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Identity Development in the Era of Globalization: Globalization-based Acculturation and Personal Identity development among Danish Emerging Adults

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Abstract

Cultural globalization, which has led to increased intercultural contact, has emerged as a defining influence on contemporary societies worldwide. In the present study, we examined individual differences in endorsement of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection, as well as their links with well-being indirectly through dimensions of personal identity development, in a sample of Danish emerging adults ($N=377; M_{\text{age}}=22.68; SD=2.25$). Results indicate that a defensive reaction to cultural globalization, characterized by endorsement of ethnic protection, was directly and negatively associated with psychological well-being, whereas a proactive reaction characterized by multicultural acquisition was positively and indirectly linked to well-being through identification with identity commitments and through reflective identity exploration in depth. In terms of direct links between identity dimensions and well-being outcomes, identification with commitments was linked with satisfaction with life and with the hedonic dimension of psychological well-being, and reflexive exploration in depth was associated with the eudaimonic dimension of psychological well-being. These findings emphasize, within a Western cultural context, the ways in which an ethnic-protectionist approach to viewing diversity can be detrimental to well-being – and that embracing diversity may help to facilitate well-being.

Keywords: globalization, acculturation, identity, emerging adults, Denmark

Identity Development in the Era of Globalization: Globalization-based Acculturation and Personal Identity development among Danish Emerging Adults

A psychology of cultural globalization is emerging around the concepts of globalization-initiated intercultural contact and associated identity processes (Ozer, 2019; Reese, Rosenmann, & Cameron, 2019). Cultural globalization refers to the multidirectional, global transmission of ideas, meanings, and values across geographical distance (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011; Tomlinson, 1999). With globalization facilitating worldwide integration and intercultural contact through increased connectivity, the sociocultural contexts that influence individual psychological processes are becoming increasingly dynamic and complex, in turn challenging one's sense of self and belonging (Ozer, 2019). That is, individuals' adaptation to the interplay between globalized cultural influences and personal identity processes are especially central vis-à-vis how individuals develop a coherent and continuous sense of self during times of rapid sociocultural change. Such globalized identity challenges have primarily been examined vis-à-vis cultural identity and within non-Western societies that are predominantly influenced by cultural globalization (Arnett, 2002). However, the dynamics of cultural globalization are also transforming Western societies, and recent developments within acculturation theory have highlighted this new area of globalization-based acculturation research by investigating reactions to intercultural contact and new cultural influences (Chen et al., 2016).

Contextual processes can affect the process of forming a coherent and consistent sense of self (Schwartz et al., 2018). Identity processes shaped by globalized cultural dynamics include personal identity development, which occurs as one settles on a set of goals, values, and beliefs (Côté & Levine, 2002; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). The present study examines personal identity processes vis-à-vis reactions to cultural globalization and, furthermore, how these associations

might influence psychological well-being and life satisfaction among emerging adults in the highly globalized context of Denmark.

1.1. Globalization-Initiated Cultural Dynamics

The ways in which immigrants adapt to new cultural contexts have been central in acculturation psychology in terms of psychological well-being (Berry, 1997). Recently, the focus within acculturation research has been broadened to investigate not only cultural contact based on migration from one country to another, but also globalization-initiated direct and indirect intercultural contact within one's home country (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Ozer, 2019). Globalization-based acculturation includes exposure to globalized media (Chen et al., 2016) as well as direct contact with diverse groups of immigrants and sojourners within one's home country (Berry, 2006). On the other hand, the associated theory of remote acculturation examines the specific cultural streams that influence people remotely within their home country (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Put another way, globalization-based acculturation represents contact with a range of global cultural streams, whereas remote acculturation represents indirect (e.g., through media) contact with a specific foreign cultural stream. In the era of globalization, new cultural practices are transferred through technological developments related to media, entertainment, travel, and international trade, as well as through international migration. Such experiences may facilitate the integration of one's local cultural stream with globalized cultural streams originating from diverse geographical locations. Such processes emerge on both the societal and the individual level, with "fusion cuisine" and "multiple cultural affiliation" as examples of such integration (Chen et al., 2008).

Globalization has threatened the cohesive and monocultural national identity of traditional societies. Within such societies, perceived threats to national identity may impair psychological

