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Toward a Psychology of Cultural Globalisation: A Sense of Self in a Changing World

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Abstract

Cultural interconnectivity motivated by globalisation has transformed societies and interpersonal interactions around the world. Furthermore, on a psychological level, individuals are intensely influenced by the new contextual complexity challenging the processes of developing a sense of belonging and a sense of self. This article discusses and integrates relevant psychological theories for approaching the psychological study of cultural globalisation. This integration is done by pragmatically drawing from various psychological theories concerning cultural interaction and psychological development, specifically, globalisation-based acculturation, biculturalism, dialogical self, and identity theories. Two general reactions toward cultural globalisation are identified as *exclusionary* and *integrative* ways of either accepting or rejecting new cultural influences. In addition to the adaptation to cultural globalisation, an individual's sense of self and belonging is developed through levels of cultural, social, and personal identities. Furthermore, locally embedded identity challenges related to these general reaction patterns toward cultural globalisation could emerge as identity confusion and extremism. The article argues that the psychological study of cultural globalisation is an integral emerging field of research, which is appropriately developed through an integration of acculturation and identity research.

Introduction

The embracive phenomenon and the great transformative power of globalisation have until recent years been a scarcely studied field within psychology (Chiu, Gries, Torelli, & Cheng, 2011; Gelfand, Lyons, & Lun, 2011). Currently, the psychological study of cultural globalisation is emerging as a field of research examining local reactions to global cultural interaction (Ozer, 2017). A heightened awareness of culture's role within psychological research indicate that scholars are increasingly acknowledging the mutual constitutive processes that unite psychology and culture (for an overview please see Kashima & Gelfand, 2012) and the underlying importance of contemporary cultural globalisation to the discipline. Studies of cultural globalisation must include the notion that individuals all over the world, in particular in developing societies, are negotiating and integrating multicultural identities through the proliferation of intercultural connectivity (Hong, Zhan, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2016).

The emerging study of globalisation within psychology has developed acculturation theory to include not only acculturation following international migration but also globalisation-initiated acculturation (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Moreover, it has conceptualised complex identity processes as a central aspect of adapting to influences from dynamic and interconnected sociocultural contexts (Arnett, 2002; Jensen, 2003; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Consequently, the impact of cultural globalisation appears strongest in the period of life prior to adulthood, when individuals are particularly engaged in processes of understanding themselves, their place in the world, and their direction in life. With an orientation toward new cultural streams, many possible life paths and sociocultural involvements emerge which draw attention to theories of identity development as pivotal aspects of adapting to cultural globalisation (Arnett, 2002; Côte & Levine, 2002). Globalisation has accentuated the importance of intercultural navigation vis-à-vis increased individualism and weakened traditional hierarchies of authority; accordingly, globalisation has

paved the way for greater identity exploration as well as postponement of the commitments of adulthood, characterising the often extended and sometimes challenged transition to adulthood (Arnett, 2002; Côte, 2000). Together, these theoretical developments and observations address various important aspects of the multifaceted psychological study of cultural globalisation.

Employing a pragmatic approach, this article draws from and integrates various psychological theories concerning cultural interaction and development. The goal is to develop a generic approach that proves relevant to various societies and remains sensitive to how empirical studies of cultural globalisation should be contextually embedded. Accordingly, many of the theories can be applied universally, suggesting that all contemporary societies are influenced significantly by globalisation and reactions toward this phenomenon. The aim of this literature review is to accentuate the importance and the implications of the psychological study of cultural globalisation and to provide an integrative and holistic framework for approaching the topic in relation to relevant psychological aspects of developing a sense of self in a dynamic world of constantly shifting cultures.

The accelerating complexity of cultural globalisation

The intractable and irreversible process of globalisation has been conceptualised as a multidimensional process of complex connectivity. This connectivity occurs through developing continually more dense networks of interconnections and interdependences across geographical distance. The multidimensional nature of globalisation refers to a variety of areas like political, economic, technological, and cultural dimensions, along which globalisation proceeds (Bauman, 1998; Tomlinson, 2007). In the present article, focus is on the cultural dimension of globalisation associated with a vast exchange of cultural behaviours and values through trade, media, technology, migration, and tourism. For example, European fashion and soccer, American movies and music, Japanese anime, and Indian mindfulness and compassion are all

examples of cultural elements that have been disseminated through technological developments and trade. Furthermore, American fast food, as well as Middle-Eastern, Mediterranean, and Chinese cuisines are widespread in locations far from their origins. Digital globalisation has made information available worldwide, increasing knowledge and awareness of geographically distanced societies. Overall, cultural globalisation provides increased possibilities and influences vis-à-vis dissimilar ways of thinking and behaving, consequently providing a foundation for developmental processes of amalgamating various cultural elements.

