# UNDERSTANDING SECURITY THROUGH THE EYES OF THE YOUNG

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**A Window on the Future of Security:**
**Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Leaders**

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It has become a truism that conceptions of security have changed over the past several decades and that they continue to evolve in our current world system. Even during the overt militarization of the Cold War, policy-makers around the world began to focus attention on the transnational impact of macroeconomic policies. The creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and its follow-on organizations was prompted at least partly by a need to provide economic security for the rebuilding European economies. In stark fashion, the first and second oil shocks in the 1970s were catalysts for thinking about new views of security and the policy changes necessary for us to remain secure. Most strikingly, 9/11 has forced the world community (and especially people in the insular United States) to grapple with threats to security that were once remote geographically and temporally. Nonetheless, a more diverse and open-ended security dialogue has developed across global political entities and across issues traditionally divided into a high and low politics dichotomy. Diversity in the security dialogue is possibly best exemplified by the rise of discussions of "human security" throughout the scholarly and policy-making realms, even though much of the recent policy dialogue itself has centered on countering the terrorist threat.

The changing discourse of security also highlights the notion that security, or at least the ways that each of us perceive it, is a construct of our socialization processes and the security environment in which we live. Individuals in war-torn regions are more likely to list physical safety as a higher priority than economic prosperity. Those in developing societies are more likely to emphasize basic human needs; and citizens of developed countries may emphasize "luxury" conceptions of security, such as economic prosperity, in their own views of what is important for feeling secure. In all instances, people's perceptions of security are conditioned by the physical, social, economic, and even emotional setting of the world around them.

Our examination focuses on understanding whether or not the evolving security discourse in our field reflects the reality of security perceptions held by people within our society. We begin by briefly reviewing some of the scholarly literature on evolving conceptions of security and then turn to an examination of conceptions of security held by today's youth (and tomorrow's leaders).

**Security in an Evolving Global Context**

Much has been written over the past several decades about changing conceptions of security. But little consensus exists about the nature of security today. Edward Newman (2001: 239) argues that "Whilst our basic human needs – at least in biological terms – have changed little, our conceptualizations of security, and our approaches to achieving and maintaining security, have." Similarly, Klare and Chandrani (1998: vii) argue that "we have seen the emergence of entire new *categories* of security challenges: environmental degradation, resource scarcities, transnational criminal activities, mass human migrations, and so on."[2] James N. Rosenau (1994: 255) suggests in the broadest terms that the complexity and interdependency of human affairs have demanded an understanding of security that goes beyond the "simple matter of maintaining military readiness and effective international alliances." The one common theme throughout these eclectic studies of security is the notion that we must go beyond military and territorial conceptions security, if we are to apply the concept accurately to contemporary problems from the global to local. To do this as scholars and ultimately to incorporate these notions into policy is not a simple task, however, because of the entrenched frameworks—theoretical, conceptual and political—that surround the term. As James Der Derian (1995: 24-25) states, it is no surprise that security is the "preeminent concept of international relations…No other concept in international relations packs the metaphysical punch, or commands the disciplinary power, of 'security'."

The voices of these new conceptions of security are even more prominent when we account for the variety of dichotomies that exist within contemporary world politics, i.e., male/female, North/South, and others. Bouncing off of one of these dichotomies—gender—provides us with some insight into the diversity of security perceptions and their socially constructed bases. Many voices have been heard on the importance of understanding gendered perspectives in global politics and the role women can play in widening the security debate. For instance, Angela E.V. King (2001: xi), Assistant Secretary-General in the UN, argues that the introduction of gender as an important variable in the security debate:

> has led to the assumption that if women were involved in a sufficient number in peace, security and conflict resolutions, these definitions would be transformed and so would all related policies, activities, and institutional arrangements. Broadening both these concepts and participation in conflict resolution would open new opportunities for dialogue. It would replace the traditional model of negotiations aimed at ceasefire or crisis management by a real conflict resolution model, where the root causes of conflict are addressed, all aspects of human security are taken into

consideration, and the process of negotiation is inclusive involving representatives of civil society, including women's organizations.

Moreover, a recent interview-based study by Sally M. Reis (1998) suggests that women involved in the security policy-making process ask different questions and thus force different issues to the policy foreground than their male counterparts. This broadly implies that as participation in the policy-making and knowledge-building processes is broadened across gender, socio-economic, or whatever, lines that conceptions of security will also broaden, becoming more diverse and less centered on traditional political-military concepts.

In many ways, the term "complex insecurity" can help center our understanding of the security challenges facing the world system today. Bobrow (1996) argues that as enemy-based security challenges have declined in the post-Cold War world, the complexity of the threats remains high and policy structures possessed by states may not be well-suited (at least not yet) for coping with those challenges.[3] In today's transnational policy environment, this centers policy concerns on threats, such as terrorism, environmental degradation, disease, and resource scarcity that do not emerge solely from a geopolitical entity in the traditional sense. Threats thus seem to have different and even multiple sources compared to those of the past.

Building on the concept of security introduced in the *Human Development Report* (1994), Newman (2001: 239) and many others assert that human security "seeks to place the individual – or people collectively – as the referent of security rather than, although not necessarily in opposition to, institutions such as territory and state sovereignty." This concept "reflects the impact of values and norms in international relations" and "embraces a range of alliances, actors and agendas that have taken us beyond the traditional scope of international politics and diplomacy" (Newman 2001: 240).[4] Caroline Thomas (1999: 3) echoes these concerns by arguing that security is achieved only when basic human needs are met and "meaningful participation in the life of the community" and human dignity are realized. Bruce Russett (1995: xi) also makes this normative argument, but also broadens its institutional setting, by stating that "the focus of the post-Cold War United Nations…should be on *human security* – not just the security of states…but the security of populations within states." The question that remains to be answered (at least partly by our analysis below) is whether Newman (2001: 241) is correct in stating that shifts in attitudes, and ultimately longer-term shifts in behavior, are placing increasing value on human rights and human needs within the "model of human security" (Newman 2001: 241).

