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Introduction: Uncertainty in a Globalized World

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In 2015, Shamima Begum, a 15-year-old woman born in England to Bangladeshi immigrant parents, left England to join the Islamic State in Syria. Along with two school friends, Shamima boarded a plane for Turkey, from where they traveled to the Syrian border. Less then two weeks later, she was married to an ISIS fighter. Today, at the age of 22, Shamima, speaking from a detention camp in Syria, begs forgiveness for her decision, and restoration of her British citizenship, which was revoked in 2019 by the United Kingdom government (Hassan, 2021). While Shamima Begum was figuring out her allegiances, Anastasiya Shpagina, a 28-year-old Ukrainian woman has accumulated over 3.3 million subscribers on her YouTube channel and over 1.9 million

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Instagram followers. The reason for her fame is her transformation, through the power of makeup, into an anime character (Dumolga, 2021). And then there is the story of two brothers, Wu Wenquian, 16, and Xu Wenjue, 18, who left their small village in impoverished Guizhou Province in China and traveled over 500 miles to work at Huanya. In the factory, which supplies goods for Wal-Mart, the brothers reported working 12 hours a day, six days a week, for $120–200 a month (Barboza, 2008). Although the three described experiences differ tremendously, they are all manufactured and made possible by globalization.

Globalization

Globalization has been conceptualized in a variety of ways across academic disciplines, frameworks, and researchers, without much consensus on a definition (Olivié & Gracia, 2020). Connotations also vary from references to positive aspects such as progress and intercultural cooperation, to negatives such as colonialism and deterioration of aspects of everyday lives (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006). Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann (2006) reviewed multiple academic definitions of globalization and concluded that the majority remained focused on a single aspect of globalization, usually related to the research focus of the author. Furthermore, definitions ranged in scope, with some being more abstract but inclusive of various aspects of globalization, and others more specific but narrower in scope. Many of the definitions captured globalization as a process (Mir et al., 2014), along with a condition, system, force, or age (Steger, 2020).

Despite the variety of conceptualizations and a lack of consensus in regard to what globalization is, one place of agreement is the existence of different dimensions of globalization along economic, political, social, technological, and cultural lines. Early studies on globalization focused on the economic facet, but with the proliferation of research on globalization in multiple disciplines, this is no longer the case (Olivié & Gracia, 2020). Although researchers do not disagree that there are different dimensions of globalization, there is some disagreement on how

to measure these dimensions. For example, Olivié and Gracia (2020) summarize some of the indicators of globalization used in research, falling into six categories: economic, human mobility, technology and information, diplomatic effect, military, and environmental. Within each of these dimensions, multiple indicators and globalization indexes have been proposed as the appropriate measures. This variability demonstrates that although there is an understanding of globalization as a multifaceted and multidimensional phenomenon, it has often been studied in a one-dimensional manner (Steger, 2020). And that one dimension is often seen as the essential one for the understanding of globalization. As Steger (2020) argues, the academic disagreement over the importance of the most essential dimension is a version of the ancient Buddhist parable of the blind scholars and the elephant:

> Since the blind scholars did not know what the elephant looked like, they resolved to obtain a mental picture, and thus the knowledge they desired, by touching the animal. Feeling its trunk, one blind man argues that the elephant was like a gigantic snake. Another man, rubbing along its enormous leg, likened the animal to a rough column of massive proportions. The third person took hold of its tail and insisted that the elephant resembled a large, flexible brush. The fourth man felt its sharp tusks and declared it to be like a great spear. Each of the blind scholars held firmly to his own idea of what constituted an elephant. (pp. 14–15)