Through globalisation, unfamiliar and dissimilar cultural elements are now widely accessible in various parts of the world. The most significant effect of cultural globalisation has been "deterritorialisation," in which culture is detached from geographical locations (Tomlinson, 2007). With globalisation, social spaces have become increasingly culturally diverse, resulting in multicultural interactions that make possible multiple cultural orientations and identities (Berry, 2013). The global flow of goods, ideas, technologies, and cultural customs has been a marker of rapid sociocultural change; however, an understanding of how globalisation operates has proven ambiguous. Cultural globalisation is often confused with Western cultural imperialism and in fact often labelled Westernisation or Americanisation because the extensive distribution of Western popular culture has been an apparent manifestation of the globalisation process (Tomlinson, 2007; Yang et al., 2011). Globalisation, however, involves a multidirectional flow of cultural elements that have been dissociated from their context of origin and are now exchanged on the global level (Ozer, Bertelsen, Singla, & Schwartz, 2017). Through such flow of cultural elements, the previously authoritative sociocultural structures encompassing the individual psychological functioning has fragmented, becoming ambivalent and fluid (Bauman, 2013).

Overall, globalisation can be understood as a form and not as content, that is, as interconnecting various previously disconnected cultural streams, which may include cultural processes of both

homogenisation and heterogenisation (Eriksen, 2007). Both effects of and responses to globalisation have been found to operate differently across various culture-specific contexts (Bauman, 1998; Tomlinson, 2007). Thus, the process of globalisation-initiated acculturation might occur in a more universal manner, while the outcomes of globalisation are always contextually embedded with highly distinguishable local and individual consequences and challenges (Berry, 2008).

Individual reactions toward cultural globalisation

A psychology of cultural globalization examines how the individual is influenced by and reacts to the globalised new cultural influences within one's local sociocultural context. Such ways of adapting to and handling cultural globalisation can be addressed at various levels, ranging from universal approaches addressing the general mechanisms of multicultural adjustment to the more detailed levels addressing cultural specificity and the diversity of merging multiple cultural elements.

The universal level of adaptation to intercultural contact includes metacognitive reflections of endorsing or opposing the various interacting cultural streams. Two response patterns have been designated the *integrative* and the *exclusionary* way of managing new globalisation-driven cultural influx (Chiu, Gries, Torelli, & Cheng, 2011). The integrative reactions relate the new cultural influence to increased resources through reflective mental processes. This response pattern allows for cultural frame switching in which different cultural meaning systems are activated in relation to contextual demands. On the contrary, exclusionary reactions aim at heritage cultural preservation and are often fuelled by emotional, closed-minded responses to perceived cultural threats (Chen et al., 2016). These reactions are salient among developing societies that are marked by experiences of pervasive Western cultural influences (Chiu et al., 2011). This same kind of reaction is also prevalent among Western societies

regarding increased immigration and the current rise in nationalism, immigration scepticism, and sociocultural cohesion (Rydgren, 2008).

Dissimilar theoretical developments between the dialogical self theory and acculturation psychology pertaining to the psychological study of intercultural contact reflect the above-mentioned general response patterns to cultural globalisation (Ozer, 2017). Acculturation psychology (Berry, 1997) has been the dominating framework theory within psychology to address individual endorsement of more than one cultural stream. With the main body of research within acculturation psychology focusing on international migration (immigration-based acculturation), an emerging branch of research has been investigating globalisation-initiated acculturation (globalisation-based and remote acculturation; Berry, 2008; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). *Globalisation-based acculturation* is not initiated by international relocation as the traditional conception of acculturation suggests; rather, these acculturation processes pertain to direct or mediated intercultural contact leading to bicultural orientations that combine local and global traditions, norms, and values through a more selective incorporation of various cultural elements (Chen et al., 2008). Likewise, *remote acculturation* refers to indirect and/or intermittent intercultural contact. Thus, individuals who are not internationally migrating can be exposed to various specific cultural streams through remote globalisation mechanisms such as music, television, movies, food, tourism, imports, and Internet (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez, & van de Vijver, 2017). This type of acculturation affects a majority of the world's population and thus holds significant implications, with several cultural streams coming into contact by transcending geographical and historical divisions. This acknowledgment of the great cultural diversity found in contemporary societies demands more detail regarding the specific interacting cultures as unique and explicit for the investigated context, thus the focus here differs from a more generic examination of global culture within the concept of globalisation-based acculturation (Ferguson et al., 2017). Within globalisation-based

acculturation, Chen et al. (2016) operationalised the central dimensions of global orientation as proactive and defensive responses to cultural globalisation through (1) *multicultural acquisition* and (2) *ethnic protection*. These responses comprise affective, behavioural, and cognitive components relating to either (1) learning and using new languages, obtaining new cultural knowledge and experiences, and learning new cultural customs, norms, and traditions or (2) sticking to one's cultural norms and practices despite the present context, holding essentialist beliefs about cultural groups, and objecting to intercultural contact. The agentic approach of multicultural acquisition includes selection of multiple useful cultural elements and correlates positively with openness to experience, extraversion, restraint, intellect, self-esteem, and cross-cultural efficacy, among others. On the contrary, ethnic protection is negatively correlated with many of these outcomes and furthermore associated with conservatism, ethnocentrism, and resisting intercultural interaction. Even though these responses appear as opposites, they can co-occur and show only modest or insignificant correlations.

