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Globalization and All-Inclusive Global Identities

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With the ever-increasing interconnectedness of nations, the spread of cultures, and access to information, researchers suggest that globalization influences one's identity (Arnett, 2002; Reese et al., 2019). With such access to the cultures of the world, it is possible for individuals to consume and form an identity that goes beyond one's nation—a global identity. Indeed, schools have recognized the need to form such an identity and have slowly been moving toward greater inclusion of global education in their curriculum (Clifford & Montgomery, 2017; Smith et al., 2017). The present chapter provides an update to previously published reviews of global identities (McFarland et al., 2019; Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2015, 2018) with a focus on how globalization is connected to viewing the self as part of a global community. Following a

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brief overview of a social identity theoretical perspective I review recent research utilizing various measures of global identity. In particular, I focus on measures that have directly or indirectly supported a connection between globalization and identification with a world community. This is followed by a review of research showing an association between globalization and global identity. Readers should also be aware that if a particular sample has not been specified in this chapter, it can be assumed it was a U.S. sample of participants.

Social Identity Perspective

Researchers examining inclusive identities tend to rely upon a social identity theoretical perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). A notable exception to this is McFarland et al.'s (2012) identification with all humanity scale. However, despite an initial argument that the measure is based on theorizing (Adler, Maslow) that is different from a social identity perspective (McFarland & Hornsby, 2015; McFarland et al., 2012), the researchers have since revised their stance to now suggest that the measure is partly based on the social identity approach (Hamer et al., 2021). Social identity theory suggests that individuals at times think and act as individuals and at other times as members of a group. Self-categorization theory, social identity theory's subsequent expansion, posits that there are different levels of inclusiveness (or levels of abstraction) representing individual level (e.g., me vs. person next to me), intermediate (e.g., Texas vs. Oklahoma), and superordinate (e.g., humans vs. plants). Although there has been a significant amount of research on the individual and intermediate level, until recently there has been little empirical research examining the superordinate level of self-categorization (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2018). The social identity perspective further posits that individuals can differ in their degree of connection to the group (i.e., ingroup identification), where greater connection to the group predicts adherence to the group's values, norms, beliefs, and behaviors. Based on this theoretical perspective one can posit that there is a possibility that some individuals view all humans as part of their ingroup. However, as discussed in the following section,

what prototypical group norms are associated with a particular label (e.g., human vs. global citizen) may differ. Greater connection with the world community should predict greater adherence to the norms of the group, which I suggest tend to be prosocial in nature (e.g., helping others, empathy). Much of the research to date has examined factors related to viewing the self as a member of a global community, and the engenderment of such an identity.

Global Identities

A variety of measures of global identities and orientations have been proposed over the years. For example, researchers have suggested tapping a psychological sense of global community (Malsch, 2005), global identity (Türken & Rudmin, 2013), global humanity (Furlong & Vignoles, 2021), cosmopolitanism (Driezen et al., 2020), while others have mixed identity labels (e.g., world citizen, people around the world) together in the same measure (e.g., Chan et al., 2020; López et al., 2019; Uluğ et al., 2021). Given the ever-increasing body of research on global identities, in the present chapter I focus on those that have either direct or indirect evidence of a connection with globalization. In the present section I review research associated with measures that are shown in the next section as related to globalization. Furthermore, I have strived to provide recent examples of research utilizing these measures (see past reviews for older research McFarland et al., 2019; Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2015, 2018).

Identification with the World as a Whole

Buchan et al. (2011) conducted a study examining globalization, identity, and the public-goods dilemma (token assignment to personal, local, and world accounts) in six countries (United States, Italy, Russia, Argentina, South Africa, Iran). As part of the study, the researchers included measures of expectations of other participants (their perception of what other people would have done in the token allocation task),

concern for global issues (e.g., global warming), and identification with the local community, nation, and the world as a whole. Identification with the world as a whole was shown to be a significant predictor of giving to the world account above and beyond local and national identification. Identification with the world as a whole was also positively correlated with the expectation that others would give to the world account and concern for global issues. Further results of this study are discussed in the globalization section. Using similar methods, Buchan et al. (2017), in U.S. and South Korea samples, found that less local identification interacted with greater concern for others to predict global cooperation through identification with the world as a whole. One of the unique features of these studies is that the outcome was a behavioral measure of giving, rather than intended or past behavior ratings, showing identification with the world as a whole as a predictor.