well-being through experiences of uncertainty and as evaluations of one's in-group are internalized as self-evaluations (Jørgensen, 2012). Indeed, individuals develop different cultural orientations in response to cultural globalization, and such responses have been divided into goal oriented integrative orientations versus emotional exclusionary orientations (Chiu et al., 2011). Attitudes toward globalization have been further developed and operationalized by Chen et al. (2016) as global orientations that capture individual differences vis-à-vis affective, behavioral, and cognitive reactions toward globalization-based acculturation processes. Such global orientations include proactively acquiring new cultural elements (*multicultural acquisition*) and defensively protecting one's local culture (*ethnic protection*). These global orientations represent the conjoint processes of endorsing globalization and localization (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Reese et al., 2019) reflecting openness toward globalized intercultural contact as well as defensive protection against such contact associated with more acculturation stress and poorer psychological health (Chen et al., 2016). As with other acculturation processes, globalization-based acculturation has been found to hold significant implications for identity processes related to exploration and commitment (Ozer, Meca, & Schwartz, 2019a), as well as for satisfaction with life, self-esteem, depressive symptoms, and anxiety (Chen et al., 2016). Specifically, endorsement of local or national cultures may be related to adoption of identity commitments, whereas endorsement of globalized cultural streams appears to facilitate exploration in breadth and adoption of commitments (Ozer, Meca, & Schwartz, 2019). In turn, both expected in breadth (Ozer et al., 2019) and commitment formation (Schwartz et al., 2011) are associated with satisfaction with life and with other dimensions of well-being. As a result, to facilitate both (a) broad exploration and (b) commitment to a future life course, it is essential for young people in various parts of the world to identify both with their local or national culture and with the global culture.

At the same time, Arnett (2002) posited that adopting the global culture, without remaining rooted in the local or national culture, would be associated with identity confusion. Assumedly, identifying with a cultural stream that is distant from one's local or national culture might lead one to be "out of step" with one's immediate surroundings. As an example, Jensen, Arnett, and McKenzie (2011) note that many Nepalese adults use the derisive term "teenager" to refer to adolescents and young adults who behave in Western ways – and that the term is meant to indicate that the young person has discarded their local culture and become Westernized. This example, along with similar examples in Jamaica (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012) and Zambia (Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2017), underscores the need for young people to be both locally and globally identified.

By mapping the associations of globalization-related variables with contextual relatedness, goal pursuit, and well-being, psychological research has emphasized both the hedonic aspect associated with the subjective experience of pleasure and the eudaimonic aspect of living in accordance with one's true self in a meaningful way (Ryan & Deci, 2001). In the present study, we sought to expand the traditional focus on life satisfaction and well-being to include aspects of self-realization and experience of meaning.

1.2. Cultural Connectivity and Personal Identity Development

Globalization has both (a) created new social and cultural identifications that were not previously available in many parts of the world and (b) threatened many individuals' sense of belonging to their local communities. The sum total of these effects may be that, with multiple cultural affiliations becoming commonplace, the importance of both local and global cultural rootedness has become more elicited (Arnett, 2002; Reese et al., 2019). Furthermore, personal identity development has been hypothesized as central during intercultural contacts (Schwartz,

Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). That is, consolidating a sense of self could play an important role underlying the adaptation to new cultural influences to and a rapidly changing sociocultural context.

Personal identity development has been proposed as a lifelong developmental process that comes to ascendance during adolescence and the transition to adulthood. The prolonged transition to adulthood – often lasting into the mid to late 20s – has been labeled as *emerging adulthood* (Arnett, 2000). Such a developmental period—which has its roots in globalization processes (Schwartz, 2016)—has been shaped by the loss of traditional cultural markers that prescribe specific life paths and identities and by sociocultural changes encouraging individuals to create their own life trajectories (Arnett, 2002; Côté & Levine, 2002). Indeed, economic and social globalization has paved the way for a higher attendance at tertiary education and a prolonged period of life experimentation and exploration before reaching a more committed sense of self. This period of emerging adulthood has been closely linked with student life and associated with globalized mechanisms (e.g., use of technology), suggesting that young students may be more open and sensitive to globalized intercultural exposure which, in turn, can influence their sense of self and personal identity processes (Arnett, 2002).

According to Erikson (1968), identity develops as an interplay between the person and the sociocultural context. Consequently, individual reactions to the complexity of globalizing contexts likely shapes individual identity processes. Marcia (1966) reviewed Erikson's psychoanalytic theory of identity and extracted the central dimensions of exploration and commitment. These dimensions refer to sorting through alternative ideals and settling on specific identity choices, respectively. Expanding on Marcia's model, Luyckx et al. (2008) conceptualize five identity dimensions by delineating the dimension of identity exploration into: (1) Exploration in Breadth, reflecting the process of sorting through identity alternatives; (2) Exploration in Depth, referring to the process of reevaluating one's current identity commitments; and (3) Ruminative Exploration,

referring to a sense of being overly self-critical and “stuck” in the identity development process. Identity commitment was divided into (4) Commitment Making, referring to the process of making specific identity choices; and (5) Identification with Commitment, referring to the evaluation of existing identity commitments in relation to one’s sense of self and – if these commitments are consistent with one’s self – integrating them into one’s self-conception.