Remote acculturation (Ferguson et al., 2017) approaches globalisation-initiated intercultural contact on a more culture-specific level, investigating the endorsement of various interacting cultural streams in a given context. In one study, Ferguson, Ferguson, and Ferguson (2015) assessed endorsement of four relevant cultural streams in the context of Zambia including American, British, South African, and Zambian orientations. Analysis through multivariate interactions revealed two clusters of (1) Westernised multicultural Zambians and (2) traditional Zambians, which might reflect the two generic responses to cultural globalisation. However, the local cultural endorsement does not necessarily have the emotional and defensive character conceptualized within ethnic protection.

In relation to dialogical self theory and globalisation, two core dimensions of the open and closed mind have been identified in relation to self and identity. These two dimensions reflect the degree to which individuals during globalisation are opening or closing themselves in relation to needs, wishes,

anxieties, and uncertainties, reactions which can lead to creativity, innovation, and identity confusion, as well as defensive forms of localisation and cultural contamination anxiety (Hermans, 2015). Indeed, both positive and negative identity processes are associated with cultural globalisation. While some experience uncertainty as threatening and react in a defensive manner, others embrace the new cultural possibilities through a creative exploration of increased life possibilities. These reactions relate to the globalised process of reconciling local and global cultural identities in a bicultural or hybrid manner (Arnett, 2002; Hermans, 2015; Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez, & Unger, 2017).

Negotiating integrative responses

Multicultural acquisition has been positively associated with biculturalism, and in turn the integration of two cultural streams which must be negotiated in relation to peers, family, and society. On the other hand, ethnic protection was negatively correlated with such biculturalism, indicating possible conflict and greater distance between one's cultural affiliations (Chen et al., 2016). Inspired by the theories of biculturalism (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, Morris, 2002), globalisation-based biculturalism or triculturalism can be defined as the endorsement of two or more cultural streams without the individual leaving his or her home country. Endorsement of more than one cultural stream does not guarantee that this endorsement will be equal across diverse domains (Schwartz et al., 2017). Often, new cultural behaviour will be imitated and integrated more easily and prior to identification with the new cultural streams (Ozer et al., 2017). Diverse cases of integrative responses include local cultural affiliation as well as the endorsement of global cultural streams, often subjugated by Western values and entertainment, but can also include other popular cultural elements originating from other cultural contexts such as mindfulness meditation, Pokémon, etc. These processes of reconciling globalisation-based biculturalism have been especially challenging and impactful within urban contexts in developing

societies that have a more cohesive local cultural stream, greater cultural distances, and possible conflicts between the traditional local culture and the new global cultural stream (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). With greater cultural tightness and homogeneity within such societies, new remote cultural influences can greatly and perhaps abruptly diversify norms, values, and behaviour (Uz, 2015). Furthermore, local histories of colonialism, cultural imperialism, and contested intercultural exchange are important aspects (e.g. India; Bathia & Ram, 2001) that deserve consideration in regard to the cultural-specificity of cultural globalisation in developing societies. These aspects, which reflect the importance of power asymmetry between the cultural streams in question and histories of injustice, can elicit strong local cultural reactions to what might appear as a re-intrusion of foreign cultural elements. In addition, the reconsolidation of intercultural influences is likewise relevant in Western contexts where cultural demarcation, populism, and nationalism are currently on the rise (Rydgren, 2008). Accordingly, the sociohistorical embeddedness of specific globalised locations can motivate the exclusionary and integrative responses to cultural globalisation.

While acculturation psychology has been examining the general patterns in psychological outcomes related to cultural endorsement, the dialogical self theory (DST) emphasizes the idiosyncratic particularity with a focus on how the individual is negotiating the dynamics among the individual´s cultural orientations and the interpersonal and sociocultural influences (Ozer, 2017). The generic integrative responses to cultural globalisation involve great diversity and complexity. In order to capture a more detailed understanding of such general responses, the dialogical self theory provides an idiosyncratic and intrapersonal understanding of the self as constituting a society of mind. Such a self that extends toward the context through multiple interacting I-positions (self-as-subject) represents the surrounding people and sociocultural positions within the individual. This interaction within the mind, furthermore, reflects the diversity and complexity of the globalising society, and thus both emphasises

the societal factors directed at the individual and, influences the way the individual is directed toward the sociocultural context. DST revolves around the idea that the mind consists of various I-positions, which continuously position and reposition in relation to one another through dialogue. The I fluctuates within this arena of dialogue through various I-positions such as personal positions (I as a father) and positions of significant others (the position of my father) or society (societal or cultural discourses). This gradual transition from the self toward the society also includes dialogue with positions outside the self (my actual father). It is through this extended self that society is incorporated within the self, and following the complexity of globalisation and intercultural connectivity, the self engages in dynamic and continuous negotiations between the local and global cultural voices within the self (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Accordingly, DST can elaborate on the intrapersonal details of cultural negotiation in relation to identity aspects extending from the personal to the collective level. Approaching these nuances and this complexity, which are often convoluted within a culture-specific level of investigating the negotiation and hybridisation processes of cultural globalisation, provides results through an understanding of cultural affiliation as not being singular and bounded.