World Citizen

The World Values Survey is a large-scale survey conducted in numerous countries every five years by a network of social scientists. As part of the recent assessments (waves 5 and 6) of the World Values Survey, researchers included an item ("I see myself as a citizen of the world") tapping a global identity. Bayram (2015) used the survey data (2005–2008) to examine Schwartz's 10 universal values as predictors of identification as a world citizen. Self-transcendent values (e.g., universalism), self-interest values (e.g., hedonism), stimulation, and self-direction predicted greater identification, while power and more conservative values (e.g., conformity) were negative predictors. Additionally, income, age (younger), left-leaning political orientation, trusting others, and living in an urban setting were positively associated with identification. Ng and Batra (2017) suggest that when individuals' global (vs. local) identity is salient, they will shift to an abstract (vs. concrete) construal that encourages promotion (vs. prevention) goals. This is evidenced in the World Values Survey data through world citizen identity (vs. local) predicting values similar to promotion goals (e.g., being successful, risk

taking). Bayram (2019) observed positive correlations between identification as a world citizen and items reflecting a priority to reduce poverty and the belief that ethnic diversity enriches life, and a negative correlation with the notion of imposing stricter limits on foreign workers. Identification was also positively associated with individuals' willingness to fight in a war for one's country.

Other researchers report that world citizen identification is positively associated with endorsement of aid to other countries, especially for individuals with weaker national identification (Alvarez et al., 2018), and supporting environmental causes (Rosenmann et al., 2016). Using a similarly worded item ("I see myself as a world citizen") for identification as a world citizen, Davis et al. (2020) found identification was a significant positive predictor of trust in NGOs in a sample of Canadians. Smith et al. (2017) tested a variety of macro and micro factors as predictors of identification with world citizens. The results showed younger age, more education, and less economic globalization to predict identification. Additionally, the researchers observed an interaction whereby education was more strongly associated with identification in countries that were more integrated in the global economy. World citizenship was also a positive predictor of life satisfaction for individuals in Turkey (Sönmez & Sönmez, 2018).

Identification with All Humanity (IWAH)

McFarland et al. (2012) proposed a measure of identification with all humanity (IWAH) based on Adler's (1927/1954) notion of the sense of oneness with humanity and Maslow's (1954) self-actualization. The measure contains two subscales, each four items, representing ingroup identification (also referred to as "bond" or "self-definition" in subsequent research) and a dimension reflecting self-actualization from Adler/Maslow (also referred to as "concern" or "self-investment" in later studies) (Hamer et al., 2021; McFarland & Hornsby, 2015; Reese et al., 2015; Reysen & Hackett, 2016). The IWAH is presently being used in various ways (one or two dimensions with either eight or nine items),

with different theoretical explanations, different factor labels, and sometimes with or without factoring in identification with subgroup identities (community, nation).

The IWAH scale is correlated with a variety of other constructs. For example, the IWAH (nine item average) was positively related to completing a compassion training program (Brito-Pons et al., 2018; Cho, 2020), solidarity with animals, perceived similarity between animals and humans, inclusion of animals in the self (Amiot et al., 2017), pride in animals, and collective action intentions on behalf of animals (Amiot et al., 2020), sincerity, fairness, and dimensions of humility (Banker & Leary, 2020), support for refugees (Bassett & Cleveland, 2019), hypothetical charity donation and empathetic concern (Conway et al., 2018), moral expansion (Crimston et al., 2018), and sympathy and willingness to help COVID affected people in other countries (Deng, 2021). IWAH (the four items tapping the ingroup identification factor) was a significant predictor of following health advice and desire to help others during the COVID-19 pandemic (Barragan et al., 2021). IWAH (nine items, accounting for community and national identification scores) was positively associated with belief in moral relativism (Collier, 2017), and negatively related to authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, generalized prejudice, and support for anti-Muslim policies (Dunwoody & McFarland, 2018).