This five-dimensional conception of identity development captures the dual-cycle of not just exploring and committing to identity choices but, furthermore, continuously re-evaluating and revising existing commitments. The commitment formation cycle is represented through exploration in breadth and commitment making, and the commitment evaluation cycle is represented as exploration in breadth and identification with commitment. Ruminative exploration is a fifth process that can disrupt and undermine the commitment formation and evaluation cycles. These five dimensions of identity development are especially relevant for globalized contexts as they capture the reflective character of identity formation and revision in a changing world (Ozer, Meca, & Schwartz, 2019a). That is, proactive new cultural acquisition could promote positive processes of exploring, evaluating, and committing to diverse identity goals provided by the proliferation of cultural ways of living. However, the multitude of available cultural lifestyles could also overwhelm young people – perhaps resulting in maladaptive ruminative exploration. Furthermore, ethnic protection, as a defensive and distressed reaction to globalization, could provide a local rootedness that may facilitate development of an adaptive strong, evaluated, and clearly bounded sense of self (Ozer, Meca, & Schwartz, 2019b).

1.3. Denmark and Globalization among Students

Denmark—together with the other Nordic countries in Europe—constitutes one of the most globalized societies in the world, as reflected in a KOF social globalization index score¹ of 89.6.94 in 2017. For comparison, the world average KOF social globalization score was 64.9 in 2017 (Gygli et al., 2019). Besides new cultural influences affecting individuals indirectly through media, entertainment, and consumerism often originating in the United States, in recent years Denmark has experienced an increase in immigration and, consequently, direct exposure to new cultural traditions and values (Danmarks Statistik, 2018). Subsequently, Denmark has become a society with multiple cultural streams interacting, which has prompted local discourse regarding how culturally homogeneous or heterogeneous Denmark should be. These discussions include emotionally-driven attitudes toward perceived cultural threats, as well as strong concerns regarding new cultural influences – especially those from Muslim societies (Jørgensen, 2012).

1.4. Current Study

The primary purpose of the present study was to contribute to the emergence of an empirically based psychology of globalization by examining the interplay among global orientation, personal identity development, and psychological well-being within a globalized Western context. First, we sought to evaluate a measure of personal identity dimensions with Danish university student participants. Second, using our indirect effects model (Figure 1), we investigated how identity exploration and commitment processes mediate the relationships of global orientation and well-being. Consequently, we tested the following hypotheses: (1) As found in related research in Finland (Mannerström, Hautamäki, & Leikas, 2017), a six factor model of personal identity would fit better than the original five-factor structure in the Nordic context. (2) Multicultural acquisition would relate positively, both directly and indirectly, to both hedonic and eudaimonic psychological

¹ This score comprises interpersonal, informational, and cultural aspects of globalization. Within this index, cultural globalization is measured through trade in cultural goods, the number of McDonald's and IKEA stores, non-resident trademark applications, as well as personal, cultural, and recreational services.

well-being and to life satisfaction through identification with commitment and through identity exploration in breadth and in depth, as well as negatively and indirectly through ruminative exploration. (3) Ethnic protection would relate negatively and directly to hedonic and eudaimonic psychological well-being and life satisfaction, as well as positively and indirectly through identification with commitment, commitment making, and exploration in depth.

2. Methods

2.1. Participants

Participants were 377 university students from Denmark. They participated by filling out online self-report questionnaires. All participants were Danish citizens ranging in age from 19 to 29 with a mean age of 22.68 ($SD=2.25$) and 79.6% of them were female. On average, the participants had been studying for 2.36 years ($SD=1.88$). Regarding socioeconomic status, 6.1% reported below average, 9.5% categorized themselves as just below average, 38.7% reported average, 28.9% perceived themselves as just above average, and 16.7% reported above average. The vast majority (94.4%) of participants were born in Denmark, and 9.3% reported that their father was born outside of Denmark (6.5% in European countries). All participants reported that their mother was born in Denmark.

2.2. Procedure

Data were collected using a convenience sampling method where participants were invited to complete an online questionnaire through various relevant student groups on Facebook and student mailing lists.

2.3. Measures

Participants were asked to provide background information and in addition, the following four measures were presented in their original English versions (see Table 1 for Cronbach's alphas).

The Global Orientation Scale (GOS; Chen, 2016) measures individual differences in the psychological process of acculturating to cultural globalization. The measure consists of two subscales: multicultural acquisition (13 items; “I am curious about traditions of other cultures”) as a proactive response, and ethnic protection (12 items; “My own culture is much superior to other cultures”) as a defensive response, to globalization. All items were answered using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.

The Dimensions of Identity Development Scale (DIDS; Luyckx et al., 2008) includes five subscales representing five dimensions of identity development in relation to general future plans: identification with commitment (sample item: “My future plans give me self-confidence”), commitment making (“I know which direction I am going to follow in my life”), exploration in depth (“I think about the future plans I already made”), exploration in breadth (“I think about different goals that I might pursue”), and ruminative exploration (“I worry about what I want to do with my future”). Each subscale consists of five items answered using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985) is a five-item scale measuring cognitive evaluations of satisfaction with one’s life. Responses were measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Sample items include: “So far I have gotten the important things I want in life”.