Understanding the dynamic and interacting character of cultural streams refines the understanding of how people are increasingly involved in partial and fluid cultural affiliation, referred to as *polyculturalism* (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). Such a network approach accentuates how individuals adopt particular elements from local cultural streams and selective elements from global cultural streams in a continuous, dynamic process of cultural globalisation through both demarcating contrastive group responses and assimilative responses to foreign ideas (Morris et al., 2015). Such understanding of the dynamic involvement with multiple interacting cultural streams and elements aligns well with the dialogical self theory's understanding of various interconnected, yet distinct, cultural positions within the self, accentuated by understanding of a more detailed contextual embeddedness and an understanding

of how this context affects the individual (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Addressing the cultural complexity of globalisation necessitates an apprehension of how the various cultural streams are positioned along with the characteristics of the intercultural contact influencing the incorporation of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and collective cultural processes (Hong, Zhan, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2016). A comprehension of the dynamic configuration of multiple cultural gravitation is central to the processes of cultural globalisation, which is understood as being more of a selective and alluring process as compared to the compulsory new cultural involvement characterising immigration-based acculturation; frequently, beneficial cultural elements are integrated through agency (Ferguson et al., 2017; Ozer et al., 2017).

In globalised, contemporary societies, individuals need to negotiate the quotidian influx of foreign cultural streams. The two general reactions to such an influx can be focused on more detailed understandings of endorsing specific cultural streams and elements. DST provides an approach for investigating the idiosyncratic dynamics and phenomenological aspects of biculturalism and identity (Ozer et al., 2017). Accordingly, the psychological reach of studying cultural globalisation extends beyond cultural endorsement. The accelerated dynamics of cultural proliferation through globalisation is furthermore shaping the mutual constitution between the individual and his or her context in regard to the psychological question of who one is and where one belongs.

A sense of self in a globalising world

Humans are cultural animals and greatly motivated by a basic need to belong within sociocultural embeddedness (Baumeister, 2005). Sociocultural belonging and security along with processes of self-identification have become increasingly complex due to the influence of globalisation through the proliferation of partial, plural, and fluid sociocultural embeddedness (Morris et al., 2015). Such self-

concept clarity is developed and maintained through processes of identity exploration, commitment, and reconsideration. In this sense, globalisation holds profound implications for the sense of self with the proliferation of I-positions leading to heterogeneity within the self, resulting in contradiction and tension (Hermans, 2015). Consequently, the integration and coherence of identities within the self become a challenge for the individual trying to reach a sense of self and sociocultural belonging. Such complexity does not relate only to an increment in identity positions and opportunities, but also to a decrease in authoritative cultural frames supporting the cohesion of the self through prescribed identities (Côte & Levine, 2002). Accordingly, processes of developing a sense of self-identifications on both a personal and a collective level emerge as a central aspect of a psychology of cultural globalisation.

Identity has become a common term with confounding meanings. Demarcation of the term for the current use draws on Erikson's conception of identity (1950) as being multidimensional and as contextually embedded self-definitions that develop through a dynamic interplay between the individual and the context that comprises personal, social, and cultural aspects of identity (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). Identity research has stressed the importance of the degree of consistency and coherence of goals, values, and beliefs forming one's sense of self as identity (Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Weisskirch, 2008). Identity theory as described by Erikson (1950) posits that identity can be conceptualised as the organisation of self-understandings relating to a personal, relational, and a collective aspect of defining one's place in the world (Schwartz et al., 2006). Within the dialogical self theory (DST), personal and cultural identities are included in the dynamic and dialogical incorporation of society within the self, thus extending the personal to the collective domains (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) and incorporating the notion of personal and sociocultural identity aspects in dynamic interplay. Such dynamics can include local societal constraints on globalised identity positions, which leads to tension and confusion within the individual (Ozer, et al., 2017). In general, though, cultural, social, and

personal identity have been studied independently throughout psychology, which limits our understanding of how these constructs interact. Nevertheless, the importance of globalisation and intercultural contact has stressed the need to study the three conceptions of identity together (Schwartz et al., 2008).