Another aspect of disagreement beyond what globalization is, how to measure it, and what dimension is the most essential one, is about the history of globalization, in particular its inception. Pieterse (2012) argues that globalization is seen by many as a relatively new phenomenon. Citing Wilkinson (2006), "the usual timescale in which 'globalization' is considered is at minimum post-Cold War, at maximum post-Second World War" (p. 63), Pieterse (2012) critiques the presentist view of globalization as presenting older structural patterns as novel, centering the West as the beginning of contemporary civilization, and overlooking non-Western globalization influences. He points out that some disciplines are more likely to endorse this presentist history especially those in the social sciences, while humanities are more likely to have a more distant time frame on the beginning of globalization. These differences

in the historical time frame of globalization appear to be based on the perceived causal relationship between the current manifestation of globalization and previous historical developments (Steger, 2020). Steger (2020) discusses that proponents of the most presentist view (globalization starting in the 1980s) base their arguments on the incredible rapid speed of the contemporary global exchanges. Others see current globalization as possible due to the advances that happened during the Industrial Revolution. Yet, others see globalization as a logical outcome of processes that emerged with the development of capitalism in the 1500s. The rest of the researchers see globalization as unfolding since the beginning of people. Thus, Steger (2020) places the current globalizing processes as one of five historical periods that are separated by shifts in the pace of cultural exchanges, beginning with the prehistoric period of 10,000BCE–3500BCE.

What makes the contemporary period distinct from the others is the speed of interconnectivity. Steger (2020) characterizes the current globalization wave as *the great convergence*, where "different and widely spaced people and social connections coming together more rapidly than ever before" (p. 36). This great convergence was recently demonstrated by both the swift worldwide transmission of SARS-CoV-2 (i.e., COVID-19), as well as the disruption in the global supply chain due to that transmission. Since December 31, 2019 when China alerted the World Health Organization (WHO) of unusual pneumonia caused by an unknown virus, it took only 3 months, on March 11, 2020 for the WHO to declare COVID-19 a global pandemic based on 118,000 cases reported globally in 114 countries (World Health Organization, 2020a). A year and a half later, as of November 2021, worldwide there have been reported over 262 million cases with 5.21 million deaths (Our World in Data, 2021). Beside the staggering human toll of the virus, global supply chains are facing unprecedented logistical challenges. The Institute of Supply Management in a survey done between February 22 and March 5, 2020 with representatives of U.S. companies reported that nearly 75% of the companies indicated supply chain disruptions (McCrea, 2020). And this was even before the WHO declared COVID-19 as a global pandemic. A year and a half later, as of October, 2021, the world's supply

chains are collapsing, with increased prices for raw materials and shipping container rates, manufacturing companies not being able to satisfy demand, congested ports, and empty warehouses (Tea & Decker, 2021).

Despite these negative outcomes, the great convergence allowed for the same rapid exchange of life-saving medical equipment, human capital, and COVID-19 vaccines. When in March 2020, Italy was hit with an overwhelming COVID-19 wave, Chinese, Russian, and Cuban medical teams flew to Italy to provide help (Poggioli, 2020). In September 2020, COVAX, a multilateral initiative aimed at guaranteeing global access to life-saving COVID-19 vaccines (World Health Organization, 2020b) was established to secure funding, negotiate with vaccine manufacturers, and address logistical challenges to establish the largest and most complex vaccination program, serving multiple predominantly low- and lower-middle-income countries.

What these outcomes of the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrate is the nuanced implications of contemporary globalization. Research has examined the pros and cons of globalization regarding its different dimensions demonstrating that globalization is a process that has both positive and negative effects. In a literature review on the pros and cons of globalization, Osland (2003) examined outcomes in five areas: equality, labor, governmental, culture and community, and environment. Osland concluded that the impact of globalization is mixed with clear winners and losers within and between dimensions. For example, there is a trade off "such as economic development and jobs at the cost of environmental degradation and weakened labor protection" (p. 148). Similarly, in the realm of education, Bakhtiari and Shajar (2006) argue that while globalization may include advantages such as global sharing of knowledge, promoting international collaborations, and facilitating communications, it also creates negative outcomes for global-majority countries, such as increased technological gaps, increased inequalities between cultures, and the promotion of dominant cultures and values. Hamdi (2013) also demonstrates that "developing" counties have been affected by globalization both positively and negatively. For example, while the economies of such countries have improved due to outsourcing and direct foreign investments, violence and drug abuse have increased, along with changes in traditional clothing and language expressions.