In short, security remains a contested concept. As Terriff, et.al. (1999:2) argue, "[w]hat is in dispute is not so much the concept of security *per se* as the sorts of specification that are made about security." The following analysis focuses on these divergent concepts by examining perceptions of

security held by young people and how those perceptions might translate into concepts and policy in later years.

**The GlobalEd Project Research Environment**

To provide a context for our data collection and analysis, it is important to discuss briefly the experimental environment in which we collected our data. The *GlobalEd Project* is a research project examining gender differences in knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors (KABs) related to international studies, the use of technology, and student learning.[5] GlobalEd research is based on the premise that observed gender differences are socially constructed and not biologically driven.[6] Thus, we concur with Goldstein's (2001) distinction between "sex" as the biological distinction and "gender" as the culturally driven difference. We accordingly focus on, and use the term, "gender" in our analyses. As a result, the sample that we examine in this study—middle school social studies students ranging in age from 12-14—should, in theory, provide a rich sample for examination that it is relatively uncorrupted in terms of the gender differences that are often masked by women decision-makers who have been socialized into male structures through their later educational and career processes. For reasons of space constraints, the data examined in this chapter, however, are not broken down by gender for the purposes of the present analysis and discussion, but the reader is welcome to contact the authors for more information about the gender aspects of the project.

The GlobalEd Project has its roots in the work of Project ICONS developed at the University of Maryland in the early 1980s for college-level political science students. The middle school simulation component was launched in 1998 at the University of Connecticut and has been more fully developed under the auspices of the GlobalEd Project (Florea, et.al., 2003; Brown, et.al., 2003).

Students involved in GlobalEd are assigned their country six to eight weeks before the simulation begins and are given concrete analytical tasks related to five broad topical areas (human rights, global environment, conflict and cooperation, international economics, and world health) presented in the simulation scenario. Students are told that their country has to "stay in character" (e.g., remain consistent with the policy positions and core national and cultural value systems of their assigned country), while attempting to develop comprehensive policy responses to particular problems within these five issue areas. The scenario for the simulation is set six months into the future.[7]

Students are instructed to learn about the values and customs of their respective countries prior to the simulation, so that they are prepared to make appropriate "in character" responses. Most simulations include between 10 and 15 country-teams and students are assigned by their teachers to become "experts" on a particular issue group. Within the GlobalEd Project context, the issue groups are organized along gender lines, with all female, all male and mixed gender issue groups formed within each simulation.

Thus, within a particular simulation issue, GlobalEd has sought to obtain a relative balance of all three gender groupings; at the very least, in a given simulation, there should be at least one all female human rights group, one all male human rights group and one mixed gender group. Students do not know the "gender" of the other groups with whom they are negotiating.

A simulation lasts a total of five weeks and students participate each school day in the simulation, whether through on-line conferences, e-mails to other countries, searching the web for information, or preparing diplomatic documents and responses. Additionally, students are able to use their own computers from home or other public access points to draft messages, review data, and collaborate within their own country or with other countries. There are no student names exchanged between countries nor are any references made to the gender of specific student negotiators. Only names such as *Canada (human rights committee)* are used to communicate with *Nigeria (human rights committee)*. Since the simulation software provides all email and conferencing access, the anonymity of the participants is maintained between countries. Students are restricted to the use of the simulation software for inter-class/country communications. During the game, students must interact with participants from other schools using the technology tools within the simulation in order to discuss, debate, and negotiate real international issues.

As mentioned above, the GlobalEd research environment allows us to collect data from on-line surveys (before and after the simulation experience) on a variety of KAB indicators. One of these sets of measures is the focus of our analysis below. In addition, the issue-based gender groupings allow project staff to analyze negotiating strategies through a coding scheme first published in Florea, et.al. (2003). For more information about all the facets of the project, the reader is encouraged to visit www.globaled.uconn.edu .

**Why the Ideas of Young People Matter**

One of the primary themes of this volume is the changing nature of security in recent decades and most particularly since 9/11. Implied in this endeavor is the next step in our thinking: a possible forecast for evolving conceptions of security in the coming years. Unfortunately for scholars and policy-makers, we are rarely in a position to forecast political phenomena in accurate ways, though the topic continues to be of major interest in our field.[8] We do, however, possess what is arguably a hazy window to the future of security conceptions provided to us by the attitudes of adolescents regarding security and international relations. We argue that an examination of these attitudes is relevant and less hazy than some might expect and is thus worthy of close examination. We hold this view for two primary reasons.

The first reason centers on the reality that today's adolescents are tomorrow's voters and decision-makers. Democratic theory is instructive in this regard as it reminds us that the assumption and

discharge of responsibility in the public arena in the long and short term can only be conducted successfully with the participation of informed citizens and leaders, who as a whole provide what Habermas (1996) characterizes as an unimpeded deliberative sphere. Shapiro's (1996) interpretation is even more to the point: "…democrats are committed to rule by the people[;]…the people are sovereign; in all matters of collective life they rule over themselves" (1996, 224). Though democratic practice oftentimes does not measure up to democratic ideals, this deviation hardly obviates the need for systematic analysis of individual political views and preferences in democratic societies.

This need is no less great with respect to *future* generations of citizens and leaders, and perhaps may be greater, given the relative paucity of explorations of this kind; after all, it is precisely the age cohort studied here that will soon inherit the burdens of democratic citizenship and political and economic leadership in our society (whether we like it or not). As is clear from all of the selections in this volume, security is evolving in complex directions and those who are "only kids" will in fact determine society's security tomorrow.