The Scales for Psychological Well-being (Ryff, 1989) were included as a broader measure of psychological well-being. The scale consists of 18 items tapping into (a) three aspects of hedonic psychological well-being (autonomy, environmental mastery, and self-acceptance) and (b) three aspects of eudaimonic psychological well-being (positive relations with others, purpose in life, and personal growth). Responses were recorded using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Sample items include: “I like most aspects of my personality.”

2.4. Analyses

All analyses were conducted in SPSS 24 and Mplus 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2011), employing Maximum Likelihood estimation with robust standard errors. As guidelines for evaluating model fit, as suggested by Kline (2015), the chi-square statistic should be non-significant ($p > .05$), Comparative Fit Index (CFI) $\geq .90$, and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) $\leq .08$.

3. Results

3.1. Testing the Dimensions of Identity Development (DIDS) within the Danish Context

The DIDS was originally developed in Belgium and subsequently employed in various cultural contexts. Given recent findings indicating that the DIDS may perform differently within various cultural settings including Nordic countries (Mannerström et al., 2017), the Indian Himalayas (Ozer et al., 2019a), and the Republic of Georgia (Skhirtladze, Javakhishvili, Schwartz, Beyers, & Luyckx, 2016), the DIDS was tested and modified in our Danish sample prior to the primary SEM analyses.

Initial confirmatory factor analysis indicated poor fit for the original five-factor DIDS structure: $\chi^2(265) = 1008.05$, $p < .001$; CFI = .77; RMSEA = .09. In a different Nordic (Finnish) sample (Mannerström et al., 2017), an alternative six-factor structure provided significantly better fit by subdividing the Exploration in Depth subscale, with DIDS21 (“I think about the future plans I already made”) and DIDS22 (“I talk with other people about my plans for the future”) grouped together; and DIDS23 (“I think about whether the aims I already have for life really suit me”), DIDS24 (“I try to find out what other people think about the specific direction I decided to take in my life”), and DIDS25 (“I think about whether my future plans match with what I really want”) grouped together. Such a modification of the scale structure reflects the findings of Skhirtladze et al., (2016), who labelled these subscales as reflective exploration in depth and reconsideration of commitments, respectively. Testing this six-factor scale structure improved the fit indices,

$\chi^2(216)=847.01, p<.001$; CFI=.82; RMSEA=.08. However, DIDS16 (“my plans for the future match with my true interests and values”) loaded poorly on the Identification with Commitment subscale (<.40) and was consequently dropped, further improving the model fit, $\chi^2(237)=663.44, p<.001$; CFI=.86; RMSEA=.07. Then, based on modification indices, four sets of similarly worded items were allowed to covary, reaching acceptable model fit for the six-factor solution, $\chi^2(233)=517.46, p<.001$; CFI=.91; RMSEA=.06, with factor loadings ranging from .41 to .87².

3.2. Correlations and Comparisons

The correlations in Table 1 support the hypothesized relationships among global orientations, personal identity dimensions, and psychological well-being. Multicultural acquisition was positively associated with reflective and broad identity exploration, identifying with identity commitments, both hedonic and eudaimonic aspects of psychological well-being, and life satisfaction. Ethnic protection was positively associated with committing to identity choices and reconsidering these commitments, and negatively linked with both aspects of psychological well-being and life satisfaction. The correlations involving the two exploration in depth sub-dimensions reflect great dissimilarity. Even though the two exploration in depth sub-dimensions are weakly, yet positively and significantly intercorrelated, they differ in their associations with multicultural acquisition, ethnic protection, satisfaction with life, and psychological well-being, along with the other dimensions of identity development. This pattern of correlations suggests that reflective exploration in depth reflects a more adaptive aspect of thinking about the value of one’s identity commitments. This sub-dimension is positively correlated with the process of identifying with and internalizing these commitments. On the contrary, reconsideration of commitments correlates

² For the results of the factor analysis, please see supplementary material: <https://osf.io/rf4x6/>

positively with the ruminative dimension of identity exploration. These correlations replicate previous findings by Skhirtladze et al. (2016) and Mannerström et al. (2017).

3.3. Structural Equation Model

The hypothesized indirect effects model (Figure 1) did initially not meet the criteria for acceptable fit, $\chi^2(340)=1187.04$, $p<.001$; CFI=.80; RMSEA=.08. After consulting the modification indices, we allowed some of the conceptually interrelated identity dimensions to covary: Ruminative exploration was allowed to covary with commitment making ($r=-.66$), reconsideration of commitment ($r=.51$), and identification with commitment ($r=-.68$). Identification with commitment was allowed to covary with commitment making ($r=.64$) and reconsideration of commitment ($r=-.31$). Consequently, the model yielded acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(335)=755.56$, $p<.001$; CFI=.90; RMSEA=.06.