Self and Identity Uncertainty and Globalization

The dramatic changes in terms of scale, speed, and cognition (Kinnvall, 2004) that globalization has brought about, have introduced a level of insecurity and uncertainty for both cultural spaces and individuals residing within these spaces. Research on uncertainty in general, not connected to globalization, has focused on the psychological and emotional states that uncertainty evokes, and the mechanisms through which people deal with the uncertainty. The general findings are that uncertainty evokes an aversive state, and if that uncertainty is important for the self, people will attempt to manage or resolve it (e.g., Hogg, 2007; van den Bos, 2009). Uncertainty due to globalization follows these general findings as well.

Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) define the experience of uncertainty as having four interconnected aspects: *complexity* is due to the presence of multiple interrelated parts; *ambiguity* is a result of the change of the meanings of these various parts as a function of their interconnectedness with other parts; *deficit knowledge* is the lack of overarching knowledge structure that can serve as an arbiter of any contradictions between parts; and *unpredictability* is the lack of being able to predict what the future holds. As Hermans and Dimaggio describe it:

> the experience of uncertainty characterizes a global situation of multivoicedness (complexity) that does not allow a fixation of meaning (ambiguity), that has no superordinate voice for resolving contradictions and conflicting information (deficit knowledge), and that is to a large extent unpredictable. (p. 34)

Although this uncertainty leads to an aversive state (Hogg, 2007), it does not necessarily result in negative outcomes. For some people it can provide a space for new possibilities of being in the world. However, when uncertainty permeates multiple areas of life, or when one's physical survival is threatened (e.g., terrorism, COVID-19 pandemic) that can lead to negative psychological outcomes such as anxiety and insecurity (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007).

Examining how increasing uncertainty due to globalization impacts young people's transition to adulthood ("a stepwise process in which young people adopt specific roles and participate in certain activities" p. 38), Blossfeld and Mills (2010) argue that increased uncertainty does not impact everyone the same way, and these impacts are filtered through societal institutions. The four institutions having the highest impact on young adults are employment relations, educations systems, national welfare state regimes, and family systems. These institutional filters channel uncertainty to specific social groups, in their case youth, to impact quality of employment (e.g., employment stability), timing and ease of entering the market, safety net, and level of marital cohabitation. These conditions in turn influence individuals' decisions in terms of employment, committed partnerships, and parenthood. Using data from the GLOBALIFE international research project from 14 industrialized countries, Blossfeld and Mills (2010) found that the uncertainty produced by globalization, and filtered through institutions, delays youth commitments to long-term partnerships and parenthood across the majority of the countries. This study directly demonstrates not only the impact of globalization on youth transitions to adulthood, but also the way uncertainty is caused by globalizing forces and filtered through changes in institutions, which are similarly caused by globalization.

One of the important questions that follows, is how do people reduce uncertainty. Uncertainty-identity theory (Hogg, 2007, 2012) argues that when people are in a state of uncertainty, they experience aversive feelings, which are evoked by the difficulty of anticipating future events and inability to plan future actions. This aversive state motivates them to engage in behaviors that reduce the uncertainty. Depending on whether the uncertainty is due to a positive challenge, or a threat, its reduction can be based on behaviors that are promotive or avoidant (Hogg & Adelman, 2013; van den Bos, 2009). Since cognitive capacity is the key resource for uncertainty reduction, and because uncertainty reduction can be cognitively tasking, people will only engage in uncertainty reduction if the domain that evokes the uncertainty is important to the self. In other words, self-uncertainty is particularly motivating. One way in which self-uncertainty is reduced is through group identification. Group identification, based on social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979;

Turner et al., 1987) provides a sense of belonging, and impacts one's perceptions, values, and beliefs to conform to the prototypical group content. Because group identification provides a shared understanding about the world, it not only validates the self, but also provides a level of predictability and ability to plan future actions.