Personal identity refers to the individual self-organisation of personal goals, values, and beliefs addressing the self-conception of who the person is. Social identity describes the individual's sense of solidarity with the ideals of specific social groups. Cultural identity depicts both self-organisation of specific beliefs, values, and ideals relating to certain cultural groups and one's feelings about belonging to one or more of these groups (Schwartz et al., 2006). The process of identity development was originally conceptualised by Erikson (1950) as occurring through interactions between the individual and the sociocultural context. However, research on personal identity formation rarely captures the importance of the sociocultural context. Personal identity development has been conceptualised as happening along various aspects of identity exploration and commitment (Luyckx et al., 2008). Especially relevant for young people are the opportunities for the explorative process of sorting through identity alternatives and developing a coherent sense of who one is and what one wants from life. Although there is no normative pathway for identity development, a mature and viable identity would often be reached through a period of identity exploration, followed by identity commitments termed identity achievement. On the contrary, an experience of identity confusion in the process of exploration or "getting stuck" in one's identity choices might relate to the complex process of increased developmental paths (Luyckx et al., 2008). Intercultural contact has been linked to personal identity exploration, suggesting that acculturation can represent an explorative process involving examination of various cultural choices (Schwartz et al., 2013). Within the specific context of Ladakh in India, cultural orientation toward the local Ladakhi, the national Indian, as well as the global Western cultural streams was related to diverse viable processes of

identity exploration and commitment (Ozer, Meca, & Schwartz, in press). From this, it could be hypothesised that cultural affiliation in general facilitates viable identity processes. Indeed, integrative reactions toward cultural globalisation could be associated with more or less viable processes of identity exploration and integration, while exclusionary reactions might relate instead to diverse functional aspects of strong and perhaps culturally prescribed identity commitments.

Social identity develops along the dynamics of group involvement, identification, and intergroup behaviour, and social identity provides the individual with a place in society through in-group membership – an identification in social terms that can be compared against members of other groups. With an individual striving to maintain a positive social identification with an "in-group," favourable comparisons are often made in regard to an "out-group". Contextual uncertainties can serve as motivation to identify with groups that feature clear and distinctive prototype understandings (Hogg, 2000). The contemporary fragmentation and fluid character of sociocultural structures could aggregate a sense of uncertainty that can be reduced through a strong group endorsement reflected in the exclusionary reaction to cultural globalisation. While a cross-national study did not find a direct link between globalisation and xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants, globalisation did have an effect on the relationship between nationalism and a xenophobic attitude, which was stronger in more globalised contexts (Ariely, 2012). Additionally, involvement with multiple social in-groups requires great complexity and flexibility in social identifications (Roccas and Brewer, 2002).

Cultural identifications have previously been developed and bounded through affiliations with geographical location. However, the deterritorialisation of globalisation has questioned the prescribed character of a cultural group identification. Furthermore, worldwide access to much of the same information and media provides opportunities for many individuals to "self-select" specific cultural elements for integration into their local and global cultural identities. That is, through globalisation the

individual can develop a global identity in addition to their local identity, which "gives them a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes awareness of the events, practices, styles, and information that is part of the global culture" (Arnett, 2002, p. 777). Such bicultural identity can develop either through integration toward hybridity or by keeping one's cultural identities separate and perhaps alternating in relation to the specific context and social influences (Schwartz et al., 2017). Such overlap of cultural group identifications calls for an inclusiveness and an ability to negotiate ambiguous identifications, which might characterise the integrative reaction to cultural globalisation (Ozer et al., 2017).

Overall, there seems to be an extended and challenged path of personal, social, and cultural identity development associated with the era of globalisation as compared to previous times of strong traditions, when more clear structures constituted and supported these processes. Additionally, greater opportunity for exploration of diversity in cultural ways of living and life possibilities could increase creativity and psychological well-being when negotiation of multiple cultural endorsement occurs in a harmonious manner. Scrutinising the interaction among the three aspects of identity development in relation to cultural globalisation could contribute substantial information in regard to adapting to cultural globalisation. For example, a strongly committed personal identity might preclude the individual from diffusing between alternative sociocultural groupings accessible through cultural globalisation. Consequently, personal identity commitment could "anchor" the individual through contextual transition (Schwartz et al., 2006). Conversely, the globalised multiple pathways for personal identity could confuse the explorative phase of identity development, leaving the individual vulnerable to various exclusionary sociocultural groupings that might provide a highly bounded and fortified sense of self.

Psychological research on identity has divided the human life cycle into ontogenetic and epigenetic developmental stages that exist independent of the contextual structure (Côte & Levine, 2002).

Identity development has accordingly been conceptualised as a process that comes to ascendance during adolescence. In many Western and urban societies, this period has been extended along with a postponement of entering adulthood (Côte, 2000). Such a developmental period has been related to processes of globalisation through rapid changes in socioeconomic conditions, reconciliation of bicultural local-global cultural identities, and engagement with increased life possibilities, including new cultural elements (Arnett, 2002; Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Thus, with the inclusion of cultural consequences in psychological research, young people in particular is an applicable population for study of developmental and procedural aspects of cultural globalisation.