Researchers have also examined variables related to IWAH's two subscales. Loy and Reese (2019) surveyed participants at a German university who either participated in mind–body activities (e.g., yoga, meditation) or not. Individuals who participated in mind–body activities scored higher on ingroup identification but not the Adler/Maslow factor. Joanes (2019) examined the IWAH subscales as predictors of variables related to reduction in clothing consumption. The results showed the Adler/Maslow factor as a stronger predictor of variables in their model (e.g., awareness of need to reduce consumption, personal norm to reduce consumption) than ingroup identification. Takamatsu (2020) examined the IWAH subscales as predictors of moral concern for outgroup members in a sample of U.S. adults. The ingroup identification dimension was a negative predictor and the Adler/Maslow factor was a positive predictor of concern for outgroups. Together the results

suggest that when examined simultaneously in models the two dimensions can show different relationships with outcome variables, typically with Adler/Maslow dimension driving the results.

Global Citizenship

Building upon the notion of intentional worlds (Shweder, 1990) and social identity perspective, Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2013) tested a model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification (see Fig. 9.1). The extent to which one's normative environment promotes a global citizen identity and one's global awareness (perceived knowledge of the world and felt interconnectedness with others) predicts viewing oneself as a global citizen. The left side of the model is based on
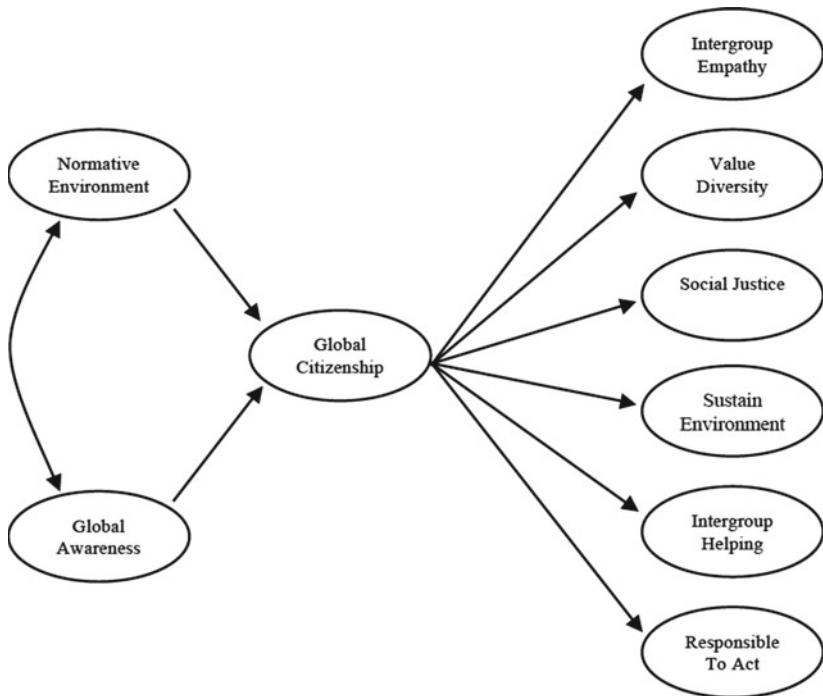

Fig. 9.1 Model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification

the notion of intentional worlds in which one is embedded. In effect, if a person is immersed in an environment that contains pro-global artifacts (e.g., international news, global education, role models who promote pro-global ideas) then they should report identifying more strongly as a global citizen. Global citizenship identification in turn predicts six clusters of prosocial values that are suggested to be the prototypical group content that is connected to the identity label—global citizen. The right side of the model is based on a social identity perspective with identification predicting adherence to group content. The six outcomes include intergroup empathy (empathy for people outside one's ingroup), valuing diversity (appreciation and desire to engage with other cultures), social justice (concern for human rights and equity), environmental sustainability (concern for the natural environment), intergroup helping (desire to help people outside one's ingroup), and felt the responsibility to act for the betterment of the world (felt obligation to aid the world).