Since globalization creates such self-uncertainty, increased adherence to and identification with groups that can provide sense of belongingness and predictability, can be one way of uncertainty reduction. Indeed, following uncertainty-identity theory, Hogg and Adelman (2013) provide empirical evidence that self-uncertainty can lead to support for extremism and radical behaviors, whether for extreme campus protest groups, or the Israel-Palestine conflict. Similarly, Kinnvall (2004) demonstrates that nationalism and religion supply narratives that can convey a picture of security and minimize anxiety, by providing a meaningful connection to a territory or a sacred being. Thus, self-uncertainty reduction can partially explain the increased appeal of extreme nationalist or religious groups. Beyond radicalization, some people might be using consumerism and consumer lifestyle identities (e.g., Cleveland, 2018; Reese et al., 2019), or identification with a broader category such as global citizen (e.g., Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2018), as groups providing perceived certainty and stability.

Returning to the three stories described in the beginning of the chapter, they demonstrate some of the positive and negative aspects of globalization, provide anecdotal evidence about the different ways in which globalization leads to self-uncertainty, and the different ways (both promotive and avoidant) that these young people use to manage that uncertainty. For Shamima Begum, joining the Islamic State (an extreme religious group) at the age of 15, a time when even without globalization at play, a young person is trying to explore who they are (Erikson, 1968), provided some sense of meaning. The fact that she was a person growing up with immigrant parents in a society with strong anti-immigrant attitudes (Andreescu, 2011), possibly because of globalization, could have been one source of self-uncertainty, that could have pushed her toward extremism. On the other hand, Anastasiya Shpagina, seemed to have a more promotive approach toward managing self-uncertainty by recreating and presenting herself as an anime character. The availability of

anime in Ukraine, as well as her worldwide following on social media, is both made possible by the technological advances characteristic of contemporary globalization. Lastly, in Wu Wenguin and Xu Wenjue's story the positive and negative impact of globalization is reflected in both the economic opportunity to work in a factory producing goods for Wal-Mart, while working in unsafe conditions and for low pay. The impact of globalization uncertainty here is filtered through their employment and will most likely have implications for their transition to adulthood.

Approach to the Book

Although in psychology there has been an increase in the amount of cultural research regarding self and identity, research on the globalization's impact on these topics has been more limited in scope. The primary goal of the present book is to present a review, and new research, of some of the impacts of globalization on self and identity. Initially, the aim was to do so from a social psychological perspective, but more research on potential topics to be included in the book revealed that researchers in other disciplines have studied some of the same impacts, or have used social psychological frameworks in their research. Thus, we (the editors) decided to be guided by topics rather than by academic discipline. Our contributors span the range of psychology (social, developmental), marketing, education, sociology, communication, and study abroad. This multidisciplinary nature of the book, we strongly believe, is one of its main strengths.

We have also attempted to have variety in terms of the content of the chapters. Some of the chapters are reviews of a specific topic within the broad theme of globalization's impact on self and identity, while others are more focused on specific study(s). Similarly, while some chapters rely heavily on quantitative empirical research, others include more qualitative work. Our contributors also vary in terms of their geographical locations. While most of them are located in the United States, the others are from Japan, Germany, Canada, and Denmark. Despite these international contributions, we need to acknowledge that, with exception of Japan, they are predominantly from WEIRD (Western,

educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic) settings (Henrich et al., 2010). That partially applies also to the majority of studies that are being discussed across various chapters. This bias is an ongoing problem and has generated discussions within psychology.

For example, research on self and identity has been dominated by North American and Western European studies across psychology branches. Arnett (2008) has referred to this problem as the "neglected 95%," advocating for psychological research representative of the populations from different parts of the world. Despite such calls, the majority of the current research published in the United States is still dominated by WEIRD samples. In 2008, Arnett showed that 95% of samples in six psychology journals, each of which is considered the flagship journal for their psychological area for 2003–2007 period, were WEIRD (68% from the United States). Similarly, among first authors, 73% were based at American universities, and 25% were from European or English-speaking countries. In 2020, Thalmeyer et al. used the same six flagship journals published in 2014–2018 and found that representations of samples and authors had not changed much. Although there was a small decrease in samples from the United States (62%), the percentage from other English-speaking countries was unchanged (14%) and there was an increase in European samples (17% up from 13%).