In sum, the importance of understanding identity development in light of the continuous dynamic and changing cultural frames of globalisation emerge through the accentuation of identity development as happening through interplay with multiple interacting sociocultural contexts (Schwartz et al., 2017). A psychological study of cultural globalisation could centre on the challenged processes and opportunities of globalised personal, social, and cultural identity negotiations, contextualised by intricate multiple sociocultural interactions and leading to complex, dynamic, and uncertain sociocultural frames that underpin contemporary trajectories of identity development.

The more we get together: Local challenges in relation to global influences

The compression of time and space related to globalisation spurs reactions and outcomes within context-specific embedment. While the universal processes of globalisation can be addressed as being somewhat detached from contextual embedding, the local and individual reactions toward cultural globalisation demand sensitivity to specific sociocultural conditions pertaining to history, social organisation, and discourses of a given location. Stressing the need for contextual sensitivity in empirical investigations, some general considerations of local challenges are discussed below.

Uncertainty and confusion have been identified as central and negative aspects of globalisation (Arnett, 2002; Hermans, 2015; Kinvall, 2004) and they instigate counter-reaction to the great influx of new and changing cultural elements. This uncertainty related to cultural globalisation and the accelerating pace of sociocultural changes has been theoreticised to include four aspects: 1) an increasing multitude of intersecting cultural streams; 2) ambiguity through the flux and diversity characterising these streams; 3) deficit knowledge with an absence of a superordinate cultural stream; and, 4) unpredictability because of limited control over the process (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). The process of globalisation often finds its local reaction through processes of localisation in which the local cultural identity is emphasised and globalised culture is adapted for the local context. The dialectic process of globalisation and localisation has initiated two general identity challenges associated with the two generic response patterns to cultural globalisation: (1) confusion over the multitudinous and incoherency of identity development relating to the cultural, social, and personal levels and (2) the defensive reaction of demarcating and fortifying a narrow identity structure rooted in local ethnocentrism and authoritarian in-group endorsement.

With a risk of identity confusion relating to both the coherent personal sense of self and belonging to various cultural groupings in the heterogeneous and dynamic context, the process of localisation and personal identity commitment appears to anchor an individual, providing a platform for engaging new cultural possibilities and a viable cultural rooting (Ozer et al., 2017). Meanwhile, a more defensive reaction of ethnic protection appears to be associated with psychological distress (Chen et al., 2016). Many people – especially among the young generation – in developing societies are challenged by the task of developing a bicultural, multicultural, or hybrid identity that reconciles their local and global cultural gravitation. This process includes a risk of cultural identity confusion relevant to being unable to find rooting in either the global or the local cultural streams (Arnett, 2002). Internalising various

cultural streams through globalisation might pose a challenge in regard to cultural frame switching through unconscious activation and deactivation of culturally primed responses and behaviour (Morris et al., 2015). With fluid cultural frames, exposure to cultural cues such as language and symbols might confuse the reaction of cultural behaviour associated with conflicting bicultural or multicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). Even though some aspects of identity confusion, insecurity, and anxiety are a possible consequence of cultural globalisation, positive outcomes of the experience of uncertainty – such as creativity, adventures, and innovation – are also conceivable (Maddux, & Galinsky, 2009; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Additionally, cultural globalisation can be regarded as an agent of socialisation, teaching individuals the conduct of life in globalised societies including cross-cultural abilities.

The defensive reaction to the experience of uncertainty induced by globalisation can lead people to search for security and certainty in the more bounded and stable local sociocultural order and rigid personal identity commitments. If threatened in dialogue, the self returns to more "ordinary" and familiar I-positions which offer safety, security, and relaxation, thus reducing openness to the alterity of other voices (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Threatening uncertainty can constrain dialogue, resulting in monological closure of the self, which is sometimes associated with extreme identity positions. People who feel uncertainty regarding the accuracy of their overall sense of self, beliefs, and attitudes seek like-minded individuals who confirm to their position, providing cohesion and homogeneity in their sociocultural grouping. Such a confirmation bias discourages open-mindedness toward diversity of positions and opinions and encourages rigidly simplistic ideologies, which can lead to extremism in association with other factors (Hogg, Kruglanski, & Van den Bos, 2013). Such interactions between cultural, social, and personal identity processes might be a significant component in understanding contemporary radicalisation processes in individuals endorsing demarcated and fundamentalist cultural

dogmas, a strong dichotomised us-versus-them group orientation, and an authoritarian and often strongly committed sense of personal identity that excludes open-minded exploration of possible alternatives (Schwartz, Dunkel, & Waterman, 2009). The hierarchical organisation of voices within the self and the dominance of one or few I-positions reduce the experience of uncertainty but also silence possible innovative voices (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Defensive localisation is often fuelled by cultural contamination anxiety leading to strengthened collective national and religious markers while essentialising the differences between in-group and out-group (Hermans, 2015; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) and diminishing the understanding of interculturalism (Morris et al., 2016).

