of behaviour and dress that are different from the comparable habits of children and adults). This final characteristic, along with age, is the most visible and obvious criterion that invites the application of the youth identity as it is currently employed in Western cultures.

It is also the criterion that is most specific to the experience of youth in the developed world, and it is a phenomenon that is fundamentally linked to the globalization age. Hebdige's (1979) seminal study of youth identity and culture, argues that present-day Western youth first appeared as a social phenomenon in the period following the Second World War. Hebdige (1979) cited a number of globalization's emergent social conditions as causal factors in the historical manifestation of youth culture and the youth identity in the West. He indicated that the advent of mass media, the disintegration of the working-class community, the relative increase in the spending power of working class youth, the creation of a market designed to absorb the resulting surplus and changes in the education system, contributed to the emergence after the War of a generational consciousness among the young (Hebdige, 1979:74).

f) *Youth in the Developing World*

The market place of dominant youth culture produces experiences which are enabled by the disproportionate levels of surplus capital being supplied to the West by the economically and politically marginalized African countries. The African youth are mostly excluded from the youth experience that their

economies make possible in the developing world. According to the UN, the majority of the world's youth live in developing countries, with approximately 60 percent in Asia and 23 percent in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The UN estimated that by 2025, the number of young people living in the developed countries would increase to 89.5 percent (UNESCO, 2002). In *Rethinking Youth*, Wyn & White (1997) pointed out that for the majority of the young people living in the developing countries, the universal stage of development was and remains an inappropriate one.

III. METHODOLOGY

The study relied on qualitative methodology, while a case study design of Harare urban in Zimbabwe was used to understand the effects of globalisation on youth culture and identity. The choice of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe was based on the assumption that the youth sample would be significantly higher in exposure to global factors, identity exploration, identity distress, and openness than those in other areas, and lower in identity commitment. Another assumption was that youth in Harare urban would have higher percentages of bi-cultural, and globally assimilated, while the other samples would have higher percentages of locally encapsulated. Primary data was gathered using a semi-structured questionnaire while secondary data was gathered through documents such as peer reviewed journal articles, books, book chapters, and newspapers.

The Global Factors Scale was designed to assess participants' exposure to global factors in terms of television watch, internet use, exposure, and familiarity with people from other countries, as well as international travel (Cheng, Briones, Caycedo, & Berman, 2008). A number of questions were asked. These included: What is your understanding of globalization? Which television channels do you watch? How often do you use the internet? How many people do you know who are not from your own country? Which are your favourite clothing brands?, and How many times have you travelled abroad? Questions were also asked in order to assess the degree to which participants identified with either the local or global culture.

IV. DISCUSSION

This section is based on the key findings of the study. Some of the key questions asked the youth and their responses are indicated below.

a) Understanding of Globalization and its Effects on Culture and Identity

The majority of research participants indicated that they had no clear understanding of globalization. However, they showed an appreciation of what was happening globally. They indicated an appreciation of

the various cultures and identities of different countries. The impacts included those of consumerism, family breakdowns, vast leaps in technology development, tribalism (wanting to know its roots), globalization (one-world), moral decline, incarnational (living it out through public lifestyle and actions) and relational issues – both globally and locally. One of the youth who participated in the study indicated that:

Globalization has seriously affected the way we think, walk and talk as youth. If you listen to our type of music, it's mainly western. Our dressing is western and our accent is American.

Another participant in the study alluded to the negative effects that globalization has had on youth identity. He indicated that:

Most urban youth have lost their identity. Look at how they dress and walk. Youth are no longer respecting their elders. The moral fabric is decaying because of trying to imitate European and American cultures.

A key informant who participated in the study showed that those organizations dealing with lacked information on how to deal with the effects of globalization. He mentioned that:

Despite the fact that globalisation has manifold effects on young people's daily lives, actors in the youth sector lack information and understanding about the specific effects of globalisation and their implications to be able to initiate sufficiently informed youth work.

Technology has played a significant role in the life of youth. The youth who participated in the study showed an appreciation of the current developments in the latest technological trends – computers, mobile phones, DVD players, games consoles. These form part of their everyday lifestyles, and in which they operate fluently. The youth showed a high level of their knowledge within these technologies. Their knowledge in the field of computers operates on a mosaic of different levels, and competent to switch between these levels, rather than in a linear (step-by-step) pattern. One participant in the study argued that:

As youth we need to be kept up to date with the global events. We rely mainly on social media such as twitter, face book and whats App to link with the rest of the world. Imagine I am able to communicate with my friends and relatives who are far away. Technology has made communication easy.

Some youth showed an appreciation of both the local culture and global cultures. One participant indicated that:

I appreciate my culture more that the Western culture. I know how to dress properly. You see I am not wearing shredded jeans like my friends do. Even the type of music I listen to is local though it carries Western flavour.

Another youth who participated in the study opined that:

Globalization has had a very strong effect on me. It has allowed me to live with my friends and extended families that live in very different cultures and settings. The extended exposure to these different cultures and languages has opened my eyes to the value and diversity we have as a human race.