Researchers have sought to examine possible factors predicting the model, increasing global citizenship identification, and correlates of global citizenship identification. Factors such as taking a college course with global content, having a professor who promotes a global citizen identity, interdependent self-construal, belonging to a fandom that promotes the identity, a positive attitude toward technology, a liberal political orientation, and a quest for religious orientation have been shown to predict the model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification (for a review see Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2018). Correlates of global citizenship identification have included openness to new experiences, exposure to global information, academic motivation, desire to protest unethical corporations, and a positive attitude toward peace and support for diplomacy (see Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2018).

Prototypical Content

From the social identity perspective, groups have prototypical content that distinguishes one group from another. In a review of studies of lay perceptions of global citizenship, including participants who had

never heard the term, Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2018) note that many of the themes that arose are components of the model (e.g., global awareness, social justice, environmentalism). This suggests that lay people associate the category label with these prototypical beliefs and behaviors, which may mean that different category labels (e.g., human) may have different prototypical content. As an example, Merle et al. (2019) found that tweets that included the hashtag #globalcitizen were related to nature, common good, and disadvantaged groups. In survey research with U.S. undergraduate students, Reysen et al. (2013) examined identification with different labels (global citizen, cosmopolitan, world citizen, international citizen, and human) as predictors of prosocial values. The results showed that global citizen was a significant predictor above and beyond identification with the other labels. Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2017a) examined global citizen and human identification simultaneously as correlates of variables related to peace (e.g., forgiveness, support for diplomacy). Again, identification with global citizens, and not humans, was a significant predictor of support for peace. In a sample of adults in Portugal, Carmona et al. (2020) asked participants to write about one of six different labels (all humans everywhere, people all over the world, people from different countries around the world, global citizens, citizens of the world, and members of the world community). Example themes revolved around diversity, multiculturalism, human nature, and mobility. The results showed that the themes indeed differed depending on the category label that participants were writing about. Furthermore, there tended to be higher order dimensions that differed between "human" and "citizen" related labels. Together, the results suggest that not all group/category labels are the same. Relatedly, future researchers may wish to use a single category label rather than mixing labels in their measurement of global identity (e.g., referencing all humans and world citizens in the same measure). Given that there are only a few studies examining group content of inclusive identity labels, more research is needed to examine what norms/values are associated with the different identities.

Summary

Although the present chapter has taken a selection of the variety of global identity research and measures, there is a clear theme to the results: global identities are related to prosocial outcomes. Regardless of the measure, researchers tend to find that greater identification is associated with variables such as a desire to help others (e.g., giving to charity, global cooperation, support for refugees), valuing diversity, environmentalism, empathy, and social justice concerns (e.g., fairness, protest unethical corporations). Indeed, researchers would be hard pressed to find a study with global identification linked to negative outcomes. However, as noted above, there may exist differences between identity labels with respect to prototypical group content. Yet, this may only be the case for labels that include the word "citizen" versus "human." That said, the research thus far tends to point to the above measures as showing similar associations with prosocial outcomes. Although I have suggested that globalization has afforded individuals the opportunity to view oneself as part of the global community, in the next section I review research to support this claim. Similar to this section I have separated the research by the measure used.

Globalization and Global Identities

Identification with the World as a Whole

As noted earlier, Buchan and colleagues conducted a token assignment task with participants in six countries to examine the extent that individuals would give to a world (vs. personal and local) account. The researchers also assessed country level globalization (composite of economic, social, and political dimensions) and individual level globalization (e.g., contacting people in other countries, international travel, attending cultural events, watching international news). Buchan et al. (2009) reported that both country and individual level globalization predicted greater giving to the world. In essence, globalization encourages global cooperation. Buchan and Grimalda (2011) broke down their

measure of individual level globalization into economic, political, social, and cultural dimensions to predict giving to the global account. The results showed that all of the dimensions, excluding economic, predicted greater giving to the world. In a later paper, Grimalda et al. (2018) reported that identification with the world as a whole mediated the relationship between the composite measure of individual level globalization and contribution to the world account. In effect, globalization predicts greater identification with the world, and identification predicts global cooperation.