Although we are not insiders to any of the other academic disciplines represented in the book, we would not be surprised if this bias tends to be present there as well. Notwithstanding our wish that the majority of the contributions to the book would have opposed this trend, we need to acknowledge that the majority of it is still grounded in WEIRD traditions.

Overview of Chapters

This introduction marks the connection between globalization and its impact on self and identity, through the uncertainty that it creates in people's lives. What the rest of the contributions in the book do is focus and expand on a particular impact of globalization on self and

identity and the various ways in which people negotiate the corresponding uncertainty. The aim of Chapter 2 is to provide a general overview of the ways in which globalization has impacted self and identity based predominantly on psychological research. Iva Katzarska-Miller and M Faucer focus on four main topics, beginning with a discussion of independent and interdependent self-construal, highlighting variation across cultures, issues with measurement, and the global trend of increased independence. Next, the authors review cultural identity through different theoretical lenses, such as acculturation strategies and bicultural identity integration, with a focus on the negotiation between local and global identity. The notion of consumer selfhood and acculturation to global consumer culture follows, showing how concepts such as self, materialism, well-being, and narcissism are intertwined. The fourth topic touches upon the emergence of inclusive global identities and their associated outcomes.

In Chapter 3, Angel Armenta, Jessica Bray, and Michael Zárate use the cultural inertia model to discuss the impact that cultural change due to immigration-introduced globalization has on self and identity. The cultural inertia model argues that stable cultures strive to remain stable, and dynamic cultures strive to remain dynamic, with anchors (e.g., national nostalgia) that resist change and propellers (e.g., openness to new experiences) to accepting change. Research that focuses on both positive (e.g., greater diversity leading to better decision-making, and immigration leading to greater financial benefits) and negative (e.g., perceived threat due to demographic shifts) consequences of immigration is used to support the model. One of the conclusions offered by the authors is that although immigration-induced globalization change is often threatening, it can be presented in ways that can foster higher levels of acceptance of that change.

Another globalization area of impact on one's self-concept and identity that is discussed in Chapter 4 by Mark Cleveland is global consumer culture. By weaving various social psychological, anthropological, and marketing concepts together, Cleveland demonstrates how through globalization a transnational set of values and consumer practices, mainly emanating from the United States, have been adopted by individuals around the world. Acculturation to global consumer culture, along its

seven dimensions, occurs to the extent that it is congruent with or viewed as a threat to one's cultural norms and values. Cleveland extends this discussion by noting how various forces (e.g., geopolitical events, meta-trends) impact global consumer culture and identity.

Threat, whether to demographic changes or one's cultural norms and values, seems to influence one's reaction to societal changes due to globalization. In Chapter 5, Simon Ozer and Milan Obaidi, examine another, and darker outcome of perceived threat—the rise of extremism and radicalization. When sudden sociocultural changes occur, individuals' sense of security may be threatened. One way to deal with this threat is to reject outside others and strengthened one's ethnic, religious, or cultural identity. Thus, globalization can be viewed as a threat to one's subgroup that can lead to radicalization against outsiders. The authors expand upon the individual differences that may predict extremist reactions to globalization and highlight recent events (e.g., Christchurch Mosque shooting) and research to support their analysis.

Although not as extreme as radicalization, national identification is also impacted by globalization. In Chapter 6, Nur Soylu Yalcinkaya examines the role of essentialism for dominant and marginalized groups and national identity in light of globalization and intercultural contact. Essentialist beliefs—perception of a social category as innate or fixed—can be used to reinforce one's national identity. With globalization and migration of people, a greater number of hybrid identities may lead to questions of who does or does not belong to the national ingroup resulting in prejudice and discrimination of non-dominant group members. Dominant groups may use essentialism to reject others, while marginalized groups may use essentialism to rally ingroup members to challenge the oppressive system. Soylu Yalcinkaya focuses particularly on the use of essentialism when the sociocultural dynamics within a society are changing.

