

Human Development in Today's Globalizing World:
Implications for Self and Identity

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Abstract. The psychological dimension open versus closed is a core dimension for self and identity in a globalizing world. With this thesis as a starting point, the implications of globalization for human development are discussed: the impact of the Internet on the embodied self, globalization and localization as two sides of the same coin, and the emergence of global and local identities, including their bi-cultural and hybrid manifestations. Furthermore, attention is given to the balance between homophily, as a necessary condition for effective communication between different cultural positions and heterophily, as a source for innovation and creativity at cultural interfaces. In this context, psychology as a discipline is criticized for its universal pretensions. Finally, arguments are presented for studying the influence of globalization on life-long development, including the process of aging, and for the necessity of dialogical models for the study of self and identity in a globalizing world.

Keywords: globalization, localization, bi-cultural identity, hybrid identity, dialogical self, homophily, heterophily, aging, cultural learning

**On a Personal Note: WWII as the First Period of Globalization in my
Life**

One of the most impressive moments in my life was in September 1944 when my place of birth, Maastricht, in the south of The Netherlands, was liberated from the German occupation. As a 7-year-old boy, I saw, with mounting surprise, the marching soldiers of the American 30th Infantry Division 'Old Hickory,' passing through the narrow street near my parents' house, wildly applauded by the masses who greeted them with explosive enthusiasm and joy, after more than four long years of suppression and suffering. The sudden change of military power marked the beginning of a totally different way of communication with the 'strangers'. The contrast between the attitude of the Dutch towards the enemy and towards the liberator could not be more pronounced. While I, like almost all of my peers, had felt reservation and anxiety for the German soldiers during the occupation, from the moment of liberation I was excited to meet and greet every American soldier with a big smile and a loud 'Hello boy!', a greeting which was always returned. Whereas I had never communicated with any German soldier before, always observing them from a safe distance, I learned to interact with the Americans in a surprisingly spontaneous and open way. On the suggestion by an older friend, I sometimes addressed a friendly looking soldier with a simple, but quite effective, combination of

American words: "Mother poor, want chewing gum". When my request was approved, and it typically was, I felt rich as the proud owner of a whole package of Wrigley Chewing Gum, which for me symbolized a historical turn in my lifestyle.

When I look back at the events of that time and their meaning in my personal history, I realize that the occupation by the German army and the later liberation by the Allies, were my first experiences of, what we would call in the present day, 'globalization'. The darkness, fear, and threat that lurked over the first period was abruptly followed by a feeling of rebirth, renewed vigor, and elated joy of the second one. This early experience made me aware of the strong contrast between closing myself to the unwelcome occupiers and opening myself to the welcomed liberators.

The Open versus the Closed Mind

The *opening* of borders between different cultures, countries, and communities is one of the central features of a globalizing world. Despite increasing economical, ecological, demographic, political, and military interconnections, however, individuals and groups are also *separating* themselves from each other in the service of their vested interest and demarcation of their own identity. The increasing interdependence and separation as its counter-force create a field of tension in which individuals, groups, and communities position themselves and each other as part of the process of civilization.

After Rokeach's (1960) classic study *The Open and Closed Mind*, psychologists have become aware of the social relevance of this dimension for the workings of self and identity. As a response to the border-crossings in a globalizing world, individuals and groups are opening or closing themselves, depending on their needs, interests, wishes, anxieties, or uncertainties. On the assumption that self and society are not mutually exclusive but rather inclusive, it makes sense to study how self and society shape each other. That is, society deeply penetrates the self like, in reverse, the self is able to influence and even innovate society, as Mead (1934) has convincingly argued in his influential book *Mind, Self, and Society*.

Also in our own work, self and (globalizing) society, are considered to make each other up. Since 1992 my colleagues and I were involved in the development of a social-scientific theory, the so-called Dialogical Self Theory (Hermans & Gieser, 2012; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), inspired by the ground-breaking works of American authors like William James and George Herbert Mead, and the Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin. In this theory the self is considered as a 'society of mind, which functions as a dynamic multiplicity of embodied *I*-positions among which dialogical relationships can be established. As this theory holds, a certain degree of innovation and renewal of self and identity are indispensable for the further development, not only for the individual self, but also for society at large. This innovation requires a certain degree of openness for the

specific social positions of other groups, cultures, and communities as part of a globalizing society, but also for the development of a demarcated self of the individual person.

In this chapter, I want to sketch the relationship between globalization and human development with special emphasis on the psychology of self and identity. More specifically, I want to show how deeply self and identity are influenced and even changed by the process of globalization. I will describe that globalization has a Janus-faced nature, leading in some cases to creativity and innovation of self and identity and in other cases to identity confusion and marginalization. Finally, I will criticize psychology's universal pretensions and argue for a dialogical approach in the study of globalization and localization.

Globalization, Self and Development

First of all, we need to answer the question of what we mean by globalization and why it is relevant for human development. In order to illustrate the relationship between globalization and development, I will give some examples of the influence of globalization on the everyday life of adolescents and young adults with a focus on the deep impact of Internet technology on self and identity. I use these examples as a start for a broader discussion of the possibilities and dangers of the process of accelerating globalization and their linkages to human development.

The Impact of Globalization on Development

The focus of the present chapter is on the intense and deep implications of the process of globalization for the development of the individual person. But what is 'globalization'? In a most general way, globalization refers to the process of international, interregional and intercultural contacts arising from the interchange of products, people, ideas, and world views. Such interchanges, including advances in transportations and telecommunications are central factors in globalization. As Marsella (2012) concludes: virtually all the definitions involve an acknowledgement "that the process of globalization involves extensive and often imposed contact among people from different cultures, nations, and empires with subsequent social, cultural, economic, and political interdependencies and consequences" (p. 456).