Global Human Belonging

Der-Karabetian et al. (2014) examined the associations between globalization, environmentalism, and identity in college student samples from the United States, China, and Taiwan. The researchers assessed a construct they termed global belonging (e.g., "I think of myself as a citizen of the world") that is similar to measures of ingroup identification from the social identity perspective. Across the three samples, global belonging was positively related to one's perceived positive impact of globalization in general (e.g., "Globalization contributes to the better economic conditions for everyone") and on one's country (e.g., "Globalization has impacted the economy of my country positively by raising the standard of living"). Global belonging was also a positive predictor (in two samples) of engaging in environmentally sustainable behaviors. Similar results were observed in a second study with college students in the United States, the Netherlands, and Brazil (Der-Karabetian & Alfaro, 2015), and another study in the United States (Der-Karabetian et al., 2018).

de Rivera and Carson (2015) conducted a series of studies to examine factors increasing global belonging. Although they used the same global belonging measure as Der-Karabetian et al. (2014), they termed it a global identity. In Study 1, U.S. college students rated their degree of global identification before and after reading a paragraph about people's participation in a global community (e.g., part of interconnected system) and visiting websites that contained interviews from

geographically/culturally diverse individuals and stories from NGOs that work toward a culture of peace/justice. The results showed participants reporting higher global identity after the activity. In Study 2, global identity was positively correlated with a desire to celebrate global community in a sample of U.S. college students. In Study 3, graduate students and staff in Argentina rated global identity before and after a professor gave a lecture about peace and why people should celebrate the global community. The results showed an increase in global identity after the lecture. Although these studies do not reference globalization specifically, the interventions do highlight the interconnectedness that is a hallmark of globalization. Thus, the results suggest that interventions highlighting globalization (and I presume based on reference to celebrations of global identity) in a positive manner may impact identity.

World Citizen

Using the World Values Survey data, Ariely (2018) examined the influence of globalization on the association between national and world citizen identification. The results showed a negative association between national and global identification. The association was moderated by country level globalization, such that more globalized countries showed a weaker relationship than less globalized countries. However, in these samples, globalization (measured at country level) was not significantly associated with individuals' ratings of world identification. Ariely (2017) conducted similar analyses examining the relationship between global identification and xenophobic attitudes. The results showed a stronger negative association between identification as a world citizen and xenophobic attitudes in countries with greater globalization versus less globalization change.

IWAH

Although no research has directly examined the relationship between globalization and IWAH, researchers have provided indirect evidence that contact with people and consumption of material from other

countries is associated with IWAH. In a series of studies Sparkman and Eidelman (2018) examined the association between U.S. participants' multicultural experiences and IWAH. In Study 1 experiences with cultural elements (e.g., music) and people (e.g., travel, international contacts) were related to IWAH (one item, Venn diagram adapted from the inclusion of other in the self-scale Aron et al., 1992 that was eventually dropped from the IWAH measure). In Study 2, multicultural experiences were associated with IWAH (a combination of the ingroup identification factor, the Venn diagram item, and two novel items). Using the same IWAH measure in Study 3, the researchers replicated Study 2 and found that the quality and quantity of intercultural contacts were positively correlated with IWAH. In a sample of adults in Poland, Sparkman and Hamer (2020) found multicultural experiences were positively correlated with ingroup identification and the Adler/Maslow dimensions of IWAH. Furthermore, in a model predicting helping and intergroup attitudes the researchers observed the type of experiences differed in predicting IWAH dimensions: contact with others predicted both ingroup identification and Adler/Maslow, while experiences with cultural elements predicted only the Adler/Maslow dimension.