Results (Figure 2) indicated that multicultural acquisition was positively associated with identification with commitment [$\beta=.21$, $p=.001$, 95%CI=.09 to .34], reflective exploration in depth [$\beta=.39$, $p<.001$, 95%CI=.18 to .60], reconsideration of commitment [$\beta=.15$, $p=.046$, 95%CI=.00 to .29], and exploration in breadth [$\beta=.40$, $p<.001$, 95%CI=.27 to .53]. Ethnic protection was positively linked with identification with commitment [$\beta=.18$, $p=.008$, 95%CI=.05 to .32], commitment making [$\beta=.20$, $p=.001$, 95%CI=.08 to .31], and reconsideration of commitment [$\beta=.18$, $p=.008$, 95%CI=.01 to .28]; and negatively associated with both the hedonic [$\beta=-.18$, $p=.001$, 95%CI=-.28 to -.07] and eudaimonic [$\beta=-.18$, $p=.013$, 95%CI=-.32 to -.04] aspects of psychological well-being. Finally, identification with commitment was positively associated with the hedonic aspect of psychological well-being [$\beta=.23$, $p=.010$, 95%CI=.06 to .40] and satisfaction with life [$\beta=.22$, $p=.037$, 95%CI=.01 to .42], whereas reflective exploration in depth was positively associated with the eudaimonic aspect of psychological well-being [$\beta=.36$, $p<.001$, 95%CI=.21 to

.52]. Examining a similar model using the original five factor structure of the DIDS indicated the same general pattern. However, exploration in depth was not significantly associated with multicultural acquisition, ethnic protection, hedonic or eudaimonic psychological well-being, or life satisfaction. This pattern of associations underscores the nuanced information achieved by restructuring the DIDS.

Although we were unable to compare our hypothesized model to an alternative model because of multicollinearity, we were able to compare the models without Reflective Exploration in Depth. Such an alternative model presumes that global orientations represent the underlying mechanism through which identity processes are associated with life satisfaction and psychological well-being. That is, one's identity processes influence one's positive or negative attitude toward cultural globalization, which in turn relates to psychological well-being. Because the hypothesized and alternative models are not nested within one another, we compared them using the Bayesian (BIC) and Akaike Information Criteria (AIC) (Kline, 2015). Lower BIC and AIC values supported our hypothesized model, $BIC_{\text{hypothesized}} = 21947.97$ and $BIC_{\text{alternative}} = 23576.88$; $AIC_{\text{hypothesized}} = 21507.56$ and $AIC_{\text{alternative}} = 23101.08$ ³. These model comparisons provide preliminary evidence that our hypothesized model fits the data better than the alternative model does, and that our hypothesized model should be further examined in future longitudinal work.

Evaluating indirect effects within the hypothesized model yielded two significant indirect paths. Multicultural acquisition was indirectly and positively associated with hedonic psychological well-being through identification with commitment [$\beta = .05$, $p = .038$, 95%CI = .00 to .10]. Additionally, multicultural acquisition was indirectly and positively associated with the eudaimonic aspect of psychological well-being through reflective exploration in depth [$\beta = .14$, $p = .023$,

³ For the results of the compared models, please see supplementary material: <https://osf.io/rf4x6/>

95%CI=.02 to .26]. The indirect associations of multicultural acquisition with satisfaction with life through identification with commitment [$\beta=.046$, $p=.062$, 95%CI=-.00 to .09] did not reach significance.

4. Discussion

The present study provides an empirical evaluation and integration of cultural and personal identity dimensions in the era of contemporary globalization. In our results, multicultural acquisition, characterized by inclusion and endorsement of various cultural streams, emerged as an adaptive response to cultural globalization among Danish students. At the same time, cultural globalization can be perceived as intrusive and as threatening to national identities. In our results, endorsement of ethnic protection was significantly and negatively associated with psychological well-being, perhaps reflecting the emotional and defensive character of perceiving threats to one's national cultural stream and consequently endorsing defensive localization in a globalized context (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Reconciliation of diverse cultural streams has been postulated as psychologically challenging during globalization, likely via compromised personal identity processes (Arnett, 2002). However, this hypothesis is not supported by our results, as ruminative exploration did not mediate the association between multicultural acquisition and well-being. Additionally, in our study, openness to new cultural influences was associated with the various adaptive dimensions of identity development (reflective exploration in depth and identification with commitment), facilitating various aspects of forming a coherent sense of self. Multicultural openness was also indirectly associated with hedonic psychological well-being (through identification with commitment) and with eudaimonic psychological well-being (through reflexive exploration in depth) – further underscoring the potential role of multicultural openness vis-à-vis both identity processes and well-being.