Youth in Harare had significantly higher levels of exposure to global factors (Internet use; familiarity with people from other countries; overseas travelling, etc.). Therefore, it seemed that participants who identified primarily with the global culture as well as those who identified with both the global and local cultures tended to have higher exposure level to Internet use, to friends, and families from other counties, as well as to overseas travelling. Therefore, youth who identified primarily with the global culture, as well as those who identified with both the global and local cultures tended to be more active in terms of identity exploration in general. These are youth who seek out opportunities to enrich their experiences; those who are willing to challenge the "status quo;" and those who are on the front line of experimentation with new ideas, new values, new ideologies, and new ways of being.

b) *The Impact of Globalization on Education*

Globalization and major improvements in access to education have allowed many Zimbabwean youth to both benefit from and contribute to the development of their country. The Zimbabwean culture, values and ways of life have changed considerably as a result of increased economic openness and exposure to foreign goods, services and information. The new perspectives and modes of behaviour adopted by youth sometimes place them at risk but have also allowed them to become a strong, positive force in the development of their societies. Youth constitute a ready pool of human capital and are industrious, competitive, adaptable and technologically savvy, but they are often underutilised or exploited in the labour market. One of the youth who participated in the study mentioned that:

We now have a lot of Zimbabwean youth studying abroad in countries such as China, Singapore, America and Britain. These youth learn the various cultures of these countries and have a better appreciation as compared to us who are studying here in Zimbabwe.

Another youth appreciated the importance of education. She mentioned that:

Our education system is mainly influenced by western ideology. We are taught in English at school. You cannot be admitted to University without English. Most of the communication is now English. It's now very difficult for youth to speak in their local languages.

Globalization has probably brought together more people of mixed backgrounds, and ethnic

differences. Because of the power and influence of the media and music industries, young people all over the world are watching the same films and listening to the same music. At the same time they are trying to find their place, to belong to a group where they are accepted, known and valued. There is fear in the lives of young people. Youth are longing for partnership, the right kind of partnership and want to see it modelled, rather than the mentality of living independently and totally self-reliant. They are individuals in their own right, but they want to be part of something bigger. The current youth culture promotes a lack of personal (one to one) communication, in favour of communication on a group basis, a larger gathering of friends operating a 'family' mentality. Popular culture has attained an immense global following precisely *because* it is popular. The near take-over of the Zimbabwean youth cultural industries is of great concern. Berger (1997) points out that popular culture carries a significant freight of beliefs and values. Take the case of rock music. Its attraction is not just due to a particular preference for loud, rhythmic sound and dangerously athletic dancing. Rock music also symbolises a whole cluster of cultural values—concerning self-expression, spontaneity, released sexuality, and perhaps most importantly, defiance of the alleged stodginess of tradition.

The contemplation of struggles for identity within the age of globalisation brings Bauman (2001a) to the conclusion that the term identity should be replaced with identification. Identification implies a never-ending, open-ended activity that is always incomplete and never finished. Human's frantic search for identity in the current age cannot be regarded as a residue of pre-modern and pre-globalization times. It is a side-effect and by-product of the combination of globalising, localising and individualising forces themselves and their concomitant tensions. They are legitimate off-springs and natural companions of the multiple and often contradictory processes associated with globalization. They are in reality the oil that lubricates the wheels of globalization.

V. CONCLUSION

Globalization has affected certain values rooted in major religions and cultures of the world. Concepts of good and evil, right and wrong, individualism and pluralism, individual interaction with the society and the very meaning of life are all warped and corrupted by global capitalism, international markets, mass media and the promotion of excessive consumption. Even some local languages, and valuable traditions are on the verge of disappearance as the result of globalisation. Global consumerism is now forming a homogeneous global culture where the Zimbabwean culture is being replaced by Western cultures (Muzaffar, 2002). There has been alienation of societies with their

history because of fascination with foreign values. These new values and beliefs have no root or connection to the African and the Zimbabwean identity. Globalization weakens the traditions and values of local cultures for the sake of universal uniformity and dominance of a commanding culture through the formidable power of international media.

Globalization can intensify social divisions, and as youth are struggling to establish themselves in a new social context, the sometimes intimidating adult world they may be perceived as being particularly vulnerable to the threat of segregation or exclusion. However, in any analysis of young people's relationship with globalization, two key points must be borne in mind. First, there is a tendency to assume that the effects of globalization are unstoppable, and that globalization is a process young people react to rather than actively negotiate.

Young people and relevant actors in the youth field at local, national, and international level have few opportunities to meet, network, and exchange experiences on globalization. This limits the extent to which they have the capacity to promote responses to the consequences of globalization, intercultural dialogue, and solidarity. Actors in the youth sector have few opportunities to reflect on how the instruments traditionally used for the promotion and implementation of youth policies can be adapted to the new and changing context of globalization. Some actors in the youth field are already working to promote universal values such as equality, justice, peace, and respect for human dignity.

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