Belt (2016) surveyed university students to find that IWAH (nine item averaged) was positively associated with participation in study abroad, frequent interactions with people from a different culture, and having traveled/lived abroad. Römpke et al. (2019) assigned German students to participate in a chat with a purportedly foreign student or learn about a piece of art (control condition) prior to rating IWAH (nine item average). The results showed that intergroup contact (vs. no contact) was related to higher IWAH. Furthermore, in a second study, participants' self-reported international contacts were positively related to IWAH. Rowe and Post (2019) surveyed U.S. medical students who had either participated in global health experiences (or not). Students who had participated in global experiences rated IWAH (nine item average) higher than those who had not. Taken together, the evidence thus far supports the notion that engagement with others and consumption of global artifacts is related to higher IWAH scores.

Global Citizenship

Globalization is closely connected with the notion of global citizenship. Reysen, Pierce, et al. (2014) asked U.S. undergraduate students to provide a definition of global citizenship. The most frequently used words were then presented to participants in a reaction time task in which students categorized the words as either "global citizen" or "other." The results showed that the word "globalization" was quickly and frequently categorized as associated with global citizen. There are also indicators that global citizenship identification is related to the consumption of culturally diverse content. For example, global citizenship identification is positively related to a desire to engage in diverse cultural experiences, using the internet to search for entertainment from other countries for U.S. participants (Reysen et al., 2013), and greater use of social media for Filipino students (Lee et al., 2017). In a study of U.S. and Bulgarian media (newspapers, magazines) Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2017b) found more global stories in Bulgarian media. Additionally, greater consumption of news/media was associated with higher global citizenship identification for Bulgarian participants.

There also is evidence that interactions with individuals from other countries are associated with global citizenship. Lenkaitis et al. (2019) asked students in a second language course to participate in virtual exchanges with people in another country and complete a measure of global awareness (an antecedent to global citizenship identification) before and after six weeks of interactions. Students reported greater global awareness after the virtual exchanges. Lenkaitis and Loranc-Paszylk (2021) conducted a similar study also finding that global citizenship identification increased after participating in virtual exchanges. In a sample of Canadian college students, Sherman et al. (2020) observed an increase in global citizenship identification after a short-term study abroad trip. However, Mule et al. (2018) observed no significant difference in global citizenship identification for students who completed a short-term study abroad (vs. a sample of students who did not travel abroad). In a study with self-identified Roma living in Slovakia, intergroup contact was found to predict greater global citizenship identification (Reysen et al., 2016). Together, these results tend to suggest that

interacting with culturally diverse others can promote viewing oneself as a global citizen, although the relationship may be more nuanced for study abroad (e.g., having a poor experience during study abroad may hinder identification).

In a series of studies, Reysen et al. (2020) examined the relationship between globalization and global citizenship identification. In Study 1, American participants completed various measures related to globalization (e.g., social globalization, globalization knowledge) and global citizenship identification. Identification with global citizens was positively associated with social globalization (e.g., talking to people outside the United States on the internet), globalization attitude (viewing globalization positively), globalization knowledge (knowledge of global institutions and issues), global openness (openness to other cultures), awareness of globalization (seeing the impact of globalization in one's life), and perceived impact of globalization on one's self. In Study 3, the researchers found that the perceived impact of globalization on one's self was positively correlated with identification in samples from the United States, Canada, Brazil, Vietnam, and India. In Study 4, the researchers tested the influence of the perceived impact of globalization on Reysen and Katzarska-Miller's (2013) model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification. The perception that one's life is impacted by globalization predicted global citizenship identification through one's perception that their normative environment is pro-global and global awareness. The perceived impact of globalization also predicted the six clusters of prosocial values through the antecedents and global citizenship identification. Together the studies show consistent associations between perceptions of globalization (e.g., viewing globalization positively) and global citizenship identification.