Globalization has profound implications for the formation of self and identity during the life-course. Discussing the repercussions of globalization for adolescents (ages 10-18) and emerging adulthood (ages 18-29), Jensen Arnett, and McKenzie (2011) present some telling examples. Promoted through the highly popular Fotologs and MSN Messenger, hundreds, even thousands, of adolescents in Chile organize parties where they violate the traditional sexual mores of what was once one of the most conservative countries in Latin America. In China, a mass movement of 'factory girls' in their late-teens to mid-twenties move from rural villages to cities in an attempt to find work, some of them attending English classes, others

becoming escorts for wealthy businessmen, and many of them working in order to send their hard-earned money back home. Or, a couple, an American woman and Greek man, are married in Paris, honeymoon in Africa, and then find their residence in England. With these 'snapshots' Jensen and colleagues illustrate how globalization impacts the identity development of adolescents and emerging adults worldwide in key areas such as marriage, sexuality, work, and moral values.

Internet's Deep Implications for Self and Identity

One of the most revolutionary developments in the process of globalization is the use of the Internet. It has a pervasive influence on the everyday life of an increasing number of people worldwide and, thanks to technological advances, it is accessible at many places and locations, not only in the school but also in trains, in nature, and even in one's bedroom. It has the potential to broaden one's vista in unprecedented ways. According to Larson (2002) the Internet provides the potential for entrepreneurs to offer the 'MIT Curriculum on Calculus' or 'Pentecostalist Curriculum on World History' to any child who has the money and equipment available to log on to the specific Website. The increasing number of courses, curricula, and their à la carte combinations exemplify the potential for enormous growth of individualized, Internet-mediated education. The Internet enables children and adults to have access to information, institutions, and virtual communities across the world, regardless of one's age, gender, ethnicity,

social standing, or physical attractiveness. On the basis of his review of literature, Larson concludes that the freedom of choice and empowerment provided by the Internet has implications for every facet of adolescents' lives: their social contacts with family, friends, and romantic partners, their health and well-being, their education, their civic and community engagement and their transition to adult work. However, Larson also gives attention to the shadow sides of Internet communication (see also Hevern, 2012): it generates new vulnerabilities to interpersonal manipulation and commercial exploitation and it opens new opportunities for deviant behavior, such as hacking and accessing a diversity of pornographic materials.

A striking example of how deep the use of the Internet can go into the embodied self is provided by adolescents who are engaged in self-mutilation:

As a conversation unfolds among Teenagers on an Internet message board, it rapidly becomes evident that this is not idle electronic chatter. One youngster poses a question that, to an outsider, seems shocking: "Does anyone know to cut deep without having it sting and bleed too much?" An answer quickly appears: "I use box cutter blades. You have to pull the skin really tight and press the blade down really hard." Another response advises that a quick swipe of a blade against skin "doesn't hurt and there is blood galore." The questioner seems satisfied: "Okay, I'll get a

Stanley blade 'cause I hear that it will cut right to the bone with no hassle. But...I won't cut that deep." (Bower, 2006, p. 376).

A team of researchers under the supervision of Janis L. Whitlock of Cornell University studied self-injury message boards like the one mentioned above. Five Internet search engines led the investigators to discover 406 such sites. Most of them attracted participants who presented themselves as adolescents between 12 and 20. Even more ominously, a significant minority of messages discouraged self-injurers from seeking formal medical or mental assistance or they shared ways to keep the details about self-harm techniques secret (Bowers, 2006). As the phenomenon of self-mutilation suggests, Internet communication has a deep impact on the relationships of adolescents not only with each other but also with themselves and their own body. Globalization, and Internet communication, as one of its manifestations, is not something 'outside', but rather penetrates deeply into the inner domains of the self (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

In a more recent review of advances of Internet-based technologies, Hevern (2012) demonstrates the increasing diversity of communication possibilities. Premillennial Internet media (email, instant messaging or texting, personal webpages, and weblogs) have been joined by a large number of post-2000 innovations: social networking utilities (Facebook, MySpace, Twitter), wikis, peer-to-peer file transfer protocols (such as

BitTorrent), Voice over the Internet protocol (VOIP), like Skype, and both graphic image (Flickr) and video (YouTube, Vimeo) sharing utilities among other developments. As Hevern shows, these online technologies build an environment often labelled “Web 2.0” as individuals use the Net not merely to access information created by professional web designers (“Web 1.0”) but to create themselves and share with others their own ideas, beliefs, personal experiences and artistic achievements.

Like Larson (2002) Hevern is not only concerned about the promises and increasing opportunities of the Internet but also of its shadow sides to which he refers in terms of the “voices of darkness and the irrational” (p. 196). In his view, the emergence of such voices seems to be facilitated by the unique opportunities of barricaded and relatively anonymous Internet communication tools.

Globalization: Its Promises and Deceptions

The process of globalization is so complex and caught in opposites, that it is not possible to describe it in either positive or negative terms. It is associated with both virtues and vices and loaded with possibilities and dangers.

Moreover, as I will show in this section, it is connected with its counter-part, localization, in a dialectical way.

Globalization: Its Virtues and Vices

Not only Internet, but globalization, as a broader topic, has both virtues and vices and brings both advantages and disadvantages. As Marsella (2012)

observes in his review of literature, globalization gives and takes, it promises and deceives, it liberates and imposes. In presenting a list of positive and negative implications, he notes that the same events can be seen as positive or negative depending on differing point of view and the phase of transition of a particular group, nation, or culture. On the (general) positive side, he includes topics like: Exposure to new ideas and customs, international integration and networking, increased national wealth, social mobility, new technologies, changes in gender status and opportunities, chances for economic growth via foreign companies, and a sense of global solidarity with humanity. On the negative side, he refers to decreased predictability and control, future shock, culture shock, and identity shock, greater divisions between rich and poor, cultural disintegration, exploitation of labor forces, breakdown in traditional values and customs, increased dependence on foreign sources, and English language penetration.