But this generational evolutionary rationale is incomplete if there is little relationship between the attitudes they hold today and the one's they will espouse tomorrow. As the following brief discussion will show, this relationship is quite robust and indicates that their current attitudes will be relatively good predictors of the trajectory of security perceptions in the future. Along these lines, an extensive and inter-disciplinary body of literature dealing with attitude formation and change in the area of political socialization has chronicled the viability of this connection, frequently referred to as the "impressionable years hypothesis" (Krosnick and Alwin, 1989). Notably, many of the seminal studies exploring this hypothesis have explicitly targeted school-age children, largely because of an interest in better understanding the attitudes of those members of society who had previously been assumed to represent a "blank slate" with regard to political attitudes (Greenberg, 1970).

The emergence of a modern political socialization "school" has been attributed to the publication of sociologist Herbert Hyman's *Political Socialization* (1959). Other contributions to this field focused on the role of political socialization in adolescence as serving a crucial, system-maintaining function in the U.S. political system (see Key, 1961; Mitchell, 1962; Lane, 1962). Perhaps colored by the era of good-feelings during the Eisenhower years, early researchers of political socialization sought to explore the underlying reasons behind the exceedingly high degrees of loyalty to nation and the near-absence of any attitudes exemplary of "fragmentation politics" in the United States. A great deal of attention during this period was paid to attitudes among American schoolchildren about the nation and its symbols and institutions (see especially Lane, 1962).

Building on this work, Greenstein (1965) produced a more comprehensive study of the origins of childhood attitudes and orientations towards politics, and political authority. Greenstein's findings demonstrated the strong emotional or affective appeal of the content of political socialization upon children, an appeal making the associated (favorable) messages relating to authority figures and the political system extremely durable and resistant to change. His work suggests that the affective component of political socialization lingers well into adulthood, remaining robust even in the face of the introduction of contradictory stimuli with respect to political figures and political life. Greenstein's findings were further confirmed by Hess and Torney (1967) who found what they called a "bond" on perceptions of particular figures and institutions of government rather than the more generic concepts of "authority figures" and "system."

Easton and Dennis (1967; 1969) were among the first to examine political efficacy as not only a norm within democratic societies, but as a socialized disposition among school-age children. In the process, they attempted to elaborate upon the linkage stretching from early political socialization through basic political orientations to adolescent and adult orientations, and the role of socialization processes in contributing to system "persistence."[9] In an important distinction from some of their predecessors, they found that this linkage was two-way and multidimensional rather than passive and monolithic.

Easton and Dennis' findings also indicate that the process of acquiring one's political worldview is not simply a matter of accepting a preceding generation's orientations outright, or what they called the "transmission belt" model (1969: 11). Independent learning, direct experience, and modeling the attitudes of other non-adults are also important mechanisms throughout childhood and adolescence, helping define the acquisition of political attitudes and explaining their resilience into adulthood. This rejection of the "transmission belt" model was further supported by extensive studies of political attitudes and values demonstrating large shifts in young age cohorts and negligible shifts in middle-aged and older cohorts, indicating both the importance of independent learning and experience, as well as the fertile attitudinal ground that childhood and adolescence represent within the parameters of the impressionable years hypothesis (Converse, 1976; Markus, 1979; Glenn, 1980).

More recent studies have further confirmed the viability, as well as extended the scope, of the "impressionable years" hypothesis. These studies demonstrated not only the stability of political attitudes acquired during youth upon transition to adulthood (Krosnick and Alwin, 1989), but also the degree that attitudes acquired during childhood and adolescence are functionally related to relevant action during both youth and adulthood. Though the introduction of social and contextual variables during adulthood can and do modify and in limited cases may sever the linkage between attitudes and attitude-relevant behavior (Krosnick, 1988; Krosnick, Boninger, Chuang, Berent, & Carnot, 1993), attitude-behavior

consistency has been shown to be robust in cases where the attitude in question pertains to a "vested interest"; that is, an object of great perceived personal consequence (Crano, 1997). Given this finding, it is relatively safe to assume that *security* (whether at the individual, state, or global level) registers as a vested interest for most individuals, lending further credence to our rationale for why the knowledge and attitudes of children towards security deserve attention.

This portrayal of political socialization as a process with significant effects lasting well into adulthood raises three important implications for those concerned with the origins and transmission of political attitudes. First, the key to the effectiveness of political socialization (at least within the American context) lies in the fact that it offers many points of access to the political system and process. These access points help to generate in childhood the diffuse support essential for generating non-specific feelings of loyalty and obligation to system and process that carry over into adulthood and serve as critical lynchpins for any democratic society.[10] Second, cognitive as well as affective images play an important role in the connection between school-age children and their orientations towards the political system and political issues in later life. The findings of Easton and Dennis, in particular, concerning the cognitive dimension of political learning underscore the third implication; namely, their rejection of the "concentric circles" (1969:103) model once dominant in the literature and in school curricula. Whereas children were once presumed to broaden their range of political awareness, knowledge, and interest outward from the concerns of their immediate neighborhood and school in tedious and sequentially ordered stages, more recent research has demonstrated greater variability in the absorption of ideas and expression of views on political matters, suggesting that there is no linear connection from close to distant objects, or from simple to complex ideas, and hence no rationale for limiting exposure along either dimension. It also lends further credence to the notion that individual construct their own unique knowledge base and identity.

Each of these implications, in turn, bears striking relevance for testing our own preconceived notions as academicians about the changing nature of security in the wider populace. If political socialization does in fact imprint relatively early in life, then the political culture (and the security perceptions it generates) that sustains democracy and citizenship among current and future generations is an important set of concepts to study. We turn now to our findings about these perceptions and what implications they may have for future perceptions and policies in the security realm.