The proliferation of globalization-related intercultural contact can complicate the process of reaching a coherent sense of who one is and which direction one wishes to take in life (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Schwartz et al., 2006). The present results suggest that a proactive approach to cultural globalization may stimulate positive identity processes, as reflected in the significant and positive associations of multicultural acquisition with identification with commitment and with reflective exploration in depth. Such relationships could reflect agency, holistic thinking, and curious intelligence, all of which have been associated with multicultural acquisition (Chen et al., 2016), as well as the development of a coherent and reflective personal identity (Schwartz, Côté, & Arnett, 2005), in globalized contexts. A proactive global orientation to the proliferation of cultural interaction appeared to facilitate broad identity exploration, perhaps reflecting a general openness to new experiences associated with multicultural acquisition (Chen et al., 2016). However, this open-minded attitude toward cultural globalization was not inversely linked with ruminative and self-critical exploration as would have been expected (Côté & Levine, 2002). A potential sense of cultural confusion emerging through the acquisition of new cultural elements did not appear to create impediments for personal identity processes, as multicultural acquisition was associated with adaptive identity dimensions and unrelated to ruminative identity exploration. The reflective exploration in depth dimension emerged as one of the central underlying mechanisms linking multicultural acquisition with psychological well-being. Although the globalized process of reflectively evaluating one's identity commitments was associated with eudaimonic psychological well-being, the evaluation of one's future plans in regard to one's sense of self and values, and subsequent integration of identity choices, were related to hedonic psychological well-being. This finding suggests that the six-factor DIDS model captures more of the relevant nuances pertaining to cultural globalization, diversity, and reflective life choices as compared with the five-factor model that combines the adaptive and maladaptive aspects of exploration in depth. Our modifications of

the DIDS structure, along with findings reported by Mannerström et al. (2017) and Skhirtladze et al. (2016), suggest further refinements to the concept of identity exploration in depth.

Resisting cultural globalization through ethnic protection was modestly associated with both commitment dimensions and with reconsideration of commitments. These associations could suggest that ethnic protection facilitates evaluation and internalization of a strongly committed identity, which could be reflected in the foreclosed identity status in terms of endorsement obedience and strong leadership (Marcia, 1966). Such an identity could, however, be characterized by defensive protectionism (Chen et al., 2016), reflecting strong decisions regarding future plans as an attempt to stabilize one's self-conception. As the two global orientations support different personal identity processes, both global orientations might serve as central psychological responses to contexts characterized by increasing hyper-diversity.

Developing a coherent and consistent sense of self through integrating a set of goals, values, and beliefs could anchor the individual within a dynamic context of globalized new cultural influences and sociocultural change. Accordingly, personal identity might stabilize and protect the individual from the instability initiated by intercultural contact (Schwartz et al., 2006). Specifically, within the context of globalization, reflective identity development through thinking and talking about future plans, as well as identification with commitments through evaluation and integration, appears to facilitate a viable sense of self associated with psychological well-being. Reflective identity development is characterized by not just exploring possible identity paths and committing to one or more of these, but also by reflecting on previous identity decisions and internalizing those that are consistent with one's personal values (Luyckx et al., 2008). The importance of personal identity exploration and commitment is, at least in part, a function of the shift from pre-modern cultural contexts characterized by prescribed identities to contemporary globalized cultural contexts where people are expected to define themselves (Jørgensen, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2005).

Additionally, the period of emerging adulthood is characterized by exploration and experimentation with life goals. In contrast, adulthood – generally beginning in the late 20s or early 30s – involves more stability and may reflect more positive endorsement of heritage cultural retention and maintenance of identity commitments without exploration. Overall, the adaptive construction and maintenance of personal identity during cultural globalization involves flexibly evaluating and integrating one's commitment vis-à-vis a multitude of life possibilities.

The present findings should be interpreted in light of some important limitations. First, our sample includes more female than male, reflecting the gender distribution of at many university courses around the world. Additionally, there are many differences between college students and non-college emerging adults in terms of identity processes (Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Pollock, 2008) and other outcomes (see Schwartz, 2016, for a review). As a result, the present results should not be generalized beyond university students and might have been quite different among lower-SES individuals who might experience greater threat associated with globalization. Second, the generic concept of global orientations does not capture information on the specific cultural elements toward which participants are taking a stance. Perhaps some globalized influences (e.g., indirect through media) prompt openness whereas others (e.g., direct through immigration) promote defensiveness. Third, our study is cross-sectional and permits examination of several variables in a large sample. Although our model appeared to fit the data better than an alternative indirect-effects model did, it is possible that unmeasured variables (such as personality traits) might have explained the present findings. Longitudinal and/or experimental data are needed to examine directionality and dynamics within an indirect effects model (Pek & Hoyle, 2016).

In sum, and despite these limitations, the present study has shed light on contemporary globalized identity processes within a Western globalized context. Results indicate that an ethnic-protection orientation represents a maladaptive orientation toward cultural globalization in regard to

both eudaimonic and hedonic well-being, whereas multicultural acquisition (indirectly through reflective identity exploration in depth and identification with identity commitments) represents a more adaptive orientation associated with reflective and internalized future goals and, furthermore, various aspects of well-being. Rather than emotionally driven maladaptive orientations toward ethnic protection, an open stance toward cultural pluralism could facilitate viable identity processes among emerging adults in Western societies. In this way, youth can balance the need to belong with an openness to the contemporary intercultural dynamics with regard to reaching a sense of self. Furthermore, such globalized identity processes appear to support continuously evaluating and integrating one's identity commitments. These findings suggest the need for a proactive, agentic, and reflective approach to multiple cultural affiliation and self-conceptualization during the era of globalization.