English Language Penetration and its Implications for Identity: The Case of Edward Said

An illustrative example of the impact of English language penetration in the context of social power relationships and globalization, including colonialism, is provided by the life of Edward Said. This author became well-known in scientific circles for his influential work on *Orientalism*, a concept used by many researchers to refer to a general patronizing Western attitude towards Middle Eastern, Asian and North African societies. In his

autobiography *Out of place* (1999), Said reflects about the different cultures in which he was involved and also about the influence of his name on his identity. As Bhatia (2002) describes, Said struggled with his hyphenated, postcolonial identity as a Palestinian-Egyptian-Christian-Arab-American, a diversity of cultural positions that, in his view, were loaded with many tensions. Born as a Palestinian and belonging to a Christian minority, he lived in an Arab country, received his education in colonial Cairo in a British school and later moved to America.

The training that he received in the English school in Cairo, reflects both his experience of dislocation and the culture shock between the Arab boys and the English educators. The British staff of the school used to position the Arab boys as a “distasteful job” or as “delinquents” who were in need of regular discipline and punishment. Interactions were prescribed in a handbook with rules that were used to make the Arab boys become like the British, which in turn evoked resistance from the side of the boys:

Rule 1 stated categorically: ‘English is the language of the school. Anyone caught speaking other languages will be severely punished.’ So Arabic became our haven, a criminalized discourse where we took refuge from the world of masters and complicit prefects and anglicized older boys who lorded it over us as enforcers of the hierarchy and its rules. Because of Rule 1 we spoke more, rather than less, Arabic, as an act of defiance against

what seemed then, and seems even more so now, an arbitrary, ludicrously gratuitous symbol of their power. (Bhatia, 2002, p. 68)

As this quotation illustrates, English language was not simply a subject to be learned at school in which the pupil could excel or fail. It was rather part of a prescribed form of interaction associated with differences and even clashes between cultural positions and their hierarchical organization based as they were on social power and suppression.

The above quotation reflects the significance of social power in the process of globalization. In the present example, the relationship between the English staff and the Arab pupils was markedly different from the hierarchical relationship between teachers and pupils in the context of a single culture (e.g., an English school for English adolescents). It was a relationship of social power that puts one culture, the English, including its language, above the other one, the Arabic, which led the Arabic boys to answer with forms of counter-power.

The English language penetration even 'infiltrated' his name which confusingly combined the English name Edward with the Arabic name Said. He reflects on his name in this way:

Thus it took me about fifty years to become accustomed to, or, more exactly, to feel less uncomfortable with, 'Edward,' a foolishly English name yoked forcibly to the unmistakably Arabic family name Said [...]. For years, and depending on the exact circumstances, I would rush past

‘Edward’ and emphasize ‘Said’; at other times I would do the reverse or connect these two to each other so quickly that neither would be clear (Said, 1999, pp. 3–4).

As this quotation shows, Said’s multi-cultural identity was not an addition or a simple juxtaposition of different identities. Rather, his different cultural positions were loaded with tensions and the residuals of social power relationships between different cultural groups. Power relationships and cultural domination, do not simply “surround” the self as something outside the skin, but infiltrate its most personal and inner domains (Callero, 2003; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

Globalization and Localization as Two Sides of the Same Coin

Conceptions that consider globalization and homogenization (e.g., Americanization) as identical or equivalent processes have become increasingly obsolete (e.g., Castells, 1997, Featherstone, 1995). Although there are clear indications of homogenizing trends (e.g., consumerism, last-bestseller distribution, world-wide export of Hollywood films, the explosive spread of social media), the idea that globalization is to be identified with cultural homogenization is not more than simplistic, whether seen positively as the utopia of the global village or negatively as a form of cultural imperialism. Rather, the process of globalization leads to a sharpening of cultural contrasts or even engenders new oppositions (e.g., re-appraisal of indigenous cultures, spiritual counter-movements, protests

against overconsumption, ecological movements, forms of religious fundamentalism). One of the obstacles to understanding the process of globalization is the widespread tendency to regard the global–local distinction as a polarity consisting of mutually excluding components. This polarity is represented by the view that we live in a world of local affirmations *against* globalizing trends. As a consequence, localization is asserted as a form of opposition or resistance to the global, which is seen as hegemonic. Such mutually exclusive opposition is exemplified by the idea that people retreat into smaller communities or local niches as a defense against the overruling process of globalization.

Certainly, there are defensive forms of localization. As Kinnvall (2004) has convincingly argued, the globalization of economics, politics, and other global developments have resulted in an increase of what she calls ‘ontological insecurity’ and ‘existential anxiety.’ One main response to this anxiety has been to seek protection and affirmation of one’s self and identity by drawing closer to any collectivity that is seen as being able to reduce insecurity and anxiety, with religion and nation as primary identity markers. Particularly, the combination of religion and nationalism is a particularly powerful response in periods of rapid change and highly uncertain futures.

Fear of global culture's hegemonic influence on the local culture is also reflected in the phenomenon of contamination anxiety—the worry that the global culture will contaminate the authenticity of the local culture. Chiu

et al. (2011) give the example of the closedown of a Starbucks coffee shop in Beijing in 2007. In that year the director of *BizChina*, the prime-time daily business show on CCTV International, started an online campaign to have Starbucks removed from Beijing's Forbidden City. He wrote an online article in which he portrayed the Forbidden City is a symbol of China's cultural heritage and Starbucks as a symbol of lower middle class culture in the west. His article attracted more than half a million readers and inspired more than 2700 commentaries, mostly of them sympathetic to the writer's plea. In July 2007, Starbucks closed its shop in the Forbidden City.

Despite the existence of defensive localization and contamination anxiety, globalization in its broadest sense increasingly involves the incorporation of locality, as reflected, for example, in the emergence of TV enterprises such as MTV, CNN, and, later Al Jazeera, seeking global markets and focusing, at the same time, on a great diversity of local events and cultural specificities. The past century, in particular, has witnessed a remarkable proliferation with respect to the international organization and promotion of locality. One can refer to attempts to organize the promotion of the rights and identities of native or indigenous peoples on a global scale (e.g., the Global Forum in Brazil in 1992 or the Global Forum on Migration and Development in Belgium in 2007). Therefore, it makes sense to conjure up a process of *glocalization*, as Robertson (1995) has proposed, as this concept combines two seemingly opposing trends: homogenization and

heterogenization, which can be explained as not only simultaneous but also complementary and interpenetrative. (For 'global- local interpenetration' or 'global-local dialectics', see Chen, 2006; and Featherstone, 1995)

From Globalization to Hybrid Identities

On the level of self and identity, globalization and localization receive their expression in global and local identities and facilitate the emergence of hybrid identities. In this section, I will demonstrate that the tension between these identities, in the positive case, leads to creativity and innovation, and, in the negative case, to identity confusion. This will then lead to a discussion of the Janus-faced nature of globalization.