**Data and Analysis**

The following portion of this chapter examines data from surveys taken from a sample of American middle school students during winter 2002-2003. The surveys were administered before (pre) and after (post) the students participated in the GlobalEd simulation. Drawing on the analytical approach

employed by Brown and King (2000) and Brown. et.al. (2003), our analysis focuses on the Knowledge, Attitudes and Behaviors (KABs) of the students involved in the simulation program. Based on the pioneering work of Bloom, Englehart, Frost, Hill and Krathwol (1956), the KAB evaluation approach focuses the researcher's attention on three dimensions of learning: 1) cognitive (what does the person know?); 2) affective (attitudes and how do they feel about the topic?); and 3) behavior (performance, what can they do related to the topic?). The three survey questions we examine in this paper focus on student interpretations of what is perceived as important in attaining a desirable level of *personal*, *national* and *global* security. The total sample size was N=349.

Appendix A displays the exact wording of the three questions focusing on personal security (Question #1), national security (Question #2), and global security (Question #3). Participants were asked to rank order the three items (from a set of choices) they perceived to be most important for attaining security in each sense. For each question, we have generated two graphs displaying the responses to the question. The first graph shows data for respondents' first choice selections for the most important concept for security, while the second shows the total number of respondents choosing a concept as either a first, second or third choice (thus the sum of all three possible choices for a particular security concept). Each graph also displays two vertical bars for each concept. The first bar represents the pre-survey responses and the second bar represents the post-survey responses. Displaying the two bars allows us to speculate on the impact of the simulation experience on student attitudes about security. In addition, $\chi^2$ results are included for each graph to determine if the differences between responses pre to post is statistically significant.

Perceptions of Personal Security

Figures 1A and 1B display the responses to our personal security question with 1A showing the "first choice" selections and 1B showing the summed choices across all three possible rankings. Figure 1A shows the dominance of basic human need concerns for personal security. Shelter ranked the highest among the choices, while education, control of your future (in the pre test) and the two personal safety choices (freedom from physical abuse and ability to defend yourself) also received relatively higher levels of support than other responses. These results are echoed, and even amplified, in Figure 1B with money, adequate food, and available medical attention showing higher numbers of responses when shown in aggregate across all three ranking choices.

Also in Figure 1A, we see that only shelter and freedom from mental abuse showed statistically significant increases from pre to post, while control over your future showed a significant decrease. The results of the chi-square analyses for the different response patterns pre- to post-testing when rankings

were collapsed across the top three ranks (Figure 1b) did not reveal any statistically significant differences.

These personal security results, then, demonstrate a heavy emphasis on basic needs among this sample of students, even though we would expect that most of our respondents have few worries about the basic daily needs in their own lives. While the demographics of our sample are quite reflective of the overall U.S. population, American middle school students as a whole should be less concerned about basic human needs than students from many other countries. It would be interesting to administer this same set of surveys among developing world youth to see if the basic human needs emphasis is even more dramatic in that setting.

Perceptions of National Security

Turning to perceptions of national security needs, Figures 2A and 2B display the responses for that question. Most strikingly and certainly in line with the overarching themes in this volume, a strong national economy is far and away the dominant first choice selection in Figure 2A with over 30% of the respondents selecting it as the most important factor for national security. Only good diplomatic relations with other countries, freedom from attack and a strong military received more than 10% of the first choice selections.

As with our first set of figures, the patterns from the first choice data are echoed in the aggregate results shown in Figure 2B. The strong national economy choice saw 57% of the respondents select it as one of the three most important factors for national security. Adequate health care (in the pre test), freedom from attack and a strong military all showed top-three support above 30%, with good diplomatic relations close to that threshold at 29.5% in both the pre and post surveys.

Regarding the pre/post changes in survey results, only quality educational system showed a significant increase from pre to post, while strong military showed a significant decrease. Intuitively, throughout the simulation experience, the students are continually sensitized to the need to research and data gathering as essential for good negotiations. Thus, it is not surprising that they come out of the experience placing a higher value on education as an element of security, even if it still registers lower relative to other security choices. In addition, diplomacy and peaceful conflict resolution are the primary focus on the GlobalEd simulation experience, so it is not surprising that the need for a strong military is somewhat less emphasized in the post-survey than in the pre. The chi-square analyses for the aggregate rankings in Figure 2B revealed four significant differences: increases for a quality educational system ($p<.001$) and adequate food supplies ($p<.001$); and decreases for democratic government ($p<.05$) and adequate health care ($p<.01$).

In sum, the results for our national security question clearly show the dominance of economics in security conceptions for our sample. But they also show the duality that continues to exist in present day national and world affairs about the value of the military as an essential tool for security maintenance. It is also worth noting that these surveys were administered in December 2002 (pre) and February 2003 (post) during the work-up to the Bush administration's intervention in Iraq. So even though the students were being sensitized through their research into contemporary international affairs in the popular press, they still held the national economy at a distinctly higher level than the military and even showed a significant decline placed on the value of democratic government as important for security.[11] This lends some credence to the notion that economic drivers for security have become more entrenched over the past several decades.

Perceptions of Global Security

Moving to perceptions of global security, a number of different ideas emerge than seen in the previous two sets of figures. Figure 3A parallels the national security responses quite clearly, especially with the dominance of the responses for a strong global economy. Not surprisingly in the post 9/11 context and in the midst of the pre-Iraq war press attention, eliminating weapons of mass destruction (WMD) ranked second in importance to the economy, even if at much lower levels as a first choice selection. It is also worth noting the relatively high first choice responses for education (in the post survey), democratic global governance (in the pre survey) and a strong and effective UN.