Continuing with the impact of globalization on national identity, in Chapter 7, Sheila Croucher explores the rise of nationalism and national identity in the United States. While globalization suggests a lessening of the importance of national borders, under the U.S. President Donald Trump exclusion and nationalism became more dominant. Croucher draws distinctions between nationalism and patriotism, nation

and state, and answers the question of what it means to belong to a nation. Using events such as 9/11 and the COVID-19 pandemic to highlight the world's interconnectedness, Croucher demonstrates that in spite of it nationalism has surged, resulting in discrimination of groups traditionally marginalized in the United States.

Alongside one's national identity, globalization, and the resulting spread of information technology and movement of people, young adults are exposed to a variety of practices and values from around the world, which they can implement in the development of their identities. In Chapter 8, Jessica McKenzie, Emily Leighton, Macy Davis, and José Reyes examine how young adults in northern Thailand and central California manage and construct their identities. The authors introduce the notion of custom complexes—cultural practices and values are linked—and discuss both proximal (e.g., immigration-based) and remote (e.g., globalization-based) acculturation strategies. Through interviews with Thai and California-residing Hmong adolescents, they highlight the various ways in which local and global cultural streams are negotiated and integrated into the self.

In Chapter 9, Stephen Reysen presents an updated review of inclusive identities and their connection to globalization. Using social identity perspective framework, Reysen explores measures (e.g., identification with all humanity, global citizen) of inclusive identities and their relation to values (e.g., empathy) and behaviors (e.g., giving to charity). In general, the research suggests that identification with all-inclusive global category labels is related to prosocial values and behaviors. Next, research is reviewed showing an association between globalization and inclusive identities, such as engagement with diverse others, consuming artifacts from other cultural spaces, and perceiving globalization positively are related to greater global identification. The evidence tends to support a connection between having a positive attitude toward globalization and viewing oneself as part of a global community.

In contrast to the breath of the Reysen's review, in Chapter 10, Satoshi Moriizumi focuses in depth on research conducted in Japan regarding the associations between global citizenship identification, intergroup ideologies, local civic engagement, and well-being. Surveying adults interested in the concept of multicultural symbiosis, Moriizumi found that global

citizenship identification was positively related to endorsing multiculturalism and colorblindness, while the association with colorblindness was weaker, and negatively related to assimilation intergroup ideology. Global citizenship identification was also positively related to civic engagement and subjective and psychological well-being. Moriizumi presents a model of global citizenship identification predicting multiculturalism, multiculturalism predicting civic engagement, and civic engagement predicting well-being. Given the declining birthrate in Japan, and the relocation of more foreigners to work in the country, education concerning global citizenship is suggested as a method to reduce prejudice toward foreign workers.

In Chapter 11, Courtney Smith and Iva Katzarska-Miller review research concerning the impact of study abroad on identity development. Young adults are suggested to be formalizing their identities around the time they are undergraduates in college. The experience of study abroad at this period in one's life may contribute to expanding one's global awareness and worldview and may have a life long impact. The research supports the beneficial outcomes of study abroad for students. However, a variety of factors (e.g., country visited, types of interactions) can influence the outcomes for students' identity development. The authors use research on American national identity, to demonstrate how U.S. students negotiate that identity while and after their study abroad experiences.

Incorporating study abroad but in the context of global citizenship education, in Chapter 12, Nadine Etzkorn and Gerhard Reese explore the impact of global citizenship education on students' values and beliefs through the lens of transformative learning. The researchers suggest that current internationalization practiced at universities focuses more on business competencies rather than social justice, which moving toward global citizenship education can rectify. Study abroad, with an emphasis on intercultural contact, is suggested to encourage students to challenge their current worldview and construct new meaningful perspectives. The authors propose that through global citizenship education students may reflect on their experiences and assumptions to transform their identity toward greater prosocial values and behaviors.

Finally, in the conclusion chapter, we provide a topical analysis of some of the main impacts of globalization on self and identity (e.g., national identity, global identity, etc.) as examined in various chapters, discuss current issues, and future directions for research.

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