Global and Local identities: Biculturalism and Hybridity

The global-local nexus has immediate implications for the psychology of self and identity. As Arnett (2002) has argued, many people living on the interface of cultures, particularly adolescents and emerging adults, develop, in addition to their local identity, a global identity that provides them with a sense of belonging to a world-wide society. Their global identity enables them to be in touch with people from a diversity of places when they travel abroad, when others travel to the places where they live, and when they communicate with others through the rapidly increasing use of media technology.

At the same time, people continue to keep and further develop their local identity as well, based as it is on local circumstances, traditions, and

practices. This identity is at work when they interact with family, friends, colleagues and participants of their sport clubs. Arnett gives the example of Inuit adolescents in northern Canada who are avid fans of televised pro hockey games. Some of them leave their hometowns for a while to become engaged in educational and occupational training in large cities elsewhere. At the same time, they maintain a local identity that is rooted in distinctively Inuit traditions. They like ice fishing and race snowmobiles and stay outside during the long summer days when it stays light well past midnight. While an increasing number of adolescents and young adults develop a global identity in finding their own way as autonomous individuals, their local identity is defined by the traditional values of reticence, modesty, and family obligations. They retain their Inuit identity even as they also develop an identity as members of a global society.

Even in parts of the world that are subjected to an intensified process of globalization, there are many who retain and develop their local identity alongside their global identity. Jensen, Arnett, and McKenzie (2011) refer to the situation in India with its growing, vigorous high-tech economic sector, led largely by young people. Even the higher-educated young people, who are used to participating in the global economy, still keep their preference for an arranged marriage and continue to care for their aging parents, in concord with Indian tradition. While their global identity participates in the

fast-paced high tech world, their local identity stays firmly rooted in the Indian tradition, in this way preserving and developing a bi-cultural identity.

However, Jensen et al. (2011) continue, global and local elements are not to be considered as isolated parts of the self, which do not have any influence on each other. Without any doubts, local cultures are being modified by globalization, especially by the introduction of free market economics, global media, democratic institutions, increased length of formal schooling, and delayed entry into marriage and parenthood. Such changes significantly alter traditional cultural beliefs and practices and may lead, as Hermans & Kempen (1998) have observed, to *hybrid identities*, which combine elements of both local and global cultures.

The phenomenon of hybridization contradicts the traditional view of cultures as internally homogeneous and externally distinctive. The accelerated process of globalization leads to numerous border-crossings resulting in the recombination of existing forms and practices into new cultural patterns (Rowe & Schelling, 1991). Hybridization of cultural elements may create such multiple identities as: Mexican schoolgirls dressed in Greek togas dancing in the style of Isadora Duncan, a London boy of Asian origin playing for a local Bengali cricket team and at the same time supporting the Arsenal football club, Thai boxing by Moroccan girls in Amsterdam, and Native Americans celebrating Mardi Gras in the United States. Pieterse (1995) refers to such examples in opposition to the idea that

cultural developments, past or present, are moving towards cultural uniformity and homogeneity, as expressed by the idea 'from the west to the rest.' This idea of uniformity fails to see the pervasive influence of counter-movements which are derived from the fact that one culture does not simply take over or 'imitates' the developments of the other one, but also *responds* to them. It also under-estimates the capacity of human beings to combine very different and even conflicting *I*-positions in a multiple identity. The resulting process of hybridization offers new ways for cultural practices to become combined and fused so that novel cultural identities emerge (see also Canclini, 1995).

Hybridity, Innovation and Creativity

The innovative potential of the process of hybridization is exemplified by the phenomenon of 'third culture' in which two or more original cultures are combined into a new one. As Pollock and van Reken (2009) detail, countless people of virtually every nationality do not fully belong to any group in the world. They may be North-Americans who grew up in Singapore, or British kids raised in China, Japanese children growing up in Australia, or a child of a Norwegian father and a Thai mother. All of them have one thing in common: they are spending or have spent at least some part of their childhood in cultures or countries other than their own. They become third culture kids (TCK's) and later adult culture kids.

Children become TCK's for a variety of reasons. Some have parents working in international business, the diplomatic corps, the military, or religious organizations. Others have parents who studied abroad or live for some period outside their home culture because of political problems or wars. TCK's are raised in a neither/nor world. It is neither the world of their parents' culture nor that of the host culture in which they were raised. As Pollock and van Reken observe, they live first in one culture, move to another one, sometimes to two or three more, and often move back and forth among them. In this way, TCK's develop their *own* life patterns, different from those born and bred in one cultural place. The authors add that most TCK's learn to live comfortably in their world of rapid change (p. 4). Apparently, many TCK's succeed in developing a third culture in which they integrate elements of other cultures and their own original culture in a new form.