Individuals' perception of globalization can also have the reverse effect on identification. Snider et al. (2013) presented participants with either a positive (e.g., cultural diversity in job market, opportunities to travel when working for global companies), negative (e.g., outsourcing jobs make the job market worse), or no framing of globalization prior to rating global citizenship identification and other measures. Compared to the positive framing, participants exposed to the negative framing rated their degree of global citizenship identification lower. Participants

also reported lower happiness and academic motivation, less desire to help others, and less willingness to protest unethical corporations when presented with the negative (vs. positive) framing of globalization. The results suggest that one's perception of globalization has a direct impact on one's degree of psychological connection to the category label global citizen.

Koc and Vignoles (2018) posited that for gay men living in Turkey identifying as a global citizen would aid in being a gay man in a culture with traditional masculine norms, and subsequently bolster well-being. Participants were randomly assigned to read about positive, negative, or no information (control) about globalization, followed by completion of measures regarding global citizenship identification, gay-male identity integration, and well-being. The results showed that the pro-globalization (vs. negative portrayal of globalization) predicted greater global citizenship identification. Global citizenship identification predicted greater gay-male identity integration, and identity integration predicted higher subjective well-being. The results support those of Snider et al. (2013) in showing that manipulating one's view of globalization has an impact on global citizenship identification.

Summary

The research linking globalization and global identities thus far suggests that the two are related. Engaging with geographically and culturally diverse others, consuming artifacts from other cultures, and reading news from other countries all appear to contribute to viewing oneself as part of the global community. Furthermore, perceiving that one's life has been impacted by globalization is associated with greater identification. An additional theme that appears across studies is that the perception of globalization as positive (vs. negative) is associated with greater identification. Having a negative perception of globalization is related to less identification. Relatedly, viewing a threat to a subgroup (e.g., nation) can reduce identification (Reysen, Katzarska-Miller, et al., 2014; Reysen, Pierce, et al., 2014), while having a positive perception of humanity is associated with greater identification (Putra et al., 2021). One exception

to the notion that having a subgroup under threat can reduce identification is proposed by Gorman and Seguin (2018) who suggest that groups that are marginalized and under threat are likely to adopt a global identity when they perceive the existence of allies to aid them. In effect, the perception that one is connected with others in the world is associated with placing oneself within a global community.

Conclusion

Research examining inclusive global identities has been steadily increasing in recent years. In general, greater identification with a global identity is associated with prosocial values and behaviors. Following Reysen and Katzarska-Miller's (2013, 2018) model, these prosocial values tend to fall into six clusters of beliefs and behaviors. For example, solidarity with animals could fall under the umbrella of environmental sustainability, giving to the world account in a token assignment task could reflect felt the responsibility to act for the betterment of the world, and support for refugees could reflect intergroup helping. Further research is needed to examine whether the prototypical content associated with the identity labels differs, but the correlates in prior research tend to suggest that they are more similar than different (with the exception of human identity).

The results reviewed in the present chapter suggest that globalization (or related measures like intergroup contact with diverse others) is associated with identification with a global identity. Intergroup contact, consumption of culturally diverse artifacts, holding a positive view of globalization, and perceiving a positive impact of globalization on oneself is associated with greater identification. In effect, greater engagement with the global community is related to greater global identification. However, there is a caveat that the perception of globalization should be positive to be associated with a global identity. When participants are prompted to think of the negative aspects of globalization their degree of identification goes down (Koc & Vignoles, 2018; Snider et al., 2013).

Although the trends observed in the research reviewed suggest a general association between globalization and global identification, this

relationship is likely more complicated and deserving of further research. For example, future researchers may delve into the mixed results observed between participating in study abroad and global identity. There are a variety of factors that may enhance or limit an increase in identification such as what country the student visited (e.g., same or different from one's native language), length of stay, and the quantity and quality of the interactions with diverse others. Furthermore, a greater examination of what types of interactions and artifacts consumed is needed. For example, eating out at a Chinese restaurant is unlikely to shift global identity. How much, how diverse, and over how long do experiences need to be to increase global identification? Given this is a relatively new area of exploration there are many fruitful avenues for researchers to follow.

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