The picture changes somewhat, as shown in Figure 3B, when the responses are aggregated across the three levels of importance. A strong global economy is now rivaled by eliminating WMD. Put simply, this means that while fewer students saw WMD as a top priority item in contrast to a strong global economy, WMD ranked very strongly as a second and third choice among our sample. Interestingly enough, it is also worth noting the number of responses that might be interpreted as "traditional realist" values ranked relatively low on this scale. In particular, a strong United States and strong major world powers ranked rather low compared to the other choices available. This might suggest that even though WMD was at the forefront of our respondents concerns for global security that they also perceived unilateral efforts to deal with security as less important than other strategies for combating the threat.

A number of other interesting issues emerge from Figure 3B, especially as we examine the pre-post changes that occurred for the question. Again, increases are shown for education ($p<.001$), adequate food supplies ($p<.05$), and strong and effective international military force ($p<.001$) pre to post as first choice selections, while a smaller increase is found for a strong and effective UN though this change was not statistically significant. Noticeable decreases pre to post were found for democratic global

governance ($p<.001$), a strong United States ($p<.01$), adequate health care ($p<.001$), clean natural environment ($p<.05$) and positive trade relations between countries ($p<.05$). These results suggest some continued support for what might be considered "non-traditional" aspects of security even when we move beyond the personal or national levels. Implicitly, there also seems to be greater support for multilateral approaches to global problems than there is for unilateral ones. These results are roughly echoed in the aggregate results with significant increases shown for education ($p<.001$), strong and effective UN ($p<.05$), adequate food supplies ($p<.001$), and strong major world powers ($p<.05$) and decreases shown for democratic global governance ($p<.001$) and adequate health care ($p<.001$).

**Discussion and Conclusions**

All of the selections in this volume have highlighted the changing nature of security in the contemporary world system. Clearly, economic concerns have become more important relative to other more traditional conceptions of security, even if traditional conceptions remain prominent in the ways that many view the world and their place within it. Taking these conceptions at face value thus means that states in the contemporary system must continue to adapt to the changing security environment in which they operate and to the changing perceptions held by their citizens. But policy adaptation becomes problematic if our decision-makers have little guidance about the trajectory of future policy concerns and citizen demands.

The survey data we discussed above provides a window on the future of security perceptions. Research in the political socialization field tells us that a link exists between adolescent attitudes and those held by the subsequent adults. In addition, because the students of today will become the citizens and leaders of tomorrow, what they think matters if our current cadre of policy-makers is to develop long-term approaches to the complex national and global problems that face our country to the coming years. So along these lines, what does the data tell us about the future of security?

First, the security perceptions that our sample identified suggest that they value human-centered security quite highly. This is clear from both the individual and global security questions, even if somewhat less so for the national security question. Second, the importance of economics for being secure is clear throughout our data. In fact, economic security received by far the highest frequency of responses on both the national and global security questions. This indicates that the students in our sample may indeed be internalizing the new security discourse that emphasizes economic issues and, more broadly, concerns about human needs.

Third, military conceptions of security are still important, even if apparently secondary to other factors in student evaluations. This may be an artifact of the reality that our students live in a relatively

safe national security environment in the United States compared to what similar-age students experience in countries like Israel, Kosovo, or East Timor. Still, given the timing of our surveys during the media-charged months prior to the 2003 war in Iraq, it is quite striking that military factors did not rank higher in importance. Nonetheless, the threat of WMD for global security showed a continued prominence of military threats to security, even if they are from a somewhat non-traditional source.

Before closing, it is also worth briefly examining some roughly comparative data from adult samples to put the student results into context with historical attitudes on similar topics. Tables 1A and 1B display the results from two questions asked from 1978 to 2002 as part of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations studies. Table 1A asks respondents to identify the two or three biggest problems facing the United States at that point in time; Table 1B similarly asks respondents to identify the two or three biggest *foreign policy* problems facing the United States at that point in time. We have condensed the survey results by only showing items that were selected by at least 10% of the respondents in a single year during the series. As these tables show, economic issues dominate the identified "problems" with other issues such as crime (on the domestic front), dealings with Russia and the Middle East also going in and out of importance. It is also worth noting that Iraq only appears to have been important during the early 1990s and that by the late 1990s and into 2002 was of little importance to the average respondent. What this comparison highlights, though, is that our findings for middle school students are roughly similar to those held by the adult population today and both samples appear to be in line with the broadening security discourse discussed above. Either that or the security discourse was never really as narrow as Cold War policy-makers and analysts have led us to believe.

Lastly, as educators, one of our goals is to help our students to begin thinking about the challenges that confront them as they move into adulthood and take on roles as citizens and policy-makers. Our data suggest that the development of global studies programs that allow students to engage in complex discussions of the issues that face the world today can indeed have an impact on the way they perceive the world around them. The differences in the pre/post results show that students' minds are not entirely made up about the issues of the day though the basic outlines seem quite stable across the issues. We are thus faced with a normative choice about what we should be teaching our students about the world. They are certainly still constructing their worldviews and what they learn and how they think about world affairs will have manifest results in the ways of war and peace in the coming generations. And the views they form and hold today will be quite similar to the ones they use to make decisions a generation from now.