The phenomenon of third culture finds its theoretical correlation in the notion of 'third position' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), in which two or more different, contradicting or conflicting *I*-positions are reconciled in a way that brings the self to some higher level of integration. An illustrative example of a third position on the level of the self is given by Branco, Branco, and Madureira (2008) who describe the story of a 25-year-old lesbian woman in Catholic Brazil. At some point in her self-reflections she started to talk about herself as a Christian woman who wanted to help

forsaken and lost people, including many gays and lesbians, living aimlessly in a difficult world. She felt that her mission was to help people in the Lesbian community to think about their lives and change them in order to better fit Christian values, practices, and beliefs. In this way, she reconciled conflicting positions 'I as a catholic' and 'I as a lesbian', by bringing them together in a third position 'I as a missionary.' For development of self and identity on the tension-loaded interfaces of different cultures, the integration and reconciliation of conflicting cultural and personal positions is a requirement for bringing the self to higher levels of integration (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

One of the findings of our own research is that multiplicity of self and identity needs dialogue in order to prevent fragmentation and dissociation (Dimaggio, Hermans, & Lysaker, 2010). An empirical example is a study by Konig (2009), who, inspired by Dialogical Self Theory, studied the patterns of cultural positions in the lives of 13 global nomads or 'expatriates,' who had extensive experiences in the contact zones of different cultures. She started with the assumption that acculturation can be seen as a continuing process of self-innovation propelled by dialogues between personal cultural positions. She invited her participants to identify their cultural positions (e.g., I as Dutch, I as German, I as American) and to conduct a dialogue between them. Each step in the dialogue was rated on three variables: novelty, importance and authenticity. Results showed, in agreement with the

hypothesis, that in the majority of cases novelty ratings increased as the result of dialogue between the different positions. This finding is in support of the observation that dialogical relationships between positions of third culture kids and global nomads have the potential to contribute to the innovation of the self. (For the innovative impact of dialogue on the self during psychotherapy, see Goncalves and Ribeiro, 2010.)

Research on innovation and creativity is particularly relevant to understanding the potentials of the process of globalization. In an experimental-psychological study, Leung and Chiu (2010) presented aspects of American and Chinese culture to a group of European American undergraduates. The participants were randomly assigned to one of five experimental conditions: (a) *American culture only*, where they viewed a presentation of American culture only; (b) *Chinese culture only*, where the participants viewed a presentation of Chinese culture only; (c) *dual cultures*, where they looked at a presentation of both American and Chinese culture (music video segments and movie trailers from each culture); (d) *fusion culture*, where they viewed a presentation of a hybrid culture created by fusing American and Chinese cultures (e.g., McDonald's rice burger; a Vanessa Mae music video); and (e) control condition, where the participants did not see any presentation. Subsequent to the experimental conditions, participants completed a creativity test (writing a new version of the Cinderella tale). Consistent with the hypothesis, creative performance

following either dual cultures exposure or fusion culture exposure was significantly higher than that in the control condition. When the participants came back, five to 7 days later, in order to complete a different creativity test, the results could be replicated.

Leung and Chiu (2010) presented a literature review which enabled the reader to place their results in a broader context of studies on creativity. For example, there is empirical evidence that exposure to diverse normative views in groups or work teams consisting of culturally diverse members is positively related to the development of creative potential (e.g., Guimera et al. 2005), probably because such exposure gives room for the expression of heterogeneous opinions in groups or teams. Further, bilingualism research has studied the creative performance of bilinguals who have been exposed to two languages in their attendant linguistic cultures. The results suggest that bilinguals tend to have higher creative performances compared to monolinguals (e.g., Ricciardelli, 1992). In addition, there is evidence that ethnically diverse groups are more creative than ethnically homogeneous groups (Simonton, 1999). Finally, at a broader societal level, there is evidence that creativity increases after civilizations open themselves to outside influences and geographic areas become more politically differentiated and culturally diverse (Simonton, 1994). Altogether, these studies suggest that social and cultural hybridity has the potential of enhancing creativity at individual and societal levels.

Openness, Dialogue and Development: A Research Example

Openness is also a relevant phenomenon in the study of the relationship between personality and inner dialogue. In one of the research projects, inspired by Dialogical Self Theory, Oles and Puchalska-Wasył (2012) investigated the relationship between inner dialogues (e.g., who am I dialogues; giving support to oneself; and conversations with imagined others) and the so-called *Big Five* personality traits (extraversion, neuroticism, conscientiousness, agreeableness, and openness to experience). With the use of personality questionnaires, the authors found that inner dialogues showed the highest correlations with openness to experience and with neuroticism. That is, the people with more internal dialogues are more open to experiences, involving active imagination, aesthetic sensitivity, attentiveness to inner feelings, intellectual curiosity, and preference for variety. Moreover, subjects with many inner dialogues have a higher degree of neuroticism or emotional instability, as manifested by anxiety, moodiness, worry, and self-consciousness.

For the present chapter it is particularly relevant that the relationship between personality traits and inner dialogue is probably modified by developmental factors. Oles and colleagues found that in adolescents, internal dialogicality corresponds higher with neuroticism than with openness, while in the middle-aged samples the internal dialogical activity corresponds higher with openness than with neuroticism. The authors

conclude that in adolescents internal dialogues are stimulated mainly by anxiety and personal problems, whereas adults use them in the service of openness and curiosity. While adolescents may become involved in internal dialogues in order to reduce anxiety, middle-aged people use them mainly for exploring new experiences and broadening their scope of personal possibilities.

The Janus-Faced Nature of Globalization: Identity Confusion

In contrast to many of the third culture kids and expatriates who share a common, often high, educational and economic backgrounds and who are able to create new homes and cultural enclaves abroad, many people all over the world, particularly adolescents and young adults, struggle with cultural diversity and conflict which often leads to identity confusion. An example is given by cultural anthropologist van Meijl (2012), who noticed that the impact of migration is nowhere near as pervasive as in the Asia-Pacific region, which accounts for almost 40% of the millions of people who cross national borders each year. Limited prospects for economic growth and the effects of climate change causes them to try their luck elsewhere. The largest migration streams are from Polynesia, with about 25% of the total population living abroad today, many of them living in New Zealand, where they constitute 7% of the total population. Given the transnational connections between Pacific people in New Zealand and their places of origin, an increasing number of diasporic children and adolescents are

growing up between two or more shores, with migrants from Samoa and Tonga making up the largest Polynesian groups in New Zealand. This leads them to develop multiple identifications with more than one place in and beyond New Zealand.