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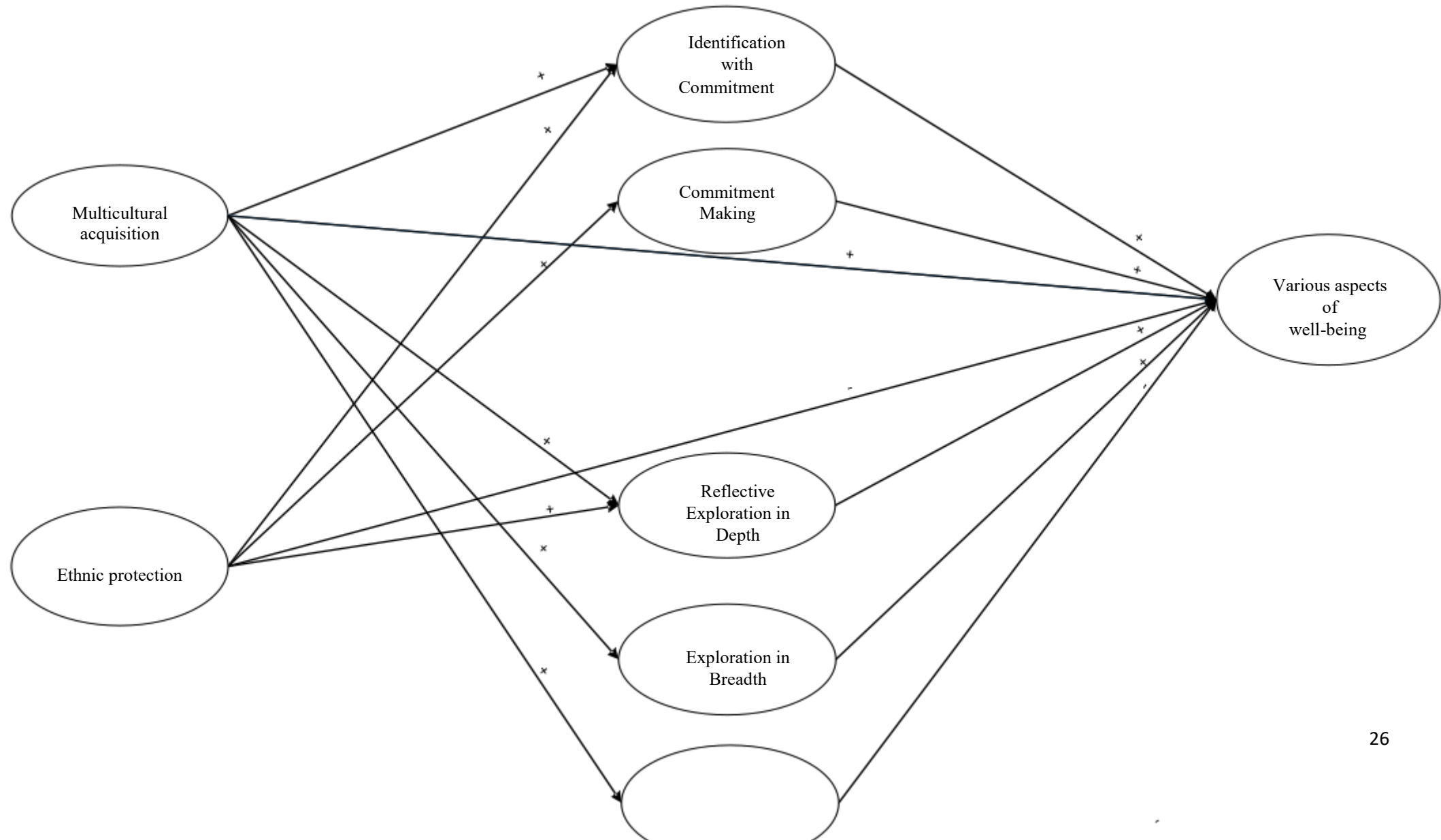
Table 1. Means, internal consistency, and correlations