**Figure 3A: Most Important for Global Security**

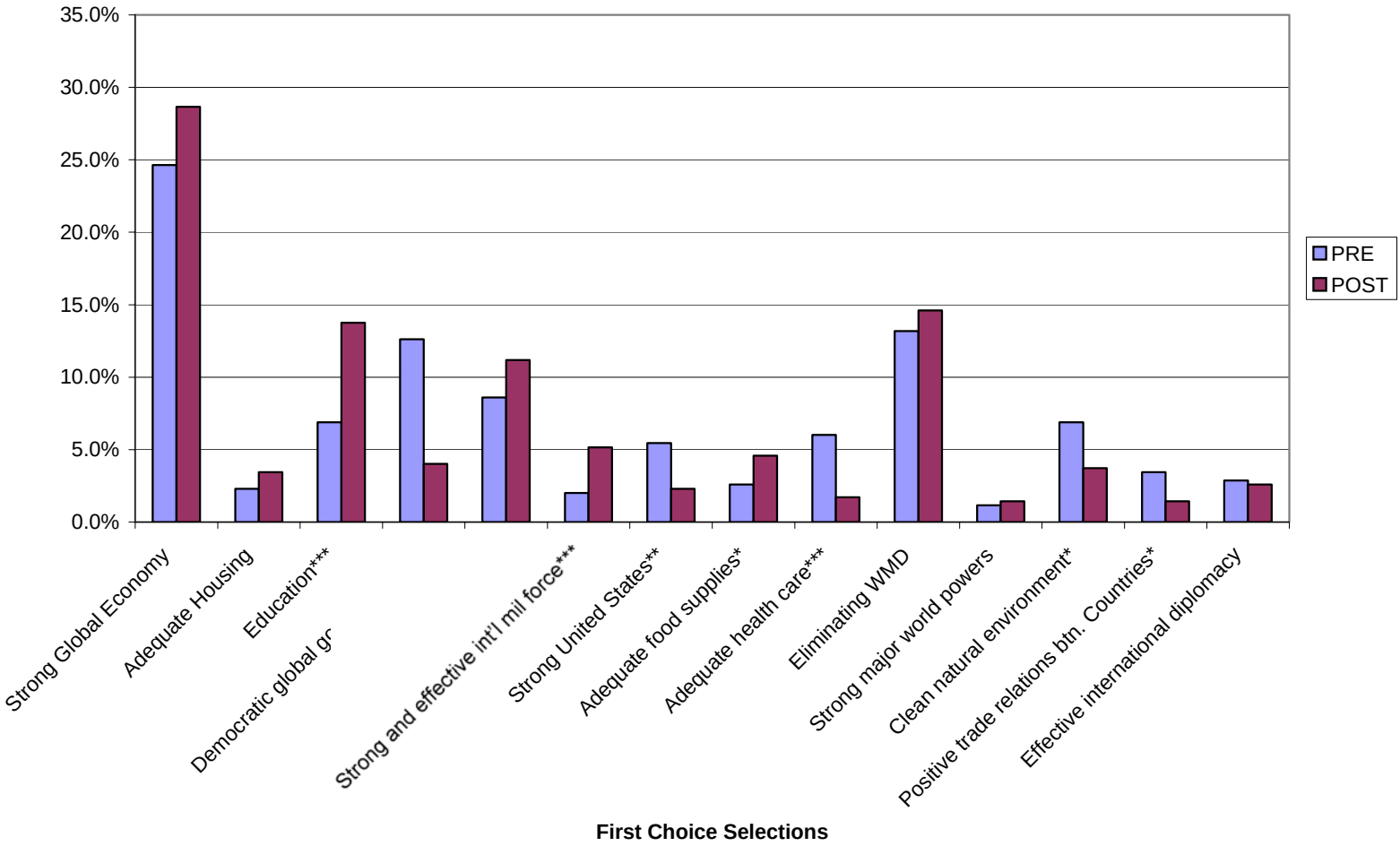
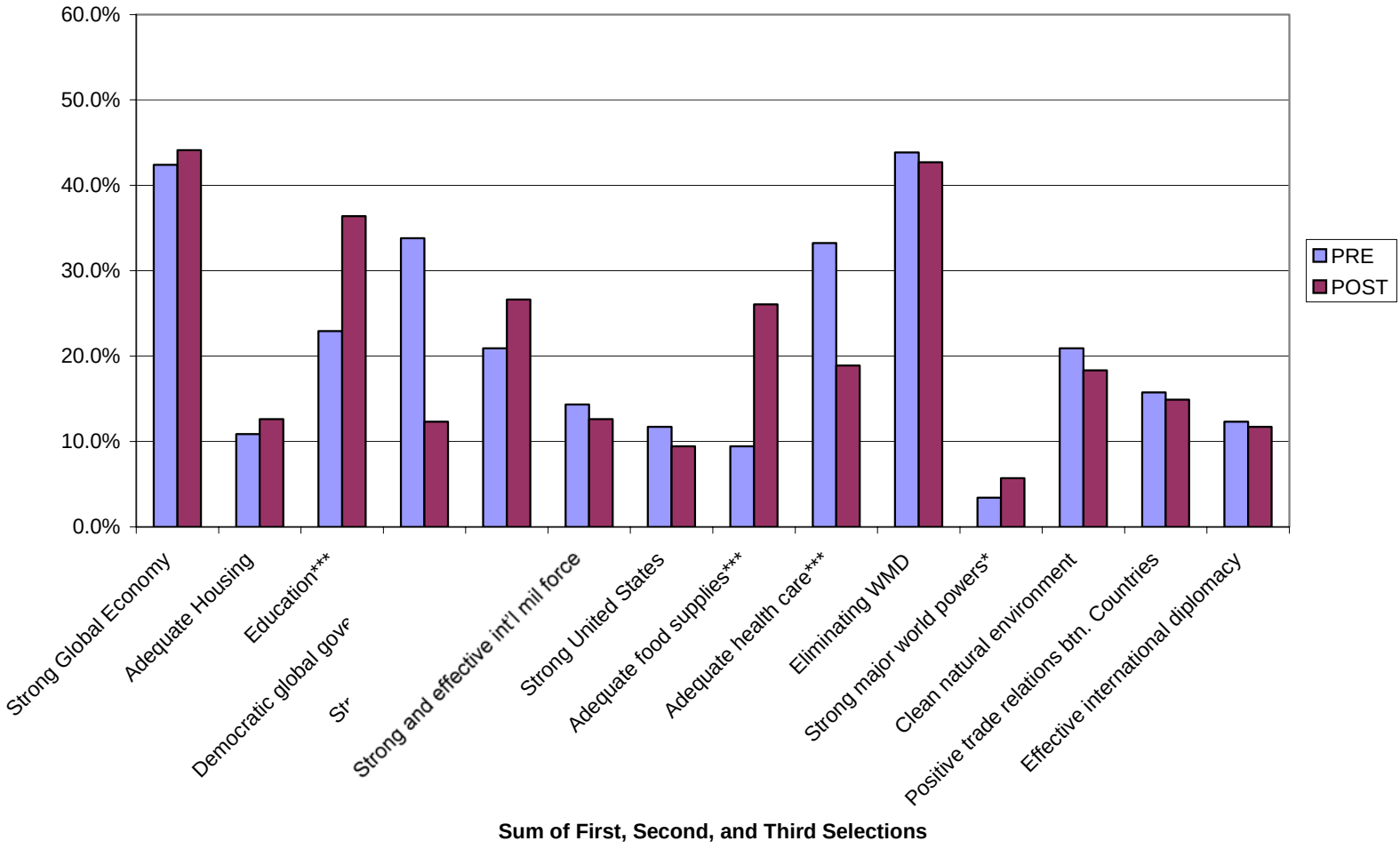