As van Meijl (2012) explains, confusion begins when someone's Samoan identity is challenged by island-born members of one's extended family (*aiga*) or church community, which used to be highly influential in Pacific Islander communities. At the same time one's identity as a New Zealander is challenged by New Zealanders of European descent (*Papalagi*). Their identity as being both Samoan and New Zealander entail insecurity and lack of control resulting from their experience of 'deterritorialization.' They feel that social and cultural attitudes derived from their new world are opposed to behavioural and socio-cultural norms established in their Pacific identity. As a consequence, their sense of self is divided between two cultural positions that are generally felt as contradictory.

Not only in economically underdeveloped parts of the world, in wealthier countries identity confusion or marginalization also becomes a problem to many adolescents and young adults. Norasakkunkit and Uchida (2011; see also Chiu et al., 2011) focused on the psychological adaptation of individuals labeled as *Not in Employment, Education or Training* (NEETS), a marginal subculture in Japan that has emerged in response to globalization. Apparently, a sizable number of Japanese youth (estimated to be around one

million) cannot adjust to the rapid changes in occupational life characterized by increased competitiveness and decreased job security, which globalization has brought to Japan. Often these adolescents and young adults lack persistence in pursuing achievement goals and move from the center to the periphery of society. Retreating from society, they display low identification with the core values of interdependence and self-improvement in Japanese society and become increasingly marginalized. Their position as falling *between* the rapid changes of globalization and the core values of Japan prevents them from developing an identity with sufficient clarity and direction.

The Challenge of Cultural Difference and Distance

When the tension between local and global identities lead in some cases to creativity and innovation and in other cases to confusion and marginalization, can we then gain some understanding of the conditions that move the self into one or the other direction? In which situations are difference and distance between cultural positions so large that the negative implications become dominant over the positive ones? A discussion of these topics will concentrate on the relevance of the concepts of homophily and heterophily.

When Do Difference and Distance between Cultures Become too Large?

From an African perspective, Doku and Asante (2011) make an observation that is helpful to understanding why some individuals

experience identity confusion as a result of globalization, while others do not. They notice that those individuals are most likely to suffer confusion—often resulting in depression, suicide, and substance use—who are raised in cultural environments with the greatest cultural *distance* from the global culture, at the same time being subjected to the consequences of globalization.

As Doku and colleague describe, African cultures not only entail a set of values, ideas, and attitudes regarding the relationships between living beings but also between the living and the dead. In Ghana, for example, it is believed that the dead are still “alive” and have, in their quality of spirits, “super control” over what goes on in their absence. They have the power to reward the faithful and punish the unfaithful. Libations are poured to them in order to please and consult them about virtually everything that is of vital importance to a family. Even at dining tables their presence is expected, respected and even sensed by reserving a chair or space for them. Therefore, the dead are buried with rich ornaments and regalia that they may need in their next life.

In a discussion of literature on traditional African healing, Lindegger and Alberts (2012) portray how ‘Traditional African’ is typical of a cultural system which considers the person to be connected a with supernatural order that organizes the relationships with family, community, the earth, God, spirits, ancestors or living dead. Health and happiness, including mental

health, are seen as a function of the equilibrium of these various relationships, whereas disease and unhappiness are seen as a function of disharmony or the influence of evil spirits. In their discussion of traditional South-African culture, Lindegger and colleague focus on the role of a healer called “iSangoma” in isiZulu and isiXhosa. The task of this healer is to diagnose any disharmony in the various relationships, especially the relationship with ancestors. The iSangoma functions as an intermediary between the visible and invisible worlds and he has the task to diagnose and harmonize these relationships, and especially to transmit messages from the ancestors to the living.

It may be clear that there is a large psychological distance between the values and practices of African and other indigenous cultures who on the one hand want to maintain and protect their traditional world view and on the other hand the main values which are brought to the world by the process of globalization. As Marsella (2011) notes, the hegemonic imposition of values associated with North American popular culture, including individualism, materialism, competition, hedonism, rapid change, (often indiscriminately labeled as ‘progress’), profit, greed, commodification, consumerism, and privatization, bring values to the world that are alien and offensive to many people who’s cultures are rooted in long and stabilized traditions. Particularly, those cultural groups with a large distance between their

traditional values and the implicit values of globalization seem to be vulnerable to identity crisis or confusion.

Accumulating the many topics discussed in this chapter, it becomes evident that globalization is Janus-faced. There are no convincing reasons to evaluate this global change as 'good' *or* 'bad' or as 'constructive' *or* 'destructive.' Both qualifications apply in varying degrees to different parts of the world dependent on economic, educational, cultural, and historical circumstances. In a more sophisticated way, it makes sense to distinguish, as Chiu et al. (2011) do, between *exclusionary reactions*, including fear of cultural contamination, negative intercultural affect (e.g., envy, anger, disgust), and seeing foreign cultures as a threat, and *integrative reactions*, including positive intercultural affect (e.g., admiration and curiosity), interest in global resources, the adoption of a cultural learning mindset, and behavioral reactions like acceptance and synthesis. This leads to the proposition that cultural values and practices with a large psychological distance towards globalizing trends are more probable to evoke exclusionary reactions, whereas those with smaller distance are more likely to lead to integrative reactions. For the development of self and identity, the psychological distance is particularly relevant because it affects the degree to which the individual is able to bring together the different and often conflicting cultural identities as parts of self that is sufficiently coherent and integrated, in the form of third positions or productive coalitions of positions

(Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The notion of psychological distance brings us to a related topic, in the social-scientific literature known as the phenomenon of 'homophily.'