Overall, the dissimilar processes of inclusive and exclusive reaction patterns to cultural globalisation spur various possible local challenges stretching between identity confusion and extremism. Importantly, none of the reaction patterns is exclusively detrimental or viable, as (cultural) identity demarcation and exploration provide necessary aspects of reaching a sense of self and finding one's place in a changing world.

Integrative psychology of cultural globalisation

The aim of this article is to advocate for the integration of conceptually related, yet, empirically separated, theoretical approaches to the psychological study of cultural globalisation and interconnected identity processes pertaining to the personal, social, and cultural level of self-conception. Central to such a multi-theoretical approach is the understanding of globalisation-based acculturative processes occurring across people as reflected in more general patterns of multiple cultural endorsements and within the individual as illustrated by in-depth studies of cultural hybridity and identity negotiation (elaborated within DST; Ozer et al., 2017).

With the contemporary interest in cultural issues within psychology, researchers have synthesised a developmental psychology with cultural psychology and accordingly an understanding of the cultural embeddedness of developmental processes (Jensen, 2011). Integrating both cultural and developmental perspectives facilitates understandings of not just what changes during intercultural contact but also how these changes occur. That is, scrutinising the dynamic interplay between the sociocultural context and the individual development over time.

Bridging universal and culture-specific perspectives on human development creates a flexible approach to understanding multifaceted and complex adaptation to contemporary globalisation. Such an integrative approach acknowledges that research findings which are culturally particular are as important as findings revealing cultural similarity (Jensen, 2015). Addressing both the generalisability of cultural globalisation phenomena and the diversity of cultural specificity could be facilitated through an interplay between quantitative and qualitative research methodology. A multi-theoretical and mixed-methods approach would improve the understanding of culture-specific concepts of complex adaptation and identity processes across and within contexts. Furthermore, it appears superior in examining the many operating perspectives as well as the interplay among the multitude of significant agents and influential conditions during globalisation (Jensen, 2003). The pragmatic approach of mixed-methodology provides a logical and practical way of varying the employed method according to the best way of addressing research questions and producing socially useful knowledge. With such interdisciplinary cooperation, it is possible to capture both cultural specifics (emic) and universal features (etic). Karasz & Singelis (2009) list three important advancements from adding qualitative approaches to quantitative studies of culture and psychology. First, an inclusion of qualitative descriptive data could draw attention to the local concrete contents of culture and thus cultivate the culture-specific knowledge that precedes universal theorizing about culture and the psyche. Second, qualitative data could help move beyond the Western-

based psychological theories, which limit transferability to other cultural settings. In-depth understandings of local experiences could provide a basis for culturally appropriate theories of cultural globalisation. Third, qualitative inquiry can help establish conceptual and metric equivalence of the research instruments popularly employed within quantitative studies of cultural globalization. This could enhance the cross-cultural validity often limiting psychological research. Additionally, qualitative research can generate hypothesis that can be tested in quantitative studies and furthermore elaborated in new qualitative research. In sum, new advanced studies of cultural globalization and psychology could be founded in a pragmatic position that first addresses the research question and then the methodological possibilities, instead of thinking and working in paradigms (van de Vijver, 2015).

The theoretical position of bridging cultural engagement and developmental processes regarding cultural globalisation is strongly associated with sociological approaches to understanding identity in the era of globalisation (Bauman, 1998). However, a psychological approach should include an understanding of individual agentic negotiation of cultural globalisation accentuating a mutual constitution of the self and society. Within such an understanding, cultural systems provide resources available for the individual to utilise in various expressions of behaviour (Côté & Levine, 2002). Thus, the intrapersonal processes are shaped by the sociocultural contexts, and these inner processes further serve interpersonal behaviour (Baumeister, 2005). Theoretical integration like this can help us understand how the important processes of excluding certain ways of life and related identity alternatives can serve as a way of defining, demarcating, and stabilising various identifications and life directions within the self, vis-à-vis the transformative forces of polyculturalism and experienced uncertainties of contemporary globalisation.

Implications and direction for future research

Within the individual, the current rise in prevalence of identity-related psychopathology such as borderline eating and dissociative identity disorders might be associated with the contemporary globalisation-initiated sociocultural changes (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). With the importance of identity processes in psychopathology, understanding identity development in relation to sociocultural dynamics and contextual embedding could provide abundant insight about how to address and treat these mental disorders. On the interpersonal level, divergent and contradictory responses to globalisation across generations and groupings that create gaps could be addressed through interventions suited for culture-specific challenges. Furthermore, political polarisation and turbulence that emerged as contemporary reactions to globalisation – i.e. the threat of disintegration of the European Union, the rise in populism, and fierce political reactions to increased immigration – could be addressed and mitigated through psychological insights and involvement in public debates that address the fear reactions related to sociocultural uncertainty. Psychological understandings of such processes could facilitate a position of being locally grounded and socioculturally embedded, with a global involvement enacting (intrapsychic) dialogue that supports intercultural understanding and tolerance along with needs for cultural demarcations and a sense of belonging (Kinnvall, 2004; Ozer et al., 2017).