**Figure 3B: Aggregate of Top Three Choices for Global Security**




**Sum of First, Second, and Third Selections**

***Table 1A***

***What do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing the country today?***

| ISSUES | 1978[a] (%) | 1982 (%) | 1986 (%) | 1990 (%) | 1994 (%) | 1998 (%) | 2002 (%) | Change in % points (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Terrorism** | na | na | na | na | na | na | 36 | +36 |
| **Economy** (unspecified) | na | 18 | 10 | 16 | 10 | 11 | 22 | +11 |
| **Education** (Improving our schools) | 4 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 12 | 15 | 11 | -4 |
| **Defense** (National Security) | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | * | 1 | 10 | +9 |
| **Unemployment** (Low Wages/recession) | 19 | 64 | 26 | 10 | 20 | 9 | 9 | -- |
| **Immorality** (Ethics in society, moral decline, decline in religion, pornography) | 2 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 8 | -3 |
| **Drug Abuse** | 1 | 3 | 27 | 30 | 18 | 21 | 7 | -14 |
| **Health Care/Insurance** (High medical costs, Medicare increase) | 5 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 19 | 8 | 7 | -1 |
| **Crime** (Violence, hate crimes, killings in schools) | 9 | 16 | 10 | 15 | 42 | 26 | 6 | -20 |
| **Poverty** (Hunger, homelessness) | 3 | 2 | 10 | 13 | 15 | 11 | 6 | -5 |
| **Dissatisfaction with government** (unqualified politicians, corruption in government, lack of leadership) | 8 | 7 | 5 | 18 | 9 | 8 | 6 | -2 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Middle East** (unspecified) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 11 | * | 1 | 4 | +3 |
| **Taxes** (High taxes, tax reform) | 18 | 6 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 6 | 2 | -4 |
| **Budget Deficit** (Failure to balance budget, national debt, excessive government spending) | 9 | 5 | 12 | 30 | 9 | 4 | 2 | -2 |
| **Inflation** (High prices, value of the dollar, decline in purchase power) | 67 | 35 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 1 | -1 |
| **Nuclear War** (Nuclear threat, freeze, fallout) | na | 9 | 12 | 1 | * | * | 1 | +1 |
| **The President** (poor leadership, isn't doing his job, impeachment) | na | na | na | na | na | 12 | 1 | -11 |
| **Oil Crisis** (Cost of oil, Energy crisis) | 11 | 3 | 1 | 8 | * | Na | 1 | +1 |
| **Other Domestic Problems** | 15 | 18 | 18 | 3 | 2 | * | 3 | +3 |
| **Other Foreign Policy/International Problems** | 1 | 2 | 12 | * | 1 | 2 | 2 | -- |
| **TOTAL** | 217 | 237 | 235 | 242 | 243 | 205 | 204 | |

*Source:* Worldviews 2002, U.S. 9/11 Key Findings Topline Data; project by Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in coordination with the German Marshall Fund of the United States: 5-9 (http://www.worldviews.org/).
*Note:* Totals exceed 100 percent due to multiple responses. Only problems that received at least 10 percent support (or more) at any given time are shown. (n = 1106)
[a] – The 1978 question differed slightly. It read the same as the current question but also included the phrase "…that you would like to see the Federal government do something about?"
na = not available
* = less than 0.5%