Homophily and Heterophily

"Similarity breeds connection" is the first sentence of an article by McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001, p. 415) on homophily, which is the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people. The fact that we favor contact with like-minded people organizes network ties of every type, including marriage, friendship, work, advice, support, information transfer, exchange, co-membership, and other types of relationships. Consequently, homophily places constraints on people's social worlds with strong implications for the information they receive, the attitudes they form, and the interactions in which they become involved. Homophily in race and ethnicity creates the strongest divides in our personal environments, with age, religion, education, occupation, and gender following in roughly that order (McPherson et al, 2001). In other words, homophily motivates people to stay within the comfort zone of their self-space (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

In order to see the far-reaching implications of our homophilous tendencies in the context of globalization, it is necessary to consider its opposite tendency, known in the literature as 'heterophily.' In an insightful analysis, Rogers and Bhowmik (1970) observed that heterophily—the

tendency to communicate with people who are dissimilar to our own views, values, and experiences—has the disadvantage in that it is less effective than homophily. Heterophilous interactions are likely to cause message distortion, delayed transmission, restriction of communication channels and cognitive dissonance. Simply said, heterophily makes it for communicating partners more difficult to understand each other. Yet, Rogers et al. argue that there are situations where heterophily is a necessary ingredient: a white middle-class teacher in a ghetto, a father-adolescent relationship, a change agent who is diffusing innovation, and, particularly relevant to the present chapter, international communication between individuals who do not share a common culture. When participants would be homophilous to a maximum degree, communication would be facile, but entirely redundant. On the other hand, when they would be totally heterophilous, they would not understand each other. So, Rogers and colleague conclude that for effective *and* innovative communication, the interacting partners should be homophilous on variables which add to mutual understanding, and heterophilous on those variables which are relevant to finding creative ways for solving the problems in the situation at hand.

An argument for the relevance of this conclusion in the context of globalization, can be found in a study by Girouard, Stack, and O'Neill-Gilbert (2011), who investigated the dyadic interactions of 30 Asian-Canadian and 30 French-Canadian preschool children and analyzed them in

terms of social participation, initiation, response strategies and social interchange. Results showed that the children preferred to play more interactively together with same-ethnic partners, while with cross-ethnic partners they played more solitarily in the presence of the peer. The authors conclude that, consistent with studies with older children, the results of the present study revealed that the ethnicity of the playmate is influencing the nature of preschoolers' social interactions.

Apparently, the homophilous tendency can be observed in the social interactions of children at a very young age and this confirms the view that homophilous attitudes are strongly established in the self of children and adults. This raises the question of how, and under which circumstances, children can find a balance between homophilous and heterophilous interactions, on the assumption that not one but both tendencies are relevant for effective *and* innovative communication with individuals and groups from other cultures. Intercultural learning as part of the development of children and adults seems to be a neglected area on the interface of globalization and human development and deserves more future research. It should start at a young age, if one wants to create the conditions for stimulating integrative reactions between individuals and groups of different cultural origins.

The Historical Child versus the Universal Child

In a sense psychology as a discipline, including developmental psychology, is also 'homophilous,' as it favors a Western (American, European) standard notion of childhood throughout the world (Prilleltensky, 2012). As Woodhead (1999) has argued, modern child development inherited a universalist legacy, implying that all humans are subjected to general laws which can be studied on the basis of positivistic scientific principles, with the consequence of systematic neglect of the social-psychological specificities of individuals and cultures. For example, Piaget's three mountains experiment has been replicated numerous times by generations of students to demonstrate young children's limitations in taking perspectives. Researchers have asked children to pour water into different shaped glasses in order to demonstrate their inability to understand the invariance of quantity under transformation. When these experimental tasks became transported across the globe in cross-cultural investigations, it became possible to produce comparisons of more than two dozen of communities, in terms of the percentage of subjects that had attained different Piagetian stages. Predictably, the findings favored populations who had experienced European type schooling and education. To take another example, the typical American and European emphasis on the importance of independence for children and adolescents, and the uncritical transportation of this ideal to other parts of the world, may shake the very roots of Asian families who emphasize authoritarian attitudes and practices.

As Woodhead (1999) emphasizes, the task of psychology is not the discovery of the eternal child but of the historical child. The cultural environment should not be seen as something outside the process of development, that which surrounds it, but should be considered as an intrinsic part of the developmental process itself. Therefore, future research should focus on the study of children, adolescents and adults on different levels: personal, interpersonal, organizational, cultural and global levels (see also Prilleltensky, 2012).

Aging and Globalization: A Neglected Area

A neglected area is also the developmental aspects of old age in relation to the process of globalization. The world's population stands at over 7 billion in 2013 and is estimated to reach 9.3 billion by mid-century (although numbers differ considerably depending on various sources). As Sayan (2002) has estimated, the number of people aged 60 plus is expected to increase from 629 million in 2002 to nearly 2 billion by 2050. Similarly, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) of the United Nations concludes that during the first half of this century, the global population of 60 plus is expected to expand by more than three times to reach almost 2 billion in 2050 (source date: 10 May, 2013). Moreover, the elderly population itself is aging, with the 80-plus age group making up the fastest-growing segment of the population. This "graying of the world" results from falling fertility rates and rising life expectancies.

In a study on the identity of the elderly, Phillipson (1998) notes that in the present phase of late or advanced modernity, globalization, including the emergence of a post-industrial society and more fluid and pluralized forms of identity, creates a high level of uncertainty in old age. In a historical overview, the author shows that in the post-World-War II period, from approximately the 1950s through the early 1970s, much emphasis was placed, particularly in the rich countries, on the safety of retirement as part of a welfare state. This was generally seen as a crucial instrument for maintaining a sense of hope and purpose in old age. However, Phillipson continues, the era of unparalleled progress halted in the subsequent decades as a combination of events—a slow-down of economic growth, the rise of world oil prices, the increase of unemployment and inflation—challenged the basic assumptions on welfare. The unraveling of the retirement system, together with changes to the welfare state, has posed significant threats to the elderly. Retirement is no longer central as a system organizing exit from the workplace for an increasing number of people. At the same time, they are often confronted with a language and ideology which scapegoats the old, defining them as a burden and cost to society which raises, at the individual level, existential issues of the nature of meaning of growing old (Phillipson, 1998, p. 3).

So, while we often speak about identity crisis and confusion in the population of adolescents and adults, it would be a serious omission when

we as psychologist and social scientists would fail to see the deep impact of the accelerating process of globalization on the level of self and identity of the elderly. Future studies should be focused, more than hitherto, on *all* stages of human development, on the basis of the assumption that globalization affects life-long development.