Societal concerns can address the psychological aspects of group dynamics centered on the increasing connectivity among dissimilar practices, values, and identifications. In order to facilitate improved intercultural interaction, and thus face fewer complications brought about by cultural globalisation, the significance and dynamics of understanding processes of stereotyping, prejudices, and discrimination must be scrutinised toward an understanding of the human and not just the sociocultural categorisation that mask individual dynamics. Contemporary political turbulence stressing the importance of cultural demarcation and fortifying national identity worldwide have emphasised that there remains a strong need for further research on the psychological implications of cultural globalisation

internationally, even though developing countries might be more excruciatingly influenced by globalisation as compared to Western societies. As the word "globalisation" implies, to understand more of the whole picture we need a global reach (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). While acknowledgement of the pivotal importance of this topic in developing societies is strongly influenced by new cultural influences, Western countries are said to have shifted the focus on material values to post-materialist values pertaining to issues of culture and identity (Inglehart, 2015). This might allude to a shift in focus to an urban-rural examination rather than cross-national comparisons (Fang, Sun, & Yuen, 2017).

Many directions for future research emerge from bridging psychological approaches to intercultural processes and identity research regarding cultural globalisation and internal migration from rural to urban communities. By utilising a theoretical and methodological integrative approach, we can examine the interplay among reactions to cultural globalisation and (1) how cultural identity is negotiated through integration of various cultural elements; (2) how the complexity of continuously moving between and within multiple social groupings is managed; and (3) how sociocultural embedded processes of personal identity development transpose between fragmentation and cohesion. This can conjugate to the diversity in psychological and sociological approaches to examine identity in which the psychological approach emphasises the individual, and in which subjective understanding of identity matters as sociologists study interpersonal aspects of more objective social aspects surrounding the individual (Côte & Levin, 2002).

Studying cultural negotiation in relation to globalisation could contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the outcomes of endorsing multiple cultural streams through intercultural connectivity. Research on cultural frame switching and bicultural and multicultural identity integration invites expansion from a limited focus on international migration to broader inclusion of the

mechanisms of globalisation-based acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2017). Such examinations of globalisation-based multicultural identity integration could include understanding about how selectivity and societal constraints affect this process emphasizing the self and society as mutually constituting entities. The social identity complexity approach could investigate the necessary flexibility for a globalised society, where viable transitions from one social context to another are possible, as is a simultaneously belonging to various groups, ultimately providing dissimilar roles for the individual that may not agree on all matters. Furthermore, research should investigate how cultural globalisation shapes the processes of personal identity development and how this sense of direction in a changing world relates to psychological well-being. Overall, we need longitudinal research that elucidates how the endorsement of various cultural streams is balanced within the individual, how this impacts self-identifications, and how these processes relate to psychological well-being over time. Such studies should be rooted in a comprehensive understanding of specific cultural-historical contexts and should examine how globalisation creates local acculturative challenges and opportunities in relation to the individual sense of self (Schwartz et al., 2017).

Conclusion

This article advocates a theoretical convergence between the literature and research addressing the psychological processes of cultural globalisation and identity development founded within social and developmental psychology. Such a convergence provides an applicable approach to elucidate the influences of topical globalisation-related uncertainty integrating the dynamics of development with sensitivity to the culture-specific context.

Cultural streams are shaped by contact and interchange (Morris et al., 2015) and such interaction is increased by the phenomena of globalisation that destabilises cultural frames that shape and assist

identity development. A psychological approach to cultural globalisation could be developed through the integration of theoretical components concerning the reactions toward cultural globalisation and processes of identity development at the cultural, social, and personal level.

Overall, the psychological study of cultural globalisation could be approached by multi-theoretical and multi-methodological investigation of integrative and exclusionary ways of adapting to new cultural interaction. Such investigations should examine both similarities of patterns across diverse cultures and within the particularity of the individual embedded within a specific sociocultural context. This dimension of reacting to cultural globalization can then be associated with various beneficious or maladaptive identity processes. The integrative reaction might be linked with the positive aspect of innovation and the exploration of increased life possibilities, but could also relate to the detrimental process of identity confusion without the success of reaching a coherent and consistent sense of self in a changing globalized world. The exclusionary reaction might be related to the positive aspect of being rooted within a context of new cultural dynamics and, furthermore, it could be associated with the development of an extremist identity as a reaction against the uncertainties of a globalized world.

Through a psychological contribution toward handling the quotidian challenges of globalisation, interventions can be developed to address the malevolence of prejudice and discrimination and to prepare for a world in which individuals develop through interactions with multiple, continuously changing cultural elements, including a respect for difference and acknowledgement of the importance of the shared processes. A psychology addressing the equilibrium of a fragmentised and rigorous self-conception within harmonious coexistence, thus, providing viable local and individual reactions to the global process of increased cultural connectivity.

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