*Table 1B*

***What do you feel are the two or three biggest foreign policy problems facing the country today?***

| ISSUES | 1978[a] (%) | 1982 (%) | 1986 (%) | 1990 (%) | 1994 (%) | 1998 (%) | 2002 (%) | Change in % points (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Terrorism** | na | na | 20 | 2 | 1 | 12 | 33 | +21 |
| **Mid-East Situation** (unspecified) | 20 | 19 | 7 | 21 | 3 | 8 | 12 | +4 |
| **Foreign Aid** (Too much sent to other countries, don't pay us back, help our own first) | 18 | 16 | 9 | 18 | 16 | 7 | 8 | +1 |
| **Stay out of affairs of other countries** | 11 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 19 | 7 | 7 | -- |
| **Immigration** (Illegal Aliens) | * | 3 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 3 | 7 | +4 |
| **Arms Control** (nuclear weapons, too much military equipment sold or given to other countries) | 7 | 13 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 5 | -2 |
| **War** (Threat of war, threat of nuclear war) | na | 11 | 8 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 4 | -- |
| **Oil Problems** (Relations with OPEC nations, dependency on oil-producing countries, need to develop energy resourses) | 11 | 6 | 2 | 14 | 1 | * | 4 | +4 |
| **Iraq** (Saddam Hussein, invasion of Kuwait) | na | na | na | 18 | 11 | 4 | 3 | -1 |
| **World Economy** | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 3 | -8 |
| **Balance of Payments** (Trade deficit, too much money going out of country, import of foreign products) | 12 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 6 | 10 | 2 | -8 |
| **Dealings with Russia** | 13 | 15 | 22 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | -3 |
| **Latin/South/Central America** | 2 | 5 | 10 | 2 | * | * | * | -- |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Our Relationship with Haiti** | na | na | na | na | 10 | Na | -- | -- |
| **Don't Know** | 21 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 21 | 11 | -10 |
| **Miscellaneous** | 7 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 14 | 5 | -9 |
| **TOTAL** | 165 | 173 | 181 | 178 | 184 | 157 | 174 | |

*Source:* Worldviews 2002, U.S. 9/11 Key Findings Topline Data; project by Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in coordination with the German Marshall Fund of the United States: 9-11 (http://www.worldviews.org/).
*Note:* Totals exceed 100 percent due to multiple responses. Only problems that received at least 10 percent support (or more) at any given time are shown. (n = 1116)
[a] – The 1978 question differed slightly. It read the same as the current question but also included the phrase "…that you would like to see the Federal government do something about?"
na = not available
* = less than 0.5%

## *APPENDIX A*

### *Global Security Survey Questions*

In international relations, the term "security" refers to a feeling of safety or freedom from harm. In the next three questions, you are asked to choose which three items are most important for your security, for the security of a country, and for the security of the whole world. Please choose three items from the list, ranking what you think is the most important as #1, the second most important as #2 and the third most important as #3.

1. Which of the following items do you think are important in making you feel <u>personally</u> secure and safe? (place a #1 next to the Most important, #2 next to the Second Most important, and #3 next to the Third Most important).

___ Money
___ Shelter (housing)
___ Education
___ Freedom from government persecution
___ Freedom from mental abuse
___ Control over your future
___ Adequate food
___ Available medical attention
___ Freedom from physical abuse or attack
___ Freedom of expression
___ A clean natural environment
___ The ability to defend yourself

OTHER: _____

2. Which of the following items do you think are important to the security and safety of the <u>country</u> you live in? (place a #1 next to the most important, #2 next to the second most important, and #3 next to the third most important).

___ A strong economy
___ Adequate food supplies

___ Adequate housing
___ A quality educational system
___ A democratic government
___ Good diplomatic relations with other countries
___ Good diplomatic relations with the UN
___ Good trade relations with other countries
___ Adequate health care
___ Freedom from attack
___ A strong military
___ A clean natural environment
___ International credibility
___ International neutrality

OTHER: _____

3. Which of the following items do you think are important to the security and safety of the world as a whole? (place a #1 next to the most important, #2 next to the second most important, and #3 next to the third most important)

___ A strong global economy
___ Adequate housing
___ Education
___ Democratic global governance
___ A strong and effective UN
___ A strong and effective international military force
___ A strong United States
___ Adequate food supplies
___ Adequate health care
___ Eliminating weapons of mass destruction
___ Strong major world powers
___ A clean natural environment
___ Positive trade relations between countries
___ Effective international diplomacy

OTHER: _____

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[2] Emphasis in the original text.
[3] Hamill (1998) has since used the phrase "threats without enemies" to discuss similar ideas.
[4] Newman does recognize that traditional security – the military defense of territory – is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition to human welfare.
[5] The full title for the project is *The GlobalEd Project: An Experimental Web-Based Study of Gender Differences in Group Decision Making and Negotiation Skills.* It is funded by a three-year grant from the US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), recently renamed the Institute for Educational Sciences (IES). More information about GlobalEd can be obtained at www.globaled.uconn.edu.
[4] For a good discussion of the differences between constructivist and essentialist understandings of gender, see Smith (2001).
[5] The objective of this future orientation to the simulation scenario is that it allows students to develop creative and innovative solutions to the problems presented to them, rather than simply regurgitating headlines or public statements of world leaders gleaned from the news media on a daily basis during the simulation.
[8] One recent effort in forecasting the future of international relations is seen in the Summer 1999 issue of *International Studies Review*, guest edited by Davis B. Bobrow.
[9] Easton and Dennis found that these attitudes were formed by the time of entry into middle school (see also Alvik, 1968). They also explicitly replace the more common language of system "maintenance" or system "stability" with persistence, which they argue more effectively captures the ultimate concern of political socialization research—how socialization keeps the system's broad parameters in place and functioning. This distinction is important, they contend, because it helps transcend the conservative bias of early political socialization research, which underemphasized possibilities for alternative discourses within the system (and ignored the socialization processes and agents fueling them).
[10] These feelings are, of course, critical to the evolution and persistence of a democracy-sustaining and enhancing "civic culture" (Almond and Verba, 1963).
[11] The reader should note that much of the background work that GlobalEd students do in researching their country's foreign policy on the simulation issues is web-based and generally relies heavily on access to web-sites such as cnn.com and those of other major news outlets. Thus, it is safe to expect that students during the winter 2002-2003 were well-sensitized to issues of military intervention.