The Self as a Mini-Society

As the material presented in this chapter suggests, human development is deeply affected by inter-cultural processes and accelerated globalization. As part of that, self and identity also do not develop in isolation from socio-cultural contexts, but, instead, they function as historical and socio-cultural phenomena. We live in a 'compressed' social space where we cannot avoid meeting people who are very different from us. It is as if living in the same 'room' with people we don't know, not being able to put them outside (e.g., immigration waves, international military operations, world-wide implications of financial or economical crises, forms of international terrorism). This situation moves people increasingly from the center of their cultures to the interfaces between them, where both the positive sides (e.g., innovation, cross-fertilization, cooperation, creativity) and the negative sides (exploitation, alienation, defensive forms of localization, aggression) become surprisingly or painfully evident.

As discussed in the present chapter, globalization and localization also have deep implications for the development of self and identity. As we have

argued earlier (Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), processes on the contact zones between different cultures and on the interface of globalization and localization, have at least four implications for the self: (a) It is faced with an unprecedented *density* of positions which may lead to a “cacophony of voices” in the self; (b) when the individual is increasingly participating in a diversity of local groups and cultures on a global scale, the position repertoire becomes more *complex and heterogeneous*, laden as it is with differences, tensions, oppositions, and contradictions; (c) given the speed and unpredictability of global changes, the repertoire receives more ‘*visits*’ by *unexpected positions*; and finally (d) as a consequence of the increasing range of possible positions and the increasing speed of globalization, there are more and larger ‘*position leaps*,’ that is, the individual has to make more and larger “mental jumps” given the relatively large psychological distance between positions. Such leaps include, for example, immigrating to another country, marrying a partner from another culture, cooperation with colleagues from different cultures, or being confronted by the needs of people at the other end of the world, who are facing extreme poverty or suffering from a disaster. These developments have the consequence of creating a higher degree of uncertainty in the self, which may innovate and enrich the self in some situations, but lead to identity crisis or confusion in other situations, as we have seen earlier in the present chapter. As these implications demonstrate, the self, as part of the

society at large, functions as a mini-society with similar differences, dynamics, opposites and tensions. Considering the self as a society of positions may help to understand which processes are taking place on the interface of cultures in a globalizing society.

Future Directions: Towards a Dialogical Conception of Self and Identity

Finally, I will briefly sketch some desirable future directions for research on the relationship between globalization and development. I see four main directions which are in line with the topics discussed in this chapter and of immediate relevance to the study of self and identity.

First, the relationship between globalization and development should avoid the erroneous view that culture and society are simply 'surrounding' self and identity, conceptualized as essentialized entities having an existence in and of themselves and a development on their own. In contrast, self and culture are *not mutually exclusive but mutually inclusive*. When one of these components changes, this has immediate repercussions for the other. An implication of this view is that the study of self and identity is in need of not only psychological, but also sociological, cultural anthropological, and historical perspectives. Recent advances in brain sciences should also be taken into account, particularly those research endeavors which focus on the social aspects of the brain.

Second, future research on the *flexibility* and *resilience* of the self is indispensable as the accelerated process of globalization brings more

tensions, contradictions, conflicts, and oppositions in the self than ever before. A flexible and resilient self is able to navigate between the Scylla of premature, but unsuccessful unity, and the Charybdis of fragmentation. How can the self, being tension-loaded and contradictory as it is, yet be sufficiently coherent and substantial to form a coherent diversity? How is the self able to create adaptive and creative combinations of cultural and personal *I*-positions (Falmagne, 2004; Hermans, 2001)?

Third, developmental psychology has to make a transition from research based on the *universal* child, adolescent, and adult to the *historical* child, adolescent, and adult. Too long has mainstream developmental psychology persisted in the assumption that research findings based on American and European samples have universal significance, thereby neglecting important contextual factors like culture, history, and society which are not extrinsic but intrinsic to human development. As such, the development of self and identity deserves attention on different levels: intrapersonal, interpersonal, organizational, cultural and global (Surgan and Abbey, 2012).

Fourth, future studies of the process of globalization and their implications for development are in need of a *dialogical* conception of self and identity. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, mainstream psychology has for too long favored a conception of an essentialized self considered as a 'container' with razor-sharp boundaries between self and

non-self, with the exclusion of the other as part of the self, and as being involved in a relentless pursuit of having the environment under control (Sampson, 1985; see also Callero, 2003). Post-modern views have answered this highly centralized self, overly unified and enclosed as it is in itself, by proposing a highly decentralized conception that is open to relationships, often leading to a situation of 'multiphrenia' (Gergen, 1991) and fragmentation of the self. In my view, the accelerating process of globalization asks for a third conception of the self, a dialogical one, in which centralizing and decentralizing movements are seen as mutually complementing forces (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Such a conception is needed to develop a self that is decentralized and *open* enough to the innovative potentials of globalization, yet *closed* and centralized enough to develop an identity that embraces the values, practices, and traditions of one's local culture. Such a conception enables the self to develop dialogical relationships not only between different *I*-positions in the multi-voiced mini-society of the self but also between the social and cultural positions of the multi-colored participants in a globalizing world.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have focused on human development in the context of the processes of globalization and localization, with special attention to the differences, tensions, and conflicts in self and identity. Apparently, globalization is a Janus-faced phenomenon which fosters innovation,

creativity and integration in some situations, and confusion, anxiety, and marginalization in other situations. In an attempt to answer the question under which conditions globalization shows its virtues and under which conditions its vices, the notion of 'distance' between different cultures and between different cultural positions in the self proved to be useful. When the distance is manageable and, moreover, receives an adaptive answer by a flexible and resilient self, an integrative solution can be found. When, however, the distance is overly large or unbridgeable as the result of irreconcilable values, then confusion, marginalization, and fragmentation are most probable. In order to keep the different and divergent positions in the self together as parts of a contradictory yet coherent whole, a dialogical view on self and identity is desirable so that these positions can learn from each other and stimulate the further development of the self as a sufficiently integrated whole.

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