	Mean (<i>SD</i>)	Internal consistency	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Multicultural acquisition	5.80 (0.69)	$\alpha=.87$										
2. Ethnic protection	3.21 (0.73)	$\alpha=.75$	-.51**									
3. Identification with Commitment	3.46 (0.77)	$\alpha=.84$	.14**	.04								
4. Commitment Making	3.63 (0.77)	$\alpha=.89$	-.02	.16**	.58**							
5. Reflective Exploration in Depth	3.78 (0.68)	$r=.33$	.24**	.01	.37**	.34**						
6. Reconsideration of Commitment	3.26 (0.77)	$\alpha=.65$	.04	.10*	-.26**	-.12*	.26**					
7. Exploration in Breadth	3.87 (0.64)	$\alpha=.78$	.34**	-.18	-.04	-.15**	.13*	.28**				
8. Ruminative Exploration	2.81 (0.90)	$\alpha=.84$	-.00	.04	-.53**	-.54**	-.11*	.46**	.35**			
9. Satisfaction with life	5.11 (1.23)	$\alpha=.86$	.21**	-.13*	.36**	.28**	.10	-.16**	-.05	-.37**		
10. Psychological well-being hedonic	4.52 (0.77)	$\alpha=.81$	.16**	-.18**	.45**	.35**	.10	-.33**	-.08	-.50**	.63**	
11. Psychological well-being eudaimonic	4.81 (0.62)	$\alpha=.60$.38**	-.28**	.33**	.21**	.36**	-.04	.14**	-.26**	.34**	.42**

Note. * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$

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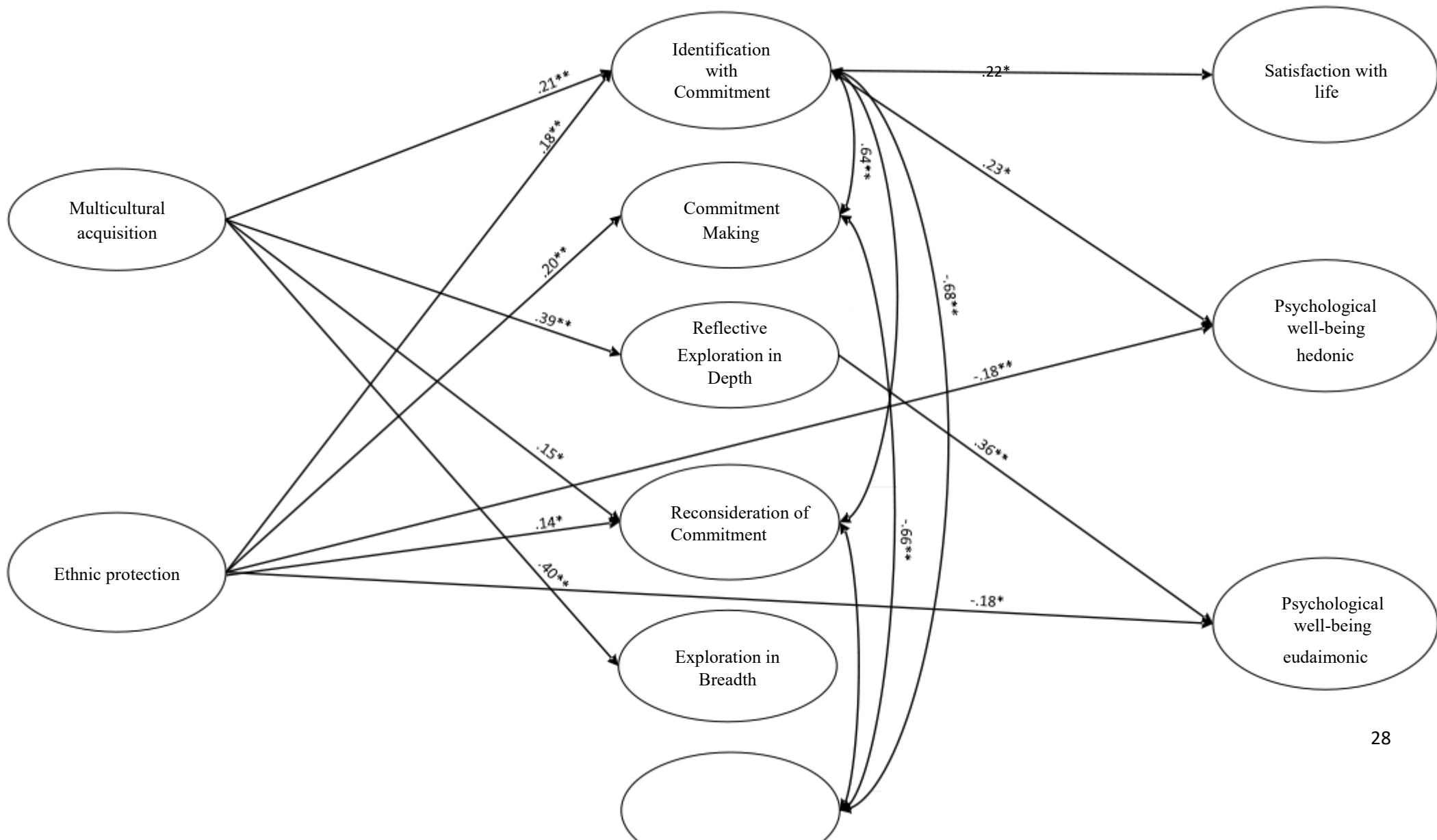
Figure 1. The hypothesized indirect effects model



Ruminative
exploration

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Figure 2. The results of the indirect effects analysis



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Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$